

Reaching Out and Drawing In
Working with Diversity through Museum Events
Jennifer Valvatne



Master's thesis in MUSKUL4590
Masteroppgave i museologi og kulturarv (30 STP)

Spring 2019
Museologi og kulturarv
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

© **Jennifer Valvatne**

2019

Reaching Out and Drawing In - Working with Diversity through Museum Events

<http://www.duo.uio.no>

Print: Reprosentralen, University of Oslo

Reaching Out and Drawing In

Working with Diversity through Museum Events

Abstract

As a result of mass immigration, Norway has increasingly become a more diverse society. Recognizing that museums can play a role in social activism, both the Norwegian government and the Arts Council have encouraged museums to work with cultural diversity. However, diversity is not reflected in the average museum visitor, and the impact that museum programs can play is greatly reduced. This thesis aims to examine the particular role that multicultural-themed events play in reaching different segments of the public. Through three case studies at three different museums, I will examine how museums are using events to draw in people who are not typical museum visitors. I will also discuss the challenges museums face in working with diversity, as well as argue why museums should continue to actively work with social justice and social activism.

Keywords: diversity, activism, multicultural, events, museums, social justice, visitors

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor Marzia Varutti. I could not have finished my thesis without her invaluable feedback, encouragement, and reassurance.

Thank you so much to the curators who graciously took time out of their busy days so that I could pick their brains about curatorial practices and diversity in museums.

Thanks to the staff at the Intercultural Museum for making my internship so enjoyable and informative.

To the teaching staff and fellow students at the University of Oslo – thank you all so much for the immensely enjoyable two years; I feel so fortunate for the experience.

Thanks so much to my incredibly supportive family – my parents, who made it abundantly clear that they were proud of me, my husband Jon and my daughter Maddie who patiently listened to both the highs and lows of my research, and my cats Theodore and Oscar, who provided valuable stress relief.

Gjerdrum, May 2019

Jenny Valvatne

Contents

Abstract	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Contents	ix
Chapter One: Introduction to Research Questions and Themes	1
Reaching Out to Visitors through Events	1
Why Events?	1
Why Cultural Diversity?	4
Chapter Two: Background and Theoretical Framework	5
Changing Demographics In Norway	5
The Social Role of The Museum - Producer or Collaborator?	6
What Does It Mean to Work With Social Justice?	7
Does Social Activism Belong in Museums?	8
The Non-visitor	12
Chapter Three: Methodological Framework	15
Observation.....	15
Limitations	16
Interviews	17
Why interviews?.....	17
Choice of Interview Subjects and Preparation.....	17
Interview Process	18
Limitations	18
Analysis of the event’s social media presence.....	19
Document analysis	20
Other Sources: insights from my master internship and volunteer activities.....	21
Chapter Four: Case Studies	22
The Day of the Dead at the Cultural History Museum.....	22
Walking Tours at the Intercultural Museum, Oslo	24
Polish Christmas Traditions at Norsk Folkemuseum.....	27
Chapter Five: Analysis	31
Why these events?.....	31
Observing Visitors	32
Analyzing the effects of an event.....	33
How “successful” was the event?	35

Chapter Six: Discussion	39
Issues That Arise With Multicultural Events.....	39
Portraying the Other.....	39
Narratives and The Representation of a Group.....	39
Forming Respectful and Productive Relationships with Marginalized Groups.....	41
Accessibility.....	43
Structure and Bureaucracy.....	43
Audience Reception and Controversy.....	44
Creating Long-Term Engagement With Short-Term Events.....	46
Genuine Initiative.....	46
Chapter Seven: Reaching Out and Drawing In	48
Bibliography	52

Chapter One: Introduction to Research Questions and Themes

Reaching Out to Visitors through Events

Throughout my childhood in the United States, my parents were active in taking me and my siblings and to parks, zoos, and even rodeos, but we never once visited a museum. The first time I visited a museum together with my parents was in 2012 when they came to visit me in Oslo. We went to over ten different museums in the Oslo area, and they enjoyed themselves so much that now - nearly 7 years later - they still bring up some of the exhibitions that we visited. During their visits to Norwegian museums, I learned that it was not that my parents weren't interested in museums, rather it was that they were not comfortable because they felt that visiting museums required an academic background that they did not have, as neither of them completed an upper secondary education.

The fact that they weren't comfortable visiting a museum was striking to me; I have loved museums since the first time I attended a museum on a school trip, and it never occurred to me that there might be people who didn't visit museums because they felt like they didn't belong. I have always been intrigued by the museum's capability to positively influence society and contribute meaningfully to local communities, and as an extension of this, I feel incredibly passionate about the idea that museums are for everyone. For this reason, I have chosen to use my thesis to research how events with a focus on diverse cultures can be used as tools by museum curators in order to increase their accessibility by reaching out to and drawing in a more culturally diverse audience. Focusing on the museum's point of view, I ask how events fit into the museum's curatorial practices and what potential impact they have on visitors and the museum itself.

Why Events?

The reason why I have chosen to focus on events rather than include exhibitions in my analysis is because their brief and temporary nature raises unique challenges as well as offering some advantages over traditional exhibitions. Because they are fleeting, special

events risk becoming lost among the museum's other work, rather than making any sort of impact on their target audience or the museum's curatorial practices. However, events also allow museums to experiment and venture outside of the institution's comfort zone. Because they are often interactive and participatory, events allow the museum to involve the local communities in a different way. Furthermore, it is my hope that by illustrating several unique events, I can help dispel the notion that these are secondary compared to the museum's 'real' work (such as conservation practices and the creation of exhibitions) - a bias that I also held prior to my research. While the term 'event' could be widely applied, for the purposes of my thesis, I am defining it as a temporary activity open to the public, either recurring, regularly scheduled, or one-off, that is organized by the museum; it is linked to other museum activities, yet it differs from the museum's temporary and permanent exhibitions. For example, a ritual celebration, a hands-on demonstration or a celebration of different cultural traditions.

There is relatively little written about the importance and effects of museum events. One exception is a recent master's thesis in museology and cultural heritage by Stine Gjerdingen (2018) who explored how Norwegian art museums have used events to attract Millennials. The majority of research written about social activism in museums focuses on activism in general, rather than how different aspects of museum practice can be used to fulfil different goals. While events have not been discounted, their particular advantages and disadvantages have not been extensively documented. I believe that the lack of research on events specifically is an indication that events are considered secondary to the exhibitions produced by museums, and that the potential impact of these events is being overlooked. The museums that I have included in this study frequently produce events, and I was very interested in how these events fit in with the museum's work.

I have focused on three specific events at three museums in the Oslo area and have attempted to select three types of events that are distinctly different from each other. More importantly, the museums are also quite different from each other in the manner in which they are structured, their institutional mission and the themes that they research and exhibit. The three museums that are the object of this study are Norsk Folkemuseum, the Cultural History Museum, and the Intercultural Museum. Norsk Folkemuseum is one of the largest and oldest museums in Norway. It is a national museum, established in 1894, and has as its mission to preserve and exhibit Norwegian

cultural heritage. In contrast, the Intercultural Museum is a local museum (it is part of Oslo Museum) founded in 1990 as an activist museum, a label which it continues to use despite being consolidated with several other Oslo museums in 2014. The Cultural History Museum, established in its current form in 1999, is a University museum, but is also no stranger to diverse exhibitions, including exhibitions that have been quite controversial such as *Gay Kids (2012)* and a documentative photo exhibition about the Hells Angels in Norway as part of *Vi elsker frihet* in 2014.

In writing my thesis, I have observed and participated in as many events as possible. The observation and interviews were conducted in late 2018 and early 2019. The objectives of my analysis of these museum events are threefold: 1) to document and examine these events, 2) to understand the museum's motivation in producing these events, and finally, 3) to examine what sort of effect they have on the museum's commitment to diversity. I discuss effectiveness of events, understood as the degree of impact that the event had, and the problems associated with these sorts of programs, in hopes of identifying common features, challenges, and solutions. Finally, I will place these events in the larger context of social activism understood as concrete museological practice. In researching my thesis, I have interviewed curators in Norwegian museums about the various events they have been involved in, but chose to focus in-depth on three different events - the Dia de los Muertos at the Cultural History Museum, the Grønland-themed walking tour at the Intercultural Museum and the Polish Christmas Traditions, hosted by Norsk Folkemuseum at Bygdøy. These events were selected because they have a unique and interesting approach for using the museum to promote cross-cultural understanding. The events are immersive and strive to create an authentic experience; less rigid than museum exhibitions, they invite visitors to participate. While all three programs that I observed occurred in Oslo, it is important to stress that museums outside of the capital are contributing to multicultural appreciation and integration in interesting and exciting ways - diverse and groundbreaking exhibitions should not be considered an urban phenomenon. My focus on Oslo museums is merely a result of convenience rather than a lack of choice.

Why Cultural Diversity?

The idea of social activism is broad, as is the word diversity. For this master's thesis, I have chosen to specifically study how museums have worked with cultural diversity, or more specifically how they engage through events with specific, culturally diverse local communities. Mass immigration has led to the rise of anti-immigrant and anti-globalisation sentiment, sparking the rise of populist political parties across the world. This can be seen in recent elections in Sweden, Brazil, the USA, and with the decision for the United Kingdom to exit the European Union. In Norway, a dramatic manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment occurred on July 22 2011 when Anders Breivik killed 77 people in two separate terrorist attacks. While Breivik was initially met with sweeping condemnation, elements of his populist ideals have begun to creep into more mainstream media. According to Paul Greengrass who directed a film about the attacks, Breivik should be seen as an indicator of growing right-wing extremism:

“We can test the extent we should be disturbed by the extent to which you can see Breivik's manifesto come into the mainstream,” Greengrass said in an interview. With President Trump and others railing against “globalists,” immigrants and liberals, the suggestion is that we should be very disturbed, indeed (Tharoor 2018).

I cite events and political currents happening internationally because of how rapidly and easily ideas are now spread globally. On March 15, 2019, Brent Tarrant attacked two separate mosques in New Zealand, killing a total of 50 people. Tarrant had written a manifesto influenced by right wing movements in Europe. His manifesto...

...contains repeated references to the extreme ideas, language and themes espoused by the identitarian movement – or Génération Identitaire (GI). His title – The Great Replacement – reflects an identitarian trope, lamenting what they claim is the replacement of European culture with non-European (Smee and Townsend 2019).

While my focus is on museums in Norway, it is impossible to avoid the growing influence of populism and right-wing extremism here as in other parts of the world. With my analysis of these museum events, I am hoping to discover valuable insights into how museums are relating to cultural diversity and how they consider their culturally diverse audiences. This in turn can shed light on the important role that museums can play in creating more inclusive societies, countering the rise of right-wing extremism.

Chapter Two: Background and Theoretical Framework

Changing Demographics In Norway

Ever since large numbers of Pakistani people immigrated to Norway in the 1970s, the demographics of the country have undergone significant changes. As a result of current mass immigration trends, the number of immigrants coming to Norway have risen sharply; in 2017, immigrants counted for 14% of the Norwegian population (14 prosent av befolkningen, 2017). Framed as a crisis, the increase in immigration has become one of the prominent and consequential issues in the world today.

At the end of 2015, the UNHCR reported that around 41 million people were displaced within their own country, 21 million were refugees (had crossed their national border), while 3 million were asylum seekers; a total of 65 million displaced persons (see box for definitions). This is the highest number of displaced persons that the UNHCR has registered since the flood of refugees in the aftermath of World War II (Aalandslid 2017).

Immigration is a controversial and divisive political topic globally, and Norway is no exception. Headlines about the social effect of immigration dominate news headlines, and a study conducted in 2018 by the Institute For Social Research (ISR) shows that while more Norwegians are open to accepting asylum seekers, a record low of the population surveyed believed that immigration was good for Norway (Brekke and Mohn 2018:13). While immigration is a contentious topic in Norwegian politics, there is broad agreement across political parties that the integration of immigrants into Norwegian society is crucial. The Norwegian Parliament has expressed that immigrants in Norway must be integrated “as well and as quickly as possible.”¹ However, even in this relatively straightforward statement, there is ambiguity; what does integration mean?

As an immigrant myself, I have found that there is a great deal of pressure to adopt Norwegian traditions, celebrate holidays in Norwegian fashion, and I have even been encouraged to use “Jenny” instead of my given name, “Jennifer”, as Jennifer was not a Norwegian-sounding name. When I spoke to other people who had immigrated to

1 Stortingsmelding 30 (2015.2016) Original text: “Det har vært en uttalt målsetting at innvandrere som er kommet til Norge for å få bosette seg, må bli integrert så godt og så raskt som mulig.”

Norway, I found that I was hardly alone. Every single person had similar stories to share, expressing that they had experienced pressure from different people to adopt a “properly Norwegian” lifestyle in order to integrate. This is confirmed by the ISR study referenced above, which states, “On the question of who should adapt to whom, the public holds the view that it is clearly the obligation of immigrants to adapt to the values and culture of the majority population” (Brekke and Mohn 2018:13). What role can museums play in understanding what it means to integrate, to be an immigrant, and to live in a culturally diverse society?

The Social Role of The Museum - Producer or Collaborator?

Museums are immensely powerful institutions that have the “capacity... to classify and define peoples and societies” (Karp, 1992: 1). Museums are the keepers of what a society values as its cultural heritage, and this power is reflected not only in symbology - the international symbol for museums is a temple - but also the trust people place in museums. A private research firm hired by the non-profit association American Alliance of Museums found that “museums are considered the most trustworthy source of information in America, rated higher than local papers, nonprofits researchers, the U.S. government, or academic researchers” (Kennicott 2018). It is worth asking where this trust has come from; are museums so highly trusted because of the respect that their work commands? Or does this trust come from a perception of museums as a neutral and impartial authority? A report by the Norwegian Arts Council on *Brudd*, a project that dealt with tackling difficult themes in museums states,

As “objective, neutral and representative” museums have been seen as protectors of the true history without explicitly asking questions and without critical analysis - not of the truth or the history or their own curation. Museums implicitly claim that they tell history “as it is” and not as bits of a history that is consciously selected after given norms and values (Holmensland, Slettvåg, and Frøyland 2006:9).²

However, many museum professionals have begun to step back from the role of objective truth-tellers. Instead, the idea of a museum as democratic institution and site

² Original text: “Som “objektive, nøytrale og representative” har museene framstått som forvaltere av den sanne historien uten eksplisitt å stille spørsmål og uten kritisk analyse - hverken til sannheten eller historien eller til sin egen formidling. Implisitt hevder museene at de forteller historien “slik den er” og ikke som biter av en historie som bevisst er valgt ut etter gitte normer og verdier.”

of collaboration and co-production of knowledge has emerged. That the role of the museum has been changing significantly over the last couple of decades is neither a new nor a provocative statement, and many museums have begun to focus on creating a more democratic institution which has not only the capacity but the *intention* to positively influence society. The result has been changes in museological practices in order to create a more inclusive, democratic, and participatory institution. Museums have begun to reconsider the relationship between the museum and the visitor.

Practices aimed at repositioning the visitor in the museum, from the role of 'consumer' to that of 'co-producer', 'actor', or even 'author' (Rivière 1998:164-5), seem to be particularly focused on the engagement with people from different cultural backgrounds, and especially with those who may have been previously excluded in the development of shared, debated, and concerted decision-making processes, and those who don't feel they are represented or 'allowed' to speak in a museum, in the belief that establishing new forms of cooperation with community members from a wide range of social and cultural groups supports the museum in overcoming their perception as cultural institutions of 'established' society, and in reaching the many new and different inhabitants of the present society (Lanz and Montanari 2014:17).

It is essential that museum professionals take into account that different segments of the intended audience may not feel comfortable visiting the museum for a variety of reasons, and thus devote effort into reaching out to these segments.

The power that museums possess should not be taken lightly. By serving as arenas for cross-cultural meetings and facilitating dialogue which works to humanize "the other", museums can perform invaluable work by devoting time and resources into producing exhibitions and events addressing their culturally diverse audiences. However, it is crucial that museums recognize and address both the power that they possess, and the perception of neutrality that exists concerning museums. It is no longer satisfactory to view museums as neutral and impartial institutions. Instead, museums should take the opportunity to be involved in social justice.

What Does It Mean to Work With Social Justice?

I would like to provide a brief explanation about how I have applied the concept of social justice. I have approached the use of the term social justice in regards to cultural programs as Richard Sandell defines it in *Museums, Equality And Social Justice*. Sandell writes, "We use the term social justice to refer to the ways in which museums, galleries

and heritage organisations might acknowledge and act upon inequalities within and outside of the cultural domain.” (Sandell and Nightingale 2012:3) There are many different areas in which museums can work with inequality, but for this thesis, I have specifically focused on the way that museums in Norway have been working through the medium of events in order to address prejudices in regards to ethnicity, diverse cultures, and racism. Whether museums should participate in social justice work is still being debated by museums professionals. However, I firmly believe that this sort of work is necessary. Sandell (2007:32), notes that

The fluid and contingent character of prejudice also emerged from my research into museum audiences. Some visitors... fervently expressed their support for concepts of equality, human rights and tolerance at an abstract, generalised level but subsequently qualified their statements by identifying specific groups to whom, they believed, such concepts should not apply. (Sandell 2007:32)

There is growing international support and recognition for museums as agents of social justice and change, which is a “remarkable statement that advocates a totally new role for museums, one which flies in the face of the prevailing belief that museums should remain neutral in their work” (Fleming 2012:82). Several promising projects in Norway indicate that this issue is being taken seriously by both the Norwegian government and those within Norwegian museums. The year 2008 was declared Diversity Year for the cultural sector in Norway, and the government encouraged cultural institutions throughout Norway to devote time and resources to celebrate diversity in Norwegian society. Additionally, a three year project called An inclusive cultural sector in the Nordics (2017-2019) was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Culture, which focused on “identifying challenges and solutions for inclusiveness both in the professional and volunteer cultural sector..... The project has an arts-centered approach to embracing diversity and will explore how organisations, institutions and artists can enrich the work they do by embracing a wide range of diverse influences and practices” (“Inclusive cultural sector” 2017).

Does Social Activism Belong in Museums?

Kylie Message (2014:1) defines curatorial activism as “attempts by individuals to engage with, represent and often contribute to social and political protest and reform movements.” The willingness of museums to engage with social activism represents a significant shift in the thinking around museums’ role in society. According to Fleming (2012:72), “The notion of a museum being active in seeking to fulfil a social justice

agenda remains a radical one. This is despite the very real progress that has been made in recent years in terms of the museum profession's growing acceptance of a number of fundamental principles relating to our role in society." While Lois Silverman (2012) argues that museums have been agents for positive social change since their very creation, seeing museums as not only capable of, but obligated to worth social justice requires adjusting the perception of museums.

Fundamentally, I believe that this type of social activism is essential to the function of a museum. I will make the argument that museums should continue to use their exhibitions and events to perform social activism as it is essential to what constitutes museum work. This is present in ICOM's definition of a museum (emphasis mine):

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution *in the service of society* and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibitions the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

Firstly, museums operate in the service of society. This requires actively choosing to engage with societal issues. A report on crime in Norway stated that, "Increased activity in extreme right environments is concerning. There is danger of digital influence and pop-up forms for violence, as well as hate crimes and extremist violence."³ Given that the issue of right-wing extremism is so pressing, it would be irresponsible for museums remain uninvolved.

Secondly, museums should reflect the communities that they belong to, and by continuing to work primarily with narratives that address majority culture in diverse communities are ignoring the actual demographics of these communities. This sentiment is also reflected in the Norwegian Parliament's guidelines for Norwegian museums. Perhaps most importantly, hosting diverse events with the intention of attracting different members of the community forces the museum to re-evaluate their audience. When we make assertions that museums are for the betterment of society and in the service of communities, we should consider just what we mean by "society" and

³ <https://www.politiet.no/globalassets/04-aktuelt-tall-og-fakta/kriminalitetsutvikling/trendrapport-oslo-2018---2021.pdf> original text: "Økt aktivitet i høyreekstreme miljøer er bekymringsfullt. Det er fare for digital påvirkning og pop-up former for vold, også hatkriminalitet og ekstremistisk vold."

“community”, and be wary of assigning homogenous labels to something so diverse. In report 49 to Parliament, regarding the future of Norwegian museums, it is stated:

It is an overall goal that museums reflect the society that they are a part of. Museums are important trendsetters in a modern democratic society and have an active societal role. Norway has increasingly become a multicultural society. Sami as indigenous people and the national minorities have a long history inside of Norway’s borders, while newer minorities have influenced the democratic development in the last 50 years. Museums should therefore reflect a diversity of perspectives and realities.⁴

Museums are no longer authoritative institutions which seek to transmit uncontested knowledge to passive audiences. Instead, museums are working to serve the communities that they represent. This means being aware of how the demographics of those communities have changed.

There is also the issue of whether topics of cultural diversity should be integrated into other museums or be handled by museums specifically dedicated for that purpose. While at the Cultural History Museum, I had the opportunity to speak with Elizabeth Bene who was studying visitor reactions to the Cultural History Museum’s Pride-associated exhibition on homosexuality in China. She informed me that several visitors had expressed support for queer activism, while also believing that it wasn’t the Cultural History Museum’s place to host such an exhibition. Reticence to engage with social issues also comes from within; in an article published by the Guardian, Richard Sandell noted that some of the opposition to museums serving as agents of social change has come from within the museum sector.

“Some museum staff, says Sandell, resist being drawn into social inclusion work because they view it as “social work” and not part of their job description. This is despite the fact that the culture department has already signalled that museums and galleries should make it a policy priority to make social inclusion part of the mainstream.

“There’s still a feeling in some museums that that’s what other people do, whereas we are museums and we preserve heritage and that’s it,” says Sandell. “We have to win over the sector and the welfare agencies, persuade them that museums have a part to play. It will strengthen museums’ position if it improves their relevance”(Nightingale 2000).

4 St. meld. 49, 123. Original text: "Det er et overordnet mål at museene gjenspeiler det samfunnet de er en del av. Museene er viktige premissleverandører i et moderne demokratisk samfunn og skal ha en aktiv samfunnsrolle. Norge har i økende grad blitt et flerkulturelt samfunn. Samene som urbefolkning og de nasjonale minoritetene har en lang historie innenfor Norges grenser, mens nyere minoriteter har preget den demografiske utviklingen de siste 50 årene. Museene skal dermed reflektere et mangfold av perspektiver og virkeligheter."

In her article “Museums For ‘The People?’” Josie Appleton (2007:125) is blunt about her disagreement with the trend towards social activism in museums. She writes, “Museums should stick to what they do best - to preserve, display, study and where possible collect the treasures of civilisation and nature. They are not fit to do anything else.”

Appleton continues, “It is rare for the core activities of curatorship and scholarship to be done away with altogether. Instead they are swamped by an ever-expanding array of ‘audience-related’ activities. In the last 30 years there has been a remorseless growth in education, helpdesk and marketing functions. A survey on museum research and scholarship documented the sense among many curators that their research function was under threat.” She raises a valid concern; when museums are working with limited resources, the production of events intended to draw in new audiences may come at a cost to other aspects of museum work. In the Norwegian Arts Council’s 2018 museum evaluation, they reported that museums agreed that they did not have sufficient access to resources connected to research (*Kulturrådets museumsundersøkelse* 2019).

However, I disagree with Appleton’s assertion that museums are not fit to tackle these types of challenges. Research conducted in Norway found that contact with immigrants was one of the biggest factors in creating liberal attitudes towards immigration (*Mer innvandrervennlige holdninger* 2017). Museums can therefore positively influence society by serving as contact zones and providing exposure to other cultures. Museums also have significant power in creating national identities, thus shaping public perception about who does and does not belong. The power museums have when it concerns national identity has been researched extensively (McLean 1998, Karp 1992) In this regard, they are uniquely situated to contribute to a positive exchange.

Ultimately, more museums are willing to engage with social justice. Sandell (2007:2) notes, “The idea that museums of all kinds contribute, in varied ways, towards the creation of a less prejudiced society is increasingly reflected in the rhetoric from international museum agencies, professional associations and governments.” The written documentation indicates that social justice and tackling prejudice and diversity in their work is a priority for all three of the museums; this is reflected both in the

guidelines issued by the Norwegian Parliament, as well as internal guidelines produced by each museum. Additionally - and perhaps most importantly - the curators that I spoke to said that they felt that the Norwegian government was supportive of their effort to produce culturally diverse exhibitions and events.

Given the broad shift in the concept of what a museum is, and what societal role a museum can play, it seems likely that museums will increasingly take the risk to work with social justice projects and exhibitions. I argue that diverse events are necessary, rather than radical - the demographics of Norwegian society has dramatically changed, and is continuing to change. By not addressing these changes in their work, museums are doing their communities a grave disservice. According to Fleming (2012:82), "Working towards social justice is a long-term commitment; it requires determination and bloody-mindedness. It needs to be driven by passion, by a belief that everyone deserves equal access to what we do in museums and not just because the government (or anyone else) tells us that this is what we should do, but because *it's the right thing to do.*"

Ultimately, these projects can only succeed if they're accessible and attended by the public, which raises the question: how can museums continue to bring in new visitors, particularly those who have the potential to benefit the most from exposure to culturally diverse programs, events, and exhibitions?

The Non-visitor

While societal demographics are changing rapidly, the demographics of typical museum visitors are not. Researchers Gabriel Gurt and Josep Torres (2007:522) noted already in 2007 that although the amount of visitors to museums are increasing, there is no comparable increase in the diversity of museum visitors. In response, museums have attempted to attract a more diverse audience, yet these attempts have been met with mixed results. While figures vary across museums, the overwhelming pattern is that the diversity of museum visitors does not reflect the diversity in local communities (Steel 2017). Therefore, a one-size-fits all approach to museum curation is neither practical, nor in keeping with the aims of the museum. Yet as Janet Marstine (2011:11) notes, museum professionals continue to use the term "general public", which reflects the

outdated idea of museum visitors as a homogenous entity. This bears considering; when the museum aims to benefit all segments of society, how can it succeed in its goal when the average museum visitor is no longer representative of society?

It is tempting to assume that many people who don't visit museums choose not to because they aren't interested in museums or other cultural institutions. That may certainly account for some percentage of non-visitors. However, I have found both through personal experience with my family and my time spent volunteering with KulTur – an initiative of Tøyen Frivilligsentral – that there are significant numbers of people who avoid museums because they're intimidated. During a session of KulTur's language café, several participants expressed that part of the appeal of participating in a structured group was that visiting museums was less "scary", as they did not feel comfortable visiting exhibitions without the presence of a guide. This sentiment was repeated at later sessions by different participants. Participants – mainly members of immigrant and minority communities – expressed concern about not being able to "understand" the museum without a guide, worried that the museum was not meant for them, and expressed concern that they would be negatively judged by museum staff.

I was initially surprised to hear these statements; I have always loved visiting museums, and despite having never visited a museum with my parents as a child, it did not occur to me that there were many people who wanted to visit museums but were too intimidated, either by the museum itself, or a perceived lack of a prerequisite education on their part. This reluctance stems from the museum's historical reputation, or

...its position as truth-teller, authority and keeper of what is sacred in society, a role that was established at its inception and is linked to its colonial and empirical past. Once established, this position became ingrained in the public's imagination and the museum's narrative came to be accepted as the 'mainstream' account of arts and culture which went largely unchallenged until the later part of the twentieth century (Keith 2012: 45).

While museums in Norway have actively worked to engage the public, the shift in thinking about the role of the museum, an increased desire to democratize the museum, and to open the museum up to all members of a community is not readily apparent to those outside of the museum.

Chapter Three: Methodological Framework

In order to answer how museums used events, I employed methodological triangulation to the events that I researched, as “each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed” (Denzin 1978:28). Because I felt that the number of case studies I used were relatively small, I wanted to examine each case study from multiple angles of research. Ultimately, I used observation, interviews, relevant documentation both on museums and Norwegian museums in particular, and my own experiences as a participant in events, as a museum intern and as a volunteer with a culturally themed language cafe in Oslo. In this chapter, I will detail why I chose to use these methods of research and how they were deployed.

Observation

The primary method of research used in the making of this thesis was direct observation. This was a natural choice as I needed to experience and observe each event that I analyzed. My observation was conducted using the observer as participant framework, the strength of this type of observation being that “the participant-observer employs multiple and overlapping data collection strategies: being fully engaged in experiencing the setting (participation) while at the same time observing and talking with others about whatever is happening” (Patton 2014:336). The first part of my visit was spent participating as a ‘typical’ museum visitor; my goals with this participation was to experience how open and welcoming the event was, what interpretive frameworks about the theme of the event were available, and how accessible the activities were. I then spent the second part of my visit observing other people at the event. I focused on the demographics of the visitors, what their reception to the event was, and how many people appeared to be in attendance. This was done covertly, as “covert observations are more likely to capture what is really happening than are overt observations where the people in the setting are aware they are being studied” (Patton 2014:339). There is considerable debate about the ethics of covert observation, which I took into account before I began my field research. Ultimately, I feel that my observation

was conducted ethically for two reasons: first, no identifying data was collected from participants. Secondly, the observations took place at a public recreational event.

While the observations that I made at the actual event were the most important, I felt that it was necessary to visit the museum after the event had passed. Did the event leave a visible impact at the museum, or did it vanish without a trace? With that in mind, I went back to each museum several months after each event. I looked at the current exhibitions and when applicable, visited the museum's gift shop to see what type of merchandise was being sold. I also checked the museum's website and social media pages in order to see if there were any present or future exhibitions and/or events of a similar theme scheduled.

Limitations

I attended the events for the specific purpose of analysis, and therefore had a different frame of reference than most, if not all, of the other attendees. Patton (2014:330) notes, "When looking at the same scene of object, different people will see different things. What people "see" is highly dependent on their interest, biases, and backgrounds". I attended the events with the background of someone studying museology and thus felt comfortable in a museum setting. Because of these things, I may have overlooked behaviors that indicated visitors were uncomfortable or ill-at-ease in the museum. I may also have experienced and observed things that other visitors did not, which led me to draw different conclusions about the significance and effects of the events.

Patton(389) also points out that observational data is limited to the sample size and the time spent observing, and I felt this to be particularly true. While the walking tours are a recurring event, both the Day of the Dead and the Polish Christmas Traditions event occurred only once during 2018. As such, I was only able to observe each event once. My observations and conclusions are drawn entirely from one experience of each event. If I had had the ability to attend the events more than once, I would have undoubtedly gathered valuable information. In particular, I believe that observing the same event over successive years in order to see how the event evolves would yield interesting observations.

Finally, I tried to participate as a visitor as fully as possible. Most importantly, this means that although I carried a journal with me to gather field notes, my notes were written several hours after the event. Additionally, the Day of the Dead event was

incredibly crowded, and I felt that to participate in many of the activities would have only added to the long lines and general chaos of the event. For that reason, the majority of my time at the Cultural History Museum was spent just observing the other visitors. Not participating in the event's activities may have altered my overall impression of the event.

Interviews

Why interviews?

Although observation was a crucial part of my research, getting the museum's point of view was essential to understanding how they used events. I felt that this was particularly important because I was only able to attend 2018's events. Interviews allowed me to "go beyond external behavior to explore feelings and thoughts" (Patton 2014:389). All of the interviews were conducted and analyzed according to the ethical guidelines of the Norwegian Center for Research Data, including consent and transparency.

Choice of Interview Subjects and Preparation

I prepared an interview guide beforehand which a short list of questions and topics that I wanted to cover. I found creating an interview guide to be essential, as

the investigator has a rough travel itinerary with which to negotiate the interview. It does not specify precisely what will happen at every stage of the journey, how long each lay-over will last, or where the investigator will be at any given moment, but it does establish a clear sense of the direction of the journey and the ground it will eventually cover (McCracken 1988:37)

While the interview guide was similar for each interview, there was variation allowing for the particular character of each event.

The choice of interview subjects was extremely important; as there was a lot that I wanted to cover, I felt the most informative interview subject would be the curator that had worked most closely with the event. I emailed each museum to explain my thesis research and asked if it was possible to schedule an interview with the event's curator. The result was that I was able to schedule interviews with two curators, one responsible for events at the KHM, the other at IKM. An email to the Folkemuseum was sent 11 September 2018; I received a response 8 October 2018 from the curator

involved in Polish Christmas Traditions, who stated that an interview would be possible after Christmas. I emailed her on 29 January 2019, and then again on 21 March. An interview was then scheduled for 22 April, but canceled several weeks later. A request to reschedule a new interview received no response.

Interview Process

After attending the events, I created an interview guide, reviewing the field notes taken at each event to see what I found notable. During the interview, curators were asked if they were comfortable with me making an audio recording of the interview. If they were comfortable, I recorded the interview and transcribed it later for analysis. If they expressed that they preferred not being recorded, I took careful notes during the interview, and reviewed those notes both immediately after the interview and throughout writing my thesis.

The interviews were semi-structured; I prepared a short list of questions, but left the interview as open as possible in order to facilitate insight and topics of conversation that a completely structured interview would not have produced. Journalist Colin Marshall (2010) emphasizes the advantage of conversational interviews:

but conversations are just *better*, always and absolutely, than formal, traditionally-conceived interviews. Those strike me as nothing more than hokey by-products of such journalistic rigidities as twitch time limits and miniscule word counts. Planned, borderline-rehearsed simulacra of conversations aren't conversations at all. They can't wander into the unexpected, exciting places genuine conversations do, nor can they hope to arrive at the surprising, fascinating conclusions genuine conversations do.

Each interview was approximately two hours in length, and follow-up questions were asked and answered via email. As the curators' role in the production of the event is essential to the types of questions that I asked and the information that I received, the curators that I have interviewed are not anonymized. However, in instances where relevant information and/or insights happened during informal conversations with other people, I have chosen to retain the anonymity of that informant.

Limitations

While the interviews were incredibly informative and immensely helpful, they also had several serious limitations. Firstly, every person that I interviewed had an exceptionally

busy work day, and out of consideration for their time, I felt obligated to limit my research to one in-person interview, with a cap of two hours per interview. Follow-up interviews would certainly have produced more insights.

Secondly, I only interviewed one person per case study. Although the person that I interviewed was most directly involved in the production of the event from the museum's side, I only obtained their perspective. I did not believe the size of this research project was suited to doing the amount of interviews required to accurately investigate audience reception, so I decided to concentrate mostly on the museums' perspectives and focused on my interviews with the curators and visitors' comments on social media.

Patton also stresses that "the quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer" (Patton 2014:427). While I tried to be thorough throughout the preparation, execution and analysis stages of the interviews, these interviews were among the first qualitative interviews that I have conducted and thus it is quite likely that my inexperience played a role in the information that I received.

Analysis of the event's social media presence

I have used the analysis of social media as a research method for two reasons; firstly, I wanted to see how the event was marketed by the museum on digital platforms, because awareness of the event played a large role in how accessible the event was. Secondly, under ideal conditions, I would have been able to conduct more research on audience reception, but given the timeframe of this thesis I did not feel that I was able to do a comprehensive enough evaluation of both museums' perspectives and audience experiences. I was not able to conduct extensive interviews with events attendees; therefore, examining how people engaged and responded to the event on social media provided interesting and valuable information. Social media has become an increasingly large part of our daily life. Christine Hine states (2015:3), "Where mediated communications are a significant part of what people do... the ethnographer needs to take part in those mediated communications alongside whatever face-to-face

interactions may occur, as well as taking note of any other forms of document and recording that circulate amongst participants.”

The use of social media has obvious limitations. While I wanted to gain insight into how people responded to the event, I was only seeing reactions from people who were aware of the event’s social media page - that is, people who are comfortable using social media. This may only be representative of a small segment of the people that actually attended the event. Studies have shown that people are more likely to share negative experiences on social media than positive, which skews the results (*Customer service* 2013). Hine (2015:7-8) points out that there are still marked differences in how different groups of people experience the internet, citing the difference between first generation users and next generation users.

This group of users are distinctive in what they do with the Internet: they upload more content than the first generation users who are more tied to single locations and devices, and they have integrated the Internet more thoroughly into their leisure and entertainment, downloading music and watching videos online more often. Whilst there are many similarities between first-generation and next-generation Internet users, with both groups increasingly seeing the Internet as their first port of call for information-seeking, there are also indications that there are some fundamental differences between their expectations of the Internet and their experiences of it.

Additionally, as many of the comments left in response to the Polish Christmas Traditions event were written in Polish, I had to rely on Google translate for an imperfect translation. Although comments were left on the museums’ public Facebook pages, I have chosen not to use any identifying information other than the comments themselves.

Document analysis

In order to understand how museums approach diversity, it was necessary to read through the relevant documentation. I did this at three different levels - ICOM’s guidelines, Stortinget reports, and the museum’s internal documentation. This was essential in order to understand how different entities understood the museum and its function. It also gave me an overview of past, present and future projects relevant to the area of research for my thesis. Most importantly, reading documentation about

diversity work in museums gave me the perspective of the “should”, which I could compare against the actual realities in Norwegian museums.

Other Sources: insights from my master internship and volunteer activities

During the fall of 2018, I interned at the Intercultural Museum. During my internship, I was fortunate enough to attend several seminars on the topic of working with diversity in a museum. The seminars allowed me to speak with museum professionals across Norway in many different types of museums, giving me additional perspectives on diversity work in Norwegian museums. I was also able to engage in frequent conversations with museum professionals which provided valuable insight to the practicalities of working with diversity in a museum. The firsthand experience in a museum allowed me to further bridge the gap between the theoretical and “should” to the practical realities of working with difficult topics and limited resources.

Additionally, for the last 8 months I have been a volunteer with a culturally-themed language cafe called KulTur. KulTur arranges biweekly tours to different museums and cultural experiences in Oslo for immigrants who wish to develop their skills in the Norwegian language. This program has been popular and well-attended by people with a wide variety of cultural and educational backgrounds. The participants have been candid about their experiences visiting Norwegian museums as a member of a minority population. These conversations ultimately had a huge impact on the direction of my research as they required me to rethink my experiences and perceptions about how visitors approached museums.

Chapter Four: Case Studies

The Day of the Dead at the Cultural History Museum⁵

Initially established as the University's Cultural History Museum, the Cultural History Museum was founded in 1999 with the merger of several different museum collections, including the Viking Ship Museum and an ethnographic collection. As a university museum affiliated with the University of Oslo, a great deal of emphasis is placed on education and research. While there are popular exhibitions about Norwegian culture, including a newly renovated Viking exhibition, the museum also devotes significant resources to ethnographic exhibitions about other cultures. My contact at KHM was Tone Simensen Karlgård, Diversity Curator, whom I interviewed on 4 February, 2019.

In addition to culturally diverse exhibitions, the museum has also hosted regular multicultural events. One of the most popular events is the museum's celebration of *Día de los Muertos*, or Day of the Dead. The event, which is a collaboration with other groups, including the Mexican embassy, celebrates the Mexican holiday at the beginning of November. The Day of the Dead is so significant in Hispanic culture that it was inscribed in 2008 by UNESCO on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity on the basis that "the Day of the Dead celebration holds great significance in the life of Mexico's indigenous communities. The fusion of pre-Hispanic religious rites and Catholic feasts brings together two universes, one marked by indigenous belief systems, the other by worldviews introduced by the Europeans in the sixteenth century" (UNESCO n.d.).

In 2018, the museum's Day of the Dead celebration was held on November 4th as part of *barnesøndag* (children's sunday), a program of museum events targeted at families with young children. As such, the Day of the Dead celebration at KHM offered a variety of child-friendly activities that highlighted different aspects of the holiday. Unsurprisingly, most of the attendees were families with children under the age of 10. The event seemed to have a broad appeal and attracted visitors with many different ethnic backgrounds, but there was a notable amount of Spanish-speaking families in attendance.

⁵ <https://www.khm.uio.no/english/>

The celebration was visually stunning; the museum staff had clearly spent a great deal of effort in decorating for it. Colorful lights and metallic garlands were strung along the walls, as well as *papel picado* - brightly colored, intricately cut out paper - banners along the landing and on the third floor. Two different altars had been created for the holiday, a small altar on the second floor landing which was decorated with small, handmade sugar skulls, and the main altar on the third floor. Dozens of small objects decorated the altar, and a banner next to it explained the significance of each item. A banner also explained the importance and history of the Catrina figure, one of the most widely recognizable symbols of the Day of the Dead. There were also people in elaborate costumes that moved through the event, stopping periodically to talk to children.

The event took up a large part of the museum's third floor; in addition to the altars, an area had been created for children to watch the popular Disney Pixar movie *Coco* which was centered around the significance of the Day of the Dead traditions. A room was filled with tables and chairs so that children could make Day of the Dead themed paper crafts and decorate small sugar skulls. In another room, classes on traditional Mexican folk dance were being taught. The classes required pre-registration and each class was fully booked. Near the main altar, traditional Mexican food and drink was available for purchase. On one side of the landing was a face painting station where children could have their faces painted like sugar skulls. In theory, there was ample opportunity for visitor participation.

The Day of the Dead event has become one of the museum's most popular events. In 2017, over one thousand people expressed interest in the arrangement on Facebook. In 2018 that number rose to over three thousand.⁶ When I attended the event, there was a queue to get into the museum that stretched out along the block, and an employee came outside several times to tell visitors that the third floor - the floor that the event was being held on - was too full to accommodate new people. Instead, people who had pre-registered for the children's folk dance class would be taken up, while other people would be gradually let in by guards that controlled the flow of traffic. When I interviewed Tone, she confirmed the event's increasing popularity, saying that they had twice the amount of attendees in 2018 that they had had in 2017. "We stopped trying to

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/events/294775374661121/>

count after we hit 1700,” Tone told me. However, she also informed me that the popularity was not entirely unexpected. “We were expecting a large turnout this year, so we specifically requested that the event not be boosted.”

As one might expect with such a large, crowded event, it did not go off without a hitch. While I was present, technical issues delayed the screening of the film. Additionally, misinformation had been spread on social media that advertised the event as being free. Instead, the event was priced as ordinary museum admission - 100 NOK for adults, and free entry to children under the age of 18. These issues, coupled with the long lines and queue to get into the event, resulted in visible frustration from the visitors, several of whom responded by leaving critical comments on the museum’s Facebook page. While it’s clear that the event did not run as smoothly as the museum would have liked, it’s not certain how indicative the Facebook comments are of how most visitors experienced the event.

Rather than being a stand-alone event, there is an integration between the Day of the Dead event and one of the museum’s permanent exhibitions, an ethnographic exhibition about the different indigenous groups on the American continents. Additionally, the museum also offered a program for upper secondary students taking Spanish as a second language. The program was presented entirely in Spanish by Telma Murillo, a Hispanic educator who has worked closely with the museum for many years and is heavily involved in the Day of the Dead event. During the program, she discussed the significance of the Day of the Dead holiday and invited students to talk about what meaningful items they would place on their own Day of the Dead altar. Like the actual event, Tone said that this offering had become increasingly popular and was in great demand by schools, and well-received by the students who took part.

Walking Tours at the Intercultural Museum, Oslo⁷

The Intercultural Museum of Oslo is perhaps the most logical place to look for culturally diverse events in Oslo. The museum was founded in 1990 by Bente Guro Møller in response to the cultural and social changes occurring as a result of mass migration into Norway. Although the museum has since been consolidated with several other small

⁷ <https://www.oslomuseum.no/byvandringer/>

museums to form the Oslo Museum network, they continue to work with cultural diversity and openly uses the label of an activist museum, rather than claiming any sort of neutrality in their work.

IKM is also the smallest museum in my study, and the museum with the most constrictive budget. During the fall semester of 2018, I had the opportunity to do my internship period at the Intercultural Museum and found that most people outside of the museum field in Norway were unaware that the museum existed despite the museum's location in a historic building which is very conveniently located near a major subway stop.

Despite their limited resources, IKM produces a plethora of recurring and one-off events that tackle themes like prejudice and diversity. One event offered regularly by both IKM and other museums within the Oslo Museum network are walking tours that take visitors around different neighborhoods in Oslo. The walking tours are scheduled regularly throughout the year with different themes for various walks. There are also two separate Grønland-themed walking tours specifically offered to upper secondary students and both place a particular emphasis on the cultural diversity of the area, including one titled *Fryd og frykt på Grønland* (Joy and fear at Grønland). On 4 February 2019, I interviewed Marte Marie Ofstad, communicator (*formidler*), who is responsible for conducting the tours.

The walking tour highlights Grønland's long history as an area with a large immigrant population. Grønland is Oslo's most culturally diverse neighborhood with a slight majority of inhabitants coming from minority backgrounds (Anderson et al, 2018:37). Grønland also serves as something of a safe haven or landing pad for immigrants newly arrived to Norway, allowing them a place where they might gradually integrate into Norwegian society (Anderson et al, 2018:75). Unfortunately, Grønland is also associated with poor living conditions, poverty, and a high crime rate when compared to the rest of Norway. The living conditions in Grønland even inspired an NRK web documentary called *Gatekampen* which posed the question: how safe is Norway's capital *really* (Andersen, 2016)?

Unsurprisingly, these factors have led to a stigma, towards both the neighborhood and Grønland's inhabitants. It is not uncommon for employees at IKM to hear that visitors feel unsafe in the area. During the interview, Marte told me that on several occasions, students were denied permission to participate in the walking tours

by their parents because of the area's reputation, despite the fact that the tours occur during daylight hours and with an adult guide; she also has experienced students who said they were told to stay with the group and be very careful while on the tour. The neighborhood's reputation was something that I also experienced personally; after hearing that I would be doing my internship at IKM, several people asked me if I felt unsafe in the area.

Many different groups of people have taken part in the event, including school classrooms, social groups for immigrants looking for the chance to practice speaking Norwegian in different settings, people who live in the community and are curious about their neighborhood, and groups of retirees. According to Marte, school classes were by far the most common participants with the event being widely utilized by Oslo schools. The walking tour that I observed was attended by approximately 15 KulTur participants, a group which was formed to give immigrants the opportunity to learn Norwegian through biweekly tours to cultural landmarks and museums and themed language cafes at Deichman Library Tøyen.

The tour began at a small park, and Marte started the tour by offering first a brief history of Oslo, and then an overview of Grønland itself. As the audience was a language cafe, she periodically stopped to make sure they understood, or to offer a definition for a particularly tricky word. The participants seemed engaged and were active in answering her questions as well as asking their own.

Marte used the majority of her introduction to the neighborhood to talk about how Grønland had been a place where workers lived in poverty, attracted to the city by factories. She also discussed some of the pre-conceived notions that people in Oslo had about Grønland, such as the area being dangerous. The city's gentrification plans for Grønland were brought up without any obvious bias from Marte herself, though she did ask participants to think about who Grønland was being gentrified for before moving on.

I was particularly intrigued by what Marte chose to highlight during the tour. Although Grønland is not lacking in impressive architecture and creative street art, the tour focused on the very ordinary. We stopped several times in front of local businesses so that Marte could tell us a little about the shop's history. These businesses included a Pakistani grocer which was one of the oldest shops in Grønland, a small shop that sold Middle Eastern sweets, and a couple of stores that she called "everything stores"

because of their wide and varied selection. I found the focus to be intriguing, as I felt that it challenged the perception of what aspects of culture are museum-worthy.

The highlight of the walking tour for the participants seemed to be the immigrant apartment owned by the museum. The apartment was previously owned by a Swedish immigrant family that came to Grønland in the 1890s, and is furnished and decorated to be historically accurate. The inclusion of the apartment on this particular tour gave participants the opportunity to draw parallels between Grønland's historic poor working class and its present working class.

The tour ended at the museum and she pointed out the current exhibition, *Typisk Dem* (Typical of Them), and invited the participants to have a look before they left. Although they were scheduled to return to visit the exhibition on another tour, everyone chose to stay and wander through the exhibition. They appeared to be engaged, and I observed that they were also very interested in speaking with each other about what they thought about *Typisk Dem*. The exhibition generated a significant amount of discussion and seemed to be well received by the group.

Polish Christmas Traditions at Norsk Folkemuseum⁸

The Folkemuseum is one of the oldest museums in Norway, and one of the oldest and largest open air museums in the world.⁹ The museum's goal is to present life in Norway from the 16th century to the modern era through exhibitions and preserved buildings from different regions in Norway. According to the museum's mission statement, "The Norsk Folkemuseum Organization shall build, protect, and convey historical knowledge as well as create experiences with relevance to people's lives in the present and future."¹⁰ It is the last part of the mission statement, "relevance to people's lives" that I am particularly interested in in regards to my thesis research.

Poles are currently the largest minority group in Norway, with nearly double the amount of people as the next largest minority group (*14 prosent av befolkningen 2017*).

⁸ <https://norsksfolkemuseum.no/en/polish-christmas-traditions>

⁹ According to the Folkemuseum Entry on Oslo's official tourism website.
<https://www.visitoslo.com/en/product/?TLp=13356>

¹⁰ <https://norsksfolkemuseum.no/organisasjon> Original text: Stiftelsen Norsk Folkemuseum skal bygge, forvalte og formidle historisk kunnskap og skape opplevelser med relevans for menneskers liv i samtid og framtid.

As the Folkemuseum's mission statement is to document Norwegian culture, it would be lacking to ignore such a large percentage of the population. On November 11 2018, the Folkemuseum hosted an event called Polish Christmas Traditions for the second time. The event, which was developed in cooperation with the Polish Scouts and the Polish Embassy, was held for the first time in November 2016. This year's event had another significant connection - 11 November 2018 marked 100 years of Poland as an independent nation.

On the day of the event, the weather was particularly bad; it rained heavily all day and there were frequent gusts of wind which made it nearly impossible to carry an umbrella. However, despite the rain and wind, the museum was noticeably crowded. According to the Facebook page created for the event, approximately 1.2 thousand people expressed interest in attending and 182 people stated that they attended.¹¹ It's difficult to say how accurate Facebook's number is, but I would estimate the amount of people present to be around 200. Fortunately, most of the activities were held inside, although they were spread across three separate areas. Despite the poor weather, people moved freely between all areas of the event.

The event, which opened with a speech given by the Polish ambassador to Norway, included activities for all ages. In the Exhibitions Hall there were two separate workshops set up specifically for children, one in which they could decorate Polish gingerbread and the other in which they could create Polish Christmas ornaments. The gingerbread station was particularly popular when I visited; nearly every chair around the table was taken.

There were also several styles of Polish nativity scenes or *szopka* set up with a small sign explaining their significance and history. While nativity scenes are common across multiple cultures, Polish nativity scenes are unique in that they use historical buildings in Krakow as a backdrop, rather than the traditional manger. When the event first opened in 2016, a Polish artist created a *szopka* for the museum. Instead of Polish landmarks, Andrzej Majewski's *szopka* is centered around the Gol Stave church, one of the museum's most famous buildings. Although the unveiling of the *szopka* was a prominent part of 2016's event, I did not see the *szopka* when I was there. Instead, I found out about the project afterwards.

11 <https://www.facebook.com/events/261658657825875/>

A small table was set up to serve as a booth which showcased traditional Polish ceramics. Given that many of the attendees were families with young children, the booth did not seem to be overly popular, although periodically someone would wander over to speak with the woman at the table. Aside from the fact that the booth was manned, there was almost no information about the history or particularly characteristics of these ceramics. I was slightly disappointed; the ceramics booth almost seemed like an afterthought compared to the other aspects of the event.

Downstairs there were two separate concerts given by Polish artists. The first was a Christmas themed concert and the second was an opera concert with two Polish soloists. Both concerts were extremely popular, with approximately 60 people present at any given time. Although the concert venue was large, all the chairs were taken well before the concerts began. The lack of seating had very little impact on the turnout, and many people crowded in the back and along the sides of the room.

Every half hour there was a quiz about Polish and Norwegian Christmas traditions, using Kahoot as a participation platform.¹² From what I observed, this was the least popular part of the event; I logged into Kahoot twice during my visit, and both times, I was the only visitor trying to participate. This was not particularly surprising; from what I observed, the event attendees were primarily Polish, and thus may not have been as motivated in answering quiz questions about familiar traditions. The poor weather likely also played a part - the Kahoot quiz required going to a separate building, and may have been much more popular if it had been located in the Exhibitions Hall.

By the barn, there was the opportunity to taste different Polish foods traditionally served for dinner, catered by UMamy, which bills itself as the first and only Polish restaurant in Oslo. The line to get in stretched around the building, and every available table and chair inside was taken. This was also the area in which the most social interaction occurred. People chatted with each other as they sat around the tables, asked questions to the catering staff, and at several points, I noticed that people seemed to be introducing themselves.

One of the most surprising features of the event was the lottery; as part of the event there was a lottery with the opportunity to win, among other things, plane tickets to Poland. This was not something that I have experienced in a museum context and I

¹² Kahoot is a popular game-based education platform which allows for the creation of quizzes, and is frequently used in classrooms.

found it striking. Lottery tickets were not the only things for sale - a booth in the exhibition hall was set up and sold children's books in Polish. These two things enforce my belief that the museum anticipated that the majority of visitors would have a Polish background.

Chapter Five: Analysis

Why these events?

In my first chapter, I discussed why I chose to focus my research on events, rather than exhibitions. Here I would like to expand on why I selected these events and museums in particular.

While IKM is the most obvious place to look for culturally diverse events, the walking tour may appear to be the least diverse event that I have chosen. There has been some debate among the people that I spoke to about whether the walking tours could be considered to be a multicultural event. Unlike the other two events that I have observed, the walking tour is not tied to any specific culture, but rather a neighborhood in Oslo. However, Grønland's reputation is intrinsically tied to its history as a neighborhood with a high population of immigrants and families with immigrant backgrounds. Additionally, the neighborhood is the site of planned and controversial gentrification which many residents fear will lead to vulnerable groups being forced out of the neighborhood.

My point with including the walking tour in my analysis was to challenge the perception of what a multicultural event entails. I also find this particular event to be unique because although it concludes with a visit to the museum, the majority of the program occurs outside of the physical boundaries of the museum building and instead takes participants through the community that the museum serves, turning the community itself into a museum space.

The Folkemuseum has received criticism both outside of, and from within the museum sector about the way that the museum has handled cultural diversity. In particular Thomas Walle (2018:122) questions the inclusion of a decorative wall hanging in the museum's 2015 exhibition *Teak, TV og tenåringer - 1965* (Teak, TV and teenagers). "In the exhibition... a period-typical figure of a woman of clear African descent is hung. Is such a depiction without additional discussion from the museum's side compatible with the ambition to be a more inclusive museum?"¹³ According to the

13 Original text: "I utstillingen... henger en tidstypisk figur av en kvinne som åpenbart skal framstå som av afrikansk opprinnelse. Er en slik fremstilling, uten ytterligere problematisering fra museets side, forenelig med ambisjonen om å være et inkluderende museum?"

list of staff at their website, there is no one who is employed with a stated focus on diversity. The Polish Christmas Traditions event was the only multicultural event held by the Folkemuseum during 2018. Additionally, outside of the Sami exhibit and the Pakistani apartment, the majority of what is presented at the museum focuses on ethnically Norwegian culture. However, the primary reason that I was interested in the work produced by the Folkemuseum was because of its history as an institution which helped build and shape Norwegian identity.

Norwegian museums have also served a role in nation building. Museums were a symbol of a particular, distinctly Norwegian culture. Many nineteenth-century nations were in search of statehood. Establishing national museums was for them a marker of their ambitions. ...Thus, both the Norwegian Folkemuseum (established in 1894) and the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design (established in 1876 as Kunstindustrimuseet) in Oslo were private institutions that aimed at the specific value and authenticity of Norwegian cultural life... (Berger 2015:22-3).

By showcasing Polish traditions, what message is the museum sending about authentic Norwegian cultural life in the present?

Like IKM, the Cultural History Museum is a logical place to look for culturally diverse events, and there were many options. This event in particular interested me, both in the way that it is integrated into a permanent exhibition at the museum, and in the way that they have been able to work with schools and use the event's theme in a different context. This event may also very well be one of the most popular museum events in Oslo, and was the only one that I was aware of before beginning my research. The event is now established as part of the museum's work and has become a popular tradition.

The theme is also fascinating; images such as the Catrina figure and sugar skulls have been taken out of context and become popular and immediately recognizable motifs. Sugar skulls have been appropriated for fabric, tattoos, and even energy drinks. The imagery around the Day of the Dead is instantly recognizable but almost completely separated from the holiday's meaning and significance.

Observing Visitors

At both the Polish Christmas Traditions and the Day of the Dead events, I noticed an interesting demographic - families in which the adults spoke Spanish and Polish to each

other, while their children spoke Norwegian. Without conducting any visitor surveys, I can't accurately state what percentage of attendees had the same cultural background as the event. However, from the observation I conducted while attending the event, I would estimate that nearly a third of the visitors attending the Day of the Dead event spoke Spanish, while nearly all of the adults at Polish Christmas Traditions spoke Polish. This is supported by the response on the event's Facebook page; the overwhelming majority of people that expressed interest or confirmed as attending were Polish. It seemed to be assumed that the event was for the Polish community both by the museum and by the attendees. On three separate occasions, I was approached by a visitor with a question, who asked first in Polish. The assumption that the majority of the attendees would be Polish may be the reasoning behind the lack of context during the actual event, while KHM anticipated a much broader demographic and therefore took care to try to provide thorough explanations about the different aspects of Day of the Dead traditions.

The demographics of the walking tour are more difficult to define, as it is repeated throughout the year for different groups of people. During the tour that I attended, all participants had recently immigrated to Norway. However, Marte stated that the most popular common group of participants are students from Oslo schools. Statistics collected by Oslo municipality found that 38.5% of children in grades 1-10 come from a minority background.¹⁴

Analyzing the effects of an event

Bringing visitors into the intimate setting of a neighborhood, in which they can see the way that other people live, can provide a visceral experience which compliments the museum's ongoing exhibitions and heightens their impact. This is an experience that the other two events also provide; visitors who attend these events are not passively consuming information about other cultures, but are encouraged to participate.

These events also challenge the narrative that to integrate means to sever ties to one's mother culture. The Folkemuseum blended Polish and Norwegian culture, artistically represented by Majewski's *szopka*. This fusion is more than an art piece; it is

¹⁴ According to statistics retrieved from <http://statistikbanken.oslo.kommune.no/webview/>

a concrete representation of a multicultural society. Sociologist Stein Ringer (2005) stresses the importance of reciprocal integration, using Norway's experience with indigenous groups. "It was only when the majority in Norway became willing to accept the Sami on their own premises and give their cultural and their language respect that progress in integration could be made in real measure."

There was one recurring sentiment that came up with every event and every person that I interviewed: these events bring people into the museum who would not have otherwise been there. I believe that this is one of the most compelling arguments for the importance of events as museum tools for social justice. It is important to ask why these events attract new groups of people, and part of that answer may be found in the concept of social environments, as coined by sociologist Rudy Moos. "Some people are more supportive than others. Likewise, some social environments are more supportive than others. Some people feel a strong need to control others. Similarly, some social environments are extremely rigid, autocratic, and controlling" (Moos 1978:4). The social environment at these events were markedly different than the social environment on a typical day at the museum, and this goes a long way towards drawing new visitors in. Rather than remaining an authoritative institution, the museum becomes a site of celebration.

I found it worthwhile to see if any tangible impact has been left by the event; this was explored in three separate ways. The first was to speak directly with the curators about what they had learned and how they planned to develop the event in the future. I also went back to the physical location of the museum to see if there were any obvious signs that the event had taken place. Finally, I checked the museums' online presences to see what sort of exhibitions and events were upcoming.

The Day of the Dead is tied to KHM's permanent exhibition, *The Americas*. KHM's webpage about the exhibition states, "**Central America** is focused on continuity and living traditions with examples from huicho, tzletzal maya and the celebration of the Day of the Dead in Mexico."¹⁵ In the exhibition, there is a small glass display case which features a small Day of the Dead altar decorated with typical items and there is a brief explanation about the holiday. In terms of public impact, the museum has been

¹⁵ <https://www.khm.uio.no/tema/utstillingsarkiv/amerika/> Original text: "I Mellom-Amerika er fokuset på kontinuitet og levende tradisjoner med eksempler fra huichol, tzletzal maya og feiringen av De dødes dag i Mexico".

fortunate - the Day of the Dead is one of the museum's most popular events and only continues to grow. The production of the Day of the Dead has also invited community participation; Tone informed me that after attending the event, members of the Hispanic community approached the museum about collaboration on future events.

While not created as a supplement to *Typisk Dem*, the Grønland walking tour can be very effectively tied to the exhibition. The exhibition becomes more relevant when visitors first have the opportunity to see concrete examples of discrimination in the local community. Grønland as a theme has been repeated in several events and exhibitions produced by the Intercultural Museum, such as Grønland's Laboratory and The Battle For Grønland, both produced in 2018. The walking tour has also been a part of IKM's programs since the museum was founded which emphasizes how closely linked the museum is with the local community, although unlike the other two events, the walking tour is produced without any formal community involvement. "We would really love to involve the community more, but we just don't have the resources," Marte told me during our interview.

However, there is nothing about Polish culture at the Folkemuseum. Nor is there is anything on the Folkemuseum's website that highlights Norway as a culturally diverse society. Furthermore, according to the information provided by their website, there are no upcoming exhibitions or events with an overt culturally diverse theme.¹⁶

How "successful" was the event?

Success can be measured by many different metrics, the most obvious one being the attendance numbers of the event. If success is gauged by visitor numbers, then all three events can be said to be successful. Given that they are quite different from each other, the events cannot be directly compared, but must be analyzed in terms of the museum and external factors. The Day of the Dead is an established event at a well-known museum, and the fact the Polish Christmas Traditions managed to attract such large amounts of people despite the poor weather is a clear indication that there is a great deal of interest and desire for events and exhibitions dedicated to Polish culture. The

16 According to the museum's program, retrieved from [https://dms-cf-03.dimu.org/file/03346wna\]swR](https://dms-cf-03.dimu.org/file/03346wna]swR)

walking tours are also popular - so popular that during busier times of the year, Marte has had to turn down tour requests from groups.

Of the three events that I attended, the Day of the Dead was by far the most popular. The popularity of the event can be attributed to multiple factors - the Day of the Dead celebration has been held almost regularly since 2002, and has been seeing growth each year. Secondly, the immensely popular children's movie *Coco*, which revolved around the Mexican Day of the Dead, has led to an increased awareness of the holiday. This was evident not only in visitor attendance, but also in the Halloween decorations and costumes sold by several stores. *Nille, Flying Tiger Copenhagen, Yummy Heaven, and Standard* all sold a variety of Day of the Dead themed items that they did not have last year. Finally, and unfortunately, a post had circulated on Facebook which incorrectly said that the event was free. Although the cost of admission was relatively inexpensive - 100 NOK for adults, free admission for children, Tone believes that this had significantly contributed to the amount of people that attended in 2018.

The popularity of the event was not entirely positive; in one way, the Day of the Dead event was a victim of its success. Inside the event, people stood shoulder to shoulder, and every available chair was taken. Every activity had lines of 10-20 people. All the comments on the event's Facebook page were negative, and brought up similar complaints.

"Too unorganized to be a good experience. Too many people in too small of a place, both for the show, face painting and to decorate sugar skulls. Could have been a great arrangement with better organization. We spoke with many disappointed children and parents."¹⁷

"The intention was good but poorly organized. Too few tables and chairs to be able to paint and draw, altogether too few sugar skulls, and lines everywhere. The film that was shown had poor sound. People were let in despite the fact that there were queues everywhere and not enough space to see the presentation. All

17 Original text: "Altfor uorganisert for å få en god opplevelse. For mange mennesker på for liten plass, både til show, ansiktsmaling og til å få dekorere sukker-hodeskalle. Kunne vært et flott arrangement med bedre organisering. Vi snakket med flere skuffede barn og foreldre."

in all, very disappointing. Hoping for better organization next year, this could be a great event.”¹⁸

“Very disappointed with the event. Not free (only free for kids), terribly organised. After queuing for 15 mins to see the show the person who came around to tell us that kids should sit down first failed to say that there wasn’t enough room for even half the amount of people waiting in line. Wasted 100 nok and over an hour just to be crowded and not being able to do anything.”

These comments should of course be taken with a grain of salt, but not outright dismissed. There were more people attending than the museum could accommodate, and the frustration over the lines and the perceived disorganization is valid. Tone was open about these issues during our interview, and said that the museum is considering introducing a ticketing system in the future.

Aside from visitor numbers, what other metrics can be used to gauge the success of these events? Like the Day of the Dead celebration, the Polish Christmas Traditions manages to straddle two separate goals - it is both an educational experience and an authentic celebration which not only offers an educational glimpse into another culture, but has also been undertaken in a way that appeals and holds significance for multiple groups of people. However, when compared with the Day of the Dead, I felt like there was much less context and information given in Polish Christmas Traditions; the event seemed to assume some prior knowledge of Polish history and culture. At times I felt slightly lost, and felt that much of what was presented was lacking context.

While I felt that there was a very good visual presentation of Polish culture, I did not leave the event feeling like I had learned anything significant about of Polish Christmas traditions. It did spark enough curiosity that I researched several things that I had seen when I got home after the event, but I can’t say how many visitors would have been inspired to do the same. This may be because the event at the Folkemuseum served a different purpose, as the majority of those attending were already aware of the context. It may also be that much of the context and information was intended to come

¹⁸ Original text: “Intensjonen var god men dårlig organisert. For lite bord og stoler for å kunne male og tegne, alt for lite sukker hodeskalle, og kø overalt. Filmen som ble vist hadde dårlig lyd. Folk ble sluppet inn tross for at det var kø alle steder og ikke plass nok for å se på forestillingen. Alt i alt veldig skuffende. Håper på bedre organisasjon neste år så kan dette bli et flott arrangement”

from the Kahoot portion of the event. However, my impression of the event was that a great deal of time, effort and money had been spent in producing it. While I wish there had been more context for what was presented, my feelings are that the lack of context stemmed from the accurate assumption that the majority of the attendees would be Polish, rather than the event having a lower priority or status with the museum.

More important than how many people attended is *who* attended. When studies show that the typical museum visitor is still well-educated, financially comfortable, and part of the societal majority, activities and exhibitions that manage to bring in a more diverse audience are significant. Each of the curators that I spoke to emphasized that events with a culturally diverse focus brought people into the museum who would not have otherwise come. That events do this is incredibly significant - while the Norwegian government has expressed support for using museums to tackle difficult issues, in order for the museums to create genuine engagement with their work, they must reach the public. While the museum exists to serve its community and is in *theory* open to everyone, opening it up and reaching out to minority communities can be a radical act. By addressing minority communities, museums are sending the message that they are welcome.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Issues That Arise With Multicultural Events

Working with diversity can be a difficult process, requiring a great deal of consideration, sensitivity, and willingness to take risks from museums that choose to engage with this sort of work. In this section, I will expand on some of the common challenges that museums face when working with cultural diversity. My hope is that illustrating these challenges will allow museums to better work with diversity.

Portraying the Other

Multiple researchers have voiced that exhibitions and programs which highlight cultural diversity may have the unintended effect of exclusion, reinforcing an “Us” and “Them” narrative (Linde 2018, Walle 2013).

The representation can be alienating in many ways: different clothes, different artifacts, different behaviors and traditions. The museum’s visitors register the differences and have problems with seeing the similarities – and with that, the common humanity (Linde 2018:44).¹⁹

The result is that displays about different cultures run the risk of exoticizing them. Karp (1991:375) stresses the need to tread carefully and thoughtfully about how the museum chooses to highlight other cultures, saying, “Discourse about the ‘other’ requires similarity as well as difference... exhibiting strategies in which differences predominate I call *exoticizing*, and one that highlights similarities I call *assimilating*.”

Narratives and The Representation of a Group

In creating multicultural programs, museums must make decisions about what narratives to include and which to exclude. Minority communities are not homogenous entities, and contrasting and conflicting attitudes and mores will exist together in the same community. Museums frequently and inadvertently homogenize the “Other” rather than portraying different cultural communities as a diverse group with a number

¹⁹ Original text: “Representasjoner kan virke fremmedgjørende på mange måter: annerledes klær, annerledes gjenstander, annerledes skikker og tradisjoner. Museets besøkende registrerer forskjellene og har problemer med å se likhetene - og dermed det allment menneskelige.”

of distinct narratives. The result is cultural essentialism, or the belief that cultures can be neatly categorized by sets of essential characteristics (Grillo 2003). While it is easy – even tempting – to see cultures as a set of unique aspects, William Roseberry warns of the dangerous of cultural essentialism.

On its own, the assumption of cultural boundedness and essentialism may seem harmless enough, but it also serves as an ingredient to a dangerous variety of claims to cultural authenticity and the uniqueness of particular cultural visions... The distance between academic claims of epistemological privilege along racial, cultural, or gendered lines and ideologies of ‘ethnic cleansing’ are not that great. (Roseberry 1992:849)

Avoiding cultural essentialism is particularly difficult in events, which likely lack the resources to offer a variety of narratives.

The most effective way to work with this issue is to involve multiple members of the community. However, this even this is infrequently straightforward.

Often museums contact minority communities when they have a project presumed to be representative of that particular community. However identity is complex and deeply personal and when groups or individuals are approached as part of a ‘target audience’, based upon conjecture about an aspect of their being, there may be antipathy encountered in the exchange. This is one reason to avoid ‘boxing the narrative’ in relation to ethnicities and difference as it is important not to assume that membership to a specific community equates to an interest in learning about that culture, especially from an organization outside of that community. At the same it is imperative for the museum to collaborate with representatives of specific communities to ensure the accuracy of its narrative. This all points to the complexity of collaboration as difference and diversity must simultaneously be negotiated in relation to the object, the museum’s narrative, its audience and the personal and professional positions of individual practitioners. (Keith 2012:49)

Museums must also contend with the fact that source communities may be reluctant or unwilling to collaborate due to previous negative experiences with prejudice, both from within and outside of government organizations. Peers and Brown (2003:2) note that, “consultation is often structured to provide outside support for the maintenance of institutional practices, and source community members are wary of contributing to museum-led consultation exercises which do not lead to change within museums or benefits to their people”. IKM experienced that issue when working with members of religious minorities for the exhibition *Våre hellige rom* (Bettum and Özcan, 2018:187). Museums run the very real risk of hurting the communities that they wish to help, particularly when they are not able to work closely with community representatives,

and care must be taken to avoid further marginalizing communities. Unlike the other two events that I analyzed, the walking tours are produced with no formal community involvement, which Marte attributed purely to a lack of resources.

There is also the question of *who* to represent. In their work at Varanger Museum, Kaisa Maliniemi and Tove Kristiansen pointed out that by highlighting certain minority cultures, such as Norway's recognized minority groups, they ran the risk of excluding others - like recent immigrant groups (Bettum et al, 2018:16). Groups that have been excluded are potentially left unhappy and skeptical about whether or not the museum holds any meaning for them. In particular, Eastern Europeans have been under-represented in museum exhibitions. This is particularly concerning; Polish immigrants are not only the largest immigrant group in Norway, but also one of the most poorly integrated (Jakobsen 2015).

Unfortunately, there are no easy answers; the scope of the event or exhibition may not easily allow for the accounting of multiple voices and experiences, inadvertently reducing minority groups to stereotypes. However, the awareness that there are a multiplicity of voices and experiences within a culture or subculture goes a long way towards making better, more sensitive, and more *accurate* museum programs.

Forming Respectful and Productive Relationships with Marginalized Groups

One key aspect when working with groups is taking the time to establish a respectful relationship with members of the community. This can be particularly difficult in regards to events and other short-term projects. Keith writes that when projects are limited by time and funding, "...the opportunity to develop shared values is also limited and without shared values it is difficult to build a sustainable collaboration" (Keith, 2012:49). While one solution may be to attempt to create recurring events whenever possible, there is no guarantee that the museum may be able to keep the same contacts. As such, it may mean trying to establish a collaborative relationship again each year.

Furthermore, while museums and the members of the community may have very similar goals, they may have a very different relationship with the objects that the museum is using. This can lead to conflict and frustration on both sides.

One recurring theme throughout the discussion was the desire to enhance and expand upon the museum's narrative of specific objects and/or particular cultures. In relation to this, concerns were raised about the power and authority of the curator who is often perceived as difficult to access and holding tight control over the museum's narrative (Keith 2012:47).

Tone acknowledged this difficulty, particularly in regards to members of the Congolese community that worked with KHM for the Congo exhibition. However, Lynch also argues that museums embrace conflict, and recognize that conflict can play a valuable role in developing productive relationships with co-creators.

According to Lynch, reciprocity requires that each party recognizes, respects and draws from the expertise of the other; museum staff members acknowledge the social capital of collaborators and partners as no less significant than their own. Moreover, encounters expose and deconstruct inherent power relationships so that creative conflict can occur. Lynch argues that creative conflict is more successful in eliciting change than consensus which, she asserts, is ultimately coercive. (Marstine,2011:35)

What is important, according to Lynch, is that museums are open and aware of power-imbances in their collaboration projections.

In transactions between museums and participants, because of the challenges of different perspectives that such encounters will inevitably generate, issues of power and coercion become central. Yet, such processes remain largely invisible to all concerned, frequently due to a lack of awareness about the ethics of these relations within the museum's public engagement work. There is therefore an imperative to make such processes visible, in order to illuminate the relational complexities within the messy and contradictory work of participation in museums. (Lynch 2011:147)

Successful relationships do not require that museums surrender their power, but it is essential that they remain aware of the power imbalances between them and their co-creators.

Finally, it is worth asking if people are being included in order to improve and deepen and enrich museum programs and exhibitions, or are they being included in order to serve as "token minorities" to give a stamp of authenticity and approval?

Relationships with members of source communities can be difficult to build and maintain, but the potential benefit is enormous. "The collaboration that we have with members of the Hispanic community has been fantastic," Tone told me during our interview.

Accessibility

Accessibility is also another factor that museums must take into account when developing programs, and it is worth asking the question of who is being alienated, just as they ask who is being included. Members of the intended audience may be excluded if there is a fee to attend the program, particularly if it is directed at minorities and recent immigrants. When discussing which places the KulTur group at Deichman could visit, the volunteer coordinator Silje Bjerke repeatedly stressed the importance of cost. As many members of the group could not afford to attend a museum or gallery bi-weekly, it was necessary that all exhibitions and events that the group attended were free. Both the Cultural History Museum and the Folkemuseum charged a fee for their events, which may have excluded a significant number of potential visitors.

As someone who loves museums and has had the opportunity to work behind the scenes in museums, I found that it is very easy to forget that the members of the public are not always privy to the museum's goals and intentions. I believe that there is a lot of fascinating discussion inside of museology that isn't apparent to many museum visitors, let alone society. In addition to being aware of this, I believe that this is one area in which events are particularly useful. As I noted in chapter five, the social environment of the events that I used for my case studies were completely different from the usual environment of a museum. In order for museums to make a valuable contribution, people have to feel welcome and comfortable enough to visit.

Structure and Bureaucracy

There is a great deal of bureaucracy that museums are subject to. Although there exist many small, private museums in Norway, a great deal of Norwegian museums receive support from the state and are therefore subject to regulations and guidelines that they may find restrictive or actively damaging to their work. Particularly controversial was the museum consolidation reform.

The consolidation of Norwegian museums into larger entities made practical sense in many different ways, however some museums have suffered in their ability to produce more controversial exhibitions. Some of the most vocal museums against the consolidation were smaller, niche museums such as IKM. Employees at IKM told me that

the museum was considered to have “died” for several years following the consolidation, as it was grouped with and placed under institutions that were significantly more politically neutral. Fortunately, the administration at IKM feel that not only has the museum adjusted to the consolidation, but that the Oslo Museum administration is receptive to their work.

Oslo Museum is under an agreement with the Arts Council to be responsible for *Mangfoldsnettverket* (hereafter referred to as the Diversity Network), which was established in 2006 in order to work more effectively with minority groups and cultural diversity in Norwegian museums (Bettum et al, 2008). The work of the Diversity Network facilitated the publication of *Et Inkluderende Museum*. As such, events that highlight cultural diversity are not outside of the museum’s usual scope of work. The effect of structural changes is something that should be considered, particularly as a new consolidation process has been planned.

While there may exist a desire and willingness for the museum to develop more multicultural offerings, change may occur frustratingly slow, giving the impression that social justice work is not prioritized in the Norwegian museum landscape. This impression can negatively impact relationships with collaborators who feel that their work is not valued.

Finally, museums have a very finite amount of resources, prompting museum professionals to make difficult decisions about how best to allocate those resources. Marte cited a lack of resources as the biggest challenge in running the walking tours. In addition to leading the walking tours, she has also been responsible for taking groups through the museum’s existing exhibition and says that she has had to turn down groups during busier parts of the year. “I am the only communicator here at IKM. If we had another we could do a lot more.”

Audience Reception and Controversy

Museums must also grapple with the issue of audience reception. While many people would voice their support for multiculturalism and better integration, they question whether the museum is the correct space to address this. Instead, they would rather that “...the museum be reserved for the things that we’re proud of” (Holmensland,

Slettvåg, and Frøyland 2006 13).²⁰ This is likely influenced by both the Norwegian museum's role in nation-building, and the idea of the museum as a neutral and impartial institution.

Museums may wish to avoid courting controversy, particularly when it comes to losing visitors. Museum employees that I spoke to expressed that they felt that there was too much of an emphasis on visitor numbers by museum administration entities. While visitor numbers in one way to measure the success of a museum, this reliance on numbers may mean that museums are reluctant to take necessary risks.

Additionally, museums struggle with how to attract members of the majority public who are disinterested in or even opposed to exposure to other cultures. There is also the issue of increasing attendance to multicultural events. Unlike multicultural exhibitions residing in the museum, events must attract visitors entirely on their own merit. The multicultural theme of these events mean that they will be attended by those already interested in other cultures, or by members of the minority culture themselves. This makes it difficult - if not impossible - for museums to use events to challenge prejudices held by the majority culture. The problem is difficult to solve; one potential solution is continuing to invest time and resources in involving schools with different activities, as the walking tours at IKM and the Day of the Dead at KHM have done, thus offering an exposure to diverse culture to students who would not have been exposed otherwise. Another option is to consider the venue; several "mainstream" museums have hosted multicultural events which increases the chance of new audience encounters.

However, many visitors to these mainstream museums may have clear expectations about what they'll experience during their visit. Gurt and Torress (2007:522) discuss how this impacts museums that also serve as popular tourist attractions.

The phenomenon of tourism, with museums functioning as components of tourist products, makes up a notable part in this increase in centres and users. This fact might, however, mean that when cultural heritage is investigated, interpreted and presented, the aim of filling holiday and leisure time is placed at the forefront. This type of prioritisation leads to a tendency for museums to give out information and messages which promote the maintenance and legitimisation of

²⁰ Original text: "...museet skal være forbeholdt de tingene vi er stolte av"

certain social relationships, leading to a non-critical use of these centres, allegedly neutral but really very much ideologically led.

This is particularly applicable to Norsk Folkemuseum. As one of the most popular museums in Oslo, the Folkemuseum is a popular tourist attraction and draws thousands of people who expect to see a preconceived notion about authentic Norwegian culture. When there is an emphasis on increasing visitor numbers, and the majority of visitors are tourists, it can be very risky to have events and exhibitions that challenge a culturally homogenous narrative.

Creating Long-Term Engagement With Short-Term Events

The biggest challenge that events face is that they are by their nature a short-term project. Keith is wary of pouring resources into short-term events, and details the potential consequences:

Change in the museum's narrative or content as a result of engagement in temporary exhibitions or activities is often short-lived. The resources attached to these projects are often unsustainable and it may not be possible to continue relationships with audiences and organizations beyond the scope of the project. As the museum moves on to its next initiative focus will shift to another topic, resources will be directed towards the next group, and the museum will most likely not include previous stakeholders in these new developments. Once considered important, audiences and organizations can feel abandoned and used (Keith, 2012:52)

However, the short-term nature of events does not necessarily mean that they will be ineffective. The Discovery Museum in Newcastle upon Tyne hosted a workshop in which teenagers who had previously been involved in illegal graffiti activities were guided by an artist to create a spray paint art project. Curators were blunt about the limitations of the project, saying that "short projects aren't going to stop them spray painting elsewhere. The point was to open a dialogue. Many of these kids had only ever been to the museums with school before and not returned since. Now they drop in for a cup of tea and they're scouting around for other things to do here" (Nightingale, 2000).

Genuine Initiative

2008 was dubbed *Mangfoldsåret* (Diversity Year) by the Norwegian government which allocated 36.2 million kroner to be used for cultural projects that emphasized a diverse, multicultural society (Henningsen and Skålnes 2010). The question is whether or not

these projects actually resulted in any sort of measurable change, or were developed only to satisfy a government directive. Several people that I spoke to felt that the latter was more accurate, noting that many of the museums that participated in Diversity Year 2008 declined to participate in the Diversity Network the following year. In order for programs and events to be successful and create a lasting and long-term impact, they need to spring from a genuine desire to perform social justice work.

Change does not come from ticking a checkbox and moving on to the next project; it requires constant work and attention. Both the museum's audience and co-collaboratives deserve genuine engagement from museums, particularly when dealing with difficult themes.

Chapter Seven: Reaching Out and Drawing In

Demographics in Norway have changed dramatically, presenting a more nuanced, difficult answer to the question of who, and what, is actually Norwegian. This is not a uniquely Norwegian trend - the changes wrought by increased immigration has generated a large amount of attention and debate in many countries across the world. The result of mass migration means that cultural dynamics are changing, and not always for the better. My thesis research is the intersection of two questions that I am passionate about: First, how can Norwegian museums work to ease tensions in an increasingly diverse society? Second, how can these museums draw in visitors who are intimidated or uncertain about museums? One of the answers to these questions can be found in events, which give museums a chance to produce exciting, unusual, and even celebratory activities. Nina Simon (2010:preface) asks how cultural institutions can connect with the public and demonstrate their value and relevance; she answers with, "I believe they can do this by inviting people to actively engage as cultural participants, not passive consumers." This is the unique power that events have. My research was conducted with a desire to see how events functioned in a museum's curatorial practice.

I chose three separate events at three different museums in the hopes of gaining as broad of an understanding as possible. In addition to attending each of the three events, I revisited the museums several months later to look for any visible impact left by the event. I also interviewed two curators who were most involved in producing the events. Unsurprisingly, there are notable limitations in my research, as described in chapter three. Most significantly, it proved to be impossible to obtain an interview with the curator of Polish Christmas Traditions, and therefore the conclusions I have drawn come only from my own observation and participation in the event. Additionally, as two of the three events only occurred once a year, my observation was limited. However, I felt that the biggest limitation was the size and scope of this research project. Patton (2014:513) states that, "Analysis finally makes clear what would have been most important to study, if only we had known beforehand". One of the most significant findings of my research is that events draw people into the museum who would not have otherwise come. Therefore, it would be immensely valuable to pursue further research into audience reception, particularly about whether or not participation in

museum events led to repeat visits or increased the chance that event participants would choose to visit other museums.

Many people would insist that they value cultural diversity, and that working towards a more accepting society is not radical or even new work. However, reports and statistics indicate that both populism and hate crimes are on the rise. This trend has unfortunately been noted both worldwide and in Norway. According to research conducted by the Norwegian Statistics Bureau, 62.7% of hate crimes registered in 2017 were motivated by skin color or ethnic background; additionally, this category of hate crime has seen the largest increase over time (*Hatkriminalitet* 2018:8). What is particularly concerning is that the rise of extreme right terrorism has not received nearly the amount of attention that other forms of terrorist threats have, becoming more dangerous for the lack of attention. For that reason, it is essential that museums consider multicultural displays and exhibitions as a form of socially responsible museum practice.

In response to the rapidly changing demographics, the Norwegian government has expressed the importance of immigrants integrating quickly into Norwegian society. However, I would also like to generate debate around what integration actually means. Does integration mean setting aside native traditions and adopting Norwegian ones instead, or does integration merely involve gaining the skills and confidence necessary to navigate an increasingly diverse society? Multicultural events and exhibitions offer an alternative to one-sided integration, emphasizing a reciprocal model which may ultimately be far more effective.

What makes museums uniquely equipped to deal with the challenges of social justice? Activist Douglas Worts (2018) writes that, "By bringing people together in ways that build bridges within and across human communities, museums have the ability to strive towards supporting our living culture in making room for deep personal reflections, public dialogue and human action." There is growing support for museums to step out of their role as neutral authorities and take a more active approach in dealing with social issues. In Norway, as in the rest of the world, there is an increasing awareness of the museum's ability to be an instrument of social change. The fact that museums are largely receiving support and encouragement for their activist work from government and international agencies is promising; importantly, all of the curators that I spoke to said that they felt that their work was valued and supported by

government institutions. However, it is necessary that museums take creative approaches in order to connect and engage with visitors. It is not enough to merely tick the checkbox for cultural diversity; museums must make a real attempt to connect with visitors and the groups that they work with, in order to produce effective and responsible offerings.

Social activism within museums is a worthy pursuit which has the potential to be remarkably rewarding and impactful. However, the work is challenging and can be met by discouraging resistance from the public. Unfortunately, good intentions and a desire to increase multicultural offerings are insufficient. It is not enough to state that museums are institutions that can perform valuable acts of social justice; there are very real problems and limitations that museums face when planning and executing events. According to Bettum, Walle and Kaisa (2018:10), "The consequence is that often the good intentions meet the practical reality and a continual emphasis on income and visitor numbers."²¹ The reality is that museums have limited resources, prompting difficult decisions about how those resources can be used most effectively. It is understandable that they may be reluctant to allocate resources to projects when the sort of reception and attendance the project will receive is uncertain. While government institutions have been active in encouraging museums to make cultural diversity a priority, they are also measure a museum's success by how many visitors the museum has received. Controversial events, or "niche" events may result in a drop in visitor numbers, which could have negative consequences for the museum. That being said, the events that I attended proved to be immensely popular with the public, and drew visitors across many different social groups and cultural backgrounds, showing that risk can often lead to great rewards.

Museums must also be aware that they are operating from a position of power, and therefore it is important to continuously evaluate the effect and the exact message that they are producing. Karlgård (2018:177) stresses the importance of open dialogue in this evaluation process, writing, "The best way to learn by experience as well as create a good and diverse process will always be by holding an open dialogue, in

21 Original text: Konsekvensen er ofte at de gode intensjonene møter den praktiske virkeligheten og en kontinuerlig vektlegging av inntjening og besøkstall.

addition to meeting discussions and criticisms with engagement and interest.”²² A great deal of trust is placed in museums; this sort of trust should not be taken lightly, and highlights the importance of evaluating and re-evaluating the messages that their curatorial practices are sending - whether intentionally, or inadvertently by the exclusion of diverse voices.

Finally, I would like to state that it is essential that museum professionals keep in mind that the work that they do may not be immediately apparent from the outside. The way that the museum is perceived by the public may be considerably different than how it is intended to be perceived by curators. It isn't sufficient to state in documentation that cultural diversity is a priority - museums must reach out and show this to the public, some of whom may not immediately be comfortable in visiting museums. While Norwegian museums have been very vocal about the fact that the museum belongs to everyone, the reality is that many people feel otherwise. My experiences both with my own family and volunteering at a language cafe has made me aware that there are many people who have positive attitudes towards and an interest in museums yet are still reluctant to visit.

Although I had previously viewed events as secondary to the museum's 'real' work of curating exhibitions and preserving artifacts, speaking with people both inside and outside of the museum sector has shown me that museum events can do things that ordinary exhibitions cannot. They allow museums to take risks, to experiment, and most importantly, they invite visitors in and give them the opportunity to participate. These events are a departure from the image of the museum as an authoritative source of uncontested knowledge, and instead help shape a more democratic, collaborative and community-focused institution. By developing multicultural events, museums are extending a welcoming hand to different segments of their audience, and the impact of bringing in people who are most in need of the museum's messages of inclusivity cannot be overstated.

22 Original text: Den beste måten å lære av erfaring samt skape en god og mangfoldig prosess på, vil uansett være å holde en åpen dialog, i tillegg til å møte diskusjoner og kritikk med engasjement og interesse.

Bibliography

(n.d.). Retrieved May 4, 2019, from UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage website:

<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/indigenous-festivity-dedicated-to-the-dead-00054>

Aalandslid, V. (n.d.). *Record numbers of displaced persons*. Retrieved from

<https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/record-numbers-of-displaced-persons>

Andersen, B., Brattbakk, I., Hagen, A. L., Ruud, M. E., Ander, H. E., Breistrand, H., . . .

Dalseide, A. M. (n.d.). *På sporet av det nye grønland* (Research Report No. 04:2017). Retrieved from

<https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/13254749/Innhold/Politikk%20og%20administrasjon/Slik%20bygger%20vi%20Oslo/Omr%C3%A5del%C3%B8ft%20Gr%C3%B8nland/Stedsanalyse%20Gr%C3%B8nland%2C%20AFI-rapport%2004.2017.pdf>

Andersen, K. S. (2016, August 17). Kampen om grønland. *NRK, Kronikk*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nrk.no/ytring/kampen-om-gronland-1.13090796>

Anmeldt hatkriminalitet 2018. (n.d.). Retrieved from

https://www.politiet.no/globalassets/dokumenter/oslo/rapporter/anmeldt-hatkriminalitet-oslo/Anmeldt_hatkriminalitet_i_Oslo_2018

Appleton, J. (2007). Museums for 'the people'? In S. Watson (Ed.), *Museums and their communities* (pp. 114-126). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Bene, E. (2018, August 21). [Personal interview by the author].

- Berger, S. (2015). National museums in between nationalism, imperialism and regionalism, 1750-1914. In P. Aronsson & G. Elgenius (Eds.), *National museums and nation-building in europe 1750-2010* (pp. 13-32). Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Bettum, A., Maliniemi, K., & Walle, T. M. (2018). Et inkluderende museum; Kulterult mangfold i praksis. In A. Bettum, K. Maliniemi, & T. M. Walle (Eds.), *Et inkluderende museum. kulturelt mangfold i praksis* (pp. 9-21). Trondheim, Norway: Museumsforlaget.
- Bettum, A., & Özcan, G. (2018). Dialog som metode - inkluderingsstrategier ved interkulturelt museum 2006-2016. In A. Bettum, K. Maliniemi, & T. M. Walle (Eds.), *Et inkluderende museum. kulturelt mangfold i praksis* (pp. 181-224). Trondheim, Norway: Museumsforlaget.
- Brekke, J.-P., & Mohn, F. A. (n.d.). *Holdninger til innvandring og integrering i norge* (Report No. 2018:8). Retrieved from <https://www.imdi.no/contentassets/9f6bf228de9342d2acd9b43063c49c63/integreringsbarometeret-2018-holdninger-til-innvandrere-og-integrering.pdf>
- Customer service and business results: A survey of customer service from mid-size companies.* (n.d.). Retrieved from http://cdn.zendesk.com/resources/whitepapers/Zendesk_WP_Customer_Service_and_Business_Results.pdf
- Denzin, N.K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, USA: Prentice Hall.
- Fleming, D. (2012). Museums for social justice. In R. Sandell & E. Nightingale (Eds.), *Museums, equality and social justice* (pp. 72-83). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- 14 prosent av befolkningen er innvandrere. (2017, March 5). Retrieved September 11, 2018, from <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/14-prosent-av-befolkningen-er-innvandrere>
- Grillo, R. D. (2003). Cultural Essentialism and Cultural Anxiety. *Anthropological Theory*, 3(2), 157-173. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.uio.no/10.1177/1463499603003002002>
- Gurt, G. A., & Torres, J. M. R. (2007). People who don't go to museums. *Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at* <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rjhs20> *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 13(6), 521-'523. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250701587220>
- Hauge, I., & Akman, H. (2010). Museum og mangfold i norsk kontekst. *The Journal Nordic Museology*, 2. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5617/nm.3159>
- Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography For the Internet*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Holmensland, H., Slettvåg, S., & Frøyland, M. (2006). Litt om prosjektet brudd. In *AMB Skrift: Brudd: om det ubehagelige, tabubelagte, marginale, usynlige, kontroversielle* (Vol. 26, pp. 6-17). Retrieved from https://issuu.com/norsk_kulturrad/docs/brudd?mode=window&backgroundColor=%23222222
- Jakobsen, S. (2015, November 13). Mange polske innvandrere lever et polsk liv i Norge. Retrieved May 10, 2019, from forskning.no website: <https://forskning.no/innvandring/mange-polske-innvandrere-lever-et-polsk-liv-i-norge/459077>
- Karlgård, T. C.S. (2018). "Et sted å være rom sammen", museene og samarbeid med norske rom. In A. Bettum, K. Maliniemi, & T. M. Walle (Eds.), *Et inkluderende*

museum. kulturelt mangfold i praksis (pp. 159-179). Trondheim, Norway:
Museumsforlaget.

Karlgård, T. S. (2019, February 4). [Personal interview by the author].

Karp, I. (1991). Other cultures in museum perspective. In I. Karp (Ed.) & S. D. Lavine
(Author), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (pp.
373-385). Washington, USA: Smithsonian Institute.

Karp, I. (1992). [Introduction]. In I. Karp & C. M. Kreamer (Eds.) & S. D. Levine (Author),
Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture (pp. 1-18). Washington,
USA: Smithsonian Institute.

Kawulich, B. B. (2005). Participant observation as a data collection method. *FORUM:
Qualitative Social Research*, 6(2). Retrieved from [http://www.qualitative-
research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/466/996#g8](http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/466/996#g8)

Keith, K. F. (2012). Moving beyond the mainstream. In R. Sandell & E. Nightingale (Eds.),
Museums, equality and social justice (pp. 45-58). London, United Kingdom:
Routledge.

Kennicott, P. (2018, October 12). Is it a museum or not? The question is worth asking.
The Washington Post, Museums. Retrieved from
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/is-it-a-museum-
or-not-the-question-is-worth-asking/2018/10/12/54eded68-c5c1-11e8-9b1c-
a90f1daae309_story.html?utm_term=.4258ecb73735](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/is-it-a-museum-or-not-the-question-is-worth-asking/2018/10/12/54eded68-c5c1-11e8-9b1c-a90f1daae309_story.html?utm_term=.4258ecb73735)

Koehler, D. (2016). Right-Wing extremism and terrorism in europe. *PRISM*, 6(2), 85-
104. Retrieved from
[https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-
2/Prism%20Vol%206%20No%202.pdf?ver=2016-08-03-155946-023](https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-2/Prism%20Vol%206%20No%202.pdf?ver=2016-08-03-155946-023)

- Kulturrådet. (2018, December). *Kulturrådets vurdering av museene i 2017*. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/norsk_kulturrad/docs/museene_2017_web
- Kulturrådets museumsundersøkelse 2018*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.kulturradet.no/documents/10157/e9dde1a1-8073-4e11-adcc-31037c8a3597>
- Lanz, F., & Montanari, E. (2014). A reflection of innovative experiences in 21st century european museums. In F. Lanz & E. Montanari (Eds.), *Advancing museum practices* (pp. 10-22). Torino, Italy: Umberto Allemandi & C.
- Linde, K. (2018). Representasjoner av minoriter og marginale grupper ved MiA Museene i Akershus. In A. Bettum, K. Maliniemi, & T. M. Walle (Eds.), *Et inkluderende museum. kulturelt mangfold i praksis* (pp. 25-50). Trondheim, Norway: Museumsforlaget.
- Lynch, B. (2011). Collaboration, contestation, and creative conflict: On the efficacy of museum/community partnerships. In J. Marstine (Ed.), *The routledge companion to museum ethics* (pp. 146-163). Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Marshall, C. (2010, February 25). What I can tell you about interviewing after conducting, editing and broadcasting 100 of them [Blog post]. Retrieved from War on Mediocrity website: <https://colinmarshall.typepad.com/blog/2010/02/what-i-can-tell-you-about-interviewing-after-conducting-editing-and-broadcasting-100-of-them.html>
- Marstine, J. (2011). The contingent nature of the new museum ethics. In J. Marstine (Ed.), *The routledge companion to museum ethics* (pp. 3-25). Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Mer innvandervennlige holdninger*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/mer-innvandervennlige-holdninger>

- Message, K. (2013). Headline News [Introduction]. In K. Message (Author), *Museums and social activism: Engaged protest* (pp. 1-41). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Moos, R. (1975). *Evaluating correctional and community settings*. New York, USA: Wiley Interscience.
- Nightingale, J. (2000, October 18). The people's show. *The Guardian*, Society. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2000/oct/18/guardiansocietysupplement4>
- Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning. (2018). *Mangfoldsåret: Muligheter og motsigelser i politikken for et flerkulturelt kulturliv* (Report No. 18) (S. Skålnes & E. Henningsen, Authors).
- Ofstad, M. M. (2019, February 4). [Personal interview by the author].
- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice* (Fourth ed.). Los Angeles, USA: SAGE Publications.
- Peers, L., & Brown, A. (2003). [Introduction]. In L. Peers & A. Brown (Eds.), *Museums and Source Communities* (pp. 1-16). London, UK: Routledge.
- Politidirektoratet. (2018, May). *Hatkriminalitet anmeldelser 2017*. Retrieved from <https://www.politiet.no/globalassets/04-aktuelt-tall-og-fakta/anmeldelser-hatkriminalitet/anmeldelser-med-hatmotiv-2017.pdf>
- Reilly, M. (2018). *Curatorial activism: Towards an ethics of curating*. London, United Kingdom: Thames and Hudson.
- Roseberry, W. (1992). Multiculturalism and the challenge of anthropology. *Social Research*, 59(4), 841-858.

- Rusdal, E. H. (2017, May 31). Grønland skal løftes: Vil ikke gå i tøyen-fella. *Dagsavisen*, Oslo. Retrieved from <https://www.dagsavisen.no/oslo/gronland-skal-loftes-vil-ikke-ga-i-toyen-fella-1.974844>
- Sandell, R. (2007). *Museums, prejudice and the reframing of difference*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Sandell, R., & Nightingale, E. (2012). [Introduction]. In R. Sandell & E. Nightingale (Eds.), *Museums, equality and social justice* (pp. 1-9). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Sandell, R., & Nightingale, E. (Eds.). (2012). *Museums, equality and social justice*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Seierstad, A. (2019, March 18). The anatomy of white terror. *The New York Times*, Opinion. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/opinion/new-zealand-tarrant-white-supremacist-terror.html>
- Smee, B., & Townsend, M. (2019, March 16). Grafton was known for jacaranda blossom but mosque shootings have changed that. *The Guardian*, World. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/16/grafton-australia-christchurch-killer-home-town>
- Steel, P. (2017, April 24). Help to diversity museum visitors. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from Museums Association website: <https://www.museumsassociation.org/news/24042017-help--diversify-museum-visitors>
- Tharoor, I. (2018, October 15). How a right-wing terrorist anticipated the ultranationalist wave. *Washington Post*, WorldViews. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/10/15/how-right-wing-terrorist-anticipated-ultra-nationalist-wave/?utm_term=.39d86f95f33a

- Walle, T. (2003). Participation and othering in documenting the present. In L. Meijer-van Mensch (Ed.) & E. Tietmeyer (Author), *Participative Strategies in Collecting the Present* (pp. 83-94). Berlin, Germany: Panama Verlag.
- Walle, T. (2018). Museuale inkluderingsstrategier. In A. Bettum, K. Maliniemi, & T. M. Walle (Eds.), *Et inkluderende museum. kulturelt mangfold i praksis* (pp. 107-130). Trondheim, Norway: Museumsforlaget.
- Worts, D. (2018, April 18). Is there another way? Reflections on museums, neutrality and activism. Retrieved May 11, 2019, from Art Museum Teaching website: <https://artmuseumteaching.com/2018/04/11/reflection-on-museums-neutrality/>