Proceedings of the Second Faculty of the Arts Doctoral College Conference

Kirk Sullivan and Virginia Langum
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Introduction

This collection represents a selection of papers presented at the Umeå University Faculty of Arts Doctoral College annual conference in December 2013. The conference is designed as a means of generating opportunities for graduate students to practice public speaking as well as establishing an informed and supportive network of colleagues.

Developing presentation and writing skills in Swedish and/or English is an integral aspect of doctoral training in Sweden. The Higher Education Ordinance requires of graduating doctoral students that they can demonstrate the ability in both national and international contexts to present and discuss research and research findings authoritatively in speech and writing and in dialogue with the academic community and society in general.

The Doctoral College Conference, its abstract booklet and proceedings are core elements of the college’s strategy of supporting the development of presentation skills in speech and writing from the first semester onwards. During the autumn semester, we supported preparation for the conference with a full-day academic writing workshop and shorter, more focused seminars covering related topics such as conference selection, abstract writing, presentation skills and publication opportunities.

Writing and presenting in a language other than your mother tongue is challenging. The friendly and open environment allows the doctoral students to support each other in improving their presentation technique. The students can see what works and does not work; the range of disciplines taking part means that there are presentations that will be more difficult to follow, allowing greater focus on how the message of the presentation is communicated. Further, as the conference covers the entire spectrum of arts and humanities, some of this dialogue provides training for presenting to society in general.

The range of research projects presented and discussed strengthens understanding of research, its possibilities and limitations. The students are challenged to understand other projects, their relevance for society together with how the results of the study could be applied. The discussion that follows the conference presentation is as central to the learning process as the presentation and the writing of the conference paper.

We hope you will enjoy this glimpse into the rich range of current doctoral research in the humanities at Umeå University.

Kirk Sullivan and Virginia Langum
The Emergence of an Art Museum Exhibiting Culture

Eva-Lena Bergström

Branding and Identity – Museum Questions?
The McDonalds and Coca-Cola logos and the Nokia slogan “connecting people” are familiar brands worldwide. However, the brand more relevant to the topic of this paper is that of the Tate Museums in Great Britain. While once tightly connected to the marketing and commercial sector, branding is now also of great importance to most international museums. Branding has become a way to define and communicate an identity position, a token by which to distinguish oneself from others.

Today it seems as though branding has grown into something more than a marketing strategy; it is more about finding and defining the essence of an institution, fostering that idea amongst staff and actively using it in management processes and communication with society.

What is a museum identity and is it possible to talk about a single identity? This general and overall question, posed from a contemporary museological perspective, will function as a departure for this paper which aims to explore the emergence of an art museum exhibiting culture in the late nineteenth century.

With some examples from the exhibitions at Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and other exhibition galleries, this paper aims to investigate and discuss the function of temporary exhibitions in relation to the museum position in public society and to identify the ideal visitor. To whom were the exhibitions directed?

Exhibition Theory
Within museum studies and museology there has been a focus on the display of the permanent collections; focusing, for example, on representation of nationality, art historical values and gender questions. However, there are few studies looking at the discursive function of temporary exhibitions in the ongoing process of constructing representations of the nation, history, art history, the museum visitor. Despite the dearth of scholarship, this is an important process when determining the public position of the museum during a certain period.

Why are the temporary exhibitions useful when discussing and framing the museum's position? Metaphorically speaking the exhibitions could be described as the face of the museum: The side you choose to show others, a representation of how the museum perceives and interprets its mission and
its relation towards the community. It is often also the most public part, always exposed to the judgment of the critic and the response of the public in a repetitive and cyclic process. Like a face, the exhibitions are never the same; they differ in the same way as mimics when reflecting different moods.

My dissertation project is an exhibition history and as such I am not primarily interested in the history of the objects but instead in the epistemological processes which generate, and are generated, when different objects are put together in time and space. In my opinion, both the permanent and the temporary exhibitions could be regarded as discursive constructions. They are an attempt to organize and systematize knowledge, the history and representations of meaning: narratives.

The variation is enormous, from small specialist exhibitions to huge and broad ranging block busters, and it is easy to get lost when trying to understand and explore the relation between such a disparity of expressions and the place of museum in public space.

At this point the objective is to investigate both how meaning is represented in exhibition practice as well as its discursive effects. I depart from the idea that the temporary exhibitions are actively engaged in the production of meaning and discourse. The overall aim is to analyze to what extent they affect not only art historical narratives, esthetics, and different representational practices but also to reveal the domination of one discourse and the mechanism of power involved.

My hypothesis is based on three assumptions: firstly, that the temporary exhibition has a discursive range and potential exceeding the permanent museum presentations; secondly, that the growth of temporary exhibitions is due to the tension between the museum aim to be both a scientific and an educative and popular institution; thirdly, that the concept of the ideal visitor could reveal this tension.

The analytical frame is inspired by three main theories developed during the late twentieth century: the idea concerning sociological aspects on museum visiting as developed and conceptualized as habitus by Pierre Bourdieu; the ideas of the public space and its relation to the emergence of democracy as discussed by Jürgen Habermas and finally the investigations concerning power relation and the emergence of institutions outlined by Michael Foucault. With a certain focus on the visual and spatial aspects as historical constructions and the ideal visitor as an indicator of the museum’s social aims, I am influenced by recent museological writings by Julia Nordegraaf, Charlotte Klonk and Jennifer Barrett.\footnote{Jennifer, Barrett, Museums and the Public Sphere, Chichester 2012; Charlotte Klonk, Spaces of Experience. Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000, Yale University Press New Haven & London 2009; Julia Nordegraaf, Strategies of Display. Museum Presentation in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Visual Culture, diss Erasmus University Rotterdam 2004,}
The ephemeral character makes the exhibition hard to catch and lead to methodological problems. The documentation consists mainly of catalogues, sometimes interior photographs and other documents, but it is definitely not always systematically done. Some exhibitions tend to pass without a trace while other appears as revolutionary; gaining lots of attention when on show but also long afterwards they had been de-installed. Other major sources are the annual reports, highlighting the aims of the museum and the cultural magazine *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* which gives an idea of the reception and critical notions concerning exhibitions in Stockholm and Nationalmuseum. From these two different perspectives this paper focuses on public aspects with an aim to analyze and compare the construction of the ideal visitor. Photos and illustrations have also been important documents.

An exhibition is complex: it both represents the contemporary and the historical it has both art historical/cultural historical scientific as broad populist ambitions. It is also expressive; a statement directed towards a receptor. In this respect the exhibition could be regarded both as a representative of the museum self-image and an expression of the norms and values within the art historical and cultural political discourse. Yet at the same time, the exhibition is actively engaged in producing representation and meaning which contributes to identifying the museum position in relation to the art history, society and the visitor.

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**Exhibition Theory**

**Context**
Nationalmuseum was, and still is, a museum of the nation although the art collections are of royal origin. The new museum building was inaugurated in June 1866 after decades of parliamentary struggle and lobbying. As a National Museum, the museum had to host the historical collections, the national antiquities, the armory collections, the coin collection, the sculptures and the collections of applied art and finally on top floor the collections of fine art which in fact meant that it already from its beginning was perceived as overcrowded. The Venetian renaissance façade incorporating classical references was in the entrance hall combined with giant sculptures by Fogelberg drawn from Swedish mythology: Oden, Tor
and Balder. The collections were arranged according to the common and hierarchical ordering of museum collections in the late 19th century. ²

The fine art collections were presented in a traditional manor in schools dominated by the Flemish and Dutch 17th century, the French 18th century, the Italian school and the Swedish 18th and 19th century. Looking from a museum perspective Nationalmuseum definitively represented the modern and successful nation Sweden, although not a great nation politically any longer but instead a bearer of a cultural and national modern spirit fully comparable to its European neighbors.

**Stockholm and the arts**

The opening exhibition in 1866 was a Scandinavian Art Exposé, part of the larger Stockholm Exposition, and it occupied the top floor originally planned for the museum collection of fine art. However, as the planning and installation of the collections were delayed this was a pragmatic solution enabling public access to the whole building. The overall Nordic emphasis was outspoken; the aim for the exhibition was to focus on Nordic values as they were represented in the art. These values were said to be an approach to nature, to the daily life of the Nordic people and to the history of the northern countries. The most prominent cultural magazine from this period, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, reviewed the exhibition in ten articles during the summer 1866 and printed many illustrations.³

It was for sure an impressive display which marked the museum as a monument for the nation, but it was also a single event, and with a few exceptions the museum never gained a position as a leading actor for the contemporary art during the first decades after the opening. In 1945, Sixten Strömbom, when writing the first history of the famous Swedish Artist Union, which acted against the conservative and academic tradition at the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts and also Nationalmuseum, concludes that due to the diverse ideas about the management and organization at the new museum there was neither enough resources nor proper competence to run the museum. This had a negative impact which lasted almost half a century and hampered the museum from fulfilling its duty for accessible art education; a source for aesthetic experience and a scientific institute.⁴

An examination of articles about Nationalmuseum and other art exhibition locations in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* gives a similar picture. The museum does not seem to have had a front position, neither for the young artist generation nor for the growing art-interested urban society. In an 1869

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³ Dietrichson, Lorentz, Skandinaviska Konst-Expositionen i Stockholm 1866, Aftryck ur Ny Illustrerad Tidning; *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 16/6,23/6,7/7,24/7,28/7,4/8,11/8,18/8 and 25/8 1866.
press piece, the author compares the art scene in Rome, Paris, Düsseldorf and Stockholm in a comic, satirical illustration and text together with a hope that the museum could be a new exhibition location open for everyone, not only the bourgeois and art connoisseurs, at least once a week. In 1866 the museum opening hours with free entrance were Sundays 13-15 and Tuesdays 11-15. On Thursdays and Fridays between 11-15 there was an entrance fee of 50 öre. Tourists and art students could access the collection outside opening hours by pre-booking arrangements.

Interesting, in 1881 a German scholar visiting the Nationalmuseum as part of an art museum project; a tourist guidance, states that the museum building is interesting but the overall impression less impressive due to the low quality of the collection. He finds that out of 1300 objects at least 800 could be excluded. The museum curator Georg Göthe, obviously badly affected, explains that the duty of the museum as a public institution is to show all parts of a historical development, not only the most exclusive paintings. This statement was forgotten when in 1885 a huge sorting and exclusion process took place. Then one of the main arguments was quality reasons.

During the late 1860s and 1870s the main actor in the exhibition field was the Art Society, founded in 1832. Its exhibition of 1869 was praised as comprising a far more interesting and comprehensive picture of Swedish art from the period 1800-1850 than the collection of Nationalmuseum. The second actor was the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and their prize competitions which took place every other year.

Why did Nationalmuseum not succeed in taking an active position in the art scene in this period? The picture given from the different perspectives suggests that it is strongly due to its tight connection to the Academy, the same person was actually part of the leading committee for both institutions, and accordingly the museum were regarded primarily as an educational and scientific institution, and only secondly as the populist art arena. There was obviously no organized or structured publicly, and apart from the Academy, museum policy formulated, no museum idea of its own.

We know about some successful museum exhibitions; two as different as the exhibition of the portrait of Karl XV by Georg von Rosen, 1873 and the scandalous painting Hunting Nymph and fauns by Julius Kronberg 1876.

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5 Ny Illustrerad Tidning, 22/9 1866, pp. 299-301.
6 Bjurström, p. 127.
7 Ny Illustrerad Tidning 8/1 1881, En tysk lärd om Stockholm och vårt nationalmuseum, G. Göthe p. 18.
8 Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum nr 6, 1885, s. 22.
9 Ny Illustrerad Tidning 21/8 1866, s. 271; Lindwall, Bo och Nu. Svenskt konstliv under 150 år, Uddevalla 1982.
followed by a moral debate. But the overall impression is that the function of museum was mainly as an educational supplement to the Academy, not as the public institution it was intended to.\textsuperscript{10}

**Visitor aspects**

From 1881 the Annual reports are published and they give a good picture of the museum priorities and activities. In addition to the ordering and systematic work with the collection there is detailed information concerning public activities including visitor numbers, opening hours, paintings copied, and the number and gender of the copyists. There are also remarks concerning the relation between the temporary exhibitions and the rise in visiting numbers.

The position as educational institution is highlighted by the annual and detailed statistics concerning the copying activities but there is also a concern for the public and declining visitor numbers which, for example, explained by nasty weather conditions during the summer which affected the number of tourists. In these early annual reports the tourists and the art students are mentioned as main target groups, but there is a growing awareness concerning temporary exhibitions as a mean of gaining broad public interest. As an example, a remark in the annual report concludes that the exhibition showing the wedding gifts to the young crown prince couple attracted more visitors than usual for the month of November, a period definitely out of tourist season. The opening hours were extended with free access Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays, other days the entrance fee was 50 öre. One week in May and one week in December the museum closed for cleaning. The visitor numbers are said to be around 40 000 visitor/year, Sundays excluded. Sundays were the most popular visiting day and there could be up to 1200 visitors each Sunday. Altogether the average visiting number was around 100 000 a year.\textsuperscript{11}

**Concurring actors on the art scene**

But, still in the beginning of the 1880s, the museum was not regarded as the main center for contemporary art. An article written in 1882 discusses the art scene in Stockholm. The art visiting days and hours were Sunday afternoons between 13-15, then people streamed towards the three localization: the Art Society, The Nordic Art Society and Nationalmuseum. But the ones choosing the museum are described as tourists (people from other parts of Sweden), children, soldiers and maids while the young intellectuals and art interested bourgeois were gathering at the Blanch café.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{11} Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum nr. 1-3, 1881,1882,1883.
\end{flushright}
A year later the café got a private funded extension; an exhibition place showing both contemporary Swedish artists and older masters on loan from abroad.\textsuperscript{12}

In the middle of 1880s a new direction was evolving. The art interest was growing and new exhibition locations were emerging in the capital. Some young talented artists, having studied in Paris, gathered and constituted the Swedish Artist Union, in reaction against the conservative and academic teaching at the Academy and the conservative attitude towards the recent developments within arts as represented by the art purchase of the museum. The conflict was acted out in the concurring exhibitions held at the Royal Academy and by the Swedish Artist Union (the opponents) at Blanch under the title “From the beaches of Seine”.\textsuperscript{13}

From this period Nationalmuseum seems to change toward a more publicly direction; a new path first entered by the new director Gustaf Upmark. In 1884, a sorting and excluding of the collections were undertaken; in 1885 the armory collections and the coin collections on the first floor moved back to the castle and the galleries were reinstalled with the applied arts collection. A temporary exhibition of 1887 presenting old gold and silver objects became a public success. This exhibition was accomplished with a catalogue and a guide\textsuperscript{14} From this period and onwards the museum actively strove to take a position as a representative of the contemporary art activities that were part of the national spirit. There were small exhibits of public monuments, architectural drawing competitions of state buildings; portraits of the royalties, aristocracy and upper bourgeois. An interesting example of this tendency is the exhibition of 1892 including photographs taken by the crown princess Victoria on her trip to Egypt 1890-1891.

Conclusion

The material chosen reveals slightly divergent pictures. The museum perspective and the critics’ views differ.

When focusing on the visitor aspects I have noticed:

- 1866 – 1881 little public interest. The exhibit of The Nymph and fauns 1876 gained a wider interest and awoke a moral debate. There was a close connection to the Royal Academy of Fine arts, making the museum more like an education extension than a museum for the public.
- 1881 – 1885 still little public interest. The strong emphasis on copying activities indicate a position closer to the art history and art educational academic tradition than as a contemporary art arena

\textsuperscript{12} Ny Illustrerad Tidning, 9/12 1882, Från våra konstutställningar, pp. 451 – 454.
\textsuperscript{13} Strömbo, s. 193 ff; Ny Illustrerad Tidning, 11/4 1885, Från Seinens strand, pp. 125-126.
\textsuperscript{14} Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum no. 4-6.
- 1885-1892 growing public interest. The academic attitudes were challenged and an extensive excluding of the collection on display took place. A new department and new galleries for applied art were inaugurated. Temporary exhibitions were arranged on a regular basis with an aim to be contemporary.

It was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that the museum position seems to be in transition towards taking a more active part in the contemporary art arena.

Biography
I am a PhD student in Museology at Umeå University, Sweden and a Department director at Nationalmuseum (former Exhibtions and loans). My dissertation project is a historical overview of the temporary exhibitions at Nationalmuseum with special focus on the relation between the exhibition practice, the art historical discourse and the socio cultural ideas in the same period. Since 2007 I am part of the Working Committee for the Scandinavian Museum Association (Skandinaviska museiförbundet) and I used to be part of the former ALM (archives-libraries-museums) center steering group with mission to nationally coordinate questions concerning digitalization. Previous studies in Art History and History of ideas and Science at Stockholm University. Interested in Visual Culture and Digital humanities and other topics related visualization and exhibition practice. Like early mornings and sudden reflections during dog walks.
Responsibility and Pragmatism: Swedish Assistance to Czechoslovaks, 1968

Lukasz Gorniok

The crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is one of the major milestones in the Soviet political sphere in the post-War era. On the night of 20-21 August 1968, five Warsaw Pact armies invaded Czechoslovakia and silenced Alexander Dubček's attempts at political liberalization. This led thousands of intellectuals, writers, and others to flee the country. According to Nešpor (2002), about 200,000 people had left the country after the Czech crisis (p. 50).

Sweden was well informed about the events in Czechoslovakia. The Swedish Embassy in Prague had sent a vast number of analyses depicting each stage of this development. The campaign was also extensively reported in the Swedish media. In June 1968, the democratization efforts in Czechoslovakia became one of the subjects of the Foreign Minister's talk at the Congress of the Social Democratic Party. “We must welcome the humanization and liberalization,” the Minister urged of Sweden’s response to the Prague Spring (Documents on Swedish foreign policy, 1968-1971, p. 40). In the early morning of August 21, 1968, when the first telegram of the invasion of Eastern Bloc armies reached Stockholm, the Swedish government significantly condemned this step. The Foreign Minister depicted the intervention as a “world-wide political tragedy” and a “shattering defeat for freedom and the forces of democracy” (Documents on Swedish foreign policy, 1968-1971, p. 180). The invaders, the Minister stressed, ‘want to reintroduce in that country a regime which for the people of Czechoslovakia represents 20 years of oppression and forfeiture of freedom’. The government criticized the Communist political system which ‘has not been capable of winning over people’ and therefore must be secured by force or by the threat of force (Documents on Swedish foreign policy, 1968-1971, p. 186).

Similar criticism of the Soviet intervention was raised from various Western countries who saw this as another failure of the Communist system. However, in the Swedish case, the harsh condemnation of the oppressors has to be regarded in the light of some internal developments of that time and the emergence of so-called activism in Swedish foreign policy. The active emergence in world politics has its roots in the change of leadership in the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1962. Torsten Nilsson, the new
Foreign Minister, broke away from the small-state profile developed in the post-1945 bipolar era and placed Sweden much closer to international issues (Dalsjö, 2006, p. 101). The previous concept rejected alignment with any of the superpower blocs and was rooted in the fear of Soviet expansionism, particularly after the Stalinization of the political regimes in the Soviet sphere. The main goals were to foster friendly and cautious relations with the USSR and ensure that Sweden stay away from incendiary politics as it should not be seen as a base for Western attacks against the Soviet Union. After the change in the Sweden’s Foreign Office the Swedish government redefined its major national interests, mentioning international cooperation and aid to developing countries among the major national interests. The fundamental moral values of democratic socialism as it was stated in 1965 by Olof Palme, then Minister without Portfolio, “oblige us to stand, on each and every occasion, on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors” (Documents on Swedish foreign policy, 1963-1967, p. 47). In 1967, the government announced condemnation of all forms of persecution of dissidents and, through international actions, support of efforts for protection against such offences. An intense involvement in world politics was further stressed at the Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1968. “We are irrevocably involved in an international network of events which we must accept, whether we like it or not. We must make the contribution that is in our power” emphasized the Foreign Minister (Documents on Swedish foreign policy, 1968-1971, p. 37).

This attitude was visible in early reports of the Swedish Embassies depicting Czechoslovakian exiles willing to migrate to Sweden. On August 23, 1968, the Embassy in Warsaw informed the Foreign Ministry without any prior authorization of its aim to grant Swedish visas for Czechoslovakian emigrants with valid passports and necessary tourist travel allowances (Petri, 1968). Three days later, the Embassy in Vienna referred to a large number of Czechs inquiring about the permission to enter and work (Lagerfelt, 1968). The Embassy suggested considering the relaxation of visa procedures for emigrants from Czechoslovakia. A similar question about the residence permits for Czechoslovaks who, due to repressions, refuse to return was also brought by the Embassy in Belgrade. In this case, the Ambassador referred to the occupational composition of the applicants. “It is mostly about highly educated labour force, such as doctors and dentists” the official stressed (Rössel, 1968). After learning this, the Swedish authorities had to take a stance on this issue. The National Aliens Commission (Statens utlänningskommission, SUK) was the first authority to examine these inquiries. The reply sent to Vienna was that no special rules are provided for these migrants (Jönsson, 1968). However, on September 5, 1968, the Office of the King-In-Council announced that all Czechoslovaks interested in the migration to Sweden may be granted a visa. They were to be classified as
refugees as the Swedish state applied the status of refugee to all individuals fleeing the Eastern bloc. They were responsible for their own travel to Sweden and after arrival they were to be granted permission to work. The work placement was to be dependent on the Swedish labour market (Ahlford, 1968). A similar decision to provide resettlement and work opportunities for Czechoslovaks who do not wish to return to their country was announced at that time by the Australian and Swiss governments. These letters were recorded in the Ministry for Foreign Office on September 4 and September 5, 1968. It is therefore hardly likely that they were discussed during the Cabinet meeting. It was the information from Vienna and Belgrade that affected Sweden’s response. This has been confirmed, for example, in the letter announcing this decision to the Swedish Embassy in Brussels (Bundsen & Ahlford, 1968).

The other aspect concerns the unlimited character of the migration. In this regard, one has to recall the previous assistance to refugees. The history of the Swedish active refugee policy starts in the late 1942 when the information about the arrests and deportation of Norwegian Jews reached Sweden. Levine (1998, p. 136) found that this news was a shock for Swedish society and by the end of that year Swedish diplomats engaged themselves in the discussions with their German counterparts regarding the assistance to all Jews in Norway. About 900 Norwegian Jews were saved due to these efforts. In the following years, the Swedish government assisted about 8,000 Jews and 2,000 non-Jews from Denmark, thousands of the Jews from Hungary, some 30,000 refugees from Estonia and Latvia and evacuated about 70,000 people from Finland (Byström, 2006, p.56). In the spring of 1945, Folke Bernadotte and the Swedish Red Cross started to rescue between 17,000 and 20,000 mainly Polish, French, Belgian, Dutch concentration camp prisoners (Olsson, 1997, p. 18). In July 1945, through the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), about 10,000 prisoners, mainly Polish-Jewish survivors, arrived in Sweden (Byström, 2006, p. 58). It confirms that Sweden went through an extraordinary evolution of its refugee policy. At the same time, however, the Swedish officials proved that the refugee policy could be a part of the general labour policy. Byström (2012, p. 270) explained that the outbreak of the Second World War and an increasing demand for labour led the Swedish government to clarify that refugees had to support themselves by working. Another study by Nordlund (2000, p. 178) argued that they were no longer regarded as a drain on the economy but rather as a resource to be exploited. The refugees were be placed within areas where, due to low wages and poor working conditions, the demand for workforce was at its maximum: forestry, agriculture and peat work and should not compete with Swedish workers for other employment. In 1944, after the arrival of 30,000 Baltic refugees, all male able-bodied refugees were obliged to move from the camps and take the
work offered in branches that were the most pressing for the national food supply, like in the beet fields (Olsson, 1997, p. 92).

In 1950, the Labour Market Board took over the responsibility for bringing the refugees to Sweden and established a certain quota of refugees transferred to Sweden each year. Included in the quota were about 10% of refugees with tuberculosis (TB) (Thor, 2007, p. 16). The recruitment of able-bodied refugees, however, was undertaken according to the same criteria as for the migrant workers. These refugees were classified under the same category and located within the same industry as recruited workers. But even in this case, as Thor (2007, p. 20-25) argued, the labor market issues governed the selection processes. The final decision depended on refugees’ medical diagnosis and their relatives’ political and labour market experiences.

In the autumn of 1956, Sweden was one of the first countries that had responded to Austrian request for solving the problem of the massive exodus of Hungarians fleeing bloody clashes in Budapest, and assisted the refugees. Between 1956 and 1958, about 8,000 Hungarians arrived in Sweden. However, only the initial decision allowing 1,000 quota refugees to migrate to Sweden was motivated by moral concerns and the intention to solve the problem with the high influx of refugees. The discussions regarding the further transfers were discussed, in turn, in terms of the benefits of the Swedish labour market. Svensson (1992, p. 115) stressed that a good bargain and a long-term investment were mentioned by politicians at both international and national levels. In addition, a special instruction to select highly-educated architects, doctors and technicians matching Swedish labour market needs was issued.

The pragmatic considerations appeared also in the case of Czechoslovakian refugees in 1968. The initial decision allowed all Czechoslovaks to migrate to Sweden. Soon, however, the unlimited character of the migration began to worry the National Aliens Commission asked the Ministry of the Interior about the limitations of this decision (Johansson & Kjällberg, 1968). On November 8, 1968, the office of the King-In-Council limited the number of visas to 2,000. Two weeks later, the Commission informed the Swedish Embassy in Prague that the quota is fulfilled (Jönsson & Ahlford, 1968).

Sweden’s response to Czechoslovakian exiles fitted perfectly into the international politics of rescue addressed towards the ‘Cold War heroes’. But the decision should be viewed also and perhaps more importantly, in terms of both the legacy of goodwill towards the refugees and the development of Swedish activism at that time. Although no documents definitely support this argument, it is most reasonable to regard this intake as a decision aimed to ensure Sweden’s international position in world affairs. The latter course of events proved that the Swedish government was no longer guided by
humanitarian considerations. It was the pragmatic interest of protecting the Swedish interest that played the crucial role.

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Books


**Articles**


Introduction
Imagine you are on holiday somewhere, in Italy, or perhaps closer to home, on Gotland perhaps, and you step into a small church from the late Middle Ages. It is dark and cool inside, and on one wall you discern a large wooden crucifix, such as the one in figure 1.

Figure 1. 15th century crucifix in Lye church, Gotland. Photo by Helen Simonsson.
While you are looking at the crucifix, it begins to radiate light, all by itself. Most of us would begin to panic a little and worry, “Am I hallucinating?” That is “Is that crucifix and light real?” Or you would worry “Am I dreaming?”, implying the question “Am I really here?” What you are then doing, is analysing several things: the perceived object, you yourself as a perceiver, your sight and the relation between these things. This relation between you and what you see can be called your perspective or your point-of-view, but it is also known as focalization. Focalization is what this paper will discuss, and in it examples from the writings of Julian of Norwich will be used. Julian of Norwich is the first known English woman author, who lived in the 14th and 15th century, and who had visions similar to the one you have just been asked to imagine.

**Focalization and Julian of Norwich**

In order to be able to discuss focalization, the concept first has to be defined. Focalization is a term from narratology, the part of literary studies concerned with how “narratives work, are formed and received” (Bal, 2009). Put more simply, narratology is about the way in which stories work. Focalization is one aspect of this. One of the central “tools” of narratology is seeing stories as having different layers. Focalization happens when elements from one of these layers, the “fabula”, that is, the raw mass, is organized into a story (story is seen as another layer) (Bal, 2009). Mieke Bal in her book *Narratology* claims that when this is done “a choice is made from among the various ‘points of view’ from which the elements can be presented”. The result of this is, as Bal states, “focalization, the relation between ‘who perceives’ and ‘what is perceived’” and this “colours the story with subjectivity” (2009). “Who perceives” is called the focalizor, what is perceived is called the focalized object, and the relation between these two is focalization (figure 2).

![Figure 2. Cartoon Julian by the author; image of 12th-century crucifix from British Museum website.](image)
For instance, in both of Julian’s books there is a scene where Julian sees a priest put a crucifix in front of her. Julian is the focalizor, and the focalized objects are the crucifix, the priest and the action of the crucifix being put in front of Julian. What is “colouring the story with subjectivity” is that these objects are seen from Julian’s perspective or point of view, from the “position of [her] perceiving body” (Bal, 2009) and her mind, instead of from, for instance, the priest’s. It should be pointed out here “point of view” and “narrative perspective” are two terms which both Mieke Bal and Gérard Genette want to replace by the term “focalization”. However, it might sometimes be helpful to keep these terms in mind after all. It should also be mentioned that focalization includes other forms of perception than seeing: it includes sensory perception such as hearing, smell and touch, and non-sensory perception such as dreams and memory (Bal, 2009). This paper, however, will be limited to a discussion of sight and memory.

The examples I will be using are from the writings of Julian of Norwich, who is often called “the first Englishwoman of letters” (Underhill, 1932) that is, the first English woman writer. She was born between 1342 and 1343 and died sometime after 1416 (Watson, 2003). As the name suggests, she lived in Norwich, a city in Norfolk, in the east of England. Very little is known about her, but fortunately a few things are known (McAvoy, 2008). First of all, she was an anchorite: that is, a religious person similar to a monk or a nun, who lived shut in, in a small room attached to a church. Secondly, according to her writings, she had visions. In these she saw Jesus suffering on the cross and speaking to her, as well as other sights. This happened when she was thirty-years-old, in 1373. Thirdly, Julian not only contemplated these visions her entire life, she also wrote them down in two texts, together with her own theological thoughts (Watson & Jenkins, 2006).

First, somewhere in the 1380s, she wrote A Vision Showed To A Devout Woman. Later, between the 1390s and the early 1400s, she wrote A Revelation Of Love (Watson, 1993). By writing A Revelation Julian made, as it were, an entirely new edition or version of A Vision: it is almost six times longer and contains more visions, more visual details and more theological discussion (Windeatt, 2008). Both texts were written in Middle English, the variety of English spoken at that time. Both the original Middle English (from Watson & Jenkins, 2006) and modern English translations (Colledge & Walsh, 1978) will be cited here.

As mentioned earlier, focalization is “the relation between the vision, the agent that sees and what is seen” (Bal, 2009). A slightly more complex but very complete definition is the one by David Ciccoricco: focalization involves “the filtering of narrative information with varying degrees of subjectivity via any number of vantage points of characters and narrators” (2012). To describe this filtering of information, a number of distinctions are often used. The most relevant of these will be discussed. These are: external
focalizor versus character-bound focalizor, perceptible versus non-perceptible focalized object and different levels of focalization.

**Character-bound vs. External**
The focalizor, that is, the character doing the focalizing, can be character-bound or external, a distinction made by both Bal (2009) and Genette (1980). As pointed out by Bal “the focalizor is the point from which the elements are viewed. That point can lie with a character, or outside it” (ibid.). In other words, the focalizor can coincide with a character (an element from the raw mass, the fabula) and such a focalizor is a character-bound focalizor (Bal, 2009); if the focalizor is not one of the characters, it is an external focalizor. In the texts by Julian of Norwich, almost all of the seeing is done by younger Julian, that is, Julian in 1373, at the time of the visions.

1373 Julian is a character, that is, someone involved with the series of events that make up the content of the story: she asks for specific visions, interacts with the characters in them, responds emotionally and even doubts whether they are really visions and not hallucinations. 1373-Julian-the-character coincides with 1373-Julian-the-focalizor: therefore, the subject of focalization is a character-bound focalizor (figure 3), which gives her an advantage over other characters: most of the time, how the visions and other focalized objects may have looked to other characters is not represented.

**Figure 3.** 1973 Julian, the character-bound focalizor (CF).
Levels of Focalization

Another useful aspect of the concept of focalization is that several levels of focalization can be distinguished. As mentioned earlier, most of the sight represented in the text belongs to 1373 Julian. However, another focalizor can be distinguished as well. That focalizor is older Julian: Julian in the 1380s at the time of writing A Vision, and Julian at the time of writing A Revelation, between 1390s and the early 1400s. Those “Julians” back at what her younger self looking at the visions (figure 4).

According to Bal, remembering is a form of focalization as well, “memory is an act of vision of the past but, as an act, situated in the present of the memory” (2009). That is: it is the past which is seen, but the seeing itself takes place in the present. In his discussion of Julian, McCaslin describes this “‘re-vision’-a ‘seeing again’ or kind of second entrance into what was originally given” (1986). This re-seeing is explicitly described in A Revelation, after Julian has had a vision that is a story in itself, an example, a kind of parable:

I had teching inwardly, as I shall sey, as I shall sey: ‘It longeth to the to take hede to all the propertes and condetions that were shewed in the example...’ I assented wilfully with gret desyer, seeing inwardly, with avisement all the pointes and propertes that were shewed in the same time. (Italics added.)

“[A]fter the time of the revelation ...I received an inward instruction, and it was this: you ought to take heed to all the attributes, divine and human, which were revealed in the example... I willingly agreed with a great desire, seeing inwardly with great care all the details and characteristics which were at that time revealed. (Italics added.)

Figure 4. Older Julian (external focalizor) remembers/sees younger Julian (CF) seeing the visions.
Using the distinction made earlier, older Julian, who does this inward seeing, can be said to be an external focalizor; she is not a character in the story. As shown in figure 4, this external focalizor sees her younger self, the character-bound focalizor, see the visions.

Perceptible vs. Non-Perceptible

Another relevant distinction involves the focalized object, which can be perceptible or non-perceptible. A perceptible object is a focalized object that other characters present also can perceive (Bal, 2009), when the character-bound focalizor “really sees something that it outside itself” (ibid.). Alternatively, a focalized object can be non-perceptible, that is, “visible only in the ‘head’, ‘mind’ or ‘feelings’ of the character-bound focalizor” (ibid.).

This includes the “dreams, fantasies, thoughts or feelings of a character” (ibid.). In other words, non-perceptible objects can only be perceived by “those who have access to a character’s ‘inside”’ (ibid.). Julian’s visions are an interesting illustration of this, because visions were thought of in the Middle Ages as being very similar to physical sight (Tobin, 1995). Julian’s visions most often seem to be non-perceptible, at least, to a modern reader and the people around Julian. One instance of this is the following scene, in which Julian –after a nightmare of the devil trying to strangle her— perceives smoke and fire:

And anon a littil smoke cam in at
the dorre with a grete heet and a
foule stinch. And than I said:’...Is it
alle on fyer that is here?” And I
wened it had bene a bodely fyer that
shuld have burned us al to deth. I
asked them that were with me if they
felt any stinch. They saide ‘nay’, they
felt none.

And then a little smoke came in at
the door, with great heat and a
foul stench. And then I said:’...Is
everything on fire here? And I
thought that it must be actual fire,
which would have burned us all to
deadth. I asked those who were with
me if they were conscious of any
stench. They said no, they were not.

Perceptible focalized objects (in italics): the door, the people with Julian
Non-perceptible focalized objects (in bold): smoke, heat, stench, fire

As Julian’s statement “Is everything on fire here?” and question to those around her suggests, she is not sure whether the smoke and fire are perceptible or non-perceptible focalized objects. However, because the people around Julian cannot perceive the smoke, fire and stench, these focalized objects can be said to be non-perceptible focalized objects, and have been indicated as such in the quote above.

A more complex layering of perceptible and non-perceptible focalized objects forms the basis of Julian’s visions: the crucifix, a perceptible object,
which the priest puts in front of Julian becomes the cross in Julian’s visions, a non-perceptible object. It is in the crucifix that Julian sees the scenes of Christ’s suffering:

And after this, I saw with bodily sight the face of the crucifix that hung before me, in which I beheld a parte of his passion: dispite, spitting, soleving and buffeting, and many languring paines...and often changing of colour.

“And after this I looked with bodily vision into the face of the crucifix which hung before me, in which I saw a part of Christ’s Passion: contempt, foul spitting, buffeting, and many long-drawn pains; and his colour often changed.

Perceptible focalized objects (in italics): crucifix, representation of Christ’s head.
Non-perceptible focalized objects (in bold): Christ’s face, acts of humiliation undergone by Him, their effects.

Jenkins and Watson, two editors of Julian’s writings, describe this as “Scenes of the humiliation from Christ’s trial appear ‘in’ the image of Christ’s head, which is “the face of the crucifix”, confusingly co-existing in Julian’s gaze both with each other and with the sight of his slow death” (2006). Distinguishing between perceptible and non-perceptible focalized objects can help untangle this confusion. This distinction in its turn can be linked to the distinction between external focalizor and character-bound focalizor and to different levels of focalization: for an external focalizor it is possible to have access to a character-bound focalizor’s “inside”, especially when that external focalizor is the older alter-ego of the character-bound focalizor (Bal, 2009). Put differently, it is possible for older Julian, that is, the external focalizor, to re-see and remember both the perceptible focalized objects (the crucifix, the people around her) and the non-perceptible focalized objects (Christ’s suffering in the visions, smoke and fire) seen by character-bound focalizor younger Julian, whereas the people around her can also perceive (and therefore remember) the former.

Conclusion
To sum up, focalization is a term from the part of literary studies that is concerned with stories and storytelling, and it is used to describe the angle from which the events in the story are described, the relation between “who sees” and “what is seen” (Bal, 2009). A number of useful distinctions have been created to best describe this relation. Though focalization still is most used in literary studies, it has also been used to discuss graphic novels (Horstkotte & Pedri, 2011) and it has been used extensively in film studies (Verstraten, 2009). It has also been used to discuss biblical narratives (Sjöberg, 2006). It is therefore not surprising that it can also be used to
discuss the texts of a 14th century anchoress, as I have done in these examples.

References

The Allure and Power of Popular History: Peter Englund and Herman Lindqvist in Swedish History Culture from the Late 1980s to the mid 1990s

Fredrik Holmqvist

Public History
When studying history at the bachelor’s level at the University of Lund, I was primarily interested in the 16th century and some of the aspects of the constitution of the Swedish state. One of the elective courses was thematic. We could choose from a handful of courses based on ongoing research at the institution. I got interested in a course about the use and misuse of history in the 20th century – which was not at all related to what I wanted to do. What caught my interest was the discursive power dimension: history as a phenomenon in society that is continually constructed, told and reproduced.

At both Swedish Compulsory School and Upper Secondary School every pupil has to study some history. But a lot of people continue their interest in history for a while after their time as pupils in school – some for the rest of their lives. The ways people encounter history may vary from historical documentaries on TV, movies based on historical events, coffee table books on the Second World War, computer games on historical battles, historical tourist sights, museums, reenactments, and so on. What all these meetings with historical accounts and uses of history have in common is that they influence how we interpret and understand where we come from, who we are and therefore also where we are going. Our choices and our behavior is grounded on how we think of society and the world (Karlsson & Zander, 2009).

Based on the spreading of the historical accounts and how many people take part in them there is a discursive dimension of power in the privilege to define what history is.

An example of a contemporary historical account that attracts a large audience is the Swedish Public Television program Historieätarna (The History Eaters). It is a sort of Infotainment program which is both factual and entertaining. The program leaders have a sensual approach to history with focus on the taste, smell and the general feeling of the past. They have most likely influenced how a lot of people think about history from early
modern times to the present. The program has at least partly influenced my conception of history, with regards to food and everyday life.

**Relevance**

The earlier research that has been done on public history in Sweden during the late 20th century suggested that two writers -- the academic historian Peter Englund and the journalist Herman Lindqvist -- have defined history and embodied the historian for the general Swedish public more than any other historians – or acting historians – during the late 1980s and the 1990s (Ludvigsson, 2003; Zander, 2001). However, no in-depth study has been done about either their historical accounts, or Englund and Lindqvist as public historians.

The object of my research is these two historians – who have very different professional backgrounds – and their actions. For that reason I am interested in both their historical accounts, and their journey to becoming public historians.

Englund debuted as a popular historian while he was still a doctoral student in history. He later became a professor in narrative telling at the Dramatiska Institutet. However, he has primarily worked outside the academy as a commercial historian and writer. If you have noticed the announcement of the winner of the Nobel Prize in literature in the last four years, then you have also seen Englund. Since 2009 he has served as permanent secretary in the Swedish Academy.

Already in the late 1980s Lindqvist was a well-known journalist and foreign correspondent. He did not have an academic schooling in history, but he changed his career to become a popular historian in the early 1990s. The career shift was preceded by a contract from a big publishing house to write a multi-volume on Swedish history, Historien om Sverige (*The History about Sweden*). He got the request when he was already making the second season of his historical TV-documentary Hermans historia (*Herman's History*) in 1991. Before that he had already written two books in the popular history genre.

**Material and design**

With regards to the archive material that I am working with, it is very much a journey through modern media history with newspapers, journals, magazines, Radio-programs, TV-programs, and of course, books.

In order for me to get a varied picture of this field of history culture, I am looking at:

- What both Englund and Lindqvist have said about their aims and ambitions.
- Their historical accounts and historical claims in different media.
- The perception of their works by reviewers and others.
I am also investigating how they have presented themselves and have been represented by others in the media. This is studied with a conceptualization of history culture as constituted by three dimensions or considerations:

- Factual knowledge; what kind of history?
- Form and aesthetic style; how is it presented?
- Normative-ideological; what drives history? And why is history relevant (Rüsen, 2004)?

In short, I am looking at both the historical accounts from different angles and aspects, and also the development of Englund and Lindqvist as public historians. I try to identify their main or central arguments, concepts and nodes. These are then related and discussed with regards to history didactics and historiography. For example my analysis deals with their general conceptualization of history, choices of past events, and their use of metaphors, paradoxes, tenses, and contemporary analogies.

**Some general results**

I have chosen Englund and Lindqvist both with regards to their popularity – they have sold hundreds of thousands of books – and because they represent two ideal types of popular historians: the academic and the amateur.

One of the few apparent similarities between Englund’s and Lindqvist’s historical accounts as such, is their focus on national history from the early modern time to the present. In this way it is a history with a lot of potential for attracting a big audience. Many of the names and events are already more or less well-known from history education. Another similarity is their focus on individuals, often in dramatic or life-changing situations.

Englund writes social history from below, often, but not necessarily, about war. He focuses on ordinary individuals and how they live through and experience harsh and dramatic times. Englund is an elegant writer in a critical essay tradition, who knows how to tell a story from both the subjective and objective level based on the latest research. His historical accounts are extremely well worked-through and thoughtful. As far as my research has shown, he is indeed seen as a distinguished historian among colleagues. And he is also very popular among journalists reviewing his books and writing about him.

Lindqvist’s history is quite the reverse. He writes history from above and mainly focuses on kings, queens, nobles and well-known persons in general. Like Englund he also knows how to effectively tell a thrilling story. The academic community has on the contrary been harsh towards his out-of-date perspectives, lack of source criticism and, often, complete absence of primary sources. Journalists writing about him and reviewing Lindqvist’s historical accounts are generally much more positive about his straightforward journalistic reportage style history.
In contrast to Englund who wants to estrange, widen and deepen the readers’ perspective and reflections, Lindqvist is mostly concerned with the moment’s dramatic effect on the public. As a consequence his conceptualization of history as a whole can be said to be irregular and vague. It seems mostly to be the consequence of his prioritizing quantitative productivity over the qualitative, unlike Englund. When Lindqvist is genuinely interested in the topic and not careless, his historical accounts are also more up to date, thoroughly informed and consistent.

With regards to Englund’s ambitious historical accounts, they can, however, be too zealous for their own good. For example, his stated purpose with a book can contradict the emotional effect and understanding that his literary approach seems to create among the readers – judged by both my reading and the reception in the media.

This sort of history’s popularity corresponds well with the contemporary developments during the 1990s in Sweden – with an economic crisis, the beginning of the end of the welfare state and the social democratic era – and of course also the political transformation of Europe after the end of the Cold War. Suddenly, the national identity was unhinged and the future more uncertain than it had been in decades. And what could be more comforting and encouraging then, than to read or hear about either a violent and traumatic national past, or vice versa of a heroic such?

Biography
Fredrik Holmqvist has a diploma as a History Teacher for the Upper Secondary School. Since 2010, he is a doctoral student in History Didactics (History of Education) at Umeå University, where he is part of the research environment Historia med utbildningsvetenskap (History and Educational Studies). The working title of his thesis is Populärhistoriens tjusning och kraft. Peter Englund och Herman Lindqvist i svensk historiekultur cirka 1988-1995. Translated into English, the working title is the same as the one for this text: The Allure and Power of Popular History. Peter Englund and Herman Lindqvist in Swedish History Culture from the Late 1980’s to the mid 1990’s. Submission and defense are planned for the autumn of 2015.

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