Communicating the Dark Dimensions of the Past
A Case Study of Museum Management in Västra Götaland

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Abstract

Heritage is a result of cultural and social constructions rather than received values from the past (Barrere et al. 2015, p 4 p 4). Dark heritage is a concept which is synonymous to heritage that hurts, difficult heritage, heritage of atrocity and places of pain or shame (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). Dark heritage sites (DHS) are places and institutions "that stand as legacy to painful periods in history; massacre and genocide sites, places related to former penal institutions, prisoners of war, battlefields and many more." (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). DHS management is a structured activity which supports a meaningful and holistic experience for visitors within the context of diverse and complex servicescapes (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899).

The overall aim of this study is to increase the understanding of how dark dimensions of the past are expressed within museum management in Västra Götaland. In order to fulfil this purpose, three research questions have been formulated: Which dimensions of dark heritage are highlighted? Which ideological approaches permeate the exhibitions of the dark? How is heritage classified as dark heritage?

The study involved documentary work at Västergötland Museum, Lödöse Museum and the Museum of Gothenburg. The researcher accomplished a documentary work, focusing upon artefacts, information text and multimedia. A qualitative analysis of the data with some inspiration from discourse theory was then carried out. Discourse refers to the meanings and understandings of worldviews that are formed within socio-historical processes (Howarth 2007; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002). Discourse theory provides a framework of how history is constructed and maintained (Howarth 2007). Discourses are transformed and maintained within formal practices and everyday lives (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 12).

The results show: (1) Dark heritage that is highlighted within the three museums refers to war, conflicts, crimes, sanitary problems, death, epidemics, hard living conditions, and unequal treatment of people. (2) The exhibitions were based on a mixture of different approaches, such as romantic chivalry, local separatist/patriotic, socialistic, and peace/ international understanding approaches (Timothy & Boyd 2003, p 27-28). (3) The discourse within society involves classifications of the dark. It is therefore possible to see a cultural pattern of how war, conflicts, epidemics and sanitary problems become dark dimensions.

Table of Contents

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Figures

Tables

Chapter One

Introduction

"I::: the darker side of heritage should not be kept in the dark" (McClelland, p 585).

1.1 Background

Museums have to manage complexity, diversity and several different perspectives of the preservation values within the postmodern world [1]. This complexity and an increased degree of professionalization are two of the changed mechanisms that are affecting museums practices in current times. Other development trends refer to an increased demand on cost-effectiveness and documentation in scientific reports. It is also a challenge for museums to meet globalisation, technologization, an increased amount of information as well as changes in cultural policies (Barker & Smithen 2006, p 93-95).

Postmodernist approaches within museum management mix myth and reality, falsehoods and authenticity. Phenomena are embedded with a scepticism and ambivalence within exhibitions for mass consumption. Statues and value hierarchies have been broken down and there is an unclear distinction between the low and high values (Hannabuss 1999, p 295-305).

Cultural heritage is "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political, or social" (Khakzad 2015, p 110). It is a key concept in the field of museology and a key word in the political sphere of ministries and governments (Bohman 1997, p 13). Cultural heritage is associated both to material, spiritual and natural remains. It refers to art, objects, buildings, cultural environment, natural environment, written and oral memories as well as immaterial traditions (ibid., p 11). The cultural heritage is based on a specific value system shared by groups of people. These systems are associated to different material and spiritual cultural expressions. Some cultural expressions are linked to symbolic expressions of phenomena. The human-defined heritage is preserved by authorities and museums (ibid., p 14).

Most nations have a traumatic history resulting from conflicts, war, ethnic hostilities, racial discrimination and intolerance. Places include signs of the shameful and inhuman ideologies. Some of these dark heritage sites have changed meanings as they have developed as attractions. There is a growing interest in the dark heritage at both national and international level and memorial museums have become a common phenomenon. Heritages associated

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[1] www.ne.se postmodernism (171214)

with trauma and shameful ideologies are important since these capture the richness and complexity of human existence (Logan & Reeves 2009, p 1-11).

Heritage preservation fills an important role as an educator. When human beings gain an increased knowledge of the past, it is conceivable to believe that societies will avoid making the same mistakes in the future. The Living History Forum (Swe: Forum för levande historia) arranges different kinds of activities in order to inform citizens about human right crimes in the past. The basic assumption is that it is important to increase the knowledge about how human values have been suppressed and how crimes against human laws are hurtful to people[2].

Practices with relevance to heritage preservation are also important since they provide the individual with knowledge, perspectives, and deeper dimensions of the world he/she is living in. There are at least four arguments behind the preservation of heritage: (1) economic (attracting tourists and other kinds of visitors to the region); (2) social (contributes to one's cultural identity and a sense of place); (3) political (symbolism, messages expressed); and (4) scientific (traditional landscapes contain information and is a base for research and increased knowledge) (Aronsson 2004, p 233; Timothy & Boyd 2003, p 87-132).

"Cultural heritages play a strong role in both economic and social life even though the majority remain informal, without public protection and without explicit management they are the main institutions that connect history, territory and society, defining the cultural context of social life." (Barrère 2015, p 6)

Other arguments relate to heritage sites being associated with positive, neutral, and negative values (free interpretation of Timothy & Boyd 2003). In recent decades, heritage preservation has become associated with broader perspectives. The important role it plays for human beings is in focus, its preservation being regarded as a serious part of societal development (RAÄ 2015).

1.2 Research problem

Heritage is often associated with positive characteristics, but it is important to highlight its darker aspects as well. The integration of a broad range of values should thus pay attention to its dark dimensions (McClelland et al. 2013, p 585). Dark heritage sites around the world show signs of apartheid, slavery, fascism, Nazism, genocide, terrorism, Communism and extreme poverty (ibid., p 899).

There is growing interest in heritage being associated with dark events of the past on both international and national levels (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). The mission of such sites is to strengthen the responsibility of each person for a more caring and human world, through learning about these dark phenomena, reflection, self-introspection and remembrance (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). Research on such dark sites focus on history which is

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[2] see www.forumforlevandehistoria.se (160803)

presented, hidden and/or obliterated (Biran et al. 2011). The concept dark heritage is rather complicated since the meanings of trauma and difficulties are subjective and open for discussion. We should not take for granted that the phenomena which are valued as dark by people living today would be just the same as for people in other cultures living centuries ago. The definition of light and dark thus involves a subjective dimension.

Science needs to develop clear definitions of phenomena and concepts which are used within research. Dark heritage is not a very common concept, but it is employed from time to time in articles which are published in international journals (see Biran et al. 2011; Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900; McClelland, et al. 2013, p 585). There are many dimensions to this concept which could be further analyzed. As one example, academics need more insight into the meaning of the dark from different perspectives and whether there is any objectivity around dark values. To contribute to the development of the concept, researchers need further knowledge of how it relates to museums and heritage management practices around the world. This study is important since it provides insight into the meaning and usefulness of the dark heritage approach within science and public heritage preservation in the Swedish region of Västra Götaland.

1.3 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this study is to increase the understanding of how dark dimensions of the past are expressed within museum management in Västra Götaland. In order to fulfil this purpose, three research questions have been formulated:

Which dimensions of the dark heritage are highlighted?
Which ideological approaches permeate the exhibitions of the dark?
How is heritage classified as dark heritage?

1.4 Definitions – the key concepts

UNESCO defines cultural heritage as "the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations[3]" UNESCO furthermore differentiates between movable (paintings, coins, sculptures, manuscripts), immovable (archaeological sites, monuments and so on), and underwater cultural heritage (underwater ruins, shipwreck and cities)[4]. UNESCO also defines the natural heritage which consists of natural features, geological and physiographic formations, and natural sites[5].

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[3]http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/ (160421)

[4] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/ (160421)

[5] Heritage in the event of Armed Conflicts refers to protection of values as conflicts are going on. The first international efforts in order to protect heritage values as wars are going on were formulated in 1954: *"The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) in 1954 in the wake of massive destruction of cultural heritage during the Second World War is the first international treaty with a world-wide vocation*

Tangible heritage refers to buildings, historic places, artefacts, monuments etc., which are considered valuable of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the architecture, archaeology, science, or technology of a certain culture[6]. Cultural heritages do not only involve material manifestations, such as objects and monuments. It moreover encompasses intangible heritage, i.e. "living expressions and the traditions that countless groups and communities worldwide have inherited from their ancestors and transmit to their descendants, in most cases orally.[7]"

Heritage: Material and immaterial expressions of human activities and the human impact on the surroundings. It may be associated with traces, knowledge, constructions, traditions and activities (RAÄ 2015, p 12). "the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations."

Intangible (immaterial) Cultural Heritage: Refers to oral traditions, performing arts, rituals.

Tangible (material) Cultural Heritage: Consists of movable, cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), immovable, cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on) and underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities).

Figure 1:1. Key concepts of heritage preservation ([8]RAÄ 2015, p 12)

Dark heritage is a concept which is synonymous to heritage that is hurtful, difficult heritage, the heritage of atrocity, and places of pain and shame (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). Dark heritage sites (DHS) are places and institutions that stand as a legacy to sorrowful times of history. It may be genocide and massacre sites, places related to former punishing institutions, exhibitions of prisoners of conflict, wars and battlefields (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). DHS management is a structured activity which supports a meaningful and holistic experience for visitors who are interested in complex and diverse sites (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899).

One important dimension of the dark heritage is the war heritage which, in Sweden, is concentrated to the museums. Swedish Military Heritage (SMHA) is a network which involves 26 museums. Swedish Museums of Military History and Swedish National Maritime Museums are responsible for the network. In addition, there are other museums with relevance to military phenomena, such as the military museums in Boden and Stockholm as well as the maritime museums in Gothenburg and Karlskrona (Thorell 2015d).

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focusing exclusively on the protection of cultural heritage in the event of armed conflict." http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/armed-conflict-and-heritage/the-hague-convention/ 160421
[6] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/ 160421
[7] http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34325&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (160421)
[8] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/ (160421)

Chapter Two

The Social Construction of Heritage

"How can anyone claim that cultural heritage only embodies positive historical, artistic and ethical values (truth, beauty and goodness) I…I ? (McClelland et al.[9], 2013, p 595)

2.1 Introduction

There is growing interest in the heritage associated with dark events of the past at both international and national levels (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). The mission of such sites is to favor a more humane and caring world, through the communication of dark events, reflection, remembrance and self-introspection." (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). Research on such dark sites focuses on history which is presently, hidden and/or obliterated (Biran et al. 2011).

This chapter is concerned with theoretical perspectives and approaches which are of importance for the study. The first section describes heritage preservation as a process where the past is constructed by human beings living in cultures with specific norms, values and knowledge systems. The following section focuses on how power is affecting visitors' understanding of heritage issues and the past. Although museum management is a neutral practice where objective knowledge of the past is presented, it may sometimes be embedded in processes of selection, hiding, and highlighting of phenomena.

This study is based on social constructionism, i.e. a theoretical field with its origin in French poststructuralist theory which emphasizes that hidden structures within society affect our lives (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 6). This approach accepts that historical and cultural circumstances determine one's knowledge of the world. This means that one's sense of reality is shaped and maintained within social processes (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 5). From this perspective are social phenomena "always depended on mutual, subjective attributions of meanings" and therefore they "cannot have a real, objective existence" (ibid., p 39). This study incorporates social constructionism since the basic assumption is that heritage is a kind of social phenomena which is formed within social and cultural processes. The meanings of heritage are not given but constructed within processes of power, communication and categorization.

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[9]The question was asked by Dolff-Bonekämper

2.2 Dark tourism and hot interpretation

The term dark tourism was used in the book 'Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster' written by Foley and Lennon (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899) and has then emerged as a field of academic study. Dark tourism refers to travel to fatal attractions, sensation sites and black sports. It is also associated to disaster, death and tragic activities (Sather – Wagstaff 2011, p 72). The concept dark tourism involves three dimensions: 1: Visitations to places associated with disaster, death and depravity. 2: Travel to places associated with suffering, death and seemingly macabre. 3: Visitations to sites where tragedies or accidents have occurred (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899).

Morbid Tourism is associated with sudden violence and death that attracts a large number of people. It sometimes takes form as artificial sites with waxworks and museums of torture. It is a postmodern phenomenon which involves experiences and witnesses of death (Sather-Wagstaff 2011, p 72).

Thanatourism revolves around battlefields, prisons and genocide museums. Examples of such tourism are travelling to Kurt Corbin`s suicide site, Dealey Plaza, Gettysburg, cemeteries, Gallipoli, the concentration camps of Poland, former slave sites in Ghana, Graceland and the murder sites of Martin Luther King (Sather – Wagstaff 2011, p 71). Thanatourism refers to the travel "to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose death are its focal objects". (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). Five different thanatourism sites have been distinguished within previous research: (1) Site of public death- in process (public executions of past centuries, gladiator battles, airplane crashes, fires and sinking boats). (2) Sites of individual and mass deaths (Graceland, Dealey Plaza and Holocaust death camps). (3) Interment or memorial site" (catacombs, cemeteries and war memorials). (4) Sites with material evidence or symbolic representations of death (museums and memorial monuments). (5) Sites with participatory activities and re-enactments of death (battle re-enactments and the passion plays at Oberammergau) (Sather – Wagstaff J 2011, p 73).

Tourism focuses trauma and death may be embedded with hot interpretations. The concept *hot interpretation* represents attractions and issues which refer to pro-active and political aims. They come in waves which go through social groups and are sometimes used for propaganda purposes. It is easy to indoctrinate, incite, and encourage fear and reinforce stereotypes. Hot interpretations are sometimes connected with positive effects, such as bringing people together (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008, p 512). It is also interesting to study how time and space affect human experience of dark heritage. Previous research shows that the visitor becomes less moved by taking part of dark events which took place hundreds of years ago, than in the present. It is also conceivable to believe that we as humans become more emotional when reading about wars in the proximity, than on the other side of the world (see Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008). In this context, it is possible to deepen our understanding of

how the dark is experienced by different kinds of actors.

Previous research shows that both psychological and physical distance have an effect on the emotional involvement. This means that a visitor who interprets a war that occurred near the home town appreciate it in a more detailed way than a visitor from another country. A woman who has lost her husband in the Vietnam War in the 1960s would have a very short psychosocial distance to the sites in that country. The visit would probably be connected to many emotions and hot interpretations. This is illustrated in research on global environmental problems (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008, p 507).

Hot interpretation refers to the emotional content of a visitor experience. It is a way of interpreting heritage which stands in contrast to the objectivity and neutral knowledge approach within heritage management[10]. Ballantyne, Packer and Bond identify some principles which guide the development of hot interpretations:

1. Make use of personal stories which make a connection to the subject matter. (The story should have an emotional resonance that isolates statistics and facts.)
2. Balance hope and despair. (Hot interpretation should evoke feelings such as shame, anger, and regret; however, it is important to contribute to optimism.)
3. Do not persuade, but educate. (When people are forced, they may put their defenses up. This may in turn limit personal engagement.)
4. Provide space for reflection. (This concerns links between reading, looking, and reflections. It may be important to create opportunities for the visitor to participate. This could be favored by comment walls where it is possible to write down notes.)
5. Make use of the past for valid reasons (Education, knowledge development, and learning from previous mistakes.).
6. Focus on the past to inform the future. (Traumatic wars etc. may be a source for a better understanding. Vital questions to ask is thus: What can I learn from this? What can one do to avoid these mistakes in the future?)[11].

2.3 Heritage as a cultural process

Cultural heritage is a key concept in the field of museology and within the political sphere with ministries and governments (Bohman 1997, p 13). Cultural heritage includes both material, spiritual and natural remains. It refers to art, objects, buildings, cultural environment, natural environment, written and oral memories as well as traditions (ibid., p 11). Political, ideological and social dimensions determine the meanings of the cultural heritage (ibid., p. 9). Cultural heritage can, thus, be seen as a product of such dimensions.

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[10]http://reganforrest.com/2013/03/hot-interpretation-telling-difficult-stories/ (160929)

[11]http://reganforrest.com/2013/03/hot-interpretation-telling-difficult-stories/ (160928)

There are few given or neutral versions of the past but different versions of it (Bohman & Lindvall 1997, p 83).

Sociologists, anthropologists, and experts show that heritage is a result of cultural and social constructions rather than given values of the past (Barrère et al. 2015, p 4). The meaning of heritage is thus defined within social and cultural processes. History may be written in different ways since the descriptions are depended upon norms and ways of thinking. People within a society filter the past through the existing valuation system where the significance of heritage differs between cultural groups (Timothy & Boyd 2003). Heritage is thus a cultural process with acts of remembering and where the past engages with the present. Heritage sites are in this context cultural tools that facilitate such processes (Barrère 2015, p 4).

Heritage preservation management often aims to narrate true and objective stories of the past. Previous research problematizes, however, that some dimensions may be obscured while others are highlighted, at different times (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008, p 505). The preservation of heritage is, thus, not always a neutral practice, but embedded in a context of norms, values and knowledge systems. This study is inspired by social constructivist theory which is an umbrella term for a range of concepts and understandings with relevance to culture and society, mainly from recent times (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 4). The concept of "social construction" was introduced in the influential work of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luck's: The Social Construction of Reality (1966; "sociology of knowledge"). Constructionism appeared there as a social theory with the ambition to explain how people perceive and shape their social reality. The work focused on the institutionalization and internalization of the everyday beliefs and knowledge[12].

Social constructionism as a theoretical filed appears in a variety of forms [13]but it often emphasizes that knowledge should not be regarded as an objective truth. How we understand a phenomenon is determined by historical and cultural circumstances. Knowledge is maintained within social processes. The theoretical approach also emphasizes that there are different social understandings in different contexts (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 5-6).

Social constructivism is one of the theoretical fields used in value-based studies. This research highlights that norms and values of what should be preserved or destroyed exist within discourses (McClelland et al. 2013, p 585). In this context, discourse analysis is applied, i.e. a methodological framework which includes different kinds of philosophical and theoretical perspectives (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 4). Several discourses coexist within a specific context, and these are maintained within cultural and social practices (ibid., p 12).

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[12]https://www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/konstruktionism (180625)
[13]https://www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/konstruktionism (180625)

The concept discourse refers to Michel Foucault (1926-1984) who defines this as a doctrine of knowledge or institution with rules around worldviews such as biology and psychiatry[14]. Discourse refers, however, in general terms to the system of meanings and the understanding of reality which is formed in socio-historical processes. The concept includes various scientific and theoretical dimensions. Antagonism and hegemony are two important concepts in this context. Antagonism refers to open conflicts between different discourses within a specific set of discourses. Hegemony is about the resolution of conflicts and processes where a discourse wins confidence (Andersson 2011, p 56; Howarth 2007: Jorgensen & Pillips 2002).

Foucault`s work is nevertheless not traditionally associated with social constructivist research. Much of his work is namely connected to structuralism and poststructuralism[15]. Structuralism and poststructuralism involve interpretations which focus on underlying structures within the society such as class and gender. Poststructuralism sees discourses and languages as a type of structure affecting our realities[16].

Foucault`s research involves poststructuralism approaches when he links discourse theory to critical research and structuralism (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002., p 3). Michel Foucault (1926-1984) developed the discourse analysis through theoretical and empirical research. Knowledge is not just a reflection of the world, but also a construction of different knowledge regimes (ibid., p 12- 13). Foucault analyzed power and stated that this is a scattering phenomenon within different social practices. Power is a productive force which is forming knowledge, discourses and realities (ibid., p 13).

Foucault's work highlights that most phenomena could be questioned and open for discussions. Almost everything is relative, and few absolute truths are therefore existing. Our worldviews are namely embedded within the historical, social and cultural context. Foucault also states that the truth occurs in the relationship between the power of force and authority (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, p 1-9).

Processes of memories
Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) developed a theoretical field concerning memories in social science. The book "The social framework of memory" from 1925 and "The Legendary Topography of the gospel in the holy land" from 1941 touch upon the meaning of the collective memory. This refers to "the shared memory of different social groups or families, as means of maintaining their identity" (Poulot 2012 et al., p 1). The history belongs to all

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[14] www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/michel-foucault
 (180625)
[15]www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/michel-foucault (180625).
[16]Research based upon Marxist theory is a kind of structuralism. This kind of research was common on the 60th and 70th decade when researchers made invisible phenomena within the society clear such as the class system. Parts of the gender research are also based upon a kind of structuralism. This became common in the end of the 20th century and made it clear how social worlds constructed men and women into different positions.

while memories may be individualized (ibid., p 2). Memory processes occur within discourses that outline what people should remember from the past. These discourses are forming a framework of what we should remember and preserve. Memories are thus constructed within cultural processes. They are linked to the past through songs, languages, rituals, artefacts and ceremonies (Persson 2014, p 42).

The concepts memory practice refers to the discourse that is defining what people may remember; phenomena we should highlight and delimit as important. The way societies define frameworks of what we should remember is forming memory practices. Cultural heritage refers to processes of memory practices since it determines such issues. According to the Western tradition, material objects act as anthologies for our memories. In this context, the memory is a complex phenomenon, both as an analytical concept and to its character. It is constantly in a process of construction and production, and formed within a dialogue with the past. It is linked to languages, songs, rituals, ceremonies, things, places and body language (Persson2014, p 42). Physical artefacts support processes of memories (ibid., p 67).

Selberg (2013) describes that cultural heritage does not exist within the physical artefacts but in human relationships to these phenomena. These relationships are created by stories which are important within the folklore tradition and they produce values. Heritage research which pay attention to these stories accept that the reality is narratively constructed and put attention to the narrative construction of reality (p 97-99).

2.4 Museum management

2.4.1 Museum and exhibitions

Heritage values are preserved, formed and conveyed within the context of museum management. Museums conserve, acquire, communicate and exhibit the tangible and intangible heritage for purposes with relevance to enjoyment, education and study (Desvallées & Mairesse 2009, p 29). Timothy & Boyd (2003, p 23-24) differentiate between eight different kinds of museums: Art Gallery, Sports Museum, Music Museum, War Museum, Industrial Museum, Stamp/Coin/Postcard Museum, Science Museum, and Local History Museum.

Museum architecture refers to the art of designing the space being used for exhibitions. It is the art of designing and building a space that will be used for museum functions (Desvallées & Mairesse 2009, p 23). Current and future challenges for heritage management refer to the sustaining of the original purpose of the sites, and authenticity while making the phenomena relevant and meaningful for today's visitors (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 915).

Exhibitions are arenas where phenomena which are of importance to human beings are displayed (ibid., p 34-35). They often involve collections, i.e. sets of tangible and intangible objects that have been selected, classified, preserved, and assembled. It may be defined as

sets of material or intangible objects (works, mentefacts, artefacts, archive documents, specimens, testimonies etc.) which an individual or an establishment has classified, selected, assembled and preserved in a protected setting. The collection is usually displayed for a larger or smaller audience, according to whether the collection is private or public (Desvallées & Mairesse 2009, p 28).

Theory makes a distinction between object-oriented and concept-oriented exhibitions. The object-oriented exhibitions have the collection of phenomena in focus. The educational function is limited, and the approach focus upon both the aesthetic dimension and classifying of artefacts. The concept-oriented approach focuses upon the transmission of information and messages. The purpose here is to convey political and ideological messages (Dean 2002, p 1-7). It is primarily within the framework of the latter types of exhibitions that issues regarding power and messages should be problematized.

The work with exhibitions is often a process where power is embedded. Someone has then the power to select perspectives, dimensions and phenomena which are of importance for the human being of today and in the future. There are also aspects of hiding some phenomena, while others are highlighted. These processes of selecting, hiding, and highlighting are all about power, which affect how the public will understand heritage issues and the past.

DHS management is a structured activity which supports "a holistic, meaningful experience for visitors within the context of complex and diverse servicescapes." (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). Silvén & Björklund (2006) problematize the meaning of the difficult cultural heritage and highlight that it is not objective, but contextual. They also emphasize that the shameful and taboo phenomena vary between social contexts. Furthermore, the ideals of some groups may have another light for other citizens. It is therefore impossible to make an objective classification of the traumatic artefacts and dimensions. The phenomena must be discussed in relation to the context. The meanings vary between individuals, spaces, periods, generation, gender and cultural background. The viewer's ideological position may also be of importance within this context. The difficult heritage is a construction and it may have another light within a broader historical view (p 9-10).

Thorell (2017) examined how museum experts in Västra Götaland defined, valued and exhibited the dark heritage. The survey was sent to 100 employees within the museum administration and management within the region (p 3). The majority of the respondents associated the dark cultural heritage with (1) conflict and war (2) diseases/epidemics and (3) suffering/starvation/difficult life. It was not that distinct that burial grounds, cemeteries, tombstones and disasters are associated with the dark cultural heritage according to the respondents. Other dimensions which were highlighted are human rights crimes, exclusion and occultism/satanism/witchburning and oppression/marginalization. It was also associated with terrorism, gang crimes, poverty, disasters and personal tragedies (p 3).

According to employers within museum management in Västra Götaland, the dark cultural heritage is associated with symbolic, historical and scientific values. It could also be associated with emotional, reaction and cultural values. However, whether the dark cultural heritage is associated with magic values appeared to be more doubtful. According to the respondents, the dark cultural heritage is important since it contributes to a nuanced and holistic knowledge of history. It promotes an understanding of society in the present and contemporary perspective. Some respondents also stressed that it is important since it helps us to remember the unpleasant, traumatic and terrible (Thorell 2017, p 3).

The cultural heritage exhibitions are based on reports and scientific literature. Other sources which the work is based on are: interviews, oral speeches, personal statements and inventories of places. Encyclopedias, Internet, archaeological data and ATA (Antiquarian Topographic Archives) are also important (Thorell 2017, p 3). The communication takes place through exhibitions, stories, films, reports, lectures as well as writings. Most of the respondents thought that the past was exhibited in an objective and neutral way (Thorell 2017, p 3).

2.4.2 Museums practice in the postmodern world

The idea of a museum as a general institution was raised in England in the beginning of the 18th century (Abt 2016, p. 123). The "public museum" is probably one of the most common and least questioned expressions within the contemporary museological discourse (Abt 2016, p 115). The idea refers to social ideologies that puts emphasis on public access to values (Abt 2016, p 115-134). Important tasks refer to preservation, collecting, education, research and exhibiting (Dean 2002, p 1-8, Macdonald 2006, p 81- 95). Museums are thus educational institutions where information, classification and sorting are important missions (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, p 9).

In the postmodern era, the grand narratives fell, and most conceptions of the world became relativistic, contextual and subjective. Museum experts had to manage complexity, diversity and several different perspectives concerning preservation values. This complexity and an increased degree of professionalization were two of the mechanisms that affected the museums. Another development trend refers to more demanding documentation processes. Strategies which handle the contextual processes of globalization and technologization were needed. An increased amount of information and changes in cultural policy had to be managed as well (Barker & Smith 2006, p 93-95). In addition to this, the commercial press increased (Higgins 2005, p 216).

2.4.3 Writing stories

Museum management makes use of narratives of the past which are expressed to the public. These may focus on places as well as people, phenomena, norms and values. Postmodern research, which is based on social constructivist theory and discourse analysis, is focused on how power is constructed and worldviews. Important questions to analyze in this context

refer to how stories of the past are constructed and described, and whether any area of history is hidden. It is also essential to analyze whether new dimensions have been added. These questions are concerned with authenticity and whether knowledge institutions make an objective description of the reality (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008, p 509). It is demanding to depict a complete and true story of the past. Therefore, is it important to take the following questions into consideration: Which phenomena are so shameful that we do not want to write about them? Which parts of the past are often hidden? Further issues to deal with relate to practical subject matters since all museums and sights need visitors. It is problematic that authenticity and economic sustainability are not always compatible (ibid., p 509).

Literature about dark cultural heritage raises questions about power and how exhibitions are constructed within social and cultural processes. Museum experts are holding some power regarding the dimensions which are relevant to remember. They are, however, not fully able to decide how phenomena should be described. Museum managers should namely often strive for the true story and avoid constructions that discriminate, exclude or marginalize individuals or groups of people (Eivergård 2005, p 27-28).

Various political and ideological perspectives are expressed in heritage attractions and sites. Different times and cultural contexts are associated with specific ideological perspectives. Timothy & Boyd (2003) differentiate between the nationalistic, romantic chivalry, local separatist/patriotic, socialist, technological/aesthetic, peace and international understanding approaches (see below).

Nationalistic approach:
This approach is common when heritage supports an idea of the state. It is then possible to see an ideological use with connection to nationalism. This is one of the most widespread state forming philosophies. It is a dimension of war heritage which exhibits how a state fought against an enemy to preserve the basic values of the nation or folk traditions. Many countries around the world have gone through wars which represent nationalism. This approach is visible when successful armed conflicts (from one nation`s perspective) are described (Ashworth 1991, p 179). In sum, the nationalistic approach supports ideals which belong to nationalism (Timothy & Boyd 2003, p 27). In Great Britain it is associated with ideas which describe how the government won power or new land. Conservative values are often highlighted, while dimensions which do not belong to the ideas of the state are forgotten (Ashworth 1991, p 179-180)

Romantic chivalry approach:
This is one of the most common approaches within military architecture. Attention is paid to knights, and war is regarded as a sport. Visitors take active part in activities with a medieval character as the time period is romanticized (Ashworth 1991, p 180-181). In sum, this approach is common within medieval military attractions and portrays war heritage as a sport and/or a responsibility (Thimothy& Boyd 2003, p 27).

<u>Cultural separatist/local patriotic approach</u>:

This is a local adaption of the national approach. Dark heritage is used to support a specific identity. Exhibitions often portray efforts on a local level where people mobilized against the government (Ashworth 1991, p 181). In sum, this approach focuses on heritage as a unique form of a local perspective and actions that supported the region. It is a rather common approach to military heritage preservation (Thimothy & Boyd 2003, p 27).

<u>Socialistic approach</u>:

This is a contrast to the museums which exhibit famous characters, the status of the nobility class, and conservative values. It is rather common in local or regional museums which are led by authorities or organizations of the left wing. Castles and other building projects are shown in light of the working class. The focus would then be on the people who built, or lived in the shadow of the buildings (Ashworth 1991, p 181-182). In sum, this approach underplays the status of the nobility class and supports social equality (Thimothy & Boyd 2003, p 27).

<u>Technological/aesthetic approach</u>:

This is a value-neutral approach which, while focusing on objects, they are not the aim of the exhibit. The architecture of the defense and war heritage is in focus. Attention is furthermore given to how these phenomena are signs of technological development. Special interest is paid to technical solutions on advanced scientific problems. Phenomena are included with no clear values attached, but with rich descriptions of their technical design. Likewise, conflicts are expressed with a neutral terminology where the effects they may have on human beings are neglected. Wars are reduced to a game with special rules and strategies. Conflicts are regarded as a professional activity based on scientific principles. The outcomes are determined by professional skills (Ashworth 1991, p 182-183). In sum, this is a value-neutral approach where phenomena are placed far away from their purposes (Thimothy & Boyd 2003, p 28).

<u>Peace and international understanding approach</u>:

Heritage is utilized for peace and international understanding purposes. A basic assumption is that mistakes of the past may be avoided in the future as humans gain deeper insights of dark heritage. It is, however, not clear whether the exhibitions support peace or new conflicts. To discuss war is namely not a guarantee for peace in the future (Ashworth 1991, p 182). In sum, this approach involves exhibitions that support international understandings and peace in a long-term perspective (Thimothy & Boyd 2003, p 28).

Research concerning representations of the past also integrate a gender perspective. Women's history focuses on the preconditions and roles women have experienced through the centuries. The purpose of this research is to place women within the history

descriptions[17]. Gender history is based on the concept gender which accepts social constructions. Researchers have noticed that some research did not pay respect to women, e.g. statements about the human freedom during the Renaissance only integrated the male situation[18]. Researchers have also highlighted that men and women have become represented in different ways within wars. Women are often represented as peaceful despite having participated in conflicts in the past (Sjöberg 2005, p 69-73).

Writing history is not the only social construction which occurs within museum management. It also takes place within processes of classification and definition of artefacts. Löwenborg (2010) problematizes the meanings of graves and burials. He states that these phenomena are "far from straightforward to define and use as analytical entities" (p 9). It is a common mistake to apply "a modern westernized concept of what a grave is (p 9). Researchers have discussed whether a grave is a grave also when no human remains are found there. They also highlight how important it is to reflect upon our definitions of graves and to acknowledge the complexity of phenomena which exist within a cultural context.

2.5 Building experiences and values

Values are social constructions of qualities, and may be "seen to be a relative attribute, constituted through different relationships and over time, ultimately dependent on a process of comparison with other things" (McClelland 2013, p 591). Heritage sites are associated with neutral, positive or negative values. Sites with neutral values are, for example, scientific exhibitions which describe facts from an objective point of view. Sites with positive heritage refer to museums which illustrate technological advances, aesthetically appealing landscapes, and vibrant ceremonies. Heritage sites with negative values refer to past wars, conflicts and deaths (Timothy & Boyd 2003).

Examples of values that can be associated with dark heritage are: magical values (associated with dreams, fantasies, magic and mystery); emotional values (associated with sensations or emotions); symbolic qualities (associated with meanings related to, among other things, power, politics, and culture); sensory experienced values (associated with tactile, visual and sound impressions); and historical qualities (associated with the past). It may furthermore be connected to character values (impressions that are associated to identity) and reaction values (associated with reactions in the form of astonishment, attraction and euphoria) (Brady 2003).

DHS (Dark Heritage Sites) are places which are embedded with personal experiences, emotions, and feelings. They are all places where emotional and cognitive processes are evoked as a result of an interaction between the visitor and the site (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899). There are several studies which describe different kinds of dark heritage sites around

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[17]https://www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/kvinnohistoria (180626)
[18]https://www-ne-se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/genushistoria (180626)

the world (see for example Broderick 2010; Butler & Suntikul 2013; Cooper 2007; Sather-Wagstaff 2011, Smith 1998; Thorell 2015d; Welch 2015).

Previous research points out that visitors of dark heritage sites are searching experiences, histories, attractions, education, and connection to the heritage (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). Examples of experiences that visitors to dark heritage attractions are searching for are:

1. seeking an authentic experience
2. educational motives
3. desire for emotional involvement
4. identity formation and construction
5. maintain an identity (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900; Timothy & Boyd 2003).

Magee & Gilmore (2015) adopt an in-depth case-based method to investigate experiences and engagement of visitors from dark heritage sites. The results show that many visitors expressed the meanings of the sites in terms of loss, human sacrifice and tragedy. They also emphasized the importance of empathy, respect, and humility when visiting dark heritage sites. These dimensions are also embedded within the social symbolic meanings of the sites (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 915). Biran et al. (2011) focus on the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp in their study about the relationship between its symbolic meanings and the tourist experience. The results indicate that Auschwitz provides a heritage experience rather than dark tourism (p 820).

Drakos (2005) highlights that the transformation of human suffering into a commodity is associated with ethical dilemmas. Relevant issues in this context refer to whether we are allowed to experience other people`s suffering (p 47). Lennestig (2005) emphasizes that it is challenging to exhibit dark phenomena since they may provoke negative reactions (p 92).

Chapter Three

Method

3.1 Introduction

This is a descriptive case study which has been inspired by discourse analysis and content analysis. Science is not stable, but a phenomenon which is moving from one paradigm to another over time. Each paradigm involves a collection of approaches, methods, and theories which are acceptable and useable. It furthermore involves a guideline to research problems. The world is within a postmodern paradigm which puts emphasis on social constructivism, discourses, relativism and subjectivism. The meaning of science differs, however, between disciplines, where the humanities are often based on hermeneutics, phenomenology, and social constructivism. It favors qualitative approaches which result in deeper insights about the human being as well as his or her world, culture, and belief systems. It focuses on art, literature, history, culture, and religion (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p 20-35, 91-104; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 1).

The researcher`s task involves not only increasing knowledge about reality, it furthermore includes receiving knowledge of why we perceive it in a specific way and the construction of reality. It is also important to be aware of how power influences one's sense of reality. A common concept, in this context, is a discourse which refers to an understanding of reality and the system of meanings which are formed in socio-historical processes (Howarth 2007; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002). Discourse analysis is a theoretical and methodological framework which includes different theoretical and philosophical perspectives (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002 p 4). Language is patterned into discourses. Several discourses coexist within a specific society and these are maintained within social and cultural practices (ibid., p 12).

This study is based on qualitative methods since deeper insights, meanings, and values were in focus. This chapter describes the methods, techniques for data collection, and systems for the analysis.

3.2 Theory of science

This study is based on different kinds of understanding of knowledge. The basic assumption is that it is possible for the researcher to describe the external world when he/she makes use

of scientific methods. In addition, the research pays attention to a more subjective world in our mind. At the same time, it is possible to place the study within the social constructivism field of research, since the documentary work focuses on underlying assumptions, ideas, and values within the context of heritage preservation.

The main theory within the study is social constructivism; however, the study involves further dimensions with relevance to other theories of science and knowledge. Figure 3:1 explains the significance of the three theories which have inspired the research process.
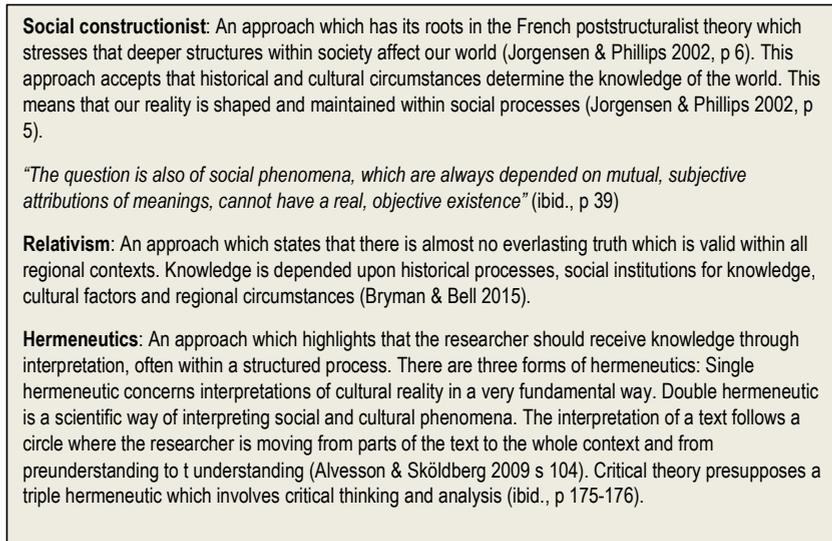
Social constructionist: An approach which has its roots in the French poststructuralist theory which stresses that deeper structures within society affect our world (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 6). This approach accepts that historical and cultural circumstances determine the knowledge of the world. This means that our reality is shaped and maintained within social processes (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 5).

"The question is also of social phenomena, which are always depended on mutual, subjective attributions of meanings, cannot have a real, objective existence" (ibid., p 39)

Relativism: An approach which states that there is almost no everlasting truth which is valid within all regional contexts. Knowledge is depended upon historical processes, social institutions for knowledge, cultural factors and regional circumstances (Bryman & Bell 2015).

Hermeneutics: An approach which highlights that the researcher should receive knowledge through interpretation, often within a structured process. There are three forms of hermeneutics: Single hermeneutic concerns interpretations of cultural reality in a very fundamental way. Double hermeneutic is a scientific way of interpreting social and cultural phenomena. The interpretation of a text follows a circle where the researcher is moving from parts of the text to the whole context and from preunderstanding to t understanding (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009 s 104). Critical theory presupposes a triple hermeneutic which involves critical thinking and analysis (ibid., p 175-176).

Figure 3:1: Four theories of knowledge which guide the research.

This study is based on social constructivism since it admits history as a worldview which has been constructed within social and cultural processes. It accepts that humans construct history within institutions where power works as an influential factor. We select important parts and interpret phenomena from a specific cultural perspective. Hermeneutics had some relevance when data were interpreted since the researcher moved from details to broader contexts. Relativism was relevant for this study since it is accepted that it is difficult to reach an objective, neutral and everlasting true description of the world. The study is written within a cultural context of how knowledge should be produced, and the results are bounded to a historical context[19].

3.3 Research design
The qualitative method involved documentary work at museums. Alvesson & Sköldberg (2009) emphasize that qualitative research begins from the perspective of the subjects who

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[19] It could be discussed whether positivism also influenced the empirical observation of museums. Some parts of the data describe the museum content and these facts are based on a structed method.

are involved with the research. It often contains specific meanings which people give the external world (p 7). A qualitative method is sometimes regarded as too subjective and complicated to replicate. It is furthermore associated with processes which lack in transparency, and results which are difficult to generalize. This approach works well, however, in this context, since I was researching unique and deep knowledge of values within the case study areas (Bryman & Bell 2015).

3.4 Selection

This research made use of a non-probability sample (see Bryman & Bell 2015) where case study areas, museums, and times were selected. The research focused on Västra Götaland since it is a region with a deep and interesting history. The region has belonged to Sweden for a long time, and may furthermore represent the dark heritage of Sweden. In focus were the Museum of Gothenburg, Västergötland Museum, and Lödöse Museum. These museums represent different kinds of museums in the region; from smaller to larger museums, and with different kinds of characteristics. Local-historical museums were highlighted since previous research in this context has been limited. Most research tends to focus on exhibitions that pay attention to trauma and how dark phenomena are embedded in exhibitions with broader focus, is modest.

Heritage exhibitions and phenomena from the Stone Age to the racial biology era have been in focus. This means that the study involves data from 10,000 BC to 1945 AD.

3.5 The documentary work

Documentary work is a reflexive process in which we confront the "moral underpinnings of social inquiry" (Coles, 1997, p 6). Documentary work shows interest towards the real, i.e. what exists, rather than the personal. The objective is here to give a realistic picture of reality. Coles (1997) has worked with texts and images, and describes how films and photographs may be used to represent social realities. The processes are created by the interaction between fact and fiction, the objective and subjective, image and text, and science and art. There is a fine line between reality and perception.

The empirical research began with an overview of websites for museums and exhibitions relevant to the dark heritage of Västra Götaland. Subsequently, there were field trips where documentary work was carried out. I visited museums and other kinds of exhibitions. I walked around reading the texts about dark heritage carefully. I also (1) took notes, (2) documented texts and pictures with a camera, and (3) watched videos and other kinds of multimedia at the museums and exhibitions.

I visited each museum for approximately one to three hours. I complemented the data with reports and books that provided deeper insights into phenomena. The material was thus

altogether: (1) written texts, (2) photos from exhibitions and (3) other kinds of illustrations.

3.6 Data analysis

3.6.1 Introduction
This is an explorative study, with some descriptive characteristics, based on social constructivist theory. This section describes how the data was analyzed. The qualitative analysis is inspired by discourse analysis, and detailed descriptions of how a complex amount of data may be structured and interpreted.

3.6.2 Discourse analysis
A qualitative analysis of data with some input from discourse theory has been carried out. The concept discourse exists within the field of social constructivist research which is like an umbrella for a range of theories of culture and society, often from recent times. This research field is based upon four principles: (1) Our knowledge of the world should not be regarded as an objective truth; (2) how we understand the world is determined by historical and cultural circumstances; (3) our way of understanding the world is created and maintained by social processes; and (4) different social understandings of the world result in different social actions (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 4-6).

Discourse refers to the meanings and understandings of worldviews, which are formed within socio-historical processes (Howarth 2007; Jorgensen & Phillips 2002). Discourse theory provides a framework of how history is being constructed and maintained (Howarth 2007). Discourses are transformed and maintained within formal practices and everyday lives (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 12). CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) includes analyses of texts which uncover underlying discourses and ideologies (Machin & Mayr 2012, p 47). Discourse theory is of vital interest for this study since it provides the researcher with a theoretical background for understanding how power and current knowledge regimes affect one's appreciation of the past.

Alvesson & Sköldberg (2009) describe discourse analysis as the study of language. It presents a detailed understanding of oral communication and texts within a social setting (p 229). The analysis begins from the viewpoint that language has a variety of consequences and functions. It starts from the basic assumption that language is both constructive and constructed. Another important starting point refers to the subjective dimension of representations of the world; the same phenomenon may thus be understood in different ways (ibid. p 232-233).

Discourse analysis is not only a method for data analysis. Is it also a theoretical and methodological context. It may be regarded as a package which includes different theoretical and philosophical perspectives. It provides an understanding of the meaning of language and construction of the social reality. It may also be regarded as a methodological guide. The

discourse analysis is based upon the following assumptions: 1. Language is not a reflection of a "pre-existing reality". 2. The language is structured and patterned into a discourse. 3. There are different discourses within the society which involve different outlines and basic assumptions. 4. Discourses are maintained and transformed within the everyday and more formal practice (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 4-12).

Theories of discourse analysis accept that no discourse is fully comprehensive. It is always in conflict with other discourses which are defining the reality in different ways. In addition, they have different sets of social patterns and actions. It may be problematic that the analyst often is within the discourse he/she is analyzing and in several parallel discourses. (ibid., p 47-48).

Discourse theory provides an understanding of how the truth is being constructed and maintained. According to the discourse theory, discourse analysis examines how social practices are constructing the understanding of reality. The discourse is linked to critical research and the structuralism which K. Marx formulated (Howarth 2007, Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 3).

Central to Michel Foucault´s approach to discourse analysis is that knowledge is not just a reflection of the reality; it is also a construction of various knowledge regimes (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 12- 13). Foucault highlights the structure of various knowledge regimes, norms, power and the difference between true and false information/facts. His theories contribute to a deeper understanding of power and how it forms our worldviews. A basic principle of this approach is that power exists as a dynamic phenomenon within different social practices. Power is moreover understood as productive since it forms discourses, knowledge, and realities (ibid., p 13). There is an ever-going fight between various discourses, knowledge regimes, and understandings of the world (ibid., p 2).

This study employed an in-depth analysis. I was searching for how phenomena were reflections of discourses and underlying mechanisms, meanings, motivations and truths.

3.6.3 Analysis of qualitative data
Content analysis is a flexible method which may be used in different kinds of contexts (Bryman & Bell 2015). The qualitative data collection within this study involved analyses of texts, photographs, artefacts, movies and sounds within the museums. It also contained analyses of the notes and photos I took as the documentary work proceeded.

Fangen (2005) describes three degrees of qualitative data analysis:
First degree: Observe and document what participants express with words that belong to practical knowledge.
Second degree: Analyze data from different perspectives and document insights with

scientific concepts.

Third degree: Search for underlying mechanisms, meanings, motivations and truths. Structuralism and post structuralism involve interpretation of the third degree since they focus on deeper phenomena, such as class and gender. Post-structuralism views discourses and language as structures which affect one's sense of reality.

This study is based on the second and third degree of qualitative data analysis; this means that data has been analyzed in the light of theories of dark heritage, social constructions, and discourses.

The more detailed analysis of data started with a phase where the researcher became familiar with the data and formed an overall impression. This was achieved when the researcher read the texts as interesting themes were highlighted. Thereafter, codes were categories and concepts were identified. The researcher then structured the material and identified deeper meanings and contents. Finally, data were summarized and transformed to descriptions which are communicated within the report (Johannesson & Tufte 2002).

3.7 Validity and reliability

Reliability "refers to the consistency of a measure of a concept" (p 169) while validity refers to whether a given indicator measures the phenomenon it should measure (Bryman & Bell 2015, p 170). Alvesson & Sklödberg (2009) emphasize that although social constructivism approach generates interesting research it also creates some dilemmas. The focus on social constructions means that we do not see the real world (only the ideas of it). To accept social constructions does not mean that everything is constructed. This kind of research gives the preconditions to criticize, change, and destroy existing social structures and understandings (p 35-39). It is furthermore worth noting that discourse theory makes fixed values impossible. If all our worldviews depend upon social constructions of reality, there is no regularity at all within this world (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p 6).

Table 3:1 shows problems and solutions with different kinds of methods. It is noted that discourse analysis is problematic since it relates to a complex field. In addition to this, it is difficult to surpass all cultural norms, values, and assumptions. Documentary work is demanding, since it is about employing power.

Table 3:1: Problems and solutions to different kinds of methods.

Method	Problems (cursive) and solutions (plain text)
Discourse analysis	*It is difficult to see the values which are accepted by the researcher as one only accepts criticism against some kinds of norms, values and knowledge system (it is, for example, difficult to question values such as sustainable environment values).* The researcher discusses his/her own cultural context and how this affects the results. *It is associated with a broad and, therefore, complex theoretical field.* The researcher formulates a theoretical framework where he/she shows their unique approach in a clear way.
Documentary work	*There is a power imbalance between the researcher and participants.* The researcher communicates well. *The researcher has the power to choose issues, material and dimensions.* The researcher formulates criteria for the selection of material.

Qualitative data should be evaluated in a different way to quantitative data, where it is subsequently important to use different kinds of criteria for good research practices. The following should be of focus in qualitative research:

1. the interpretations being true
2. the interpretations being highly qualitative
3. the results being supported by theories.

Methodological problems were handled through a comprehensive documentation of data and method triangulation, i.e. different kinds of methods for qualitative data analysis were used. Method triangulation is associated with two kinds of advantages. 1: It gives rise to deeper data since the same phenomenon is viewed from different perspectives. 2. The data becomes more reliable when it is possible to control whether several different methods produce similar results. Moreover, methodological errors of which one technique is associated then become less dominant. Applying a qualitative method is of value when you need deeper insights, meanings, and values (Thorell 2015a).

Method should always be selected on the basis of principles of the research. *"Both quantitative and qualitative techniques have their place in social analysis. There is no reason to give primacy to one over the other. Different methods are required to tackle different problems, and a combination of techniques will frequently yield greater insight than either one used in isolation. The need is rather for mutual professional respect."* (White 2002, p 519). This study is based on data that have been interpreted in a qualitative way. Qualitative techniques are suitable in this study since the purpose is to give a deeper understanding of museum practices on the basis of cases.

3.8 Research ethics

Research ethics is concerned with the importance of avoiding research which engenders negative consequences for the human being, environment and animals (Brytting 2005; Kronlid 1995). It is also associated with three principles: the respect for the individual, minimizing risks, and supporting justice[20].

Research ethics is a complex area since it revolves around right and wrong dimensions. How one should act differs between value systems, doctrines and theories (Brytting 2005; Kronlid 2005). Coles (1997) describes the moral dimensions of fieldwork. An ethical dilemma concerns the power to represent and reproduce reality and other people. To represent the surroundings with texts and images equals power. It is always motivated to weigh the positive and negative effects of research. Research about how heritage is communicated within museum management is motivated since it creates preconditions for a critical discussion about how the practices affect opinions, values and worldviews among citizens.

Ethical dilemmas within documentary works may be overcome through communication. The scientist /filmmaker/author needs to know preferences, limitations, and difficulties among the participants. There is also a need to understand the experience of being a participant within the kind of research being undertaken (free interpret. Coles 1997; Thorell 2015b). This study is not focusing on secrecy dimensions in the same way as Coles psychiatry research did but an analysis of whether representations could be abused or hurt people is always motivated.

The Council of Ethics has formulated four overall ethical strategies and rules within humanities and social science:

- Information (to inform respondents about the purpose of the study)
- Consent (the respondents take decisions with relevance to their participation in research).
- Anonymity (it should not be possible to link specific statements or results to one or two single persons).
- Usage (data should only be used within research) (Patel & Davidson 2011, p 63)

This research does not contain data from interviews or questionnaires from single respondents. The information, consent and anonymity criteria are therefore not that relevant in this study which focuses on museums managed by public organizations. These institutions are open to the public and to conduct research about museums is important for the development of knowledge. Research may also be vital for a critical discussion and analysis of whether public organization make use of power within museum management. The usage criterion is applied in this study since the data is only used within the research.

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[20]http://www.ccs.neu.edu/course/is4800sp12/resources/qualmethods.pdf (160115) p 9

Chapter Four

Empirical Data

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data from the documentary work undertaken at three museums in Västra Götaland. Attachment 2 and 3 explain important societal changes from the Stone Age to more modern times within the case study area of Västra Götaland. The landscape has been transformed by humans and agricultural practices have become more advanced through the centuries. Important political and economic changes refer to democracy, equality, governmental control, economic growth, and technological transformation processes. Religious changes of significance, within this context, refer to the reformation processes during the 16th century, when the Catholic Church in Sweden almost disappeared and was replaced by the Protestant Church (Larsson & Marklund 2015; SNA 2003).

4.2 Västergötland Museum [21]

4.2.1 About the museum

The municipality of Skara, Region Västra Götaland and Västegötland memorial organization (Swe: fornminnesförening) are responsible for the museum[22]. The museum arranges exhibitions and activities with relevance to the past, e.g. courses and walking tours in cultural landscapes. The museum is also responsible for collections and employers undertake archaeological projects and preservation. Guided tours for schools are arranged as well[23]. The ambition of Västergötland Museum is to bring life to heritage and preserve nature:

"I..I Our mission is to preserve, nurture and bring to life our heritage for present and future generations..[24]"

Västergötland museum is in the town of Skara, which was established in the Middle Ages. By this time, Skara enjoyed economic, cultural and religious importance. In the 12th century, the town of Skara included three churches, and was, by then, an impressive episcopal center. The establishment of towns resulted in the centralization of power and a kind of cultural

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[21]Sections with no reference is based on the documentary work at Västergötlands Museum.
[22]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/om-oss/ (180626)
[23]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/ (180626)
[24]http://www.vastsverige.com/en/skara/b/50773/Vastergotland-Museum (161104)

development[25] .

> "Skara is a cosy small town, full of life and optimism and with a millennial history. We offer you a lovely mixture of history, culture, entertainment and nature. In the heart of Skara lies our magnificent cathedral, and from there you can take a stroll on well-preserved medieval streets. In the surrounding area a fabulous nature offers amazing experiences.[26]"

The museum is a center for cultural heritage and involves four permanent exhibitions: The Middle Ages; Between Ice and Fire; The Bronze Shields from Fröslunda; and Agnes de Frumerie.

> "Västergötland Museum displays three permanent exhibitions - Skara in medieval times between ice and fire, and Agnes de Frumerie. […]In addition to our permanent exhibition, we have an ongoing program for the year […][27]" (Google translate)

Västergötland Museum is furthermore a place where lectures are held and courses arranged:

> "Västergötland Museum is a meeting place and an exhibition space, but we also arrange lectures, courses and other events. The museum features an extensive cultural and historical archive collections and unique objects. We conduct archaeological surveys and conduct building conservation. Near the main building lies our open-air museum, Fornbyn.[28]"

The documentary work of the study showed that the museum included frames with written texts, glass boxes with artefacts and pictures. There was an array of shields, paintings on the walls and a small cinema.

Skara in the Middle Ages:
This exhibition focused on Skara as a medieval town. The visitors gained insights into people`s living conditions and how the economy was expanding. The population grew and political power was centralized. Christianity was spread and societies went through a modernization process. When population, power, and money were concentrated to a city centre, the basic preconditions for cultural development were initiated. The aim of the exhibition was to provide visitors with insights into the way of living during this time[29].

Between Ice and Fire:
The exhibition depicted the first inhabitants of Västergötland who shaped the landscape. People formed the landscape in different ways during prehistoric times. They found a lot of fish in the sea and in the lake Hornborgarsjön. As time flew by, they began agricultural practices. Farmers grew corn and kept grazing animals in the fields. As humans developed new methods for practical building and farming, the landscape transformation processes became more controlled. Man/woman gained power over nature and how the landscape was transforming over time. New living conditions were created when humans found metals. The aim of the exhibition was to describe how human life has evolved within the region. One of the goals was to emotionally involve children, give adults new insights, and support new

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[25]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/utstallningar/skara-i-medeltid/;http://www.popularhistoria.se/artiklar/de-forsta-staderna/; www.ne .se (Skara) (1605)
[26]http://www.vastsverige.com/en/skara/ (161104)
[27]http://www.vastsverige.com/en/skara/b/50773/Vastergotland-Museum (161104)
[28]http://www.vastsverige.com/en/b/50773/Vastergotlands-museum/   160504
[29]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/utstallningar/skara-i-medeltid/ 160324

reflections. Another goal was to show fantastic artefacts from prehistoric times and to create interpretations in collaboration with the visitor[30].

The Bronze Shields from Frösunda:
In 1985, a farmer in Kållandfound parts of 18 shields on the land. People had sacrificed these in the lake of Vänern about 3,000 years ago. Archaeologists from Västergötlands Museum participated in the work of the preservation of the shields. Never before, has anyone found that many shields from the Bronze Age in one place. Only a few have probably been used in conflicts and wars. Most of the shields have been used as decorations or for exhibits in larger homes. They may also have been used in front of the sun and rituals focusing on light. The shields were made of metal that had been imported from other countries. They were often very thin and fragile. People sacrificed the shields as hope for better times. They wanted to move away from crises, bad harvests and epidemics. People had wishes which they wanted to be fulfilled[31].

4.2.2 Three dimensions of dark heritage[32]

The exhibition with relevance to dark heritage focused on three dimensions: (1) Archaeological findings and tools which were used in conflicts and war. (2) Descriptions of dead people and funerals. (3) Signs of hard lives and trauma.

Archaeological findings and tools which were used in conflicts and war:
The first findings of bronze were dated 4,500 years ago. During the Bronze Age jewelries were made of bronze. These were signs of power and status. People were buried with their jewelries and equipment which were used in wars, such as helmets and shields. It was furthermore common to sacrifice jewelries and shields within rituals. The sacrificing of shields was a sign of crises and the need of help from above. The museum included a special exhibition which focused on the bronze shields from Frösunda. Archaeologists explain that they were often placed under water during the Bronze Age.

2,000 years ago, knives and axes of iron were shaped by human beings. The exhibition further explained that weapons of iron have been found from this time period. Some of these findings were used in conflicts and wars. They are signs of actions undertaken by humans during this period.

Descriptions of dead people and funerals
One part of the exhibition focused on funerals. Questions which the exhibition focused on were: When did people start to make use of structured rituals for funerals? Where did these processes take place? Did people grieve much then? Were all people buried in the same way?

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[30]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/utstallningar/mellan-is-och-eld/ 160324
[31]http://vastergotlandsmuseum.se/utstallningar/bronsskoldarna-fran-froslunda-en-arkeologisk-sensation/ 160504
[32]Sections with no references are based on the documentary work at Västergötland museum.

The exhibition explained that it was common to be buried without cementation in the Romanian Iron Age (4,000 years ago). It was not until the Bronze Age (4, 5000 years ago) that the cremating of the dead became a common occurrence. There was a description about how a woman (50 years old) belonging to the nobility class was buried with her jewelries and clothes. The exhibition about the Middle Ages included a description of how the Vikings were buried.

Signs of hard lives and traumas:
The exhibition explained how damage on bones and skeletons are signs of a hard life. As one example there was a skeleton of a man found by archaeologists in Eggby. It was possible to see that he had been killed by a sword since a notch was found on the dome of the skull. Skeletons thus provide signs of how humans have lived. Worn-out bones and damaged teeth indicate that the living conditions were tough. It is furthermore possible to observe differences between social classes through observations of skeletons and bones; people from the upper social hierarchies display, in general, not many signs of difficult living conditions. Most people during this period of time did not live more that 30 to 40 years, and in the exhibition it is noted that a lot of young children died in the Middle Ages.

4.3 Museum of Gothenburg

4.3.1 A museum with four exhibitions
The Museum of Gothenburg exhibits a city with a rather new but compelling history. At the end of the 15th century, Nya Lödöse was established and became an important centre for trade. The city was located within the area which nowadays is named Gamlestaden. In 1607, King Charles IX (the king on the stallion of the "Kopparmärra" statue in the middle of Kungsportsplatsen) expressed plans to establish a pre-city of Gothenburg. This was, at the time, a very small town on the island of Hisingen, which was destroyed in 1611 by Danish soldiers who burned it to the ground. In the administrative square (Gustav Adolf Square) in the city, it is possible to view a statue which illustrates how King Gustav II Adolf, on a stallion, points out where the city should be located. In 1621, he decided to establish the city here since it was important to gain control over this area. This is where the river of Göta älv meets the sea, and when the area was under Danish ownership tolls could be expensive etc.[33]. The forthcoming decades were times of economic growth and development (see attachment 4).

The Museum of Gothenburg connects the history of the city with the present and future. Visitors learn about the history of Gothenburg and how the city has developed. The museum includes one of the largest cultural history collections in Sweden. The municipality of

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[33]http://www.goteborg.com/en/gothenburgs-history/ (1604)

Gothenburg is responsible for the museum. Two annexes belong to the museum: an apartment in Haga and Lilla Änggården[34].

The permanent exhibitions focus on Gothenburg and the history of Western Sweden, which spans 12,000 years. The museum includes eight permanent exhibitions: (1) Prehistoric Time, (2) Vikings - Between Oden and Christ, (3) The Birth of Gothenburg, (4) 1700s Gothenburg, (5) 1800s: people in motion (6) Precious Pieces, (7) The city and the Capital and (8) A Miniature World [35] .

The museum also includes temporary exhibitions of current topics. A children's museum is also available there. The museum practice also contains a program with lectures, city walks, debates, children's activities and shows all the year round. Most of the activities are included in the annual ticket to the museum. The museum guides approximately 600 school classes and groups each year within the school program[36].

The museum is responsible for archives and collections. For example, from the webpage it is possible to reach on The Fact Room (SWE: faktarummet) and a library is linked to the museum. The museum takes part in political processes in Gothenburg and is linked to research regarding heritage, pedagogy and urban development[37].

The documentary work at The *Museum of Gothenburg* holds four exhibitions on the ground floor: The Viking Age, In human (about racial biology), Gothenburg in the 18th century, and Gothenburg in the 17th century. In addition, the work furthermore contains an exhibition about human lives in prehistoric times.

On the website it was possible to read about the significance of the permanent exhibitions.

"In the Museum's permanent exhibitions, you can explore the history of Gothenburg. Hear the stories about the Viking Gods and discover the rich images from the middle ages. You can see how the city has developed from a fortified town in the 17th century to the present, through the new ideas of the 18th century that changed the city.[38]"

The museum exhibition includes frames with written texts, glass boxes with artefacts and pictures. Most texts are written in both Swedish and English.

4.3.2 Exhibitions

Pre historic times
The exhibition about prehistoric times focused on the interaction between humans and the landscape:

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[34]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/om-museet (180420)
[35] http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/utstallningar (171213)
[36]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/om-museet (180420)
[37]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/om-museet (180420)
[38]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions 160324

"In about 12,000 years, there have been people in the western Swedish environment. How people lived so long ago, and what traces are left? Meet Rolsfåkers-man from the Stone Age and see objects unearthed from this period"[39].

The visitors were able to walk through different stations inside the room. Every station involved information of an era in prehistoric times. It was stated that human beings arrived to this part of the world 10,000 years ago. He/she had then only a few tools; however, agricultural practices became more advanced as time passed. The climate varied in its character. 1,500 years ago, it was common to use iron, and about 500 years later towns were under development. In the same time period, processes to write down history were initiated.

The exhibition included information about runes which sometimes entail information with relevance to dark heritage. The runes inscribed sometimes refer to the deceased which were mainly people with power and influence on the meanings which were expressed on the runes.

The dark dimensions of prehistoric times focused, however, on graves, ritual for funerals, and artefacts with inscriptions of the dead. 6,000 years ago, the graves were placed in the region, 3,000 years ago, the dead were often cremated before they were buried. 1,500 years ago, the grave fields grew larger and it was possible to see signs of luxury in the graves from this time onwards.

Table 4:1: Dimensions of dark heritage within the exhibition, which focuses on prehistoric times.

Phenomenon	Facts
Graves and rituals for funerals	6,000 years ago, graves were placed in the area. 1,5000 years ago, people were buried in different ways. Some were cremated. The dead were often buried with artefacts that displayed sings of luxury. About 1,000 years ago, most humans were burned on bonfires. Artefacts and animals were often placed next to them. It was possible to find the following in the graves: shields, knives, ceramics and pearls of glass. Iron was often placed close to the dead in the graves. Approximately 3,000 years ago, the dead were often cremated before they were buried.
Runes	The exhibition includes some information about runes which sometimes entail information with relevance to the dead. It is moreover stated that the signs focus on the unique and strange. Those with power had influence on the meanings which were expressed on the runes.
Skeleton	Rolfåkersmannen (4,500 years old) is part of the exhibition. He died 4,500 years ago. He was then only 20 years old. He was solid build, but only 154 cm tall. He had a recent cut on his leg before his time of death. He was found on a bed of oysters and with an axe next to his head.

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[39]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions/forntiden-sparen-talar 160324

The website of the museum includes information of the exhibition about the Viking Age:

"A farmer who ditched out down by the river Götaälv, suddenly stumbled upon what would later prove to be a Viking ship. See the unique Äskeskärr-ship and follow the Vikings exciting story![40]"

Table 4:2: Dimensions of dark heritage with relevance to the Viking Age within the exhibition.

Dimension	Description
Runes	Runes with symbols which give insight into the deaths. As one example, the exhibition includes a text about a rune with symbols which explain that two brothers died when they were abroad.
Artefacts	Artefacts with relevance to wars and fights: One example is a sword from the 700 AD shown in the exhibition.
War strategies	Description of war strategies: For example, the exhibition includes a description about how the Vikings attacked people. They started to attack with arrows and spears. Thereafter they walked up close to the man they met and attacked him with an axe. They defended themselves with shields. In this context, it is highlighted that the Vikings were appreciated as being very dangerous and hazardous.
Social structures	Social structures which caused harm: For example, the exhibition includes a description of social norms which excluded certain people from groups. People who acted in a way which made the family ashamed were excluded from the social context. The social sanctions seemed to be rather strict, however. It was common with feuds among relatives (Swe: släktfejder).

In-human[41]

The exhibition 'In-human' included themes with relevance to the 20th century, i.e. in recent times. It focused on how people with a mental illness were treated by authorities and inside hospitals. The exhibition emphasized how women and men were forced to go through medical surgery. It furthermore explained how institutions made a difference between people and how they were valued. In addition, there were descriptions of humans who were victims of the racial biology science, and how citizens with a mental illness were treated.

On the webpage it was possible to read about the significance of the exhibition:

"(In) human is about how people throughout the ages have felt the need to classify people into different groups. What can history teach us? And how do we classify people today? About skeleton collectors, racial biology and norms.[42]"

Within the exhibition there was a time schedule which explained how society developed into a more humane society. It described important development stages, often in the form of new laws or regulations. For example, it was noted that people with a mental illness almost received the same access to school as other children in 1944.

Attention was paid to Action T4, which occurred between 1939 and 1941. In the exhibition, it was highlighted that people with a mental illness were treated poorly within this regime.

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[40]

http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions/vikingr-between-oden-and-christ (160324)

[41]Sections with no reference is based on the documentary work.

[42]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions/inhuman (160324)

The exhibition furthermore included descriptions of the colonization process in the world, and how the Sami people were treated by authorities in Sweden. Attention was moreover paid to the Institution for Racial Biology in Uppsala in 1927.

Gothenburg in the 18th century

The 18th century was a rather positive time with cultural, political and economic development. The threats decreased, and people had the option of perusing other things than working within the military services. It was a monarchy with a parliament, which held the political power. The nobility and upper classes within society had more power than the lower classes.

The website of the museum gave information of the exhibition:

"Join us on a journey of a city in transformation! Gothenburg is full of life and movement and is characterized by new ideas, influences and experiences from abroad. Tea, silk and East Indian porcelain were shipped to Gothenburg and sold at auction in the East India House, where the City Museum is housed today. In the exhibition you will also meet the social classes in the city[43]."

The exhibition of the 18th century included information of the gates surrounding the city. These were closed at night as threats were present. The city gates were metaphors for conflicts and wars. The exhibition further explained problems with keeping the city environment clean, access to fresh water, and gain equality (see the sections below).

Gates
"Gothenburg of the 18th century was a closed town with three gates – the Queen`s Gate in The East, the King´s Gate in the South and Carl`s Gate in the West. The urban buildings were surrounded by a star shaped rampart with protruding bastions and a moat.

Gothenburg was more controlled than many other towns in the country. The guards opened the gates in the morning and locked them at sundown. Visitors passing the gates were checked by soldiers. Goods were inspected by customs officers. Visitors and goods that came via the river were checked by the Big and Small Booms. The booms were situated at the approaches to The Great Port canal and The Eastern Port canal." (Text in the exhibition 18th century at the Museum of Gothenburg)

Sanitary problems:

"Most people lived in small and cramped houses. Households usually had wooden containers dug down in the backyards, with lids on, so called waste bins. That was where the garbage and rubbish was thrown away. By examining these waste bins, one can learn a lot about everyday life.

The sanitary and hygienic circumstances were insufficient. It was important that the waste disposal worked. If the city rules were not followed it led to punishment. A lot was thrown directly into the canals. Even though the houses had waste bins and privies, these were sometimes so faulty that all sewage ran straight into the canals. Sometimes there were also illegal latrines furrows along the canals." (Text in the exhibition 18th century at the Museum of Gothenburg).

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[43]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions/1700-talets-goteborg (160324)

<u>Water problems</u>

"The lack of clean water was a big problem. Spring water was transported to the city by horse or boat and sold along the canals. It was expensive and few could afford it. Most people had to use the water from the canals and moats.

The canals in the city were used for transportation, laundry and sewers. The Port Bailiff made sure that the canals were kept clean. During the first half of the 18th century, the water was so polluted that it could hardly be used at all in the households.

In 1787, Kallebäcks Spring, which was intended to supply the city with fresh drinking – water was opened. The water was led to the city through wooden poles. It was drawn at the King`s Gate and then led to The Cathedral Square and from there on to the Main Square, in today`s Gustav Adolf`s Square. "Text in the exhibition 18th century at Museum of Gothenburg)"

There were also some sentences which describe where the first cemeteries were situated in the city; next to Kvarnberget and the main church of Gothenburg (Domkyrkan).

Gothenburg in the 19th century

The website of the museum provided insights into the dynamic city of the 19th century:

"Gothenburg was one of the most dynamic cities in the 1800s. Follow its development and residents during an exciting era! Among the century settlers, enterprising businessmen, there are several wholesalers with foreign names. The pace of trade and industry is increasing. Steam billows and factories attract rural sons and daughters to the town."[44]

Dimensions of dark heritage within the exhibition that focused on the 19th century is structured into four groups:

<u>Emigration</u>

Lack of religious freedom and the fact that men were forcefully conscripted into the military service gave rise to emigration. Other factors were over population and unemployment. The difficulties to grow corn and bad harvests were other factors. The bad harvests of the 1860s (80,000 people emigrated) and 1880s (400,000 people emigrated) were problematic and gave rise to waves of emigration. 80% of the emigrants moved from the harbor in Gothenburg.

"Parallel with the rising influx of people from the country to the towns during the later half of the 19th century another migration was taking place – the most massive of the century –that of emigration I…I. These two movements shared partly the same causes – overpopulation, unemployment and poverty in the countryside, but the emigrants also included those fleeing religious intolerance or compulsory military conscription. Emigration began in the 1840s, rose significantly in the 18602 and reached its peak in the 1880s." (Text in the exhibition 19th century at the Museum of Gothenburg).

<u>Epidemics</u>

In 1834 the first phase of the cholera disease took place in the region. Between July and September that year 2,334 people died. This disease returned several times in the 19th century, the last phase occurred in 1866. Cholera was probably caused by the sanitary problems and poor hygiene. Therefore, the city government began initiatives to increase the standard of the water system.

"In 1855 the city government decided to plan for a complete water and drainage system for all premises. The engineer Johan Gabriel Richert had his plans ready by 1867, to accord with the new city layout. Water from Kallebäck, which from 1860 also supplies the suburbs, was no longer sufficient, and in 1871 supplies began to be diverted from lakes at Delsjö. The system was extended throughout the 1870s and, thanks to a water reservoir at Landala, pressure was now sufficient even for fire hoses. "(Text in the exhibition 19th century at Gothenburg's City Museum)

[44]http://goteborgsstadsmuseum.se/en/exhibitions/1800s-people-motion (160324)

<u>Living conditions for the factory workers</u>

The texts about the industrialization processes provided some insights into living conditions inside the factories. It was stated that the alcohol consumption was problematic at times which, in turn, brought about the establishment of organizations which supported non – alcoholic alternatives. It was further noted that the working hours ran from six a clock in the morning to quarter past six at night. On Saturdays, workers finished one hour earlier, and they always had 1,5 hours break in the middle of the day.

<u>Fires</u>

The exhibition explained that Gothenburg was damaged by fires which occurred several times in the 19th century. Large parts of the building blocks in the city center were destroyed 1802, 1904 and 1813.

4.4 Lödöse Museum[45]

4.4.1 An important center in the Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, the borders between nations were different from today. The city of Lödöse was at the time established in Västra Götaland for geographical reasons:

"The reason for choosing Lödöse to be the port in West Sweden was purely geographical. North of the river Göta was not navigable for larger ships, and in Lödöse the river Ljuda flows into the river Göta. A route lead from Skara down through the valley which could transport surplus produce, including meat and butter, from central Västergötland. Lödöse was still a political gathering point though in the middle of the 15th century[46]."

Lödöse (old Lödöse) became an important religious center with three churches in the 12th century (Sankt Olof Church, Sankt Peder's Church and the Dominican monastery - Dominkankloster). A castle (Lödösehus) from the same century displays signs of not only existing religious activities, but also political and military ones. Lödöse was thus a center for political and economic power. It was a town for shipping and trade, but the dominance in this context decreased as new Lödöse was established in the 15th century[47].

"During the 12th century Lödöse grew larger and soon possessed three churches, a royal estate, a royal mint and a small-fortified dwelling or castle. The 13th century was medieval Lödöses most expansive period. Foreign trade increased, business flourished for craftsmen and the town grew. The influential Hansa merchants opened a branch of their enterprises in Lödöse and in the middle of the century a Dominican monastery was established as well as a hospital. The castle was rebuilt in brick and stone as a proper Castle including a double moat and became known as Lödösehus.[48]"

Lödöse reached its peak at the beginning of the 14th century. Trading activities were

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[45]Sections with no reference are based on the documentary work at Lödöse museum.
[46]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/en/Vastarvet---natural-and-cultural-heritage-in-West-Sweden/Subsites/Lodose-museum/Facts/Facts---visningssida/?btid=episerver_57982 (160504)
[47]http://www.ne.se.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/l%C3%B6d%C3%B6se/historia (160504)
[48]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/en/Vastarvet---natural-and-cultural-heritage-in-West-Sweden/Subsites/Lodose-museum/Facts/Facts---visningssida/?btid=episerver_59601 (160504)

expanding and there were plenty of political activities in the area at the time[49].

4.4.2 The museum

Lödöse museum is part of Västvarvet[50] which is the largest regional nature and cultural heritage administration in Sweden. It belongs to The Region Västra Götaland since this authority is responsible for activities at the museums. The goal is to make history visible and enrich our living environment for people's future and support sustainable social development. The task is to make heritage available and manage the beautiful natural and cultural heritage of the region[51].

Lödöse Museum had four permanent items and the aim of the exhibition was to provide insights into the region through archaeological findings and reflections.

"More than a hundred years of excavations have resulted in about half a million finds from Gamla Lödöse. The wealth of objects enables us to rotate the finds put on display. The stands are portable so it is easy to vary the character of the exhibition. [....]. The aim of the exhibition is to use archaeological finds to show what this long-gone town was like. Stimulating us to think about and try to understand, with the aid of the finds, how life in a town was in the Middle Ages."[52]

The explanatory texts at the exhibition are in Swedish, English, German and French.

Lödöse Museum contains three exhibitions:

Pilgrim
In the Middle Ages, Lödose was one of Sweden's largest cities and a hub for many pilgrims. The exhibition provides information of pilgrimages of all times - yesterday, today and tomorrow. It is based on the museum's archaeological collections, local history, and stories about pilgrimages[53].

Medieval Lödöse
The town has been explored by archaeologists for hundreds of years. They have found about 500,000 phenomena. The exhibition contains artefacts which tell stories of the everyday life in Lödöse in medieval times. The large number of artefacts make it possible to exhibit different kinds of phenomena. The glass boxes are moveable, and it is easy to change the character of the exhibition. A model of the town belongs to the more immoveable phenomena. The aim of the exhibition is to show real life in Lödöse during medieval times. The artefacts further aim to support processes where the visitors reflect upon the past. The texts are written in Swedish, English, German, and French[54].

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[49]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/en/Vastarvet---natural-and-cultural-heritage-in-West-Sweden/Subsites/Lodose-museum/Facts/Facts---visningssida/?btid=episerver_59601 (160504)
[50]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/vastarvet/ (180420)
[51]http://www.vastarvet.se/om-vastarvet/organisation/ (180420)
[52]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/en/Vastarvet---natural-and-cultural-heritage-in-West-Sweden/Subsites/Lodose-museum/Exhibitions/Exhibitions-visningssida/?btid=episerver_57368 (160504)

[53]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/sv/Vastarvet/Verksamheter/Lodose-museum/Utstallningar/utstallningar/?btid=episerver_73480 (161211)
[54]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/sv/Vastarvet/Verksamheter/Lodose-

In Lödose, ships have been built and repaired since the Middle Ages. The exhibition shows how this industry affected people and the countryside. It contains paintings of Fredrik af Chapman, tools and models from the ship building processes[55].

Figure 4.2: Lödöse Museum; the outdoor architecture (Photo K. Thorell).

The museum contained artefacts in glass boxes and on the floor. Just outside the museum there is an outdoor space where herbs grow and information of how they were used for medical purposes in the past. Outside the building, there was also stage for festivals and other kinds of arrangements (often with a medieval theme).

4.4.3 Dimensions of dark heritage

Dimensions of dark heritage referred to military buildings, punishment, inequality, epidemics, living conditions, crimes, artefacts, graves, and funerals (see table 4:6).

Table 4:3 Dimensions of dark heritage within Lödöse museum.

Building	Facts
Military building	Lödöse (old Lödöse) was during the Middle Ages, one of the most important towns in Sweden. In the middle of the 13th century, Lödösehus was built. The building of Lödösehus was initiated by Birger Jarl. It was made of stone and brick. It was used for administrative purposes, but it also served as a military center.
Punishment	The exhibition contains a real "stambock". This was used when people who had acted against social norms and rules had to be punished according to the social discourse at the time. People who had been cheating games were, for example, punished there.
Inequality	Women often received parts of the land as a wedding gift (morgongåva) and they owned, in general, 1/3 of the savings within the family. The torture of women was a difficult issue. It was only against the law in public spaces. Birger Jarl established a law which forbade these kinds of crimes. On the first floor there are

museum/Utstallningar/utstallningar/?btid=episerver_57368 (161211)
[55]http://www.lodosemuseum.se/sv/Vastarvet/Verksamheter/Lodose-
museum/Utstallningar/utstallningar/?btid=episerver_58056 (161211)

	descriptions of gender and burials (how women were buried).
Epidemics	The description includes information about the hospital and how nuns nursed the sick. They grew herbs which offered some healing. The exhibition further displays a text of how social norms affected the ailing, and what kinds of epidemics affected people in the region. Hygiene was a difficult issue within the villages, and the poor did not receive enough nutrients.
Living conditions	The timber man had sometimes endured tough working conditions. There were difficult living conditions for the poor. There are descriptions of how difficult it was to be poor during the middle ages. They often suffered infections and viruses when they did not have enough food.
Crimes	The text includes descriptions of the necessity of detailed regulations. For example, there were laws that stated that the goldsmith was not allowed to mix copper into jewelries and necklaces made of gold.
Artefacts	The ground floor hosts exhibitions of artefacts which were used in wars. Swords, helmets and other kinds of war equipment were on display here. There is a cupboard with objects which belong to knights and knaves. These include canons, swords, spears, and arrows. On the first floor it is possible to view axes from prehistoric times (may have been used in conflicts).
Graves and funeral	The second floor includes some phenomena with relevance to dark heritage. The exhibition shows or explains graves, ritual for funerals, artefacts which were common to place in the grave. Special attention is paid to prehistoric burial traditions, graves from the Stone Age and practices.

Lödöse Museum communicated rather rich information about epidemics in the area in the middle ages. Epidemics were then regarded as a sign of acting against God`s will. In Lödöse, S.T Jörgens hospital was established in the 13th century. The hospital is depicted in texts from 1280. Researchers have also found written documents with information of people who died of the pest, and how people with the illness of leprosy received medical help here.

In the Middle Ages many people died of epidemics, such as the Black Death. These epidemics were often caused by unsatisfactory sanitary circumstances and inappropriate animal keeping. The symptoms appeared at a rapid rate, and people did not live for a long time after the first symptoms. The epidemics often returned several times to the same area.

It was also rather common that people died of infections such as angina and pneumonia. Within archaeological research it has been possible to find out how people died. Skeleton and bones may indicate such signs.

The region includes three famous churches: The Dominican Monastery (Dominikanklostret), S.t Olof Church and S:t Peder's Church. Nuns within the monastery took sometimes care of the ill. Herbs which were used for healing grew close to the castles.

The problem with hair lice was mentioned in texts next to the glass box with combs. Handicraft in relation to comb making was common in Lödöse.

Burial traditions
The exhibition provided insights into the development of modest burial traditions and the establishment of large stone graves, such as dolmens, passages and gallery graves. In the

Bronze Age, the practice of building cairns was introduced. The most common burial tradition made then use of stone settings. In the Iron Age burial mounds were used instead. The exhibition included furthermore texts about graves (flatmarksgravar) and how the dead man or woman was buried together with their jewelries, accessories, and other kinds of personal artefacts. The exhibition contained additional information about the grave fields in a geographical context[56].

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[56] Attachment 1 includes information about graves in the landscapes.

Chapter Five

Analysis and Conclusion

The human being has for a long time ago been interested in sites associated with death, suffering, disaster and tragedy (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899).

5.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study was to increase the understanding of the concept dark heritage in the context of museum management in Västra Götaland. In order to fulfil this purpose, three research questions have been formulated: Which dimensions are highlighted? Which ideological approaches permeate the exhibitions of the dark? How is heritage classified into dark heritage? This chapter answers the research questions on the basis of theoretical perspectives and empirical data. It is mainly an analysis which produces deeper insights of the phenomena (Ekström, 2008, p 9).

The study was based on social constructivist theory which belongs to postmodernism, i.e. a concept which represents cultural ideas of the 21th century. It gives a name to a world with no single outline or structure. It is a multiple society, where different styles, discourses, and approaches coexist. This time period is associated with political changes in the world after the death of communism. It may be regarded as a broad cultural-social trend which highlights the following tendencies within society: diversity, difference, and complexity. This kind of research focuses on cultural critique (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p 181-182); however, this study is more descriptive in its character.

5.2 Which dimensions are highlighted?

The theoretical chapter describes different kinds of museums. This study focused on local history museums (Timothy & Boyd 2003, p 23-24). Thus, the study did not focus on dark heritage sites but museums of the past within the region of Västra Götaland. UNESCO differentiates between movable (paintings, coins, sculptures, and manuscripts), immovable (archaeological sites, monuments and so on) and underwater cultural heritage (underwater ruins, shipwreck and cities)[57]. The study focused on movable resources within the museums.

Tangible heritage refers to buildings, historic places, artefacts, and monuments etc., which

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[57]http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/ (160421)

are considered valuable of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the architecture, archaeology, and science or technology of a certain culture[58]. Intangible heritage refers to "living expressions and the traditions that countless groups and communities worldwide have inherited from their ancestors and transmit to their descendants, in most cases orally.[59]" The study gave examples of both tangible and intangible heritage phenomena. Examples of dark tangible heritage phenomena within the museums were artefacts with relation to war and death. Dark intangible heritage involved included description of rituals for funerals and how nuns took care of the ill.

Dark heritage refers to difficult heritage, places of pain and shame, heritage that hurts and heritage of atrocity (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900). Dark heritage sites (DHS) represent painful periods in history such as eras which are associated to genocide, wars and awful prisons (Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 899).

The empirical data shows that dark heritage was not a common concept within heritage preservation in Västra Götaland; however, the meaning was indirectly defined by the exhibitions. *Västergötland Museum* describes three dimensions of dark heritage: (1) archaeological findings and tools which are used within conflicts and war, (2) descriptions of the dead and funerals and (3) signs of hard lives and trauma. The *Museum of Gothenburg* expressed ten dimensions of dark heritage: (1) graves, runes and rituals for funerals, (2) signs of hard lives, such as skeletons, (3) artefacts with relevance to conflicts and war, (4) social structures and inequality, (5) Signs of threats such as city gates, (6) descriptions of unsanitary circumstances, (7) descriptions of factors which caused emigration, (8) descriptions of epidemics, (9) fires within the city and (10) In human treatment. Attachment 5 includes descriptions of the dimensions and the title of the exhibitions *Lödöse Museum* expressed seven dimensions of dark heritage: (1) military building, (2) punishment, (3) inequality, (4) epidemics, (5) difficult living conditions, (6), artefacts with relevance to conflicts or death, and (7) graves and funerals. In addition, there are crimes depicted. The dimensions of dark heritage which the three museums highlighted thus refers to war, conflicts, crimes, sanitary problems, epidemics, hard living conditions, and unequal treatment of people and dead.

Which ideological approaches permeate the exhibitions of the dark?
The theoretical framework involved descriptions of different kinds of ideological approaches within heritage management, such as: the nationalistic; romantic chivalry; local separatist/patriotic; socialistic; technological/aesthetic; and peace/ international understanding (Timothy & Boyd 2003, p 27-28). When the empirical data is interpreted in the light of these approaches, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

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[58]http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/ (160421)
[59]http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=34325&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (160421)

The nationalistic approach

The nationalistic approach was not very clear within the local history museums. One of the dominant discourses blames nationalism and stresses how citizens should strive against such ideologies and values. Pluralism, equal value and multiculturalism are instead expressed as values citizens should strive for. The descriptions within the museums are, however, rather neutral.

It seems as museums in many ways avoid a nationalistic approach to the regional and local history. There are few expressions that uplift the own nation over other cultures and approaches are rather exact when it comes to the values the human being should pay respect to: democracy, peace, human rights, good public health care and equality. The museum approach is consequently rather universalistic than nationalistic.

Romantic chivalry approach

Lödöse and Västergötland Museum included some dimensions which refer to a Romantic chivalry approach. For example, Lödöse Museum welcomed visitors to medieval festivals, and inside the museum it was possible to try on a helmet and read about the knights. The visitors, thus, received not only information and facts, but also some of the lighter aspects of the dark ages. It appears as it is, to a higher extent, the medieval time that is connected to entertainment within the museums than other epochs of the past.

Local separatist/patriotic approach

Since all museums were local- historical in their character, it was possible to see a local separatist/patriotic approach where the unique phenomena of the region were in focus.

Socialistic approach

The museums did not include this approach in a distinct way; however, the depiction of how the nobility class lost power is of interest. The process where democracy seized power from the kings and the aristocracy was not highlighted as anything distinctly dark. Processes towards equality were expressed in a similar way. This may be discussed from a discourse analytic perspective. It is then an expression of societal values and cultural context that value equality. People who take from the rich and give to the poor are here appreciated as being righteous and it is seldom questioned how it would feel for the rich owner of the castles, industries, and buildings to lose all their resources.

It is complicated to place the focus on human rights within a specific political discourse. From one perspective the rights are expression of liberal values with relevance to human freedom; however, on the other hand, a similar focus may be connected with a kind of socialism.

Technological/aesthetic approach

Phenomena of the museums are described from a scientific perspective. This means that the focus is rather neutral with few speculations. Merely issues which one is able to prove or certain about are being documented. Facts which are unsubstantiated in its character are

sometimes presented with a clear note alerting to this point.

Description of war strategies occur within the The Museum of Gothenburg. For example, the exhibition includes a description about how the Vikings attacked people. They started to attack with arrows and spears. Thereafter they walked up close to a soldier and attacked him with an axe. They defended themselves with shields. In this context, it is highlighted that the Vikings were considered as being very dangerous and hazardous.

Overall, the exhibitions contain elements which belong to a technological/aesthetic approach. They express a scientific approach when information and facts are in focus. Some war strategies are mentioned. At the same time, there are rather few values embedded within the descriptive texts.

Peace and international understanding
The museums contained few information texts which only focused upon just war and peace building. Conflicts are mentioned in various contexts since they are important parts of the history, but it is unclear whether phrases aim to support peace and understanding.

The descriptions of the museums do not include a significant aim of spreading information which supports peace and international understanding. Sweden has, however, not been involved in a war for hundreds of years and it is, therefore, a limited theme within the exhibitions of the modern era.

The peace and international understanding approach could be identified within the exhibition In-human in Gothenburg Museum. It included an underlying tone supporting society to avoid historical mistakes in relevance to the judging of other people.

Lödöse museum and Västergötland museum focus on artefacts and archaeological findings and it seems as Ashworth`s classification only in some extent could be applied into this context. The approaches are more distinct within the Museum of Gothenburg which pay attention to economic, political and social changes within the society after the end of medieval times.

In general terms, the museum discourses regard development as a bright and positive process. The underlying message expresses that undeveloped societies were dark since conflicts, crimes, sanitary problems, epidemics, poor living conditions and unequal treatment of people were then common problems. As societies developed in an economic, political and social way, societies progressed into better stages. The past was dark since it experienced problems which are connected to undeveloped societies, but societies have now improved to something better.

5.3 How is heritage classified into dark heritage?

Exhibitions are social constructions of history and dark heritage was communicated through texts, symbols, photos, artefacts, and collections in the three museums. There were moreover radio voices and/or videos.

The significance of the dark is subjective and it may differ from one person to another. Present discourses include, however, some classifications of the dark. It is therefore possible to see a cultural pattern or cohesion which gives war, conflicts, epidemics, and sanitary problems dark dimensions.

Dark heritage which was communicated within the three museums was not always presented as something dark. It was very much up to the visitor to classify phenomena into light, neutral, and dark dimensions. A scientific approach presented, together with the focus on scientific and educational values of dark heritage, a rather neutral expression.

Discourse analytic research is interested in how language represents phenomena. The classification of the dark is connected to our language; some words within our language are light or neutral, such as development, good health, and peace. Other words are associated with a dark tone that is more over clear without any kind of description. Examples of these kinds of words within the museums were: insufficient sanitary and hygienic circumstances, water issues, and war. Descriptions of non-democratic governments and inequality between groups were also representations of the dark. Some words were, however, more difficult to classify into light or dark. For example, the word 'emigration' may be associated with both a dark and light dimension. The dark side of 'emigration' refers to people moving from their country due to feelings of pains of hunger. The light dimension relates to hope and visions of a better life in the future.

5.4 Final note and reflection

This explorative study of a descriptive character was based on social constructivist theory. An important question to ask by the end of the study is: What are the differences between the three museums in focus of the study? Västergötland Museum put more emphasis on prehistoric times than the two other museums. Lödöse had a clearer focus on the Middle Ages than the other two. The Museum of Gothenburg was to a much greater extent focused on the last three centuries than the other museums. The explanation behind this is probably that Gothenburg is a rather new city that was established in the 17th century. It is also possible to see that Västergötland and Lödöse Museum were more focused on artefacts than the Museum of Gothenburg which included descriptions of societal changes and problems from a broader perspective.

All museums in focus provided insight into the biographies of places (see Sorensen &Vieje-Rose 2015). Places have a symbolism and the concept biography of place is therefore a powerful tool for the analysis of how the meanings of place are reconstructed during

conflicts. This framework helps to investigate and extract places in terms of impact, change and consequences. Important elements to take into consideration when analyzing a place are the following: (1) dimensions of the place before the conflict; (2) how the place was materially, culturally and politically affected and impacted by the conflict; (3) the situation which followed afterwards; (4) and the crucial decisions at each stage of life. It is also important to take the inhabitants into consideration. All characteristics should of course be placed within a cultural and historical context (Sorensen & Viejo Rose 2015, p 1-17).

The social construction of dark heritage is an appealing dimension in postmodern society. To write history is about power and the selection of important parts of the past, i.e. the active choosing of approach, perspectives, and dimensions. Some phenomena are forgotten, others rewritten (see Uzzell & Ballantyne 2008). In further research of this topic, it would be important to analyze whether there are phenomena which are not highlighted presently at all. We may not always be aware of the features we may hide for different reasons.

Media, such as TV and newspapers write stories which are embedded with hot interpretations. These descriptions are not always objective and neutral, instead constructed for sensation or drama. The museums in focus of this study made into a higher extent use of a scientific approach which only partly involved entertainment.

The explanation behind the low extent of hot interpretation is that the exhibitions contained well known phenomena which have lost the sensation and drama over time. Most phenomena occurred a long time ago, and previous research shows that hot interpretations lose intensity over time (see chapter three). It would, however, be crucial to investigate the dimensions of hot interpretation with relevance to museum management in a more detailed manner within forthcoming research. In this context, a study which integrates visitors of dark heritage sites would be needed.

Strategies which have been developed within media analysis and science of communication could be used in the context of heritage studies and museology. It would then be interesting to place emphasis upon the following phenomena in forthcoming research: How are the arguments behind statements formulated? What kinds of rhetoric arguments and language are being used? How is an interesting and emotionally engaging text created? Is it possible to see any strategy behind the text? Research on how museums communicate the past is a field which should be further explored in forthcoming research.

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Examples of dark heritage with relevance to graves and grave fields.

Cemetery (Swe: kyrkogård)	Cemeteries are places that provide a lot of information. They are archives which give insight into the lives and preconditions of the past. In addition, inscriptions give information about occupations, families and decorations which dominate or characterize different periods. The head stones are made of wood, metal or stone (RAÄ 2002, p 2-4).
Clava Cairn (Swe: rösen)	An amount of round stones from the Bronze Age or other times. (Ne 160516 röse).
Grave fields (Swe: gravfält)	At least five graves or monuments of graves from prehistoric times in an area (Ne 160516 gravfält).
Kists (Swe: hällkista)	A grave made of larger stones, often from the Bronze and Iron Age. They are rather common in Västergötland (Ne 160516 hällkista).
Large Barrow: (Swe: gravhög)	A monument for graves made of soil from prehistoric times (Ne 160516 gravhögar).
Headstones (Swe: gravsten)	The human being has placed headstones and monuments close to the buried for a long time period (RAÄ 2002, p 2-4)
Tombstones (Swe: gravsten)	During the Bronze Age tombstones and rune stones were raised, which from time to times displayed signs of the dead people`s lives. These are monuments which demonstrate power and social hierarchies (RAÄ 2002, p 2-4).

Table: VästraGötaland; important societal changes from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages

Age	Important societal changes
The Stone Age	Approximately 14,000 years ago the ice in the region melted. The nomad people found plenty of fish, seals and seabirds here. The climate was still cold, so people did not live here all year around. At approximately 11 000 AD, it became warmer and people probably lived here all the year around. They began to hunt wild animals. The landscape changed mainly through natural processes; the ice melted, the land was elevated, the climate became warmer and the flora/fauna changed (SNA 2003).
The Bronze Age	The period 2000-500 BC is named the Bronze Age as people then began to use weapons and tools of bronze. The raw materials of copper and tin, which bronze is made of, were lacking in the area. Therefore, trade must have occurred. They were probably purchased in exchange for furs, honey, and soap stone (used for pans). It was an expensive time; the population increased and thereby the human impact on the landscape became more apparent. New land was utilized for cultivation and wheat, barley, rye and flax grew on the fields (SNA 2003).
The Iron Age and Viking Time	In 500 BC SEK the Iron Age commenced. People began to use iron, which was made of soil and iron ore which was melded together. A malleable iron lump could be lifted out of the oven after eight hours. The period 800-1050 CE (late Iron Age) is in Scandinavia named the Viking Age. The Nordic Sailor came to dominate large parts of the European continent and the British Islands, Iceland and Greenland were colonized. Trade routes from the North to the rest of the world were opened (SNA 2003).
The Middle Ages/ The Dark Ages	The period 1100- 1521 AD is named The Middle Ages as it is placed between the past and the "new time ". Christianity was spread, and churches and monasteries built. The religious groups established organizations and structures. Monks and nuns introduced medicinal plants such as comfrey and catnip. It was an agricultural society where the majority of the population was engaged in agricultural practices. Not only corn and turnips were cultivated, but also trees, onions, spices, flowers, cabbage, peas and beans. New lands were explored and many villages established. Names which ends with ryd- röd- or torp are probably from this era. Lödose was then a city with good links to the North Sea and became, therefore, an important town for trading. Skara was an Episcopal center at this time. Later Falköping, Hjo, Skövde, Lidköping and Marstrand were established (SNA 2003). This period is sometimes named the Dark Ages since it was a time full of wars, conflicts, social changes and illness. The war brought devastation and a lot of castles were built (Larsson & Marklund 2015).
	Källa: Larsson & Marklund 2015; SNA 2003

Table: Västra Götaland: important societal changes from the 16th century to modern times.

Time	Important societal changes
1500-1900	West Sweden's financial position increased during this time period. The population was increasing and the region became one of the areas with the highest population density within the country. Besides agriculture and animal husbandry, fishing, timber trade, crafts, and textile production and transportation were important activities (SNA 2003).
1523-1560	This era is named Gustav Vasa`s Time and it was a time when people believed in God, although the religious worldview did not match the Christian faith. The reformation gave rise to huge changes in Europe. The Catholic Church in Sweden almost disappeared and was replaced by the Protestant Church. This gave consequences such as conflicts and turbulence. Another important change was the governmental modernization. A modern kind of government was established. The government increased its control over its citizens and the beginning of professional organizations with a huge bureaucracy was established. The taxes increased which in turn gave rise to protests. Internationalization (common with trade) was an ongoing process and natural science influenced peoples` worldview. The agricultural practices were going through rationalization processes and the population was divided into four classes: nobility, priests, bourgeois, and farmers. All classes were represented in the parliament (Larsson & Marklund 2015, p 9-54).
1560-1721	'Stormaktstiden' lasted in between 1560-1721. During this era war and conflicts were more common than peace. The population was increasing, although bad harvest, war losses and epidemics hurt people. Several towns were established, such as Mariestad and Gothenburg. Structures for education and teaching were being developed. The priest held a strong position as the leader of the community. They had administrative, social and religious tasks. The governmental organization continued to develop and an expansion of industries could be noted. People were rather religious and praying days were arranged in order to receive support from heaven. Sweden became a state which was influenced by Lutheran ideas (Larsson & Marklund 2015, p 55-162).
1722-1900	In the 18th century the Herring Period began, with access to plenty of fish in the sea. It created positive effects for the region. Many forested areas were managed and the forest villages became sparser as animals were grazing on the land. The central and Northern parts of Västegötland included flat areas which were suitable for agricultural practices (SNA 2003).
	Source: Larsson & Marklund 2015; SNA 2003

Gothenburg: important stages of development

"Gothenburg was built during the 1600s by the Dutch, as they were considered the best at building on marshland. This has given Gothenburg's city centre its famous channels that are distinctly dutch-inspired. The original city was built inside a large zigzag-shaped city wall that came to characterise Gothenburg for centuries to come. Not much is preserved today from this fortification, but a remnant of the bastion Carolus Rex XI remains at Esperantoplatsen close to Feskekörkan the fish church. The moat along with the two redoubts SkansenLejonet and SkansenKronan made the 17th century Gothenburg one of Northern Europe's most fortified cities[60]."

The 18th century was a time of growth and development. The population grew to more than 10,000 inhabitants and the harbor area became important for trade. Gothenburg, in fact, became a major trading and shipping town in Scandinavia. Other industries which were of great importance produced tobacco, sugar, and herring. Gothenburg was damaged by fire many times. Science was established and it was, at the time popular to discuss philosophical, cultural, and political issues. It was a rather peaceful time when it was more important to be involved in economic development than to fight and participate in wars. There was, however a political fight between conservative ideas and new ways for development. "Stormaktstiden" ended 1718 when King Karl XII was killed (Museum of Gothenburg 2016 – documentary work).

The 19th century was a period of population growth. Economic activities increased, and the industrial revolution changed the landscape and urban structure. A larger harbor next to Göta älv replaced the smaller ones.

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[60]Sections with no reference are based on: http://www.goteborg.com/en/gothenburgs-history/

Table: Ten dimensions of dark heritage within The Museum of Gothenburg, i.e. descriptions of the dimensions and the title of the exhibitions with respective dimension.

Dimension	Exhibitions
Graves, runes, rituals for funerals,	Prehistoric times; Viking age
Artefacts with relevance to conflicts and war,	Prehistoric times; 19th century
Social structures and inequality,	Prehistoric times; Viking age
Social structures and inequality	Viking Age; 18th century, 19th century
Signs of threats such as city gates	18th century
Descriptions of unsanitary conditions	18th century
Descriptions of factors which caused emigration	19th century
Descriptions of epidemics	19th century
Fires within the town	19th century
In human treatment	In-human

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