Cultural Diversity and Integration at Museums

A Study of Pedagogical Programmes for Immigrants at National Museums in Finland and Sweden

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Abstract
The aim with this study is to shed light on the relationship between ideals and practises at the National Museum of Finland (the NMF) and at the Swedish History Museum (the SHM). The focus is on the museums’ role in society regarding integration and cultural diversity.

In order to fulfil this aim, I have studied the two museums’ pedagogical programmes for immigrants learning Finnish or Swedish. Through an ethnographic field study (including interviews and observations) and text analysis, I have studied ideals and practices connected to these programmes.

My hypothesis is that intercultural dialogue opens up for museums to combine aims concerning cultural diversity with aims of supporting integration.

My study shows that there is a problematic relationship between cultural diversity and integration within the ideals and practises at the two museums. At the SHM, the staff’s aims of supporting integration as a mutual process are contradictory to that they are toning down the importance of mutual learning to the programme. At the NMF, the approach to communication within ideals and practices and the shortage of dialogue within the programme makes it difficult to fulfil the aim of representing a diverse society. At both museums, intercultural dialogue is seen as something very positive when it occurs at the learning sessions. It is, however, rather seen as a bonus than as an aim within today’s versions of the pedagogical programmes.

This master thesis is written within a two years master programme in Archive, Library and Museum Studies.

Abstract på svenska
Syftet med denna uppsats är att belysa relationen mellan ideal och praktik på Nationalmuseum i Finland och på Historiska museet i Sverige. Fokus ligger på museernas roll i samhället gällande integration och kulturell mångfald.

För att uppfylla detta syfte har jag studerat dessa två museers pedagogiska program för invandrare som lär sig finska eller svenska. Genom att genomföra en etnografisk fältstudie med intervjuer och observationer samt textanalys har jag undersökt ideal och praktik kopplade till dessa program.

Min tes är att interkulturell dialog öppnar upp för museer att kombinera mål kopplade till kulturell mångfald med mål att stödja integration.


Ämnesord
Intercultural communication, Cultural diversity, Museums

Key words
Cultural diversity, Intercultural communication, National museums
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Introduction

Cultural diversity is frequently brought up in the strategy documents of museums. Integration, on the other hand, is a concept less discussed than cultural diversity within the museum field, even though there are projects with integration aims at museums. Many collaborations have started between museums and language education programmes for immigrants in the Nordic countries lately – often in the form of learning sessions at the museums (also called pedagogical programmes in this study). Integration is strongly connected to language education for immigrants. In this thesis, I study how such learning sessions at two museums in Sweden and Finland relate to ideas of integration and cultural diversity.

Both these concepts – integration and cultural diversity – are political and have embedded normative meanings. They might also contradict each other as normative concepts. Is it possible to promote cultural diversity, as a museum representing a diverse society, and integration simultaneously?

In the Nordic countries integration questions are central to the political discussion, especially now because of the high number of refugees that has come in the last few years. Integration politics in Finland and Sweden differ and the museum policies are also structured differently. On the other hand the two countries have close contact since they both take part in Nordic collaborations as well as in the EU. In the spring of 2016, the Nordic Council’s ministers for co-operation started a collaboration on refugee integration with specific focus on how the culture and social sectors can contribute to integration. A study of the museum’s role when it comes to integration and cultural diversity in two Nordic countries therefore bears relevance for democratic work in the Nordic countries as well as in the EU.¹

I have chosen to focus on two national cultural history museums: the National Museum of Finland (NMF, in Finnish Kansallismuseo) and the Swedish History Museum (SHM, in Swedish Historiska Museet). These big state-owned cultural history museums have their origin in nationalistic ideas on presenting the history of a nation and its people in the early twentieth century. This makes it even more relevant to study these museums’ roles regarding cultural diversity and integration today.

¹ Gestrin, M. (2016), "Beslut om nordiskt samarbete kring flyktingintegration".
Aim and research questions

The aim with this study is to shed light on the relationship between ideals and practises at the National Museum of Finland (the NMF) and at the Swedish History Museum (the SHM). The focus is on the museums’ role in society regarding integration and cultural diversity.

In order to fulfil this aim I study two pedagogical programmes for immigrants learning Finnish or Swedish: “Suomen historia tutuksi” (Become familiar with the history of Finland) at the NMF and “Gränslöst” (Borderless) at the SHM. I analyse museum staff’s views on how their ambitions with these programmes meet the practical reality. I also analyse the staff’s views on the role of cultural heritage within these projects and their general reflections on the museums’ role in a multicultural society.

My two case studies need to be seen in a wider context of ideals in the form of policies affecting the museums and the language education programmes. Therefore, I make a brief study of the museums’ policy documents and of the national curriculums for language education programmes for immigrants.

This boils down to the following research questions:

What are the aims with the pedagogical programmes “Suomen historia tutuksi” (Become familiar with the history of Finland) and “Gränslöst” (Borderless) respectively, according to the museum staff who plans them and carries them out?

What challenges does the museum staff experience in their practical work to fulfil these aims?

How does the museum staff reflect on the museum’s role in a culturally diverse society? How do they define cultural heritage and which role do they think it has for integration?

How do the ideals and practices of these programmes relate to the museums’ policy documents and to the national curriculums of the education in Finnish or Swedish for immigrants?

Research review

Cultural diversity is an important concept within the museum field today. Museums aim to represent cultural diversity. Integration as an aim for museums, on the other hand, is seldom discussed. Studies have been done concerning the two concepts separately within the museum field but not discussing both of them as possibly contradictory. The museologist Simona Bodo touches upon the subject. In her study of museums’ approaches to intercultural dialogue, she recognises a span of
approaches from the celebration of difference to migrants’ ‘‘integration’ within mainstream culture”. A weakness of her study is that she does not discuss the concepts of integration and diversity further. Therefore, my study fills a gap in discussing the concepts of integration and cultural diversity together. We need to discuss these concepts and how they are used as ideals and in the practical work within museums.²

Furthermore, my study will fill a gap in the research area of ideals and practices in collaboration projects between museums and language education programmes for immigrants. One reason for the lack of research on this topic might be the steady focus on exhibitions within museum studies. Pedagogical programmes, which indeed is an important part of the public work of today’s museums and which are occasions for eye-to-eye-communication has got much less attention. Even though many museums today have specially designed programmes for these language students, almost no research have been done on this type of projects, nationally or internationally. This is shown by the first report of the research project of The Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity (NCK) on Swedish tuition for immigrants at museums in Sweden. No such research has been done on museums in Finland, as far as I can find.³

There are some reports, however, written by the museum staff themselves who have arranged such collaborations in the Nordic countries. One of these reports concerns a project called “SKI - Språk, Kultur och Identitet” meaning Language, Culture and Identity. This two year project started in 2005 and was a collaboration between five museums in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Greenland. The report presents aims and challenges within this project and discusses the meanings of the three concepts in the title of the project. It thus gives examples of existing ideals in collaboration projects between museums and language education institutions in the Nordic countries. I will return to this report later on in the research review.⁴

In the next subchapters follows an exploration of previous research on ideals and practices connected to the concepts of cultural diversity and integration. I then move on to the often-used concept of intercultural dialogue and ask which role this has in relation to the previously mentioned concepts.

Cultural Diversity
Diversity is a broad concept which contains both a descriptive and a normative meaning. In its descriptive form it refers to the actual variation of ethnicities, religions, classes, sexual identities etcetera in a society. Normative diversity sees this

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² (2008), Sharing Diversity, p. 123.
plurality of identities as desirable for the development of society. Thus it can be both a description of society and a political ideal. Migration and ethnicity theorist Charles Westin argues that these two meanings have caused confusion since they are often mixed up and intertwined in debates. To make it even more complicated the meanings of diversity and related concepts such as cultural diversity, multiculturalism and cultural plurality are vague and overlapping.5

The two concepts of “diversity” and “cultural diversity” are used similarly. The cultural policy researcher Miikka Pyykkönen shows that the concept of diversity within cultural policies as well as within humanistic and social sciences often refers to a variation of cultures in society. To more clearly narrow down the focus to cultural aspects the concept “cultural diversity” is used, but then “culture” is also a complex concept. Definitions of cultural diversity tends to focus on ethnic identity, but can also refer to a broader definition of culture including for example class, age, gender and disability. According to ethnology professor Barbro Klein, this broad definition of cultural diversity is dominating within the museum sector and hence the question of ethnic diversity specifically tends to get little attention compared to “all kinds of other diversity”.6

With the complexity and vagueness of this concept in mind I will give examples of what the concept of cultural diversity might mean in terms of aims for museums’ work. In the introduction to their anthology Museums, Equality and Social Justice, the museologists Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell write that diversity, equality, human rights and social justice have become central concerns for museums since the 1990’s – concerns which are found in new policies, practices, programmes and structures of museums. Aims connected to diversity are:7

Engaging diverse audiences
Making the museum accessible for everyone
Representing a diverse society

According to Nightingale and Sandell, the aim of representing a diverse society means that museums should represent different experiences and identities and make new narratives which mirror the cultural, social and demographic diversity of society. These aims are useful for my study as a starting point for ideals connected to cultural diversity within museum work. Especially the aim of representing a diverse society is interesting in relation to the concept of integration.8

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“Cultural diversity” as an aim to represent diverse identities at museums is central to my study. This includes cultural diversity in a broad sense even though my focus primarily is on ethnic diversity. With ethnicity I mean culture, religion and language which are often listed as criteria for an ethnic group.9

When looking at cultural diversity as a growing field of study within museology, most studies focus on representation of ethnic minorities within museum collections and exhibitions. Even though the focus of my study is not representation in exhibitions as such, some of these studies still give interesting perspectives on the relationship between ideals and practices at museums.10

A recent example is Christina Johansson’s book Museums, Migration and Cultural Diversity: Swedish Museums in Tune with the Times? (2015). It includes a brief study of approaches to cultural diversity and migration at museums in Sweden, based on interviews with museum personnel. Their work for cultural diversity (with Johansson’s focus on ethnic diversity) was concentrated on making histories of national domestic minorities visible in the museums’ exhibitions. Johansson concludes that it seems to be easier to be represented in Swedish museums as an established minority organisation or as a group which is considered a part of the Swedish nation than as a newly arrived immigrant.11

Johansson takes the SHM as an example of the marginalisation of new immigrants’ history. While Sami and Roma perspectives are included in the main story of the exhibition History of Sweden, the history of recent immigration is included only in a separate epilogue room, according to Johansson. She concludes that the museums has not yet reached the state of being a contact zone for open dialogue and that immigrants’ participation in cultural production is limited. She does not recognise the project “Gränslöst” which I study at the SHM. This makes it even more relevant to see what the ideals and practices within this project tell us of SHM’s role in society.12

In his master thesis in museum and heritage studies, Kristoffer Soldal analyses how museums in Sweden work for diversity, and how the staff perceives and applies the new goals in the cultural policy of the Swedish state. These new goals are in the government bill Tid för kultur (Time for culture) from 2009. Soldal uses Emil Plisch’s theory to analyse how far the museums have come in including diversity into all parts of the organisation.13

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13 Soldal, K. (2012), ”Mångfald på museerna. Arbetet med mångfald vid kommunala museer, länsmuseer och statliga museer ut ett kulturpolitiskt perspektiv”. 
On international level, much was written in connection to the Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008, for example the *Museums and Diversity* series from UNESCO of which one part is the anthology *Scandinavian museums and cultural diversity* edited by Goodnow and Akman.\(^{14}\)

As I have showed in this chapter, cultural diversity is a political and vague concept with shifting meanings. I will start off from the cultural diversity aims listed by Nightingale and Sandell when looking at the other central concept for my study: integration. Mirroring a culturally diverse society so that everyone feels represented in exhibitions and collections, engaging people from different cultures and being accessible to everybody can thus be seen as elements of the vision of cultural diversity at museums, according to Nightingale and Sandell.\(^{15}\)

**Integration**

*Conceptualisations of integration*

The concept of integration has mostly been analysed within the fields of political science and migration research. I will begin with presenting how some migration researchers have mapped and problematized the use of integration as a concept.

Stephen Castles, Maja Corac, Ellie Vasta and Steven Vertovec have in a research project for the Centre of Migration and Policy Research at the University of Oxford mapped uses of the concept within Great Britain. They identify two main conceptualisations of integration: as a “one-way-process” and as a “two-way-process”. They describe these conceptualisations in the following way:

Usage 1: The process through which immigrants and refugees become part of the receiving society. Integration is often used in a normative way, to imply a one-way process of adaptation by newcomers to fit in with a dominant culture and way of life. This usage does not recognise the diversity of cultural and social patterns in a multicultural society, so that integration seems to be merely a watered down form of assimilation.

Usage 2: A two-way process of adaptation, involving change in values, norms and behaviour for both newcomers and members [of] existing society. This includes recognition of the role of the ethnic community and the idea that broader social patterns and cultural values may change in response to immigration.\(^{16}\)

The meaning of integration thus differs in whether members of society (in contrast to immigrants) has an active role in the process integration or not, according to Castles et al. Describing the “two-way process” approach further, Castles et al. writes that society needs to make it easier for immigrants to integrate into society


through providing social services, jobs, and “acceptance of the immigrants in social interaction”. Minority groups’ right to maintain their cultural identity can also be seen as a part of integration, since immigrants’ acquisition of legal and political rights is an important part of the integration process according to this approach.\textsuperscript{17}

Even though the study by Castles et al is concentrated on Great Britain, similar thinking is apparent within Nordic and European policies as well. In her article “Not a One-way Road? Integration as a Concept and as a Policy”, the political scientist Frauke Miera asks what the mutuality of the integration process really means in the integration programmes. Starting off from the mentioned question, Miera analyses the “The Common basic principles for immigrant integration policy in the European Union” by the Council of the European Union 2004. She argues that there is a contradiction in the definition of integration within the first principle of this document. On the one hand it defines integration as “a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation – not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants but of every resident”, on the other hand the document implies that immigrants should be the adapting part. The role of “society” is to facilitate the process of immigrants’ adaptation according to the first principle.\textsuperscript{18}

Hans Ingvar Roth, professor in Human Rights, highlights a similar situation in the Swedish context. Roth argues that even though integration has become a concept with more positive connotations within Swedish politics than assimilation, the two concepts tend to get a similar meaning with focus on immigrants’ adaptation to Swedish majority culture.\textsuperscript{19}

The two conceptualisations of integration as a “one-way process” and a “two-way process” have different effects on cultural diversity. While the one-way process aims to assimilate everyone into one culture, the two-way process stresses mutual adaptation and the “maintenance” of minority cultures. However, integration as a two-way process is worth some more investigation here.

Both in Sweden and in Finland integration has gradually become seen as a mutual process, according to migration researchers such as Zenia Hellgren and Tuomas Martikainen et al. But mutual between whom? Miera highlights the problematic dualism apparent within the understanding of integration as a “two-way process”. It sees “society” as one part in opposition to immigrants. According to Miera, the concept of integration as a “two-way process” furthermore assumes that “natives” (in contrast to immigrants) are already integrated and forms a somewhat homogenous group based on their ethnic, linguistic and national belonging. In my view, Castles et al are too vague on who the “members of existing society” are to be able to say that this approach builds on exactly that assumption. However,

\textsuperscript{17} Castles, S. et al. (2002), Integration: Mapping the Field, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{19} Roth, H. I. (2010), Mångfaldens gränser, pp. 27–28.
Miera makes an important point in that the “two-way process” approach sees immigrants and “members of existing society” as two homogenous groups. Instead of making space for multiple identities and seeing cultures as changing and flexible communities it works stigmatising through pointing out two groups in society which should adapt to each other.20

I have not found anyone writing of integration as a “many-way process” even if a vision of that is apparent in both Miera’s and Hellgren’s articles. They argue for integration as increasing understanding between all individuals in a multicultural society, taking a step beyond the dualism apparent in the “two-way process”. Accordingly, what I call integration as a “many-way process” in this study is an exchange of ideas not just between two parts (“natives” and “immigrants”) but between several individuals of different ethnic identities.21

*Museums and integration*

Basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration. The importance of basic linguistic, historical, and civic knowledge is reflected in the increasing emphasis placed by several Member States on introductory programmes that focus on putting together the most appropriate toolkit to start the integration progress.22

As this quote from the “Common basic principles for immigrant integration policy in the European Union” (by the Council of the European Union, 2004) shows, integration is something that is tightly connected to language courses and introductory courses for immigrants. “Swedish tuition for immigrants” (SFI) in Sweden and “Integration education for adult migrants” in Finland are such programmes. But what about the museums’ role? How does the concept of integration work together with museums’ aim of representing cultural diversity?

In an essay from 2004, Bjärenstam and Parazajder map museum projects with integrating aims in Sweden. They show that there is confusion on the complex concept of integration within the museum field and that there is a lack of discussion on museums’ possibly integrating function in society. They found that 48 out of 139 responding museums had such projects or were planning them in 2004. Several museum representatives saw integration as impossible to incorporate into the activities of their museum.23

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20 Hellgren, Z. (2008), "Myten om det mångkulturella samhället. Teoretiska perspektiv på mångkulturalisn-
21 Hellgren, Z. (2008), "Myten om det mångkulturella samhället. Teoretiska perspektiv på mångkulturalisn-
men”, pp. 94–95; Miera, F. (2012), "Not a One-way Road?”, p. 195.
22 (2004), "Press Release, 2618th Council Meeting, Justice and Home Affairs - Basic Principles for Immi-
grant Integration Policy in the European Union.”, p. 20.
I have not found any studies of integration at museums in Finland, except a short article on integration through handicraft projects. The question is not absent from the museology field in Finland however. Museum educator Tiina Piispanen brought up the topic of museums and integration at a conference on museum ethics in Jyväskylä 2015. In her speech “Who gets to use cultural heritage?” (“Kuka saa käyttää kulttuuriperintöä?”) Piispanen problematized the concept of cultural heritage as a tool for integration which can be seen in the *Tampere City Integration Programme 2014-2025*. There it is written that the aim with museum visits for immigrants should be “Newcomers’ familiarization with the cultural heritage of Tampere and Finland”. Piispanen argues that cultural heritage is a good tool for integration indeed, but that you also should have in mind that cultural heritage is something changing, and integration should be a double-sided process where both parts learn something.\(^{24}\)

**Intercultural dialogue**

Within the project on SFI and museums at The Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity (NCK), which has produced two research reports and a conference, the concept of intercultural dialogue is used more often than integration. Since the title of the project is “Intercultural Dialogue” the absence of a discussion on this concept is surprising. In one report, Sara Grut makes references to an aim written in the SFI curriculum stating that the students will develop their “intercultural competence by reflecting over their own cultural experiences, and comparing these with phenomena in daily, societal and working life in Sweden”. She writes that collaborations between museums and SFI is one way of deepening “intercultural reflection”. Several concepts which include the word “intercultural” are thus put forward but not discussed any further.\(^{25}\)

Intercultural dialogue was also central within the aims of the Nordic SKI project where five Nordic museums cooperated on the developing pedagogical programmes for immigrants participating in language education programmes. One aim is about creating pedagogical processes “that help cultural understanding and intercultural dialogue”. Another states that the project aims “to counteract racism through making our institutions to become meeting places where intercultural dialogue, democratic thoughts and active citizenship can be promoted”. The latter aim makes a clear connection to the role of museums in society. These examples show that intercultural dialogue is an important concept within collaborations between museums and language education programmes for immigrants. Therefore it

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is relevant asking: What does intercultural dialogue mean and is it connected to integration and cultural diversity?  

Intercultural dialogue is a central concept of the cultural policy work of the European Commission. The European Commission actively supports projects which aims for intercultural dialogue. Their view on this concept has a great influence on studies of intercultural dialogue. At the webpage of the European Commission this concept is defined in the following way:  

Intercultural dialogue is, essentially, the exchange of views and opinions between different cultures. Unlike multiculturalism, where the focus is on the preservation of separate cultures, intercultural dialogue seeks to establish linkages and common ground between different cultures, communities, and people, promoting understanding and interaction. 

Understanding and interaction are thus key words according to this definition. With its focus on the dialogue and exchange of ideas, intercultural dialogue seems to be close to the notion of integration as a mutual process. In fact, the European Commission connects it directly to the process of integration in another document. “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” states that intercultural dialogue contributes to integration:  

For the purpose of this White Paper, intercultural dialogue is understood as a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. It requires the freedom and ability to express oneself, as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others. Intercultural dialogue contributes to political, social, cultural and economic integration and the cohesion of culturally diverse societies.

Intercultural dialogue can thus be seen as a method to achieve a process of integration. Also in the “Common basic principles for immigrant integration policy in the European Union”, where interaction between “immigrants” and “Member State citizens” is described as fundamental for integration, intercultural dialogue is put forward as a way to achieve this. 

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28 European Commission’s website > Culture > Discover the EU’s role > Strategic Framework > Intercultural Dialogue [2016-10-01].  
The critique against the European Commission’s concept of intercultural dialogue comes down to the same problems as those put forward regarding the concept of integration; that the concept is vague and that there is a problematic dualism between majority cultures on the one hand and minority cultures on the other hand. The cultural scientist Tuuli Lähdesmäki and linguist Albin Wagener argue that the “White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue” supports power hierarchies between different cultures which create positions of a “dialoguer” and a “dialoguee”.

What does intercultural dialogue mean in practice at museums? Is it possible to use cultural heritage as a starting point for intercultural dialogue? Simona Bodo is the only researcher I have found discussing these questions. Bodo analyses approaches to intercultural dialogue at museums in Europe, both in a chapter in a report for the European Commission (as she is a researcher at the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research) and in the anthology *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*. In these articles she also makes suggestions on how museums can serve as intercultural spaces. These suggestions show her view on what intercultural dialogue should be within the work of museums. Her studies do not include any deeper discussion on her conceptual starting points on intercultural dialogue. In the case of the report for the European Commission these starting points probably are the European Commission’s own definitions of the concept, however. Her idea of museums as intercultural spaces is, anyhow, interesting to my study. That is primarily because that she connects the concept of intercultural dialogue with the concept of heritage. Her idea of intercultural spaces is therefore something I will return to in the chapter on theoretical starting points.

**Theoretical starting points**

**Communication theory**

In order to analyse ideals and practices within museum pedagogy, I will use communication theory as a starting point. In this way, I put my study in a wider analytical context of museum pedagogy.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, an influential theorist within museum pedagogy, connects communication theory to the museum field. She identifies two approaches for understanding communication: the transmission approach and the cultural approach. Within the transmission approach, museum education is seen as a one-

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32 (2008), *Sharing Diversity*. 
way education where the visitor is seen as an “empty vessel” to be filled with information by the curator. According to this approach museum education is all about sending information effectively to the learner. Knowledge is something external to the learner.\footnote{Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1999), \textit{The educational role of the museum}, p. 15.}

\textit{Figure 1. The transmission approach to communication.}

![Diagram of transmission approach]

According to the cultural approach, curators and the audience create knowledge together. Hooper-Greenhill describes it as a broad approach which is dominating within cultural studies in today’s Britain. “The cultural approach understands communication as a society-wide series of processes and symbols through which reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed.” While the audience is seen as passive within the transmission approach, the audience has a very active role in the cultural approach since each visitor at a museum interprets and gives meaning to the museum objects. The individual’s interpretation of an object is of interest to this approach.\footnote{Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1999), \textit{The educational role of the museum}, p. 16.}

Discussing the word interpretation, Hooper-Greenhill highlights the difference between how it is used within hermeneutics on the one hand and at museums on the other. Interpretation in a museum context often means how the museum staff makes interpretations for the visitors. Interpretation within hermeneutics however focuses on how individuals give meaning to things. Within hermeneutics “interpretation is the process of constructing meaning.” Interpretation is, according to this view, a combination of prejudice and of openness to the object interpreted.\footnote{Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1999), \textit{The educational role of the museum}, p. 12.}

\textbf{Interpretive communities}

Interpretation is dependent on the learner’s social and cultural environment. Meaning-making is thus both personal and social. An individual’s interpretation of an object is affected by his or her prior knowledge. This prior knowledge is partly socially and culturally based. Within hermeneutics and literary theory the concept “interpretive communities” is used to describe this. Interpretive communities use common strategies for interpretation. Within an interpretive community
“only certain meanings appear to ‘make sense’”. A person’s interpretation of an object is developed within his or her interpretive communities.\textsuperscript{36}

The concept of interpretive communities is somewhat fluffy since it is difficult to draw a line around one such community. Hooper-Greenhill refers to the literary theorist Stanley Fish’s definition of the interpretive community. He defines it as all persons who share the same interpretive strategies. Interpretive strategies include preferences for specific forms of analysis, the language with which an object is described, and the specialist knowledge needed for perceiving certain elements of the object. According to Hooper-Greenhill, sharing values, attitudes and cognitive frameworks is also a part of belonging to the same interpretive community.\textsuperscript{37}

Figure 2. Hooper-Greenhill’s illustration of the cultural approach to communication.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Hooper-Greenhill’s illustration of the cultural approach to communication.}
\end{figure}

\begin{quote}
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Pinpointing an interpretive community in practice would be difficult, but for this thesis the plurality of interpretive communities is the interesting aspect. The concept is intersectional, containing both social and cultural frameworks. One person can of course belong to several interpretive communities. Since the concept is highlighting the importance of different strategies of meaning-making it is useful when studying communication at museums. This is applicable to my study on pedagogical sessions directed to immigrants learning Finnish or Swedish. The complexity of interpretation is something that is relevant throughout this study and I will connect this to theories of heritage and intercultural museums.

A problem that museums have is that the curators often interpret museum collections through the glasses of their own interpretive communities and therefore succeed in communicating only within these communities, Hooper-Greenhill argues. In order to reach out to more groups, the curators need to learn about interpretive strategies of different communities. They also need to get aware of the general foreknowledge attained within these communities about themes brought up in the museum exhibitions.38

A chronology is apparent in Hooper-Greenhill’s use of communication theories. The transmission approach and the cultural approach are dominating two eras of the history of museums. Hooper-Greenhill describes a gradual change during the 1980’s and 1990’s from the transmission approach to the cultural approach at museums. Communication gradually became seen as a part of culture itself, of its production and reproduction. Therefore, Hooper-Greenhill calls this “the cultural approach”.39

The transmission approach is, however, still apparent at museums. Hooper-Greenhill argues that exhibition development processes at museums need to be based on the cultural approach to communication. Collaboration with the audiences should be built into the process and the staff should take into consideration both what people are interested in and how they learn. The museum audience is active “whether or not museums recognize this”, Hooper-Greenhill argues. There are power relations apparent in museum communication which are important to recognize. This is one aspect that the cultural approach misses.40

Hooper-Greenhill’s use of communication theory paves the way for an understanding of museum communication. Since the concepts of integration and intercultural dialogue include communication between groups – both “one-way” and “two-way” – this theoretical starting point makes it possible to connect museum pedagogy to the discussion of integration and cultural diversity. The cultural approach is compatible with the idea of integration as a mutual process and with ideas of intercultural dialogue at museums. It is about an exchange of ideas and

about discussing different interpretations. Integration as a one-way process, however, fits better into the transmission approach where the curator transmits his or her interpretation of history to the visitors.

Hooper-Greenhill argues that communication theory should be applied within exhibition development. In my view it is relevant to apply this theory to pedagogical programmes as well. Pedagogical programmes is an important part of museum communication both in Sweden and in Finland. Here the museum staff meets the museum audiences and eye-to-eye communication occurs. Through these occasions many visitors experience the exhibitions of the museum as well.41

Cultural heritage
Museums are cultural heritage institutions, and when studying the museums’ role regarding cultural diversity and integration it is crucial to see how cultural heritage is defined, especially since this concept is important for individuals’ construction of identity and feeling of belongingness. Simona Bodo connects heritage with intercultural dialogue. I find her study on museums as intercultural spaces to be compatible with Hooper-Greenhill’s museum communication theory.

As a concept heritage is intensely used and debated. Most researchers within heritage studies today agree that heritage is a construction which says at least as much about our own time as it says about the time it is intended to represent. Heritage can thus change meaning depending on who is interpreting it. Within the practical work at museums, however, the view of heritage as subjective and negotiable is not at all that common. Simona Bodo uses two interpretive paradigms identified by the sociologist Elena Besozzi: the essential paradigm and the dialogical paradigm. The former is built on the idea that heritage objects have static and natural meanings, and that this meaning can be communicated from a curator to the visitor through one-way communication. The latter, in contrast, sees heritage as a base for social interaction. Through this interaction the meanings of the heritage objects are constantly renegotiated.42

From the perspective of the dialogical paradigm you can see heritage as a base for an ongoing intercultural dialogue. The essentialist paradigm has been dominating for a long time and is still present at the museums according to Bodo who furthermore argues that heritage is a problematic concept for the inclusive work of museums. The dialogical paradigm, however, opens up for museums to take on the role of what she calls “intercultural spaces”.43

The role of the museum, which I aim to discuss in this study, thus depends on how cultural heritage is defined. When studying how cultural heritage is defined at

the museums in my case studies these two paradigms are useful. Are the meanings of heritage objects seen as static or negotiable? Is the museum presenting meanings to the visitors or is the meaning making built on a dialogue between the museum representatives and the visitors? The essential notion of heritage is built on the same idea of one-way communication as the transmission approach to communication. The dialogical notion of heritage fits well into the cultural approach of communication which emphasises the visitors’ role of giving meaning to the museum objects and being producers of culture. While the dialogical paradigm paves the way for museums’ aim of representing diversity as well as contributing to integration as a many-way process, the essential paradigm is excluding since only one meaning or interpretation is seen as valid.

I agree with Bodo that the two paradigms of heritage do not necessarily exclude each other. For example somebody ultimately needs to make a decision on which things are going to be preserved as museum objects at all. These approaches are useful tools, however, for analysing and problematizing communication at museums.44

**Museums as intercultural spaces**

Simona Bodo’s idea of museums as “intercultural spaces” is based on the dialogical paradigm of heritage. My hypothesis is that Bodo’s idea, because of its focus on dialogue, approaches a possible combination of cultural diversity aims and mutual integration at museums. Bodo does not discuss integration as such but asks for a “more integrative model of diversity” at museums. In order to make Bodo’s idea applicable to my study, I combine it with the cultural approach to communication.45

Bodo argues that many museums in Europe still start off from the essential paradigm of heritage when answering to the political quest for intercultural dialogue. They tend either to focus on informing of “other cultures” to increase the appreciation for these cultures in society or they focus on integrating immigrants into mainstream culture by helping them to learn about the country’s history, traditions and values.46

She gives examples of some museums which, in contrast to many other museums, have put the dialogical notion of heritage in the centre of their activities. One of her examples is the project *Plural Stories: from hand to hand* at the Guatelli Museum in Italy (a museum on the life of the primary school teacher Ettore Guatelli). Among the participants in the project there were both immigrants and natives. Theatre was used in order to break linguistic barriers. Through a play the

participants told stories form their perspectives on the museum’s objects and spaces as well as on objects of their own. Bodo writes that the projects of her examples all share the assumption that:47

the rethinking of heritage from a participatory, dialogical, intercultural perspective is an important pursuit, one which holds the potential to impact all citizens. Museums as intercultural spaces can function not only to promote cultural rights of migrant communities but also to nurture all individuals (‘natives’ and ‘migrants’), those attitudes, behaviours and skills (including cognitive mobility; the ability to question one’s own points of view and to challenge stereotypes; the awareness of one’s own multiple identities) which are indispensable in a world of increasing contact and interaction between culturally different groups.48

According to Bodo, intercultural museum projects should embrace a dialogical notion of heritage and thus see heritage as something that should be renegotiated. Bidirectional dialogue is central. Her idea of museums as intercultural spaces includes that they function as “third spaces”. She describes these as places where “individuals are permitted to cross the boundaries of belonging and are offered genuine opportunities for self-representation”. Third spaces are unfamiliar to all participants and give opportunity for a similar experience of discovery for different groups.49

Bodo suggests that museum visitors should be seen as producers of meaning. This and the focus on individual interpretation of heritage goes hand in hand with the cultural approach to communication. In my study, I therefore define intercultural dialogue as an exchange of ideas between different interpretive communities. That makes Bodo’s idea of museums as intercultural spaces applicable to the field of museum communication. In my study I am searching for the role of intercultural dialogue in this meaning in order to explore the role of the museum. A dialogue on interpretation of cultural heritage based on the cultural approach to communication opens up for a mutual or what I call a “many-way” integration of all individuals into a multicultural society.

This study has the aim to shed light on ideals and practices at museums. I am aware of that Bodo’s theory is an ideal as well; an ideal of the museum’s role and of what museum work should aim for. When it comes to the museum’s role in the meeting between people of different cultures, James Clifford’s idea on museums as “contact zones” for different cultures is perhaps the most well-known and used. Both he and Bodo see museum objects as bases for ongoing intercultural dialogues. In his book Routes, Clifford describes the basement of the Portland Museum in Oregon as a contact zone, to which Tlingit elders were invited to discuss the historic Northwest Coast Indian collection of the museum. This collection was a part of the Rasmussen collection which was amassed in the 1920s. Art experts and

anthropologists also participated in the meeting. Clifford defines these artefacts as “sites of historical negotiation, occasions for an ongoing contact”.50

A noteworthy difference between Simona Bodo and James Clifford is that Bodo’s idea of the intercultural museum goes beyond the targeting of specific ethnic groups, whilst Clifford looks at the meeting of representatives for different cultures. Because of this I choose to use Bodo’s theory, since it is the most relevant when studying language course groups with students of different backgrounds.

Inequality at museums
Bodo argues that the intercultural dialogues taking place at museums should go beyond encounters where one culture is conceived as dominant culture and where cultures are seen as static entities. Power and inequality is something worth reflecting on when studying the role of museums. Museums have gone from speaking with one authoritarian voice in trying to present a plurality of histories. Still, most people working at museums are of quite similar background, mainly white middle class, which is also the case of the staff I interviewed for this study.51

In integration projects as well as projects aiming for intercultural dialogue there tend to be a built-in imbalance of power. This is put forward by museologists as well as by migration researchers. The ethnologist Oscar Pripp writes that integration projects often have a segregating effect since they are “minority focused”. This theory on minority focused integration comes from the sociologist Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi. He argues that integration projects initiated by the Swedish government are focusing on defining immigrants’ problems (which often is defined as lack of competence) and on how the immigrants can adapt to the majority culture. Pripp gives several examples of minority focused projects in Sweden. Especially apparent is this when it comes to the language question. According to him as well as to the sociologist Marie Carlsson, the SFI education in Sweden contributes to sharpening the contrast between what is seen as the Swedish national culture and other cultures.52

As Hans-Ingvar Roth observes, the fact that the language of the majority is the lingua franca in many countries – a language which everybody needs to understand for a good integration – is also something that builds up inequality between majority and minorities. In Finland the situation looks a little bit differently since immigrants can choose between learning any of the two national languages Finnish and Swedish.53

51 (2008), Sharing Diversity, p. 125.
Material and method

In order to explore ideals and practices at museums, I have combined different kinds of material in an ethnographic field study and studied documents through text analysis. Being in the physical and social environment where the meeting between the museum personnel and the language class takes place has allowed me to find out about perspectives on the role of the museum within this activity. Through interviews, observations, and the study of official documents I search answers for my research questions.

While the interviews give the personal views of individuals’ planning and experiences from carrying out pedagogical programmes, the observations give a complementary perspective on the meeting between ideals and reality, and the document study gives a context of ideals existing in society.

Throughout the study I have been using Kaijser’s and Öhlander’s concept of pragmatic systematics (pragmatisk systematik). Pragmatic systematics means that the researcher combines on the one hand a systematic work with on the other hand methodological improvisation and creativity in order to be open to new insights during the course of the study. Insights gained during the study can show that one’s original hypotheses or delimitations are not sufficient or relevant. It is because of this important to be flexible but at the same time be systematic so that for example the interviews and the observations become comparable.54

In the next subchapters I will discuss more in detail my choice of methods and material as well as the delimitation of this study and my ethical considerations throughout the study.

Selection of museums

Both the Swedish History Museum and the National Museum of Finland are state-owned museums which focus on the cultural heritage of their country. The SHM belongs to the National Historical Museums in Sweden and the NMF is a part of the National Board of Antiquities of Finland.

At the webpage of the NMF one can read: “National Museum illustrates Finnish history from medieval times to the 19th century”.55 The SHM is described in this way at its webpage:

Every year tens of thousands of visitors come from Sweden and around the world to see one of the world’s largest Viking exhibits, Sweden’s foremost gold and silver treasures, incomparable medieval art and unique finds from one of the most violent battles of Swedish history – the Battle of Gotland 1361.56

55 The website of the National Museum of Finland > National Museum of Finland [2016-10-11].
56 The website of the Swedish History Museum > English [2016-10-11].
Both museums are thus concerned with the heritage of their country. Both the museums were also founded during the era of national romanticism. During that era, culture became seen as something tightly connected with nation and language. Still today the national state is a common frame for cultural identity. Possibly, ideas of nation and language as crucial for cultural identity remains to some extent on these institutions. As museums concerning national history they are especially interesting in relation to cultural diversity and Bodo’s theory on the museum as an intercultural place.  

Even though the SHM does not have “national” in its name, the history of the collections of the SHM, as originally belonging to the Nationalmuseum (which today is a national art museum) makes it relevant to put in the historical and political context of national museums.

Furthermore, I have chosen these two museums because they both have pedagogical programmes directed to groups studying Swedish or Finnish as a foreign language. The fact that they have comparable target groups for their projects makes it possible to compare for instance how the museums staff views their cooperation with the language schools and whether or not they have taken the language education curriculum into consideration when planning the museums’ pedagogical programme.

Interviews

The museum staff’s views on how their ambitions with their pedagogical programmes for immigrants meet the practical reality is the focal point of my study, and interviews are my main method to find out about that. I have interviewed museum staff who have planned and who are carrying out the pedagogical programmes. The interviews took the form of semi-structured interviews as described by Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann. This means that I wrote interview guides with themes and some main questions to start from, and then posed resulting questions during the course of the interview. This kind of interview suits the aim of this study. In order to shed light on the relationship between ideals and practices at museums, I search for the personal experiences of the museum staff on how their aims with their pedagogical programmes relate to their experiences from carrying out these programmes. The semi-structured interview focuses on the interviewee’s own experience. The interviews starts from the interviewee’s reflections on different topics and then moves on through questions aiming to get the interviewee to develop or make these reflections clearer.

58 The website of Historiska museet (the Swedish History Museum, Swedish language version) > Om museet > Om museibyggnaden [2016-09-21].
The information gained at the interview is a product of the interview situation. The questions posed by me as the interviewer steers the answer in some direction. The languages spoken in the interviews may also have affected the result. At the NMF, all informants were interviewed in English (all had Finnish as their mother tongue). At the SHM, the interviews were held in the informants' first language which is Swedish. It is easier to be more precise and to express one's reflections in the mother tongue. In spite of this I felt that the interviews in English went smooth and that all my informants spoke English that well that it was not any hinder to them. One informant was unsure of the “political correct word” in English for developing countries during the interview, and I take this factor into consideration if analysing the interviewees’ choice of words. It is also worth noticing that my transcriptions of the interviews with the producers at the SHM are written in Swedish, and when I have quoted this transcription in the study, I have translated it into English.

My focus when searching for interviewees was to find persons who have planned and who are carrying out the programmes. I e-mailed the museums and through their communicators I got in contact with the persons relevant for my study.

I chose to make one group interview and three individual interviews because of the difference in organisation around the two pedagogical programmes. At the SHM, two staff members have planned the pedagogical program together, and take turns in carrying out the program. In this case a group interview has been useful to learn about their aims with and their reflections on the practical reality of their program. One strength of the group interview according to Kvale and Brinkmann is that the discussion between the interviewees can bring forth more spontaneous and expressive reflections than the individual interview. In the case of my study I certainly think that the discussion between the two developers of the pedagogical program stimulate more interesting reflections than individual interviews would have done. Sometimes one interviewee seem to have come to think of new perspectives when he or she listened to the other interviewee’s reflections.60

Weaknesses with this kind of interview, according to Kvale and Brinkmann, are that it might be difficult for the interviewer to keep the discussion focused to the topics interesting for the study and that the transcription process will be difficult when people talk at the same time. In this case the group consisted of only two persons and myself as the interviewer, which did not make the transcription process much harder than my interviews with only one interviewee. Anyhow, with two interviewees it became more difficult to take note of both persons’ reactions and facial expressions at all points during the interview.61

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Another problem was to plan how long time the interview would take. Since it took longer time than I had planned and it was not possible to extend the time for the interview I made a complementary telephone interview with producer A where I asked questions I did not have time for during the first interview. I also asked some resulting questions from the earlier interview. These questions came to my mind during the further analyse of the material. Unfortunately producer B did not have time to give an extra interview. The pause between the interviews and the different form of interview (through a telephone) of course affect the result and makes the conditions somewhat different from the interviews at the NMF where I only met each informant one time for an interview. In general, though, these choices of interview forms – individual interviews and a group interview – fit well with the different organisations around the two pedagogical programmes.

At the NMF, a curator has planned the program and others are carrying it out. I interviewed the curator as well as the two guides who held the tours that I observed. The guides of this programme have quite much flexibility to choose the theme of the tour. Because of the different roles and positions of the staff members, and the fact that they work quite independently with this program I find it better for my study to interview them individually than in a group.

The experience of the persons involved in making and carrying out the pedagogical programmes is the core of my study. I limit my study to interviewing the personnel at the pedagogical program and not the visitors or the visiting teachers. My study will thus take a sender-perspective. The sender-perspective is relevant since I am studying the aims of the museum personnel in their practical everyday work.

After my field studies, I transcribed the interviews from the recordings and also added aspects like the interviewee’s facial expressions from my interview notes to the transcription. Thereafter I wrote keywords in the margins of the transcriptions in order to more easily analyse their answers in relation to my research questions. From this, I could thematise my informants’ aims and challenges with the programmes, which made a thematic disposition possible for my analysis.

Observations
The observations in this study have a complementary and contextualising function to fulfil the aim of shedding light on the relation between ideals and practices in the field of cultural diversity at museums. Through observing the pedagogical programmes that are in the focus of my study I can find aspects that are not possible to get only through interviews. Some aspects that observations can give, listed by Pripp and Öhlander, are things that the informants do not think of mentioning because they are seen as obvious, actions that the informants are not conscious of, and controversial topics that the informants do not feel comfortable to talk about.
in an interview. In this way the observations can show aspects not mentioned in the interviews.62

Through my observations I also got good contexts for my interviews and could form an idea of the pedagogical programme before interviewing. Therefore I chose to observe the programme before interviewing the person who carried it out. This structure of my fieldwork also gave me opportunity to ask the interviewees about their reflections on the specific programme they had just held, which made a good starting point for the interview and also made it possible for me to relate their reflections to my observations. For example I got their view on the representability of the sessions I observed.

I have made observations at two occasions on each museum, two sessions of “Suomen historia tutuksi” at the NMF and two sessions of “Gränslöst” at the SHM. I mainly observed what kind of interaction is going on between the museum staff and the visiting classes. In line with the concept of pragmatic systematics I neither to make an open observation where I look for “everything” nor a so called focused observation where I limit my observation to search for something specific only. I find it important to be open for new aspects since you cannot know what you will find on the field before you are there, but at the same time to have some focus on important aspects connected to my research questions and theoretical starting points. I thus had a list of aspects important for my research that I concentrated on, but I also found other interesting noteworthy aspects during the course of my observations.

I tried to keep the degree of my participation low, to interact as little as possible with the group and the guide during the programme and to concentrate on observing the event. For example I chose not to participate directly in the discussions at the workshops of “Gränslöst”, but to walk around and listen to the discussing groups instead. Of course my presence possibly affected the pedagogical programmes anyway, but this method made it possible for me to observe the dialogue between guide and participants with as little impact on it as possible.

The choice of which occasions I observed depended much on when a language education group happened to book a tour in February. At the SHM, I got information early on that there were two groups booked on the same day and that I could observe them and interview the producers afterwards. At the NMF, there were several bookings to choose between, one or two each week. Because of logistic reasons I chose to stay in Helsinki for one week. I chose one week for which they had two bookings and which also was a week when all planned informants had time for an interview. While the observations in Helsinki were in the beginning and the end of the week the observations in Stockholm were both on the same day. This means that I got more time to reflect between the two observations.

in Helsinki than I had between the observations in Stockholm. This might of course affect the comparison, but at the same time field work is a continuous process of gathering experiences and reflections and when I came to the SHM I had experiences from my field work at the NMF with me.

Documents
In order to put my case studies in a wider context, and be able to make a comparison between the two museums in their national contexts, I include text analysis in this study. This is to find out more about ideals surrounding the pedagogical programmes studied – ideals concerning cultural diversity and integration.

The material for my text analysis will be policy documents of the SHM and the NMF and national curriculums of language education programmes for immigrants. These are policy documents directly connected to the institutions of the collaboration projects in my case studies. It says something about the closest context of ideals. There are of course many political documents concerning culture and integration which would have been interesting to include in this kind of study to analyse a larger context of ideals. Because of the time and page limits of this master thesis I chose to leave that out, however.

The focus of my document analysis is to answer the fourth research question of this thesis: How do the ideals and practices of the pedagogical programmes relate to the museum’s policy documents and to the national curriculums of the education in Finnish or Swedish for immigrants? Whether or not the museums’ policy documents and the language education curriculums have been used in the process of planning and in which way is also an aspect I included in my interviews.

I chose to analyse the strategy documents of the National History Museum of Sweden and the National Antiquity Agency of Finland. My choice of these policy documents are based on that the informants referred to them as having influenced their work. The programmes thus relate to these documents directly. The two documents are also comparable as strategy documents for the organisation. The two museums also have regulation letters and laws that affects their work, but my informant did not bring those up as important for their planning of the pedagogical programmes specifically.63

In both Sweden and Finland the courses of Swedish and Finnish for immigrants have national curriculums. In Finland the curriculums are stipulated by the Finnish National Board of Education and in Sweden the Swedish National Agency

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63 The webpage of National Board of Antiquities in Finland > About Us > Strategy [2016-09-21]; Interview with the curator, NMF (2016); The website of Statens Historiska Museer (National Historical Museums of Sweden, Swedish language version) > Myndigheten > Dokument > Myndighetens strategiska förändringsplan, 2016 [2016-09-22].
for Education has that function. I found the curriculums through the websites of these administrative authorities.

Confidentiality
For me it is important to do my field study in an ethical way. Therefore, I informed the interviewees about the general aim of my research and that their participation was totally voluntary and about confidentiality. I also asked if they agreed to be recorded during the interview. Everybody agreed to participate and to be recorded and they seemed comfortable with the interview situation.

Also in the beginning of each observation I introduced myself and informed the group of my study. In Finland I made this introduction in Finnish and in Sweden in Swedish since these were the languages which everybody had in common. I prioritised to make the introduction as simple as possible in order for everybody to understand rather than telling about the aims of my study in greater detail.

In this thesis I have chosen not to mention the names of the informants. I call them the names of their professions: curator, guide A, guide B, and producer A and producer B. Through this anonymization of my informants I intend to obstruct the direct identification of them. However, I am open with which projects I am studying and at which museums. I think this is important for the context of my research and crucial for being able to write about these projects at all. For example it is relevant to inform about which city and which country I study to be able to discuss my results and for being able to give references to policies, literature etc. Of course with the information I give I understand that my informants are not completely anonymous, but I also consider the topic not to be too delicate.

Furthermore I avoid giving specific information about the visiting groups at the tours that I observed. This is challenging though, especially in one case when the group only consisted of three persons and the discussion during the tour to a big degree started from their stories of their backgrounds. Since I do not mention from which school they come or their teacher’s name they will stay anonymous to most readers anyway.
Analysis

Disposition
This analytical chapter starts with a short exploration of policies connected to the two national museums of my case studies and to the language education programmes for immigrants in Finland and Sweden. This is to briefly map some contexts of ideals surrounding my case studies. Thereafter, I start the analysis of the two pedagogical programmes “Gränslöst” and “Suomen historia tutuksi” through giving an overview of their structure and content. The museum staff’s communication ideals and practices concerning these programmes are then analysed starting from the four research questions of this thesis, in four chapters. In the last one of these four chapters, I return to the policy documents when studying specifically how the two pedagogical programmes relate to these.

National museums and language education for immigrants: policies and political contexts

Policies of national museums in Finland and Sweden
In this chapter, I give a brief context of present ideals of cultural diversity as a concern for national museums in Finland and Sweden. Globalisation and multicultural values have challenged the idea of the powerful and sovereign nation, and so also challenged the role of national museums as mediators of a national narrative of a country and its people. This is put forward by Peter Aronsson, professor of Cultural Heritage and Uses of History, in his article on national museums in the Nordic countries. He argues that the responses to this challenge differ between the Nordic countries. At one side of the spectra he mentions Sweden, where the concept of cultural diversity has been embraced at the national museums, at least in theory. On the other side of the spectra is Denmark, where cultural policies gives a
persistent national dimension to cultural heritage. Aronsson does not bring up how Finland work with these questions today.\textsuperscript{64}

On a more general level of cultural policies, Pasi Saukkonen highlights that a lot has happened when it comes to cultural diversity within cultural politics in Finland. He highlights the rather special case of Finland, which for about a century has been multicultural in the sense that its constitution recognises two national languages (Finnish and Swedish) and two national churches (the Evangelical Church of Finland and the Orthodox Church of Finland). In contrast, the national identity constructed in nineteenth century Finland was mono-cultural as it was based upon the Finnish language and Evangelic-Lutheranism.\textsuperscript{65}

The National Board of Antiquities in Finland includes the NMF together with Cultural Environment Services and Archives and Information services. Its strategy document does not mention cultural diversity as a concept, but it is stated the Board shall work for accessibility. Seen in wider perspective, the NMF follows the national museum strategy “Museo 2000” for museums in Finland. According to this strategy, a central concern for the museums is to promote cultural diversity. For example it states: “Since the museums represent a unique cultural richness, they work as advocates of multiculturalism and tolerance in society.” (my translation of: “Edustamansa ainutlaatuisen kuttuurisen rikkauden takia museot toimivat monikulttuurisuuden ja suvaitsevaisuuden puolestapuhujina yhteiskunnassa.”).\textsuperscript{66}

The strategy document of The National History Museums of Sweden (which include the SHM as well as the Royal Coin Cabinet and the contract archaeology service The Archaeologists) does not bring up the concept cultural diversity as such, but it states that the museums work should build on an inclusive concept of heritage and work against discrimination. The formulations in the so called “Our Manifest” seems like an active dissociation of the ideals of national museums as mediators of national history and national culture (in singular). The focus of the communication of history at the National History Museums is on the cultural meetings that have made Sweden to what it is today, according to this manifest. It states that the debate on “Swedish cultural heritage” should be changed into a debate on “cultural heritage in Sweden”.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64} Aronsson, P. (2008), ”Representing community: national museums negotiating differences and the community in the Nordic counties”, p. 209.

\textsuperscript{65} Saukkonen, P. (2013), ”Multiculturalism and Cultural Policy in Northern Europe”, p. 191.

\textsuperscript{66} Quote from: (1999), ”Museo 2000. Museopoliittinen ohjelma”, p. 30 (A new strategy will be presented by the Finnish Ministry of Education by the end of 2016.); The website of National Board of Antiquities in Finland > About Us > Strategy [2016-09-21].

\textsuperscript{67} The website of Statens Historiska Museer (National Historical Museums of Sweden, Swedish language version) > Myndigheten > Dokument > Myndighetens strategiska förändringsplan, 2016 [2016-09-22]
Language education for immigrants in Finland and Sweden

In Finland, adult immigrants – primarily those who are unemployed – has right to so called “Integration training for adult migrants”. This training includes two blocks: one is language and communication skills and the other is civic and working life skills. In Finland there is an Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration which states these immigrants’ right to an individual integration plan and, as a part of that, Integration training. In bilingual municipalities, such as the four municipalities of the Capital Region which surrounds the city of Helsinki, immigrants can choose between learning Finnish or Swedish.68

The curriculum of Integration training in Finland states that “[i]ntegration is a two-way process, where both individual migrants and their local communities interact with each other”. The importance of interaction between migrants and “the mainstream population” in everyday life for integration is especially emphasised. In the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration, there is a similar definition of integration, as an “interactive development involving immigrants and society at large”. The formulations in both the curriculum and the law correlates with the description of integration as a “two-way process” by Castles et al.69

In Sweden there is no specific Integration Act like in Finland, but instead the Education Act states that everyone who lives in Sweden, are over 16 years old and lack basic knowledge of the Swedish language have right to so called “Swedish tuition for immigrants” (SFI). This tuition is focused on language training and in contrast to the Integration training in Finland, the curriculum for SFI does not include any section on learning about society and culture. However, in the introduction of the “Goal and nature of the education” it is stressed that except getting an awareness of their own process of learning Swedish, the students “should also develop their intercultural competence by reflecting over their own cultural experiences, and comparing these with phenomena in daily, societal and working life in Sweden”. Integration as a concept is not mentioned in this curriculum.70

National Museum of Finland’s guided tour “Suomen historia tutuksi”

To try to be as close to the literal meaning as possible “Suomen historia tutuksi” can be translated to “Become familiar with the history of Finland”. It is a one hour long tour conducted by any of the museum’s freelance guides.

During the tour the guide speaks about different objects in two of the museum’s exhibitions, the dominating exhibition being The Realm. Both tours I followed started with the pictures of the Kalevala epos in the entrance hall and then the Middle Age part of The Realm and went chronologically through the exhibition: through the reformation, life of people of different estates during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Russian era and ended in a 19th century smoke cabin in the exhibition A Land and its People.71

The head curator of education who has planned the tour told that she started the project in 2011 when she and a trainee from Helsinki University invited 15 test groups of immigrants who studied Finnish language and Finnish culture (which seem to be the national “Integration training”). The curator guided the groups in the exhibitions of the museum and the trainee followed to take notes and to interview the participants:

She made good memos of what it looked like and then she asked the participants how it was and “what did you like?”, “What was the most important thing in this guided tour?”, “Did you see the kind of things you wanted to see?”, “Did you like how the guide speaks?” and “What was the funniest and the dumbest thing during that guided tour?”.72

From these test tours some guidelines for the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi” were developed. The museum’s freelance guides probably got to follow one of the curator’s tours (the curator does not remember exactly) and they got the mentioned guidelines for how to structure the tour. The two guides I interviewed both said that they as guides are free to choose which objects they show and what they tell. The guidelines just give a basic structure for the tour.73

In the guidelines it is recommended to visit five “stations” during the tour. The curator mentioned that they let the participants borrow chairs that they can carry with them and then they all sit around an object at each station while the guide speaks about it. As an interactive part of the tour the curator has included some pictures of animals which the guide brings to the tour. The pictures are handed out to the participants who get to discuss the animals.74

71 Observations of “Suomen historia tutuksi”, NMF (2016).
72 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
73 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016); Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
74 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
The tour became a part of the museum’s programme in 2012. Since then it has become very popular. 350 “Suomen historia tutuksi” tours have been held according to the curator.\textsuperscript{75}

The Swedish History Museum and the programme “Gränslös”

The title of the pedagogical programme “Gränslös” at the SHM can be translated to “Borderless”. Two of the museum’s producers have planned this programme and they also take turns in carrying it out. Their idea of creating a programme with this theme came from a research project that one of the producers had been participating in which concentrated on artefacts which history stretched outside of the borders of today’s Sweden. This project produced a track in the exhibitions at the museum, where objects were highlighted under the theme “Borderless”. The producers got inspired from this track and felt that it could be a good starting point for a pedagogical programme for immigrants learning Swedish.\textsuperscript{76}

The producers started the pedagogical project in 2013. Back then, they met the same groups three times under a period of a couple of months. For the first meeting the participants were asked to bring an object which is important to them and introduce themselves to the group with the object as the starting point. After tours in the museum exhibition History of Sweden and workshops discussing archaeological artefacts, the participants got to write their own personal stories or reflections awakened by any of the artefacts in the exhibition History of Sweden. They wrote their story both in their mother tongue and in Swedish. All stories were then inserted into kindles which were put up in the exhibition. At a vernissage the participants got to present their own story to the other participants as well as to their relatives and friends. In total, almost 300 texts were produced in two and a half year.\textsuperscript{77}

Since the autumn of 2015, a compressed version of “Gränslös” is carried out – it is a two-hour session where the pedagogue and the group meet only that time. Producer A said that the reason that they stopped doing the longer version (at least for the moment) was that they needed a break and they also needed time to write a report with an evaluation of the project. With a compressed version they furthermore hoped to be able to reach more groups.\textsuperscript{78}

The first half of this compressed “Gränslös” programme is a workshop which takes place in a group room. There the participants are divided into groups which

\textsuperscript{75} Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{76} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{77} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{78} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
get one archaeological artefact each to discuss. The other half is a guided tour in the exhibition History of Sweden. Starting with a map of Sweden’s changing borders through history, the tour then goes chronologically through the exhibition. The chronology is central to the exhibition which follows a timeline inserted into the floor with all years from the 11th century until today. The tours I followed stretched from an 11th century rune stone to a display of the 19th century class society in one case, and to passports of refugees from the 20th century in the other case.79

The largest difference from the earlier version of the programme is that the participants do not get the task of writing personal reflections about objects. Neither do they get to introduce themselves to each other through a personal object. These are important dialogue occasions seen from the perspective of Bodo’s theory on intercultural dialogue. When analysing the aims of the programme and challenges to fulfil the aims, it is relevant to make clear which one of these quite different versions of “Gränslöst” I base my study on. However, these versions are of course parts in a process of planning and evaluation by the producers. When discussing ideals and practices these versions are connected. The fact that I could only make observations of the present version puts more focus on this version. I have anyway chosen to include both versions of the pedagogical programme in the scope of my study.

During 2015, the producers held about 30 sessions of this type. Except this programme, the museum also arranges a so-called Language Café in cooperation with the volunteer organisation Internationella bekantskaper (International Acquaintances). Each Wednesday evening, anyone can come to practice speaking Swedish and have some coffee. Every time, one representative from the museum participates and discusses one of the artefacts displayed in the museum with the group.80

Aims and ambitions with the programmes

In this chapter I discuss the first research question of this study: What are the aims with the pedagogical programmes “Suomen historia tutuksi” and “Gränslöst” respectively, according to the museum staff who plans them and carries them out?

When planning the interviews, I decided to have a very general approach when asking for the aims and ambitions with the programmes. Since I aim to shed light on the ideals and practices at museums, it was important to see what the museum staff spontaneously presented as their aims for these programmes. Even if

79 Observation of “Gränslöst”, SHM (2016).
80 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
this study concerns cultural diversity and integration, it is not certain that these are important aims for the staff connected to these pedagogical programmes. Since I informed my interviewees about the aim with my study before the interviews, they knew that it concerns diversity and integration. This might of course have affected their answers. Yet, I avoided asking about diversity and integration until the last part of the interview (called “The tour and the museum’s role in society”, see appendices 1-3) since I wanted to see whether the museum staff spontaneously brought up these topics as central or not and in which way.

Furthermore, this chapter furthermore deals with what the staff’s aims and ambitions reveal about their ideals of museum communication. Do they have a transmission approach or a cultural approach to communication? I investigated the role of intercultural dialogue (if any) within the aims for these programmes. Since I had not informed the interviewees of my theoretical starting points, I hope this study will give a fair picture of the role and character of intercultural dialogue within the ideals and practices of the programmes studied.

The aims for the two pedagogical programmes as presented by the museum staff turned out to have many similarities. Therefore, I chose to analyse and compare these aims thematically, with history and language aims first and then the aim of reaching new groups and integration aims. In the last section of this chapter, I discuss the role of intercultural dialogue within the programmes.

History learning and language training
At the NMF, the curator said that when it comes to aims for the tour she likes the idea that the museum is not just mediating history “but that you can learn the whole Finnish culture and the language at the museum”. She thus included several things in the pedagogical role of the museum.81

When I asked guide A about her ambitions with the programme at the NMF, she emphasised that she wanted everyone to understand the content of the tour and that they get inspired and take some interesting insights into history with them. Guide B said that he aims to help the participants to learn the language and to make Finnish history interesting and relevant to the participants.82

Similarly, the producers at the SHM talked about the combination of practicing the language and learning history as a good combination for a programme. Language training and history learning were thus brought up as central aims by all informants at both museums. These aims were often mentioned together as a two-folded aim of the tour. Which of these two aims that was emphasised the most, differed between the informants. I will start with discussing the aim concerning

81 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
82 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
history learning and look at what kind of history the staff wants the participants to learn and then I continue with the aim concerning language training.\textsuperscript{83}

To tell a brief history and to discuss the global in national history

In order to get an idea of my informants’ aims and ambitions, I asked what the titles of the programmes mean to them. When discussing the meaning of “Suomen historia tutuksi” (Become familiar with the history of Finland) at the NMF, the curator stressed the accessible nature of the tour:

\begin{quote}
It is like “history for dummies”, you know these books… So it is a simple and easy way to learn Finnish history. I do not mean that these participants are dummies (laughter) but that it is the easy and simple way. You do not need to read books. You can see the museum, you can see the museum object and you can talk with the guide.\textsuperscript{84}
\end{quote}

While the curator’s focal point was to make history accessible and easy, the guides at the NMF talked about summing up history. Guide A suggested she would call it “Finnish history in a nutshell”. She then added that the tour lived better up to this title when the museum also had an exhibition on the 20\textsuperscript{th} century so that the tour stretched from the Middle Ages to the 1960’s. Guide B reflected: “Well, it is a very broad title and I think I guide accordingly. Like it is ‘an overview of a large portion of Finnish history’”. None of the informants problematized the concept of “Finnish history” at this stage of the interview.\textsuperscript{85}

The two freelance guides at the NMF expressed much concern about the aim of history learning. Both guides wanted to give an overview over the entire history presented in the museum rather than discuss a few objects like the guidelines for the tour suggested. Guide A argued that it feels more natural for her to explain the Finnish history chronologically and to make many short stops in the exhibition so that she can show more objects and keep the story brief rather than going into too much detail. She also connected this ambition to her background in education and history, which makes her want to tell “the big story like in schools where you have to tell the story from the beginning to the end”.\textsuperscript{86}

The “overview” or “the whole story” is important to both guides. Guide B has chosen to make more stops during the tour than the five recommended in the guidelines since he finds it difficult to speak in ten minutes about a single object when using simplified language. Furthermore, he sees a benefit in not rushing through several rooms with the group but stopping and explaining one object in each room. The curator, on the other hand, said that she and the trainee learnt from

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{83} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{84} Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{85} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{86} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
\end{flushleft}
the test tours that it is not necessary to tell everything but that discussing a small number of museum objects is enough.87

The meaning of the title “Gränslöst” (Borderless) at the SHM is also connected to history learning. The producers said that they have the borders of the nation as a starting point for a discussion. Producer A claimed that cultural migration is important to his interpretation of “Gränslöst” – the movement of both humans and artefacts between different countries. “Sweden is an invention – there are no borders from a cultural point of view”, he said.88

As mentioned before, “Gränslöst” was also the title of a track in the exhibitions at the museum and it then had the subtitle “a global voyage of discovery in the history of Sweden” (en global upptäcktsfärd i Sveriges historia). When the pedagogical program for SFI students got its name after this track, the producers changed the subtitle to “a personal voyage of discovery in the history of Sweden” (en personlig upptäcktsfärd i Sveriges historia). The reason for this was that producers felt that they wanted something more from the pedagogical programme than just a discussion of geographic borders. A wider theme was addressed with the ambition that the participants would present an artefact of their own and also write their personal reflections about a museum artefact. Through discussing personal reflections on artefacts, the borders of definitions of history were also highlighted. “I think of the border between what is historical or not. ‘I am historical – or?’”, producer B reflected. When making the compressed version of the programme, the producers used the original subtitle again as the theme also this time was global aspects rather than personal.89

The staff’s reflections on the meaning of the title of their pedagogical programmes say something about the main idea behind these programmes as well as that they indicate the staff’s approaches to museum communication. At the NMF, the staff wants “Suomen historia tutuksi” to be easy, summarizing and brief. An aspect that I will analyse further is if they perceive “Finnish history” as something objective to transmit to the participants or as something to discuss and interpret together with the participants. In other words: do they have a transmission approach or a cultural approach to communicating history? At the SHM, the title “Gränslöst” is made to question the importance of national borders. The producers want to awaken questions about national borders and borders of history among the participants. In the next subchapter, I will take a closer look on which history learning outcomes the producers wish from their programme.

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87 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016); Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
88 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
89 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
A history that everyone can relate to

Even though the titles of the two pedagogical programmes have rather different focal points – summarizing Finnish history at the NMF and discussing borders at the SHM – both programmes are discussing the history of a country and have large exhibitions on the history of Finland and Sweden as their starting points. All my informants spoke about what they want to put forward in the history of the country represented in their museum. One wish that they all have in common is to make the history of Sweden and Finland relevant to everyone participating in the programmes.

When I asked the curator at the NMF what she wishes that the participants learn from “Suomen historia tutuksi” she answered pondering:

I hope that they learn that the culture is same everywhere at this globe. So we usually find similarities and that is the one important thing. We have the same kind of wooden objects that they are using in Russia or in Africa. That is a great point with the tours when you are discussing with the people and realise that you are the same people. You have the same kind of vessels and you are thinking about the same things wherever you live. But then there are the specific things that are common in Finland like winter, our nature and how it affects our culture.90

Recognising similarities between objects from different cultures are thus central to the curator’s aims for the programme. The curator wants the participants to find these connections and also to “get the large image of what Finland is” through learning that it has been a part of Sweden and then of Russia before it became independent.91

One of guide B’s ambitions with the tour is to make Finnish history relevant for the participants in the sense that they can relate to it. He gave an example that if there are refugees from war-torn regions in the group he can make Finnish history more relevant through talking about the Finnish Civil War. According to him, this is to show that the situation in Finland a hundred years ago is comparable to the present situation in the countries from which refugees come today.92

Guide A did not speak about finding a history that everyone can relate to when I asked about her ambitions and learning aims for the tour, but she mentioned it when reflecting on which role the tour might have for integration. She argued that she wants to show participants from development countries that “we did not have big houses and we did not have a lot of money. We had ten people living in one room, like some of them might still have or have had in their childhood”.93

At the SHM, the aims for communicating a history that is relevant to the participants are in some ways different from the aims at the NMF. The producers

90 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
91 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
92 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
93 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
stressed that they want to show a continuity of migration to and from Sweden. Producer A said that the aim with his session (the specific one that I observed) was to show that Sweden, Swedish history and Swedish culture is a meeting between different cultures and that immigration is not a new phenomenon in Sweden. The history is relevant to the participants in the way that the participants can recognise themselves as being a part of a continuous migration.94

Producer A furthermore wants to highlight that Sweden has not always been a rich country and that it was not so very different from other countries. He said that one of the most fun things with carrying out “Gränslöst” is when he notices that the participants get another picture of Sweden than they had before.95

I return to the topic of the twentieth century, that one thinks that Sweden always has been a very rich country. I tell the participants about the Swedish emigration to the U.S. and that Sweden was a poor country hundred years ago and things like that. Maybe we did not have a similar situation since we were not at war, but we had a poverty which was similar to many countries.96

This might also be interpreted as an intention to make history more relevant for the participants. Most of my informants highlighted the poverty in Finland and Sweden that continued into the twentieth century and the fast development to becoming two rich industrial countries thereafter.97

On the question what they want the participants to get from “Gränslöst”, producer B said that he wanted the participants to feel that they too are a part of Swedish history. That is also formulated in their vision for “Gränslöst”, which they presented at an education day on SFI and museums. The vision (my translation) is: “that the museum visitors, no matter of nationality, experience Swedish history as a part of a borderless global cultural heritage which belongs to all humans.”98

The history that the staff want the participants to encounter through the pedagogical programmes can thus be relevant to the participants in different ways: It can be that the participants relate to their situation in their home countries through finding similar features in the history told at the museum or that they can find themselves in the long history of immigration and cultural meetings in the Nordic countries.

The whole intention of making history relevant for the groups attending these programmes is showing a cultural approach to communication when the participant is seen as an active interpreter. Anyhow, the complexity of interpretation and the idea of creating knowledge together are important to highlight here as central

94 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
95 Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
96 Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
97 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016); Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016); Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
98 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016); (2016), "Gränslöst".
aspects of the cultural approach. The staff’s aims of history learning as described in this chapter are much about their assumptions and experiences of what participants with immigrant background can relate to. If the staff mediates this “relevant history” in one-way communication only, they are leaning much towards a transmission approach to communication and are also overlooking the complexity of interpretation as stressed in the cultural approach. There is a difference in whether the staff highlights aspects of history that they think the visitors can relate to or if the visitors get to choose things from the exhibitions that they can relate to and share their reflections on these things like they got to do in the long version of “Gränslöст” at the SHM.

Leaving space for the participants to discuss their own interpretations is important in order to open up for intercultural dialogue. The aim to speak about history in a way that the participants can relate to is also necessary in order to meet between different interpretive communities and learn at all. In my view, there is a fine balance here between meeting the participants and letting the assumptions on what they can relate to hinder an equal exchange of ideas. This relates to the question of power and inequality. As put forward by Pripp, integration projects tend to include imbalance of power. The case of “minority focused” projects where the Swedish government defines immigrants’ problems is about an imbalance of power when it comes to who gets to define someone’s identity. In the same way, if museums representatives makes assumptions on what immigrants can relate to, it risks to support power hierarchies between different cultures.99

Training the language
Producer B at the SHM said that she prioritises language training even higher than history learning.

I also think that the language training and the dialogue are more important than the history mediation. It comes first (sounds convinced). That they have come to the museum and that we get to talk with them, that is the first thing, and then we have history we want to tell and then one has to adapt that so it becomes possible.100

Producer A said that they both thought it was a good combination that the participants in the programme learn to talk and to write and learn “a little history”. The pedagogical programme in its original form (as a longer project) furthermore leaned on language training aim listed in the curriculum of SFI. The producers then referred to goals for training written language as well as oral presentations. Producer B said that these goals are included also in today’s compressed version of the programme but to a much lower degree.101

100 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
Also at NMF speaking and interaction are put forward. According to the curator there, the reason why she decided to make “Suomen historia tutuksi” interactive, with animal cards and questions to the participants was to get the participants to talk in order to practice Finnish. She said that she got inspiration for this method during the test tours which she and the trainee made with some groups. She described that when they usually guide a tour the guide speaks and the visitors listen. In this case she and the trainee wanted the visitors to train the language through asking questions. It is also important to check if the visitors understand what the guide says, which also demands interaction. It is clear that the curator saw it as necessary to give time for questions and clarifications and therefore made a tour based on five stations instead of a tour summarising an entire exhibition. In contrast to the SHM, the curator at the NMF did not lean on any specific goal in the curriculum of the integration training when planning the pedagogical programme.102

The curator argued that both history and language are things that she wants the participants to learn through the programme. Guide A, in contrast, spoke of language training as an aim that the teachers at the language schools want to fulfil through their visit while Guide A’s own main aim is to tell the group about history:

Sometimes I have spoken in English part of it, so like a quarter in English and three quarters in Finnish. But I always have to ask the teacher if it is okay because of course they come here to learn Finnish. It is not just history, it is the language. And if I start speaking in English maybe it is not okay with the teacher so I have to ask because otherwise we are missing the point of also teaching them Finnish language... or at least he or she is trying to teach them Finnish language (laughter). I am trying to teach them about Finnish history which I could do in English as well.103

The language learning aim seems more an aim of the language school than an aim for the pedagogical programme, according to her view.

In summary, my informants at the NMF want to present a brief and easy history through their programme and give the participants opportunity to practice Finnish while the producers at the SHM want their programme to include much language training and wake a dialogue on borderless history starting from the history of Sweden.

Reaching new groups
An important driving force behind both “Suomen historia tutuksi” and “Gränslöst” was to get new groups to come to the museum. The planners of the programmes all spoke much about this aim, even if it was only the curator at the NMF who

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102 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
103 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
brought it up as an answer to my question on the aims and ambitions with the tour. “The first ambition was to get more groups to come to the museum so that we are an open institution for all people” she said. The museum did this through offering a program specially designed for immigrants learning Finnish. The curator’s idea of making the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi” was sparked by a need for such audience work according to her. This need seem to have come both from the language school teachers who asked for tours in easy Finnish for their groups and from the museum.104

Before they started this programme at the NMF they offered the “basic tour” of the museum for groups learning Finnish and the guides tried to simplify the language of the tour. They realised that this one hour tour – which was designed for persons who speak Finnish and who have learnt quite much of Finnish history during their lives in Finland – did not fit these groups. They wanted to “formulate it better to the immigrants” as the curator put it. They hoped to reach more immigrants when offering a bookable tour especially for groups learning Finnish.105

One intention was also to solve the problems of misunderstanding among persons who thought that the museum was a church and by that reason did not want to participate. This is an interesting and reoccurring theme in the interview answers of the staff at the NMF. The curator described this scenario when talking about her initiative of creating this pedagogical programme:

Then we decided that we had to formulate it also some way, because one reason was that when we go to the exhibits the first room that we go into is the medieval church. We were used to that when there were people who are Muslims they were a little nervous about that. Are they going to the church? The guide of the museum is leading them right to the church. We have known that since many years, that there is a little problem that somebody said that they do not want to come there because it is a church. Then we had to always explain that this is the museum, that this is all museum objects and that this is not a religious place like churches use to be but it looks like it. The architecture is like a church. You can look at the museum from outside and you can notice that it looks like a church. Inside also, there is a vaulted ceiling.106

The curator thus aimed to adapt the tour to make everyone comfortable with participating. She described further that she and the trainee discussed what they should tell about Finland. “What is the Finns’ history and how to tell about it to the immigrants?” They could not just leave the church-like hall away from the tour since that was the only part of the museum which described the Middle Ages, the curator argued. This is a discussion that can be connected to the history learning aim as well as to the aim of reaching more groups.107

104 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
105 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
106 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
107 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
It is apparent at both the NMF and at the SHM that the ambition to reach more groups includes to make them comfortable with being at the museum and participating in the programme in the first place. One hinder at the NMF was that some participants interpreted it as a church.

After having interviewed my informants at the NMF, it is still a bit unclear what the curator’s and the trainee’s thoughts behind the programme guidelines were, regarding the challenge with the church-like museum building and exhibition. The curator said that they at first had argued that they could not leave the Middle Age exhibition out from the tour. From the test tours they learnt that the participants thought that the medieval exhibition was not so important and that it could be left away. When I told her that the tour I had observed included a stop in the Middle Age exhibition – to look at the copper plates of Saint Henrik sarcophagus – she said that they left that away but then added: “But of course you have to tell something about that when you are going through this (small laughter)”. Both guides that I interviewed at the NMF included the copper plates at the medieval exhibition in their tours and they claimed that it is included as one of five stations in the guidelines for the tour. Except that this shows differing opinions on what is written in the guidelines, this points towards an ambivalence among the tour’s planners on how to approach some language students’ objection against participating in the tour.108

At the SHM, the producers saw it as important to reach out to all groups in society. Producer B’s special focus on diversity in her role as a producer gives a background to this. The producers stressed that they want to make the museum a more welcoming place to which the visitors want to come back. Unlike the situation at the NMF, the producers at the SHM did not mention any problems with participants interpreting the museum as a religious place, even though one part of the exhibition at the SHM is rather church-like in my view. They spoke, anyhow, of helping immigrants over the many “thresholds” of the museum. They saw this as central in their role as pedagogues for the “Gränslös” programme.109

Producer B: I want to be welcoming. I really want everyone to feel at home here and to be comfortable to be here since there are quite a few thresholds into a museum like this. It is like a big scary house that is situated somewhere far from where most people in Stockholm live. There is a big entrance hall and a big reception desk… there are many things to pass which makes me want to stand right next to the door and be nice. I want it to feel so easy so that one feels comfortable. Besides that, I want of course to be inspiring so that it starts a lot of thoughts and ideas… That is how I am thinking.

Producer A: I think like you too, that one should be welcoming and try to tone down the ambitions in some way. You should be able to make jokes and laugh together at best. You should be able to feel that you are welcome back too; to know that there is no entrance fee and that you could come and bring your family with you. “Do you know that we have a Language Café?” Even though we have some new Swedes here too there can be many more. Anyhow,

108 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
nowadays we have free entrance but there is still a lot of people who do not find their way here or even find their way to this district. It would be very good if one could be able to get people to feel that this is a safe place, a welcoming place where I do not need to feel worried.\textsuperscript{110}

It is apparent that both the producers see the museum building, and perhaps also the museum institution, as a hinder to reaching all groups in society. This can be compared to the church-problem at the NMF which also prevented people from participating in activities as the museum. Religious interpretations was not in focus when the producers at the SHM spoke of the metaphorical thresholds of the museum, but rather that the institution and its building might make people worried maybe because of museums’ history of not being very welcoming to all groups in society. For example, producer B argued that “some people need especially much welcoming since they not always have been really welcome at these kinds of institutions according to me”.\textsuperscript{111}

At the SHM, it was clear that the producers wanted to reach more people than just the participating SFI students through these programmes. Producer A stressed that it was important for them to reach also the families and friends of the participants through inviting them to the vernissage of the participants’ exhibition texts. At the NMF, they did not speak of the family and friends of the participants, but of how to reach a more immigrants learning Finnish. The curator was pleased to have noticed that teachers who have taken their group to the guided tour sometimes start guiding their groups on their own after learning the content of the tour. There is a fee for participating in the “Suomen historia tutuksi” tour, but these teachers who guide their groups on their own can take their groups to the museum for free. The curator said that she supports this and that this makes it possible for the teachers to use the museum as much as they like.\textsuperscript{112}

The fact that there are two kinds of Integration training in Finland – one teaching Finnish and one teaching Swedish – makes it relevant to ask why the tour at the NMF is only held in Finnish. When considering that the curator’s main aim with “Suomen historia tutuksi” is to reach more groups, it is noteworthy that the NMF does not offer this kind of tour for immigrants who learn Swedish. The curator admitted that they should have the tour in both national languages, and since they have Finn-Swedish guides also they probably have guided immigrants who study Swedish at some point, but she was not sure.\textsuperscript{113}

Only the personnel who had participated in the planning of the programmes talked about reaching new groups, which is logical since it is an aim connected more to starting a programme in the first place than to the content and pedagogy of

\textsuperscript{110} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{111} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{112} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016); Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{113} Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
the programme. However, also the freelance guides at the NMF mentioned that the museum is an unfamiliar place far away from the everyday life of the language students. They expressed a strong wish to inspire these students to come back after their participation in the programme.114

In conclusion, reaching new groups in society is something central to both museums. At the NMF, the curator’s focus is on offering a programme especially designed for immigrants learning Finnish and to get all in the group to be comfortable with participating in the tour even though the museum includes a church-like exhibition and the museum building itself reminds of a church. At the SHM, the producers talked about being welcoming and helping immigrants over the many “thresholds” of the museum.

Engaging diverse audiences is mentioned by Nightingale and Sandell as one of the aims related to the increasing concern for diversity at museums. The reaching-more-groups aim that is apparent in my case studies can thus be seen as a part of this general development of work for diversity at museums.115

Diversity in the sense of reaching more groups in society is a central aim for both of the pedagogical programmes in my case studies, but was the concept “diversity” itself brought up during the first parts of the interview? It was brought up only at the SHM when producer B said that she focuses much on “the fluffy concept of diversity” in her work as a producer. None of my informants mentioned the notion of diversity when speaking about their aims with the pedagogical programmes. Integration, on the other hand, is a central concept to some of my interviewees and this I will discuss in the chapter below.116

Integration
Supporting integration is an important aim for the producers working with “Gränslöst” at the SHM. One of the producers emphasised that it is integration as a mutual process that they aim for. On my question about what their aims and ambitions with their programme were originally and whether these have changed, she answered:

Yes, they have changed (laughter). We have spoken a lot about this because somewhere in the beginning of our exploration we aimed to have some kind of integration intention anyhow, but really when one thinks of integration as something mutual. Thus we wanted to learn, we wanted to meet and we wanted them to feel participatory in what there are at the museum and in Swedish history. Engagement and participation were two keywords really. /…/ even though I still think that the concept of integration is difficult… but according to me the content we wanted to fill it [the concept] with – to create this meeting and dialogue and the sense of belonging – is still correct.117

114 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
117 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
Here producer B gave a description of how she defines integration within this project: dialogue, meeting and sense of belonging. She also said that they as the producers want to learn from the participants. This integration aim corresponds well with Bodo’s idea of the museum as a place for intercultural dialogue where a mutual exchange of experiences and ideas takes place.\footnote{118 Bodo, S. (2012), “Museums as Intercultural Spaces".}

It is clear that the producers aim to work for integration as a mutual process, but mutual in what sense? Is this process that they aim for integration as a “two-way process” (a concept described by Castles et al) or does it include dialogue between several individuals like in what I call integration as a “many-way process”? The producers’ focus, when speaking about their integration aim, seem to be on creating a dialogue between them as pedagogues and the participants. Producer A said in general words about his work as a producer that he wants to start a dialogue with the museum visitors and not just a one-way communication. They do not mention dialogue between the participants as a part of their integration aim even though discussion between the participants for sure is a central part of the workshop-section of the programme. The producers’ integration aim thus seem to fit better into the notion of integration as a two-way process than into integration as a many-way process.\footnote{119 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016); Castles, S. et al. (2002), Integration: Mapping the Field, pp. 115–116.}

At the NMF, only guide B brought up integration in the first parts of the interview. After having talked about the twofold aim of the tour – that the participants learn Finnish language and history – he said hesitatingly: “If it [the tour] helps them understand Finnish people, Finland as a country, by learning its history, I think tours like this absolutely can help with integration.” Even though Guide B did not describe integration as his aim with the tour in the first place it seems like he hopes it to be an outcome of tour. The quote above suggests that the outcome would be integration as a one-way process. His ambition that immigrants participating in the tour learns the history of Finnish people and the country of Finland is suggesting a one-way communication. When asked “What role do you think this tour has for the integration of immigrants?” guide B again argued that learning about the history of Finland is the key. “In order to understand a nation and its people you have to understand its history” he said.\footnote{120 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).}

Guide A gave a longer answer to the question of the tour’s role for integration. She put forward that the language students get out of their classrooms and into Helsinki city centre and the museum to which they might have never been before. “They can realise that you can come in here and that it is not a big and scary place where people are just talking Finnish” she said and laughed a little. She argued for the importance of inspiring the participants to come back to the museum and also
that they can realise that they understand Finnish language in other situations than in the classroom. She also added that it is great if the participants are interested in history and if they “get the cultural ideas”.121

When I asked her to develop what she meant by cultural ideas, she mentioned religion and church life (which she said that the participants often have had many questions on) as well as the fast changes of Finnish society during the latest century. She wants to show similarities between Finnish culture and other cultures. Even if Finland might seem to be very different from the countries from where the participants come it has not always been like that. She gave the example of participants who come from developing countries and she said that she aims to show them that “we did not have big houses and we did not have a lot of money”. She also said she wants to show people from countries with very old cultures, in the Middle East for example, that “here we have had these little houses and this is sort of what the Finnish mentality comes from that we never had anything grand or anything big to show off”. In that way she wants to tell why Helsinki looks like it does and why Finland does not have huge cities or grand palaces. The aspects Guide A listed as integration outcomes of the tour are similar to what she said is her ambitions of language training and history learning, even though she did not mention integration as one of her ambitions with the tour.122

Both guides are focused on that the language students should learn things and come to insights of things, which could suggest that the guides see the integration outcome of this tour as a one-sided process. That might anyhow depend on how I formulated the question asking for the tour’s role for integration of immigrants. I changed that formulation to just “integration” when interviewing the curator.

The curator said that she thinks that the tour has some kind of role for integration. She called the tour “one tool that teachers can use”. One might interpret this answer as that integration primarily is in the interest of the Integration training courses and not as much in the interest of the museum. She added, however, that she thinks museums are great places for integration and that all museums could work a lot more with it.123

Since the curator had not mentioned how she interprets integration, and as for instance the Finnish Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration defines integration as an “interactive development involving immigrants and society at large”, I asked the curator the following question:124

LO: A question on integration as a double-sided process. I read in political policies in Finland and also in the curriculums for integration education that they all aim for some kind of double-

121 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
122 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
123 Interview with curator, NMF (2016).
124 FFS 1386/2010 Lag om främjande av integration, kap. 1, § 3; as translated in “Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010)”, Ministry of Employment and the Economy, Finland.
sided process. It is not just the immigrants that should be integrated but integration should happen from both sides. Do you feel that the museum as an institution learn something from the visitors at this tour?

Curator: Yes, always. In a way there is only one guide who is leading the group. It might be so that if he or she do not tell forward we do not necessarily learn anything since they are freelance guides. But of course it is always a double-sided process. Like I mentioned “the next Helsinki” project where we probably will have these young adults who will give us tips what to put on display or how to explain different kinds of themes or aims. So it is always double-sided, yes.125

The NMF thus has other projects in the planning which includes the aim of mutual integration, but the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi” cannot because of its organisation fulfil such aims easily.

To sum it up, the informants who put most stress on integration as an aim for the programme were the producers at the SHM. They had discussed this aim a lot when planning the tour. They aimed for what they call mutual integration, which can be interpreted as integration as a two-way process. At the NMF, the curator argued that she thinks that integration should be a double-sided process but that it was tricky to make that happen with freelance guides. Mutual integration does not seem to be planned as an aim of the tour. Even though integration was only mentioned by guide B at the NMF, the guides spoke of similar things when I asked them about their aims with the tour as when I asked about the tour’s role for integration, namely that they wanted the participants to get insights into the history of Finland and to learn the Finnish language.

Intercultural dialogue as a bonus

In today’s versions of the programmes, intercultural dialogue is not the focal point at any of the museums but rather seen as a very positive bonus when it appears, as I will discuss in this chapter. As mentioned in the theory chapter, Bodo’s idea of museums as places for intercultural dialogue is relevant to the discussion on cultural diversity and integration at museums. I define intercultural dialogue as an exchange of ideas between different interpretive communities, with Hooper-Greenhill’s description of interpretive communities as my starting point. None of my interviewees mentioned “intercultural dialogue” as a concept, but talked about dialogues and mutual learning which can be included in this definition of intercultural dialogue.126

Intercultural dialogue demands interaction in the pedagogical programmes and both “Gränslöst” and “Suomen historia tutuksi” have interactive sessions. To find out about whether intercultural dialogue was a part of the staff’s aims with the programmes, I asked them about the interactive parts of the tour. I asked the plan-

125 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
ners why they chose to make the programme interactive and about pros and cons with interactive sessions. The guides at the NMF only got the pros and cons question.

According to the curator, the meaning of making “Suomen historia tutuksi” more interactive than other tours at the museum was only to encourage language training. Guide B mentioned several benefits with making the tour interactive through asking questions to the participants and encourage questions from them. “Engaging the group is always good so that you get the dialogue going, and through getting the dialogue going you really gauge how good their language skills are” he said. He did not mention dialogue with an exchange of ideas as a goal in itself though.127

From my interviewees’ answers at the NMF, it seems like there is an expectation that the visiting group comes to the museum to learn things from the guide and not that mutual learning could be a goal for the pedagogical programme. Guide A reflected in the following way when talking about cultural heritage:

I know that they [the participants] have come here to hear about our things but it is more fun if they can also tell us about their things and see how it relates, if it is similar or completely different. In twenty years’ time we have to know these things because they are here and people are here to stay.128

Guide A thus sees a dialogue (assumingly between museum personnel and immigrants) on cultural heritage as a necessity for the future. Anyhow, the groups’ expectations on this pedagogical programme make her avoid using this as an occasion for this kind of dialogue. Instead she mentioned that she as a guide of “Suomen historia tutuksi” wants to make herself understandable and to find formulations that clarifies the history she presents better.129

At the NMF, all informants argued that a crucial aspect of the tour is that the participants can relate artefacts and historical events to their own cultures, as discussed in the chapter on history learning. When I asked Guide A about her aims and ambitions with the tour she (after having mentioned other aims) spoke enthusiastically about when she had some discussions on similarities between Finland and the countries where the participants come from. She said that sometimes when she enters the chimney-less cabin with a group somebody says “Oh that is just like how my grandparents had” in some other part of the world. She then quoted herself how she could answer: “Okay, well we had the same thing, how nice. How do you build your houses?” This seem to be a case of both dialogue and mutual learning. However, she connected this to her aim that she wants all visitors to take some insights with them from the tour and that they can relate things in Finnish

127 Interview with curator, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
128 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
129 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
history to things in the countries where they come from. She thus only spoke of the visitors’ learning as an aim for the tour and not of a mutual exchange of ideas which Bodo’s concept of intercultural dialogue includes.\textsuperscript{130}

At the SHM, dialogue and integration in the mutual sense are central to the “Gränslöst” programme. The producers aim to learn something from the participants and not just teach them history. However, when I asked why they have chosen to make an interactive programme producer B argued that this mutual learning is a good bonus but not something crucial for the programme:

In the very best meetings the discussion is also meant for us to learn something new too. In other words, it is not only I who talk about something and then the participants get an aha-experience, but I get an aha-experience too. If we talk about something and then a new perspective comes flying, then that is a bonus situation. It is not something that I always think of like: “have I not done this today then I have to go home and be ashamed” but when it happens it feels like something very good has happened according to me.\textsuperscript{131}

She further argued that the interactive aspects of the tour are meant for language training and to create variation so that the participants can uphold concentration even though the programme is held in a language which is relatively new to them. Interaction is also for creating engagement in the topics discussed in “Gränslöst”, according to producer B. Thus, interaction can sometimes lead to mutual learning as a bonus, but it also has several other functions that the producers aim for.\textsuperscript{132}

A pattern that is apparent in the interviews is that the interviewees sound very enthusiastic when speaking about dialogues they have had with the participants during the tours. To the question “What do you think is the most fun with carrying out this programme?” producer A answered:

The most fun is to have an exchange – to find these bridges – and that they get to talk a bit about their own history and their experiences. They can come with their own stories. It is not just us speaking but it becomes a meeting – that is the most fun.\textsuperscript{133}

Guide A mentioned finding bridges and creating an exchange. What is described here as the most fun with “Gränslöst” could be in line with Bodo’s theory of the museum as an intercultural space where personal reflections create bridges to “cross the boundaries of belonging”.\textsuperscript{134}

In conclusion, intercultural dialogues are appreciated by the museum staff, but not necessarily belong to the scope of their aims with the pedagogical programmes. While the idea of mutual learning is not present in the aims of the in-

\textsuperscript{130} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with curator, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{131} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{132} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{133} Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{134} Bodo, S. (2012), ”Museums as Intercultural Spaces”, p. 184.
formants at the NMF, dialogue as well as mutual integration is said to be a starting point for the programme at the SHM. The case of the programme at the SHM is interestingly a bit contradictory since the producers, in spite of their focus on these questions, do not see mutual learning as something that is crucial to fulfil every time they carry out the programme. Maybe it is an ideal that is not so easy to fulfil in practice. The next part of my study concerns this issue as I study what challenges the museum staff experience with fulfilling their aims with the programmes.

Challenges in the practical work with the programmes

In this chapter the focus is on the second research question: What challenges does the museum staff experience in their practical work to fulfil their aims?

In order to find out about the challenges they experienced I asked several questions on their practical work with the programmes (as can be seen under “The tour in practice” in the interview guides, appendices 1-3). I asked the informants about their insights from the first time they carried out the programmes and transformed their plans into practice, but also about which part of the tour they think works especially good and if there is any part of the tour which does not work so good. Through asking what they would like to change with the programme in the future I also got insights in what the informants experienced as challenging and how they would like to meet this challenge better.

Furthermore, I asked them about their reflections on the programme session they had just carried out before our interview. Then I could compare these reflections with my own observations of the same sessions.

The challenges brought up by the informants differed between the museums. Because of this I chose to analyse the challenges brought up by the staff at the NMF and the SHM in separate subchapters.

National Museum of Finland

Time

The time frame of the “Suomen historia tutuksi” tour is one of the challenges mentioned by the guides at the NMF. It was also something that I noticed during my observations as it seems to affect the degree of interaction between the participants and the guide.135

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135 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide A, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
Is time not a challenge to guides in general? That is a question one might ask. Of course the experience that there is a lack of or a surplus of time is a matter of guiding style and aims with the tour. In this case the difference between the aims of the curator and the guides affects this. At the NMF, the two guides aims of summarizing Finnish history differs from the curators aim of highlighting some objects in the exhibitions and discussing them. This difference probably affects their opinions of the time frame of the tour (which is one hour).

When the curator planned the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi” she aimed to make something different from the concept of the standard tour where you show the entire museum in one hour, she said in the interview. The pace which was held in the standard tour was not possible in a programme for people who have just started learning the language. When I asked the curator about her insights from the practical work with the programme (which was the test tours she guided in 2011) it turned out that these insights also had to do with content and time:

Also, I think that it is very good to realise that we do not have to teach them everything. We can just pick up those five things and that is enough for one hour. But when they are leaving they think “Okay, this was a quite nice place and perhaps I will come here again”.136

Adapting the content to the time frame was thus a concern in the planning of the programme. In the programme that she and the trainee developed at the test tours, a central aspect was to make time for interaction so that the participants got to speak Finnish. However, the two guides both have decided to tell a more brief chronological story where more artefacts and displays are explained.137

Guide B, who wanted to tell a brief chronological history instead of talking about a few topics, argued that this was needed to fill out the time when speaking in simplified Finnish. Too much time was in other words a challenge that he solved by changing the structure of the programme. He did not mention time as a challenge in his current model of the programme.138

Guide A, who had done a similar change to the structure of the programme, argued that the time frame now is too small for giving a good chronological overview of the history of Finland:

Also I talk too much and I try to talk very slowly. There is never enough time (with emphasis). I would like to tell them a bit about Swedish kings and queens. Not about everybody, but just when you see the paintings and you can just: “here you have the Swedish period in a nutshell”. But if I stop there they start asking questions about everyone, which is nice (laughter), but ruins the rest of the tour because then I start telling about Gustav II Adolf and queen Kristina and then I go to Charles XII and then Gustav III and then… we do not have any time to see

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136 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
137 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
138 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
anything else (concerned look). So now I tend to skip it even though it might be good historically – storywise it would be a nice place to stop for a while.\footnote{139}

Accordingly, guide A’s experience is that there is too much history to tell the participants in too short time. A context of the room with the paintings of Swedish kings and queens is relevant to give here. The other guide included this room as a part of his tour. In his tour this room with its paintings invited to some questions and dialogue as my notes from the observation shows:

We enter a larger room where the walls are covered with paintings. The guide asks the participants if they know which profession the persons at the paintings have. “King” one participant answers. The guide tells them that Finland was a part of the kingdom Sweden for many hundred years. The participants look interested and start to look around at the paintings. One of them asks if Swedish was the official language in Finland at this time. The guide answers that Swedish was the administrative language which most of the rich people talked while Finnish was the ”people’s language” which many inhabitants at the countryside spoke. He repeats this a couple of times with different choices of words. Thereafter he mentions that Finland was not called Finland at that time but ”Eastland” (Itämaa). He also mentions that Sweden conquered new land areas during the Swedish Empire. Some participants nod interestingly. The guide tells them that even though one might think that the kings were not participating in the field themselves, there were actually kings who died in the field at that time. He points at the paintings of Charles XII and Gustavus Adolphus.

On his way leading the group to the next room the language teacher gets the group to stay a little longer in the portrait room. She is standing next to the painting of queen Kristina and says with a clear voice to the group: ”There were queens as well”. At the same time she gives the guide a look saying that he missed something, as I perceive it. She tells the participants that Kristina was a rather unordinary queen of whom a movie has just been made. Kristina was a powerful queen who stayed unmarried. ”Why was she not married?” a participant asks in surprise. The guide now explains that if a queen got married the king got a most of the power. Accordingly, through staying unmarried Kristina could be a more powerful queen than she otherwise had been.\footnote{140}

In this case both the students and the language teacher participated actively with information about Queen Kristina and questions. Visiting all rooms and answering the questions these inspire to in one hour is a big challenge, according to guide A. She said that the Swedish kings and queens were good to bring up “storywise”.

She further reflected on this as I asked her of changes she would like to do in the future:

Guide A: /…/ I mentioned the kings and queens of Sweden. I would like to find a short way of telling something about them – how to briefly tell something about the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But I do not want to tell them about what happened in the big history. It is not such an important one, I mean how they fought around Europe and things like that. I like to concentrate on the little – how normal people lived or how the nobility lived but I am concerned that if I just tell them about how the peasants lived and how the nobility lived they do not get the whole Finnish history. They forget that we were a part of Sweden and that we were a part of Russia. /…/ There has to be this big structure and then you can take little interesting things which you tell about.

LO: So you would like to give the whole story?

\footnote{139} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
\footnote{140} Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
Guide A: Yes, well, and I have an hour (sigh). /…./ I would like to find a brief way of doing that. The big picture and the little things – how to combine them?  

An interactive part of the “Suomen historia tutuksi” tour is about discussing pictures of animals. Whether guide A includes this discussion on animals in her tour or not depends on the time situation when they reach that part of the tour. Even though the animal cards are a bit outside the chronological story of history, guide A talked of them as a good part of the tour, especially for groups that had not come very far in their Finnish studies.  

Reflecting on the tour she had before the interview, guide A said that she would have liked to include the animal cards in that tour but that it was not possible because of the late arrival of the group which shortened the length of the tour to 50 minutes. However, I observed during her tour that she used one of the pictures as an illustration when speaking about the usage of squirrel skins as money some hundred years ago in Finland. She then pointed at squirrel skins hanging in a display and showed a picture of a squirrel. She thus used the picture to illustrate her story and not as a starting point for interaction the way it is used (along with the other pictures) when guide A has got some extra minutes to do this. She described how she normally hands out pictures of Finnish animals to everybody and then asks if they know the names of the animals. She then speaks a bit about every animal. The pictures give an opportunity to interaction but is something that guide A skips if she has too short time left of the tour.  

In conclusion, the selection of what and how much to mediate within the time frame of “Suomen historia tutuksi” is seen as a challenge and was also a concern for the curator when she planned the tour. There is a noteworthy difference in time frames of this programme which is one hour compared to the “Gränslöst” programme at the SHM which is two hours and has been even longer when it was not in its present, compressed version.

Room and objects

LO: Tell me about when the tour went from the planning stage into practice. Did you have any special experiences from that or insights between these ambitions and the practical work?

Curator: What I found out that the people like the most, which they told us when we asked for feedback, is the workshop “Vintti” [The Attic]. Because there you are doing things. You can saddle the horse or you can recognise the old Finnish architectural buildings. So Vintti was the most important and fascinating place for the participants and they also liked the smoke cabin and the Russian throne and the Jakkarila manor house. So, places where history is around you. It is more difficult to show just one medieval sculpture (laughter). It is not so “wow” as the smoke cabin where you can go inside and you can smell the smoke and sit down.

141 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
142 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
143 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
on the benches and you can feel the history. But that is obvious – it is in all of our guided tours so it is not different with these groups.\textsuperscript{144}

Room, objects, and the feeling of history which these may awaken, are important to the experience of the visitors, according to the curator. On the other hand she mentioned that this is not specific to the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi” but it is the case for all the tours of the museum. The “hands-on” type of exhibition called “Vintti” which she mentioned in the quote above was not included in either of the two tours I observed. Guide A mentioned, however, that she quite often includes that exhibition in her tour, especially with groups that are at beginner level in their Finnish studies. A benefit of historical environments and practical objects (which you can demonstrate the function of instead of only describing) is that one learns also from the experience and not only from what the guide says. These environments and objects are especially useful when guiding persons who have just started learning the language.\textsuperscript{145}

According to the curator, rooms built as an historical environment works especially well and gives more “wow” experience than other parts of the exhibitions. When observing the tours also I noticed the effect of the chimney-less cabin (or smoke cabin) on the interest of the participants. In guide A’s tour, where only one participant had been asking questions during the tour, several of the participants suddenly asked questions and commented artefacts when we came to the chimney-less cabin:

Next stop is outside a chimney-less cabin from 19th century Jaakima. The cabin has been moved and built up in the museum. The guide says that wood houses like this were common in Finland during many centuries. A fan is buzzing in the background. The guide removes the rope that normally hinders visitors to pass into the cabin and we all get to step in and sit on the wooden benches which stretch along three of the walls in the dark cottage. The guide stands in front of the fireplace in the middle of the only room of the cabin. The dim light from a spotlight makes it possible to see something inside the cabin. One of the participants turns on a torchlight in his mobile phone and shines at the objects in the room. The cradle which hangs in the ceiling becomes object of photographing.

The guide tells the group that many persons, at least ten, lived in a small cottage like this as late as hundred years ago. When she says that the benches we are sitting on worked as beds one of the participants exclaims humorously “Catastrofa!” “In the winter also the animals get to live in here” the guide continues. “Everybody in this little room?” a participant asks in surprise. The guide embroiders that hens, cows and horses got to live inside the cottage. Then she says that there was no chimney in cabins like this and therefore the smoke stayed as a thick fog under the ceiling. “Oh…” is heard from one of the participants.

The guide emphasises that people in Finland lived like this in many centuries and that a very fast development and modernisation has happened in the last century. One of the participants (who had not said anything until now) asks what the poles in the ceiling are for. The guide answers that they are meant for making the cottage steady so that it does not collapse. Then several questions are asked by different participants about artefacts in the cabin and what they have been used for. The guide answers nicely and in clear Finnish. When there are

\textsuperscript{144} Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).

\textsuperscript{145} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide A, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
In comparison to the illustrative interior of the chimney-less cabin, the challenge of making more abstract things and spaces interesting was apparent. The curator brought up medieval statues as an example of such abstract objects. Guide A said that her main problem with the four stations in the guidelines is the copies of the copper plates from Saint Henry’s sarcophagus. Even though the copper plates are big it is difficult to see the small pictures on them, she argued. The pictures are showing Bishop Henry and King Erik but, according to Guide A, the participants cannot see them anyway. She said that there is a good statue of Bishop Henry and Lalli in one corner of the exhibition but that the space around it is too small to get the whole group to see it.

At my observations both guides used a torchlight to lighten up the pictures they spoke of at the copperplates. At Guide A’s tour the participants looked concentrated and asked some questions at this stop. My experience was that the echo in that room affected communication more than the fact that the pictures at the copper plates were rather small. At Guide B’s tour one participant asked Guide B to repeat the name of the king but otherwise there were no questions or comments at that stop.

Guide A furthermore finds it problematic that the copper plates do not illustrate “the whole Middle Ages”:

LO: And which part [of the tour] does not work as good as the others?
Guide A: The Middle Ages, mostly. Partly because how things are situated in the room and partly because I do not think the story of Bishop Henry and Lalli really illustrates the whole Middle Ages. It tells the story of how Christian faith came to Finland, but it does not tell what happened then and when we started building churches and statues and it does not tell about Latin. So I would like to take little less of that and little more of something else. I do not know why I do not do it (laughter). I included Virgin Mary at least.

Guide B, on the other hand, did not mention this kind of problem with the copper plates. He instead saw the rooms with furniture and tools of people from different estates as especially challenging since they are connected to complex terms such as “nobility” and “farmer” (aatelinen and talonpoika). When I asked if there is something he would like to change with “Suomen historia tutuksi”, he said that picture cards illustrating abstract terms as those mentioned would be useful. Ac-

\[146\] Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
\[147\] Interview with curator, NMF (2016); Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
\[148\] Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide A, NMF (2016); Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide B, NMF (2016).
\[149\] Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
accordingly, something more than just the objects in the room is needed to illustrate the history that Guide B aims to tell.150

In conclusion, the room – in this case the exhibitions – forms an important frame for pedagogical programmes. The room affects which objects the guide can show and what she or he can talk about. Some objects and environments tend to wake interest and other objects and environments are more difficult. The museum staff sees the less illustrative objects and rooms as a challenge to explain in an engaging way, especially for participants who do not understand much Finnish. The guides furthermore sees a problem in that the objects in the exhibition not fully illustrates what they want to tell the participants.

Religion
The church-like museum building and Middle Age exhibition makes some participants uncomfortable and have caused some persons to leave the tour. The curator mentioned this as a reason for the establishment of the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi”. Is this then still a problem within the programme? Guide A did not mention this problem, but Guide B brought up the church-like museum and exhibition as a current challenge within his tours. Guide B described it in the following way:

Guide B: /…/ Sometimes I have had groups where cultural differences have become a problem in some way. I start the tour from the medieval hall which includes mainly items from Finnish churches and the building is done in the national romantic style, it looks like a church. Some people who have been on the tour have then declined to come in of religious reasons or then left during the tour because of it.

LO: What have you done then? Have they just left or…

Guide B: Yes, I realised that they just left during the tour. I did not see them leave. If I see that it might be a problem, I try to explain that it is not a church and it has never been a church. I understand that in some religions it is forbidden to enter the temples of other religions. But yes I can see why they would think that it is a church because it is made to look like a church and there are only items from churches.151

At the beginning of the tours which I observed, Guide A told the participants that the museum was built to be a museum and not a church even if it has some similarities with a church. Guide B, on the other hand, did not mention this. Can this be an explanation to why Guide B said in the interview that people have left the tour by religious reasons and Guide A did not? Not necessarily, since I only observed two of the many sessions carried out by these guides. In none of the two tours I saw anyone leaving the tour or expressing inconvenience with being in a church-like museum. Guide B said that he explains the background of the church-

150 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
151 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
like museum to the participants if he sees “that it might be a problem” (but he did not say how he sees that).\(^{152}\)

Guide A did not speak of the church-like museum and exhibition as a problem, but rather spoke of religion as a topic which arouse great interest among the participants during her tours. When I asked if she often has discussions with the participants on similarities and differences between different countries and cultures, she answered:

> Sometimes, yes. Almost always they are very interested in religion, especially if they are from another religion so the Middle Age and the Lutheran church room work rather well because everyone is interested to hear “What happens in those places where we do not go?” (laughter). And “How is religion in Finland nowadays?” and “How was it back then? Is it very strict?” That is one of those things which I think helps them to understand Finland. /…/\(^{153}\)

The church-like environment at the NMF might thus on the one hand lead to interest and discussions among the participants. On the other hand it might lead to some participants’ inconvenience and even drop-out from the tour.

At the SHM, the part of the exhibition *History of Sweden* describing the fourteenth century reminds much of a church and includes Christian symbols and statues of saints. My informants at the SHM did not mention that they had experienced any problems with this. Therefore, I described the problems experienced at the NMF with the church-like exhibition to Producer A at the SHM and asked if they had experienced similar situations when guiding in the fourteenth century section of their exhibition. He answered that he had not and that he was quite convinced that Producer B had not experienced this kind of problem either, since they discuss these tours with each other often. According to Producer A, he himself has never noticed any protest or negative attitude among the participants towards this section of the exhibition.\(^{154}\)

> Rather the opposite… The ones who are Christian – and there is a rather big group of Christians among Syrians, Ethiopians, Asians and so on – for many of them this is an important part in feeling belongingness and security when finding those old crucifixes.\(^{155}\)

In line with Guide A at the NMF, Producer A at the SHM stressed the positive outcomes of the church-like exhibitions. While Guide A spoke of a great interest in the exhibition among participants of other religions than the Christian, Producer A talked about the feeling of belongingness the old Christian objects create among Christian participants.\(^{156}\)

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\(^{152}\) Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).

\(^{153}\) Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).

\(^{154}\) Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).

\(^{155}\) Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).

\(^{156}\) Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016); Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
In the context of other museums’ pedagogical programmes for immigrants in the Nordic countries, my informants at the NMF are not alone in claiming that church-like exhibitions can arouse inconvenience for persons of other believes than Christian. An almost identical problem as the one described by the curator and guide A is brought up in the report of a collaboration project between the Gothenburg City Museum in Sweden and SFI. According to the authors of the report, Bosiljka Bozic and Ulf Christianson, some SFI students have refused to enter the museum’s Middle Age exhibition because of its catholic artefacts. There have also been participants who have questioned why there is an exhibition on Christianity but not on Islam. These situations are described by the authors as controversies where the mentioned students have been upset and questioned the museum in a “somewhat aggressive way”. This cultural clash occurs when participants are unused to seeing religion as a “neutral” part of history, according to Bozic and Christianson.157

In short, the church-like museum building and Middle Age exhibition at the NMF have caused some challenges with participants feeling inconvenient and even leaving the tour, according to the curator as well as to guide B. Guide A did not mention this challenge but said that the Middle Age exhibition use to arouse interest and many questions on religion from the participants. At the SHM, the producers had not experienced any problems when showing Christian objects in a church-like environment.

**Language**

Both guides at the NMF said that the most difficult with the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi” is to speak about history in an easy language so that everybody understands. Guide B said the following about his insights from the first time he guided the tour:158

> Like I said it is tricky to simplify things you are used to talk, think or write about on a pretty complex level. The hardest part, for me personally, is to keep yourself understandable. There are so many specialised terms you use in history, for example do I use the word “aatelinen” for nobility or do I say “a rich person”? You want to give them an exact picture but you want them to understand it at the same time.159

Guide B is thus balancing between giving an exact picture of history, risking that the participants do not understand, and simplifying history too much when using very easy language. He gave the following example: “If you are talking about the medieval period or if you want to brush a little on the reformation or any of it – you are talking about complex subjects and making complex subjects easy or sim-

158 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
159 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
ple.” Guide B furthermore argued that varying language skills within each group make it even more difficult since he has to adapt the tour to the lowest language level which maybe leads to frustration among other participants.\textsuperscript{160}

To adapt the programme to the varying language skills of the participants is a challenge that guide A emphasised. The guides do not always know the language level of the participants in advance of the tour. Guide A said that it is sometimes difficult to make a tour for immigrants who barely understand any Finnish. When she guides these beginner groups she uses objects from the educational collection of the museum. These are things which she can demonstrate how to use and which the participants are allowed to handle. At tours when she is not prepared for the need of these objects it becomes more difficult. In these cases, she normally takes the group to the exhibition The Attic (if it is not occupied by another group) because there the participants can try a loom and other historical objects with their own hands.\textsuperscript{161}

The main challenges to the guides are thus to make a complex history easy and understandable but yet not too simplified, and to adapt the tour to the language levels of the participants. Another challenge that the guides brought up is to adapt the tour to include things that are relevant to the participants, which is the topic of the next subchapter.

*Finding history that is relevant to everyone*

One of the aims of my informants at the NMF is to make history relevant in the sense that everyone can relate to it. To do that in a group with people from all over the world is a challenge, according to guide A. She said the following about what she feels that she is learning from the tours:

> I have to find things that everyone can relate to, one thing or two things, not everything. (Hesitating)... I always have to think new things because I can never be sure what works with each group. If there are a lot of people from Eastern Europe then different things work, and if there are people from the Middle East then different things work, and if they come from parts of Africa once again there are different things. And then there is a whole mix of them in one group and then you need to find something that works for everyone. It is easier to give guided tours for people coming from America, the US. You know what they know and what they are interested in.\textsuperscript{162}

Here guide A is strongly connecting the participants’ frames of reference with their geographical origin. This seems to be her starting point when deciding which historical objects and history to include in her tour in order to make it relevant for everyone. Since the way people relate to an object is connected with how they interpret it, guide A’s reflection on relevance can be compared with the concept of

\textsuperscript{160} Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).

\textsuperscript{161} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).

\textsuperscript{162} Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
interpretive communities (within the communication theory of Hooper-Greenhill). The latter includes the idea that the way individuals are making sense of things is based on social and cultural as well as individual factors. Accordingly, guide A has a difficult challenge of making the tour relevant to all participants.163

Maybe this problem is related to communication. Both the challenge of finding objects that everyone can relate to and the method of looking at geographical origin to find this can be explained by the transmission approach to communication apparent in the museum staff’s aims with the tour. Since guide A’s tour mostly is a one-way communication where she summarises the history of Finland to the group, she more or less has to guess what will be relevant for the participants.164

Hooper-Greenhill connects the concept of interpretive communities to the cultural approach to communication. When a pedagogical programme starts off from a cultural approach to communication and from the idea of discussing and making meaning together, it is possible to be open to the complexity of interpretation. An example I find of this is the part of the “Gränslöst” programme at the SHM where all participants got to write their own exhibition sign with their reflections about a museum object of their own choice from the exhibition. In that case the participants themselves got to choose focus in accordance with what is they can relate to and then share their reflections with the others.165

Guide B at the NMF did not mention any specific challenges with fulfilling the aim of making the history of Finland relevant for everyone. When I asked if there is any of his ambitions with the tour that he finds difficult to fulfil in practice, he answered that it depends on the group. Uninterested participants make it difficult to fulfil any ambition, he argued. He do not know if he uses too difficult language for these participants to understand and become unmotivated by that, or if there are other causes to that they show no interest to the tour.166

The Swedish History Museum

The organisation of SFI
I asked the producers at the SHM if they encountered any problems when carrying out “Gränslöst” for the first time. Producer A answered that a great deal of problems connected to the strange organisation of the “Swedish tuition for immigrants” education system were discovered. There are all the time people joining the courses and other students who drop out. Producer B explained that each SFI

164 Observation of “Suomen historia tutuksi” led by guide A, NMF (2016).
166 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
student studies only until he or she passes an exam and not until the end of the semester.\textsuperscript{167}

To the longer version of the programme “Gränslöst” this drop-in and drop-out was a big problem. Much would change within the group between the three museum visits during a period of one and a half month, according to producer A. At the NMF, the staff did not mention a problem like this, which is perhaps natural since the guides there meet each group only once (the same case as for today’s version of “Gränslöst” at the SHM).\textsuperscript{168}

Another side of this problem is that it is difficult to know in advance how many participants to expect to a session of “Gränslöst”. According to producer B, there is always a “gamble” of the amount of students that will eventually turn up at the “Gränslöst” sessions. This makes it difficult to plan the lesson in advance and thus to adapt it to the group. That is a challenge also to the present compressed version of “Gränslöst” where each group come to the museum only once.\textsuperscript{169}

“\textit{Telling too much history}”

Both producers finds it challenging to avoid having too much of a monologue on history. This is how they answered when I asked if they think that any of their ambitions with “Gränslöst” is difficult to fulfil in practice:

Producer A: I can sometimes feel that it is easy to strive for telling too much history.
Producer B: Yes, I agree with you. It is probably the biggest challenge, actually, that we are being talking guides. We do not want to be guides in this meeting – that is not the aim.\textsuperscript{170}

It is clear that the producers do not want to be guides for the group in the meaning that they tell the group about history in a one-way communication. Instead they talk of creating dialogue between themselves and the participants and listening to the group.\textsuperscript{171}

Today’s version of “Gränslöst” includes one workshop-section and one section in the exhibition \textit{History of Sweden}. I asked producer A if there is any part of the tour that works better than the other and if there is some part which does not work so well. He said that the workshop-section where artefacts are discussed works very well. The tour-section in the exhibition is more challenging, according to him, especially since they changed to the shorter version of the programme and skipped the section when the participants got to bring an object of their own with them to the museum and introduce themselves with it. When they still had this

\textsuperscript{167} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{168} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{169} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{170} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{171} Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
introduction section the producers could get a better insight in who the participants were and then “go further with that when making the tour on the exhibition”. He said that they then could connect the tour in the exhibition with the participants’ own objects and stories. Making the tour dialogical is thus a challenge to the producers.\textsuperscript{172}

When producer B reflected on his latest “Gränslös” session he said that it was fun discussing the artefacts in the workshop-section, but that he should have tried to get the participants to talk more during the tour-section. On the other hand, he said that it was not so easy to activate them since they were rather quiet and shy. This differs from time to time, according to him. Some groups are talkative while other are very shy and careful.\textsuperscript{173}

My impression of the tour section of the mentioned “Gränslös” session with producer A was that most of it was one-way communication from the producer to the participants. Sometimes he asked the participants about objects in the exhibition but it did not lead to any longer discussion. The interaction increased, however, by the end of the tour. Something that producer B did not mention in the interview when talking about interaction with the participants was the last few minutes of his tour in the exhibition when the group looked at the “Gränslös” signs. Here is what I noted during my observation of this:

The pedagogue tells the participants that previous groups that have been visiting the SHM got the task to write down their own reflections upon different artefacts in the exhibition, both in Swedish and in their mother tongue. All through the exhibition there are therefore special “Gränslös” signs (in form of kindles) that contain these stories. We walk back to the twentieth century room and the producer demonstrates a kindle with “Gränslös” stories.

– Is there a text in Bengali? a participant from Bangladesh asks while he is scrolling through the stories in the kindle. I would also like to write, he adds happily.

The pedagogue scrolls until he finds a text in Bengali. The text is focused on the typewriter in the exhibition. The participant who asked for the text committedly translates it to the group and everybody listens interestedly. The pedagogue comments that the participant’s translation somewhat differs from the author’s own translation at the sign. He says that it is interesting that the texts are a bit different from each other.\textsuperscript{174}

Here, both interaction and mutual learning seem to take place as the participant from Bangladesh spontaneously took on an active role in translating the text. There were three SFI students at producer A’s tour and I think that the small size of the group made this text discussion possible. Producer B, who had a group of fourteen participants, did not include the “Gränslös” signs in her tour. She encouraged interaction around other topics, however. For example she asked the

\textsuperscript{172} Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{173} Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016); Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
\textsuperscript{174} Observation of “Gränslös” led by producer A, SHM (2016).
participants to discuss in pairs their reflections on a display concerning nineteenth century Sweden and then present their thoughts to the whole group.175

The format of the tour-section of the “Gränslöst” session in its present form seems anyhow to make it difficult to fulfil the producers’ aim of carrying out a pedagogical programme based on dialogue and interaction. To avoid “telling too much history” is even their greatest challenge, according to producer B.176

**Language**

At the SHM, like at the NMF, my informants said it is a challenge to adapt the programme to the language levels of the participants. The producers at the SHM have gradually learnt to decode the meaning of different language levels within SFI and what it means for the participants’ language skills in practice. Especially the task of writing personal reflections about museum artefacts required that the participants had reached a certain level in their language studies. Producer B described it in this way:

> We felt when we worked with the in-depth collaboration that it was far too difficult for a person studying for example on level B to write texts. Some people did it but for many it was very difficult. It was too demanding, and it is important that you feel that you have written a good text and feel pleased and proud with what you have done. It was not like somebody cried but it was a tough challenge. /…/ We realised that maybe we should not focus on them here and we rather quickly began focusing on those who study Swedish on level C and D or SAS [Svenska som andraspråk, Swedish as a second language]. It was mainly to them we offered Gränslöst.177

Sometimes, however, the level on which the participants study does not give a good picture of how much Swedish they speak and understand. When reflecting on the “Gränslöst” session he had before our interview, producer A argued that the language skills of the participants did not answer to their level of language education. He said that it felt like they were at a lower level of language education than they actually were.178

**Culture and pre-knowledge**

The various previous knowledge among the participants is a challenge, according to the producers. Producer B said that she is always a bit nervous to take up big topics that perhaps not everybody have heard of:

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175 Observation of “Gränslöst” led by producer A, SHM (2016); Observation of “Gränslöst” led by producer B, SHM (2016).
176 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
177 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
178 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
She continued that she wonders if her explanations of these historical events would be received in the wrong way. When I asked if she meant that these topics are difficult because they are abstract, she answered that many of the participants at this programme never have heard of the First and Second World War and that it is challenging to summarize events like that in the last five minutes of a tour.180

Producer A brought up that the different educational backgrounds of the participants is a challenge when carrying out the pedagogical programme. According to him, it is much easier to carry out the programme in cases when the participants have an academic background since he then has something in common with them culturally and they thus more easily can understand each other. For example, it is more likely that they know about the First and Second World War than that people without academic background know about it. Producer B added that it is also more likely that they know English. She did not fully agree with producer A, however. She suggested that it is important, regardless of the level of education, to find the right level when it comes to the complexity of topics treated.181

There is a similarity here, between the SHM and the NMF. At both museums the staff is worried that not all participants will be able to relate to the topics of the tour. Cultural differences is seen as a complicating factor here. Academic background is stressed by producer A at the SHM and geographical origin by guide A at the NMF.

National museums in a culturally diverse society

After having analysed the staff’s aims and challenges with their pedagogical programmes I will now focus on their more general reflections on the role of the museum in society when it comes to cultural diversity and integration. This chapter focuses on the third research question of this thesis: How do the museum staff reflects on the museum’s role in a culturally diverse society? How do they define cultural heritage and which role do they think it has for integration?

The NMF and the SHM in a culturally diverse society

In order to find out more about the museum staff’s ideals, I asked for their reflections on the role of the National museum of Finland in a culturally diverse society.

179 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
180 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
The answers varied. The curator at the NMF brought up the museum’s new project “The Next Helsinki” as an example of how the role of the museum is changing. Through this project the museum is engaging young adults with immigrant backgrounds to participate in planning the new permanent exhibitions. It is a collaboration project between the curator and two professors at Helsinki University and Wellesley College, United States.

We are discussing how they [the young adults with immigrant background] find their place in this national museum because of course the national museums originally have been very nationalistic and they have shown the Finnish history in a very national way. (looks concerned) The nationalism is not a good work. Anyhow, in this moment and in these years we have an open society and we have to be open for the diversity. Every people that live in this country, they should feel that this is also their national museum. Now in the next three years we are doing all our permanent exhibitions, so we have started now in the room where prehistory used to be. So that is the first one but we are doing all our exhibits again. So we are asking people for their feedback. We are involving people who have immigrant background about what kind of museum we should make and how to make so that everyone could find their place and their history from here.\textsuperscript{182}

Here the curator described a problem with the nationalistic history of national museums. She expressed a vision of that the museum should represent all people in society. This can be seen in the context of that many museums today are aiming to represent diversity. This aim, as described by Nightingale and Sandell, means that museums should make new narratives which mirror the cultural, social and demographic diversity of society. This new project is possibly one way of representing different experiences and identities through the exhibitions.\textsuperscript{183}

Since this thesis focuses on communication in pedagogical programmes it is also relevant to reflect on who the museum is representing through its pedagogical programmes. However, the curator mainly discussed collections and exhibitions. She mentioned that the NMF has collections from abroad which was earlier exhibited in the Museum of Cultures in Helsinki. She argues that it is important to show this collections but that they do not want them to be so tightly closed to the museum since “it is just the international way of looking at the museum and the society”. She said that she still thinks it is important to be able to show tourists that “this is the history of Finland” in a one hour tour.\textsuperscript{184}

The guided tours and their connection to the role of the NMF in society is something that the curator mentioned also when she talked about the ”Suomen historia tutuksi” tour. She argued that the tour probably is even more important today than when they started with it, as more refugees are coming to Finland now. On the other hand, as it has the structure of “a guided tour” it is somewhat an old-

\textsuperscript{182} Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\textsuperscript{183} Nightingale, E. & Sandell, R. (2012), "Introduction", s. 1.
\textsuperscript{184} Nightingale, E. & Sandell, R. (2012), "Introduction", s. 1.
fashioned way of working with the audiences, according to her. She said pondering that they maybe should include more discussion in the tour.\(^{185}\)

I asked the curator if she thinks that the responsibility of the NMF, as a state-owned national museum, differs from other museums. She answered that the NMF along with the Finnish National Gallery indeed has a special responsibility. Their positions as national collections means that they have to “serve all people who live in Finland”. She contrasted this to Helsinki City Museum which concerns only the history of Helsinki, according to her.\(^{186}\)

When reflecting on the role of the NMF in a culturally diverse society, Guide A spoke of a need of more inclusive exhibitions:

LO: Could you develop this about your reflections on the role of the National museum of Finland in this culturally diverse society?

Guide A: Nowadays it is still telling about Finnish history but we are trying to make exhibitions where we just do not have the traditional Finnish story. In the basement we have a photograph exhibition about the immigrants and how people have always come to Finland and how there is nothing originally Finnish. Since the Ice Age people have come here and they have mixed together and then different groups have come with the Finnish language and the people living here has adopted that. People have come here and we have gone to Sweden or we have come to the United States and we have been the immigrants or emigrants. It really depends on how you look at it.

I think that there will be more of that in the coming years when they are making new exhibitions. When they make the new twentieth century exhibition there has to be – and I think it will be – something else than just the Winter War and how Finnish people did and who the Finnish people are. (speaks committedly). There will be different cultural groups because that is Finnish history. If they are here then it is our history or will be our history. So I hope that it will be more multicultural. (thoughtfully)\(^{187}\)

Showing the continuity of immigration to and emigration from Finland is thus one part of the role of the NMF in a culturally diverse society, according to guide A. This is a central thought within the “Gränslöst” programme at the SHM. At the NMF, however, history of immigration and emigration is not incorporated in the “Suomen historia tutuksi” tour, but only as a temporary exhibition in the cafeteria in the basement of the museum. Guide A hopes that the permanent exhibitions in the future will represent different cultural groups. Both the curator and guide A expressed representing diversity as an important aim for the museum, when they reflected on the role of the NMF in a culturally diverse society.\(^{188}\)

Guide B, on the other hand, did not speak of representing diversity. When reflecting upon the role of the NMF he instead emphasised that it is a good place for learning about Finnish history:

\(^{185}\) Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\(^{186}\) Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
\(^{187}\) Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
\(^{188}\) Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with the curator, NMF (2016); Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
It is the perfect destination for groups like this. I have done tours in a couple of different museums as I mentioned and for integration purposes a museum like this having the main exhibition about various areas and topics in Finnish history, about people and about institutions and so forth… That is graspable. You can see the history there. Yes, I think it is the best place here in Helsinki to learn about Finnish history.\footnote{Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).}

In other parts of the interview, guide B said that learning about Finnish history is an important way of understanding Finnish society and thus it is important to integration. Also in the quote above, this idea of integration as a one-way process is visible. He did not problematize the concept of “Finnish history”.\footnote{Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).}

It is noteworthy that the museum staff’s reflections on the role of the NMF in a culturally diverse society either were focused on representing cultural diversity or on supporting integration – nobody mentioned both aims in their reflections. This might indicate that these two aims are not always easy to combine.

At the SHM, the staff mainly referred to museum policies when I asked about the role of the museum:

LO: What are your reflections on the role of the Swedish History Museum in a culturally diverse society? Do you think that the responsibility of the Swedish History Museum regarding those questions – as a state-owned and national museum – differ from other museums’ responsibility?

Producer B: I do not know, no…

Producer A: In my opinion, all museums have a responsibility.

Producer B: Yes, national museums have indeed certain types of missions, and it probably does not look the same at a provincial or private museum. But I would say that there probably are lots of answers in this strategy document which states how we shall act, and we have an order from the Cultural Department on what we shall do too. We get a letter of regulation and so on.

Producer A: They use to return to that we shall reach new target groups.\footnote{Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).}

The combination of two complex questions as well as the fact that these were the last questions I asked in the interview, which lasted longer than planned, might have affected this answer. However, the focus of this part of my study is on the informants own reflections, rather than what is stated in the museum’s policies.

In contrast to the curator at the NMF who stressed the special responsibility of the NMF – as a national museum – to serve all people living in Finland, the producers at the SHM argued that all museums have a responsibility in a culturally diverse society even though the NMF might have special missions.

Cultural heritage and integration

When studying the aims and ambitions with the pedagogical programmes I found that the staff has many thoughts on the role their programmes have for integration
even though only the producers at the SHM listed integration as a central aim to their programme. But which role might cultural heritage have? In this chapter I focus on the following research question: How do the museum staff define cultural heritage and which role do they think it has for integration?

According to Bodo’s theory, a dialogical notion of heritage is needed in order for a museum to function as an intercultural space. The essential notion of heritage, seeing heritage as things with natural and static meaning, is still present at most museums, however. In the Nordic context, the information scientist Istu Huvila shows that the ideal of an objective heritage with a natural meaning is apparent within the practises of heritage experts at heritage institutions in Finland and Sweden. Yet, these experts themselves find this ideal old-fashioned and argue that heritage work is based on subjective interpretation, according to Huvila.192

I asked the staff how they define cultural heritage and which role cultural heritage has for integration. I formulated the question on integration in two different ways depending on the profession of the informant. To the two freelance guides at the NMF I asked “What role should cultural heritage have for integration according to you?” To the informants who are planning the pedagogical work of the museum, the curator at the NMF and the producers at the SHM, I asked “Which role do you think cultural heritage has for integration?” since I presumed they probably have better insight in the present role of cultural heritage at the museum.

Both the curator and Guide A at the NMF defined cultural heritage very widely to be everything from the past. They also defined everything they have at the museum as heritage. While the curator emphasised that this heritage belongs to everybody, guide A spoke of immigrants’ heritage as something separate that will be a part of the “our heritage” (unclear what she meant with this) in the future. Guide A said the following:

> Everything we have here is cultural heritage and then in twenty years’ time also their [the participants of “Suomen historia tutuksi”] cultural heritage will be our cultural heritage because we are here and everyone is integrating. So it works both ways.193

When I asked about the role of cultural heritage for integration, guide A emphasised that she does think that cultural heritage should have a role for integration, but that she does not know how it works. The curator answered that she thinks that cultural heritage is the base for everything. She did not specify in which way it would be a base for integration, however.194

Guide B said that he defines cultural heritage as “the material and immaterial cornerstones of a culture defined over generations and that have values which

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193 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016).
194 Interview with guide A, NMF (2016); Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
make them important to uphold in some way or another”. Heritage is a defining aspect of culture, according to him. He argued that the role of cultural heritage for integration should be to support coexistence and mutual respect between different cultures.195

LO: What role should cultural heritage have for integration according to you?

Guide B: Hm… (sigh) Coexistence and respect. People who are trying to integrate – of course they will uphold their cultural heritage and traditions and so forth, but that there is a mutual respect between these coexisting cultural heritages in a certain societal space. (pause) And just the desire to understand is pretty important that you do not just reject something that feels a bit weird or outlandish to you. We have talked a bit about that understanding cultural heritage and understanding history can help you integrate.196

Through helping people understand history, cultural heritage thus has an important role for integration, in guide B’s view. When I asked him to connect these thoughts to his tour he gave the example of when he once guided in the chimney-less cabin and got a comment from a woman with African background: “When I was talking about how collective the culture was back then, that the entire family would sleep here together she was really like ‘this was the good life’.” Guide A believes that she said this thinking of her own cultural background, coming from a collective culture much different from the individual culture apparent in western countries today. I asked if he and the woman discussed anything about that, he said that they did discuss it but that he cannot remember what they said.197

At the NMF, my informants’ reflections on cultural heritage were rather brief, which makes it difficult to compare these reflections to the dialogical and the essential notion of heritage. It is noteworthy, however, that both guides at the NMF made a clear distinction between the cultural heritages of the immigrants on the one hand and Finnish (or Western) cultural heritage on the other hand. According to guide A, integration will make these merge into “our” heritage in the future. Guide B argued that through cultural heritage, immigrants can find similarities between Finnish history and their own cultures and this can help them to understand Finnish society and thus to integrate.

At the SHM, only producer A answered the questions about cultural heritage and integration as I did not have time to ask them these questions at the group interview. When I asked how he defines cultural heritage he said that this is a large concept which includes material and immaterial heritage. Then he, rather than defining these concepts, described which function cultural heritage has within the “Gränslöst” programme:

195 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
196 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
197 Interview with guide B, NMF (2016).
At the museum we mainly concentrate on the material heritage but nevertheless I think that the immaterial heritage is awakened by the material heritage within the "Gränslöst" project. With the artefacts as a starting point a conversation takes place about how one has lived, how one has thought, how one has reasoned, what is important in life and so on. And about identity…198

The participants get to discuss their own lives and identities and make connections with history. According to producer A, the dialogue around heritage in this way makes the participants aware of that we all have much in common. When asked about the role of cultural heritage for integration, he connected integration with this recognition of links between different cultures. Through finding points in common between the history of Sweden and many other cultures, people who are new in Sweden can recognise themselves. According to producer A, this might help people bridge a gap between how their lives were before and after they moved to Sweden: “Finding an artefact with Arabic text or Catholic objects maybe makes you feel that there is a bridge from your earlier life to the life you are entering.” In this way cultural heritage is important to integration, according to him.199

Producer A’s description of material heritage as a starting point for a conversation on identity and ways of living has much in common with Bodo’s idea of museums as an intercultural places where cultural heritage is used as a starting point for intercultural dialogue. As I suggested in the theory chapter this dialogical notion of heritage paves the way for integration as a many-way process.200

Policies and curriculums

How do the ideals and practices of the pedagogical programmes studied here relate to the museums’ policy documents and to the national curriculums of the education in Finnish or Swedish for immigrants? This fourth and last research question is discussed in this chapter. Through analysing these policy documents in combination with the interview answers of the museum staff I try to get a picture of some important contexts of ideals surrounding the pedagogical programmes studied.

198 Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
199 Telephone interview with producer A, SHM (2016).
Museum policies

The National Museum of Finland

At the NMF, the curator said the following when I asked if any of the policies of the museum affected the planning of “Suomen historia tutuksi” specifically:

Probably we meet in our strategies that we have something about that we have to look to the audiences. We have to be accessible for all kinds of people and think about the language and the economical statues so that the museum is open for all.201

Accessibility is stressed in “The strategy of the National Board of Antiquities 2020”, first of all in its mission statement according to which the National Board of Antiquities shall “ensure the maintenance and accessibility of cultural heritage”. Furthermore, there is a chapter accessibility of cultural heritage stating that a success factor is if “Cultural heritage is easily accessed and available, and accessibility is considered in planning and supplying the services”. This accessibility focus relates to the curator’s aim of reaching more groups in society and to adapt a tour especially for immigrants learning Finnish. Identifying target groups is also among the operational aims of the strategy.202

Otherwise, the strategy of the National Board of Antiquities is very brief in its aims concerning communication of cultural heritage. It is clear that a main aim in the strategy is to reach out with information of cultural heritage to as many as possible. Nothing is written of their perception of the concept of heritage (except that is “part of the good quality of the everyday life of the people”) or what they aim to communicate about heritage. Because of this briefness I do not find more aspects relating to (or contradicting) the ideals and practices of the “Suomen historia tutuksi” programme. The lack of the mentioned aspects can maybe be explained by that Finland has a National museum strategy “Museo 2000” which brings up aims for how all museums in Finland shall work.203

The Swedish History Museum

At the SHM, the producers suggested that the “Gränslös” programme and the strategy document of the National Historical Museums have affected each other:

LO: Was it anything in the policy document that affected the planning of “Gränslös” specifically? You mentioned a specific policy document (to producer A).

Producer A: Yes exactly. I would actually say that it is somewhat the opposite case (both producers say “opposite” in chorus). I think that this “Gränslös” project has been important to a rather large part of the museum and not least to the board of the museum. They have given us support, they think the idea is good and they have seen that it is working. I think that this

201 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
202 The website of National Board of Antiquities in Finland > About Us > Strategy [2016-09-21]; Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
203 The website of National Board of Antiquities in Finland > About Us > Strategy [2016-09-21].
also has inspired to write this document where these things are stressed; to make the museum more welcoming and inviting. That is Sweden in the world and the world in Sweden in some way.

Producer B: When we started this project we also worked with the strategy document, so these have been parallel processes in some way as well. Thus, we have been very influenced by that document and maybe we have made an impression there as well.

The two producers’ descriptions of the situation differ from each other here. Producer A stresses the impact of “Gränslöst” on the strategy document. Producer B rather put more emphasis on the strategy document’s influence on the “Gränslöst” programme. Anyhow, the writing of the new strategy document seem to have walked hand in hand with the planning of “Gränslöst”.

The part of the plan called “Our manifest” (Vårt manifest) includes eight paragraphs. The history learning aim of the “Gränslöst” programme – to discuss national borders and the continuous movement of people and artefacts over these borders – is completely in line with the seventh paragraph of the strategy document. It states that the National History Museums shall make the international contacts visible which have formed Sweden to what it is today. This shall be done through changing the discussion on “Swedish cultural heritage” into a discussion on “cultural heritage in Sweden”.

The producers’ intention to make history relevant to the participants can also be found in the strategy document. The third paragraph states (in my translation) that “Everybody shall have access to what they see as their history, and our work shall include opportunity for many to recognition and to find points in common (igenkänning och beröringspunkter för många).” The producers’ aim that the “Gränslöst” participants will be able to identify with the history of meetings between different cultures in Sweden and with the continuous immigration and emigration is thus mirroring some of the main ideas presented in the strategy document of the National Historical Museums.

In contrast to the strategy of the National Board of Antiquities in Finland, the strategy of the National History Museums in Sweden has its focal point on how to communicate heritage. Even though the strategy of the National History Museums in Sweden is rather brief and do not go deep into the discussions on heritage it clearly confronts nationalistic ideals. It problematizes the concept of “Swedish heritage” and it states in the sixth paragraph that the museums’ work shall be based on an inclusive concept of heritage.

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204 Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
205 The website of Statens Historiska Museer (National Historical Museums of Sweden, Swedish language version) > Myndigheten > Dokument > Myndighetens strategiska förändringsplan, 2016 [2016-09-22]
206 The website of Statens Historiska Museer (National Historical Museums of Sweden, Swedish language version) > Myndigheten > Dokument > Myndighetens strategiska förändringsplan, 2016 [2016-09-22]
207 The website of National Board of Antiquities in Finland > About Us > Strategy [2016-09-21]
Curriculum for language education

“Integration training” in Finland
According to the curator, the curriculum for integration training was not used directly in the planning of “Suomen historia tutuksi”. The curator and the trainee invited test groups to the museum in 2011 to try out their concept of “Suomen historia tutuksi”. At these test tours, the language teachers gave the curator and the trainee advice on how to develop the tour, according to the curator. Hence, it is possible that ideas from the integration training curriculum have influenced the pedagogical programme through the feedback from the teachers. However, the curator did not use the curriculum of the integration training directly when planning the tour.208

Even though the curator did not take direct inspiration from the curriculum the main aims with “Suomen historia tutuksi” of – learning about the history of Finland and learning Finnish – can be found in the curriculum as well. The aim of learning the history of Finland is included in the module for “Civic and working life skills”. The aim happens to be phrased in the same way as the title of the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi”, namely that the student shall “be familiar with Finland’s history”. The curriculum does not describe this aim any further, but states more generally that attaining civic skills and cultural knowledge will facilitate the students’ “participation in Finnish society and culture”.209

“Swedish tuition for immigrants” in Sweden
When I asked the producers what SFI and its curriculum has meant for the planning of “Gränslöst”, producer B said that there is support for their pedagogical programme in the curriculum of SFI. At the museum’s webpage there is an information page on “Gränslöst”. This page includes a quote from the curriculum of SFI stating that the students will develop their “intercultural competence by reflecting over their own cultural experiences, and comparing these with phenomena in daily, societal and working life in Sweden”. It is an important part of the programme, according to producer A. It would have been relevant for this analysis with more reflections from the producers on this aim and how they perceive intercultural competence.210

Except the quote on intercultural competence, the producers used some more learning aims from the curriculum when planning the in-depth project “Gränslöst”, according to producer B. These aims concern language training (in-

208 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
cluding both writing and oral presentations). She added that the participants get this kind of language training now in the shorter version of the programme as well, but to a lesser extent.²¹¹

Also at the SHM, the producers have asked for advice from language teachers, which I suggest might lead to more indirect inspiration from the SFI curriculum. At the beginning of the planning process they invited six or seven teachers to discuss their ideas. Producer B remembered that their plan for “Gränslös” was very brief back then. They mainly asked the teachers of advice for the time plan of the programme. Even though the producers had an idea of the content of the programme there was a chance for the language teachers to revise some things, according to producer B. Producer A added that they had another meeting with some teachers later on when they had started carrying out the programme already. Also when carrying out the programme “Gränslös” the producers continuously ask for feedback from both the teachers and the students, according to producer B.²¹²

²¹¹ Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
²¹² Group interview with producer A and producer B, SHM (2016).
Summarising discussion

This study aims to shed light on the relationship between ideals and practices at the NMF and the SHM. The focus is on the museums’ role in society regarding integration and cultural diversity. The aims and challenges with the two pedagogical programmes “Gränslöst” and “Suomen historia tutuksi” highlighted in the analysis shows a quite complex relationship between ideals and practices surrounding these programmes. In this chapter, I discuss on a more general level what my case studies say about the museums’ role in society in relation to Simona Bodo’s idea of the museum as an intercultural space.

Notions of integration

The producers at the SHM brought up integration as a central aim for the programme “Gränslöst”. They perceived integration as mutual process, and within their programme they saw this process as based on dialogue, meeting and the sense of belongingness. The producers have aims of integration that could be possible to combine with the idea of a museum that represents the cultural diversity in society.

My informants at the NMF did not bring up integration as an aim with “Suomen historia tutuksi” but saw it as an outcome of the programme. The two guides’ reflections on the role of the programme for integration pointed towards a concept of integration as a one-way process. The curator claimed that integration always is a mutual process, but that mutual integration is difficult to fulfil in practice because of the organisation of the guided tours at the museum. Integration as a one-way process would be conflicting with the aim of representing a diverse society.

Heritage as a base for intercultural dialogue?

My hypothesis is that intercultural dialogue opens up for museums to combine aims concerning cultural diversity with aims of supporting integration. I will therefore have a discussion in this chapter on the role and character of intercultural dialogue within the two pedagogical programmes in my case studies.
Both the pedagogical programmes “Suomen historia tutuksi” and “Gränslöst” include interaction between the staff and the participants. When discussing role of dialogue within the field of museum pedagogy, it is important to note that dialogue and interaction are central to education in general nowadays. Just lecturing without engaging the audience at all is probably not recommended by any pedagogue. At both the NMF and the SHM, the informants spoke of the benefits of engaging the audience through asking the participants questions. Anyhow there is a difference between question-answer situations like “Do you know what this king was called?” on the one hand and dialogue where the museum visitors get to contribute to the interpretation of heritage.

The different reasons that my informants had for making their learning sessions interactive shows that intercultural dialogue is not a self-evident part of the educational role of these museums. Interaction was included in the programme guidelines at the NMF only to fulfil the aim concerning language learning, according to the curator. At the SHM, on the other hand, one of the reasons that the producers mentioned for making the tour interactive was to make mutual learning between the producers and the participating SFI students possible. The picture they give of the importance of mutual learning to fulfil the aims with “Gränslöst” is a bit contradictory, however. Even though the producers mentioned mutual learning as central to their integration aim with “Gränslöst”, producer B argued that this mutual learning is a good bonus if it happens but not something crucial for the pedagogical programme.

According to Bodo, one has to start off from a dialogical notion of heritage in order to make museums into intercultural spaces. My study shows that dialogues concerning participants’ reflections upon museum objects have taken place within both programmes and are much appreciated by the staff. For example, the chimney-less cabin at the NMF have led to some spontaneous dialogues on accommodation experiences, according to the guides. These kinds of dialogues are not seen as crucial to the aims with the pedagogical programmes, however.213

In defining heritage, the staff at the NMF were a bit vague. Even though they in some aspects presented an inclusive view of what heritage is, both guides made a clear distinction between immigrants’ heritage and the Finnish (or Western) heritage. Cultural heritage at the museum is something that will help immigrants understand Finnish society, according to the guides. Given the transmission approach to communication that is apparent in some of the ideals and practices of the staff at the NMF, I think that the material heritage of the NMF is given the meaning of illustrating Finnish history rather than being a base for intercultural dialogue within “Suomen historia tutuksi”. At the SHM, on the other hand, producer A’s reflections on the role of heritage to integration points towards a dialogical notion of

heritage. He saw material heritage as a starting point for a conversation of immaterial heritage and identity. This gives dialogue a central function to the communication of heritage which correlates with the dialogical nature of the “Gränslöst” programme.\footnote{Bodo, S. (2012), "Museums as Intercultural Spaces", p. 182.}

In the case of the “Gränslöst” programme, in its previous longer version, the participants’ reflections on the meaning of museum objects were included in signs in the exhibition. Hence, it did not only become an intercultural dialogue between the participants, but their perspectives also reached out to visitors at the exhibition. This is to take the idea of creating meaning together one step further than if the discussion just stay within the specific learning session. I think that this is an important step towards representing diversity and supporting integration as a many-way process at the museum.

In short, a dialogical notion of heritage can be found within the ideals and practices of the “Gränslöst” programme at the SHM. The fact that one of the producers toned down the importance of mutual learning to this programme made the staff’s aims somewhat contradictory, however. At the NMF, cultural heritage is not seen as a base for intercultural dialogue within the programme “Suomen historia tutuksi”.

Challenges

The challenges brought up by the museum staff concerned language and cultural differences. Organisational aspects such as the time frame of the programme and difficulties to know how many participants that will turn up were also aspects that the staff saw as challenging.

Cultural differences makes it difficult to understand each other and to communicate a history that everyone can relate to. At these learning sessions there are participants from all over the world. Cultural differences, concerning both geographical origin and educational background are mentioned as challenges to communication. Additionally, language is a challenge to intercultural dialogue. A dialogue on different interpretations of heritage requires that you have studied the language for some time, as the producers at the SHM experienced. Differences of language skills within the groups of participants is also a challenge mentioned by the staff.

The problem that the church-like museum building and Middle Age exhibition made some participants leave the tour was brought up as a challenge at the NMF. The producers at the SHM have not experienced this with their church-like exhibition on fourteenth century Sweden. At the NMF this drop-out and inconvenience
among some participants affects all aims with the tour, not at least it clashes with the curators aim to reach more groups in society. Rather than concentrating on the different experiences of the two museums in this question, I think that it is relevant to the discussion on the role of museums in society to reflect on that this challenge exists at museums in the Nordic countries. Even though the museums aim to represent cultural diversity and even though Bodo argues that the museums should be a “third space” where everybody could meet on equal terms, individuals’ interpretations of the museums play an important role here. Visitors’ interpretations of the museum might make it an excluding institution in practice. How can museums be some kind of third space where everybody can meet at equal terms when many object at museums are tightly connected to identity? Especially religion is a delicate subject, and religious objects tend to wake many feelings whether positive or negative, feelings of belongingness or of inconvenience.215

The role of the museums

All informants brought up history learning and language training as central aims with their programmes. The history of a country (whether it is Finland or Sweden) is a common concern for the NMF and the SHM. The way of approaching history differs between the two programmes, however. While the main idea with “Suomen historia tutuksi” at the NMF is to tell the participants about Finnish history in a brief and easy way, the focus of “Gränslöst” at the SHM is to discuss the global, “borderless” aspects of the history of Sweden.

The themes indicates different approaches to communication within these programmes, as the “Gränslöst” has a more problematizing starting point. It questions nationalistic ideals in a similar way as the strategy document of the SHM. Even though the theme of “Suomen historia tutuksi” is not problematizing in this way, the staff’s aims with this programme show that they are questioning the old excluding ideals of national museums. The curator emphasised that she wants the participants to “learn that the culture is the same everywhere at this globe” through noticing similarities between Finnish culture and their own cultures.216

Through giving a summary of the history of Finland, and not discussing the interpretations of the participants, these similarities needs to be noticed spontaneously by the participants. This can be connected to the challenge (expressed by one of the guides) of finding history that is relevant to everyone. Without dialogue, the inclusive aims of the staff are difficult to fulfil in practice.

216 Interview with the curator, NMF (2016).
In the context of other activities and projects of the NMF and the SHM, the two pedagogical programmes for immigrants seem to have different importance to the staff's ideals of the present and future role of these museums. The NMF has just started the process of building new permanent exhibitions. It is a museum which seem to have a process of change ahead of it. The curator aims to include for example the perspectives of young adults with immigrant background in the new exhibitions. She also said that she hopes to find more ways to work with the audience than the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi” can offer as a guided tour.

While “Suomen historia tutuksi” is a programme which was developed before a large change of the NMF, the “Gränslöst” programme at the SHM has been an important part of the development of the new strategy of the SHM. As a “borderless” perspective was highlighted in the exhibitions of the museum, the producers got inspired to work more with this focus on the global aspect of the history of Sweden, and the programme “Gränslöst” became a part of this.

The ideals and practices of the work with pedagogical programmes for immigrants learning Finnish or Swedish cannot give a full picture of how these museums work with integration and cultural diversity. How the museums work within learning sessions designed for other groups is an aspect that I hope future research will deal with. If integration is perceived as a “two-way”, or even a “many-way” process, it is relevant to see how the museums work for the integration of all people coming to the museum, not just immigrants within language education programmes.

In conclusion, my study on the NMF and the SHM shows that there is a problematic relationship between cultural diversity and integration within the ideals and practices of these museums. As far as I know, this has not been acknowledged within museum studies earlier. In this study I highlight an important question regarding the role of museums as democratic institutions in society. Do these institutions work for integration in a way that supports or counteracts their concern of representing a culturally diverse society? Especially now, when the Nordic Council has started a collaboration focusing on how the culture and social sectors can contribute to integration, it is important to discuss how integration and cultural diversity are defined within museums and other cultural institutions and how aims are transformed into practice. Hopefully, my study will inspire to more contributions to this discussion.
Summary

The aim with this study is to shed light on the relationship between ideals and practices at the National Museum of Finland (the NMF) and at the Swedish History Museum (the SHM). The focus is on the museums’ role in society regarding integration and cultural diversity.

In order to fulfil this aim, I have studied the two museums’ pedagogical programmes for immigrants learning Finnish and Swedish. Through an ethnographic field study (including interviews and observations) and text analysis, I have studied ideals and practices connected to these programmes. The study takes a sender-perspective through focusing the staff’s views on how their aims with their pedagogical programmes meet practical reality.

There are several understandings of integration. A problem that is central to this study is that integration in the meaning of immigrants’ adaptation to majority culture builds on one-way communication and would counteract the museums’ concern for representing cultural diversity. My hypothesis is that intercultural dialogue opens up for museums to combine aims concerning cultural diversity with aims of supporting integration. For the theoretical starting points of the study, I use theories concerning communication and the role of museums in society.

My study shows that there is a problematic relationship between cultural diversity and integration within the aims and practices of the two museums. At the SHM, the staff’s aims of integration as a mutual process are contradictory to that they are toning down the importance of mutual learning to the programme. At the NMF, the approach to communication within ideals and practices within the programme and the shortage of dialogue makes it difficult to fulfil the aim of representing a diverse society. At both museums, intercultural dialogue is seen as something very positive when it occurs at the learning sessions. It is, however, rather seen as a bonus than as an aim within today’s versions of the pedagogical programmes.

In acknowledging the contradictory relationship between cultural diversity and integration within the ideals and practices at two national museums in the Nordic countries, this study contributes with a new perspective to the discussion on museums’ role as democratic institutions in society.
Literature

Unpublished material

In possession of the author
Interview with the curator, NMF, February 2016, Recording and transcription.
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Appendix 1: Interview guide for the interview with the curator at the NMF

Background

If you could start with saying some words about yourself and your tasks here at the museum.

For how long has this tour “Suomen historia tutuksi” been carried out? What are your tasks connected to this tour?

Is this your only tour for immigrants learning Finnish? Are there tours for immigrants studying Swedish? (Why not?)

The origin and the planning of the tour

Whose initiative was it to create this tour? (If it was the curator’s initiative: From where did you get the idea?)

From where did you get inspiration during the process of designing this tour?

Which were your aims and ambitions with the tour when you planned it originally and have these changed during the time the tours have been carried out? What do you want to give the persons taking part in the tour?

Were you in contact with the language schools when planning this tour? What did the language schools and their curriculums mean for your planning of this tour?

Does the participants get some material in advance of their visits or/and at their visits to read afterwards? Tell me about when you planned this.

The tour is interactive. Can you tell me a bit about that and why you chose to make an interactive tour?
What does the title of the tour, “Suomen historia tutuksi”, mean to you?
Something to add about this theme?

The tour in practice

Tell me about when the tour went from the planning stage into practice. Experiences? Insights? Problems? What went like planned and what did not go as planned?
How closely are you following the practical work with this tour today?
Could you tell me about how you instruct the guides for this tour? How many guides are guiding this tour?
What kind of feedback have you got from the students and teachers participating in this tour?
Something to add about this theme?

The tour and the museum’s role in society

In which way do you think this tour helps to fulfil the aims of the National museum of Finland?
What are your reflections on the role of the National museum of Finland in a culturally diverse society?
Do you think that your responsibility in these questions as a state owned national museum differs from other museums?
How do you define cultural heritage? What role does cultural heritage have to integration according to you?
Do you have plans of developing this tour or the museum’s programme for immigrants learning Finnish or Swedish in the future? How?
A question on integration as a double-sided process. Do you feel that the institution learn something from the visitors at this tour?
Something to add about this theme?
Appendix 2: Interview guide for the interviews with guide A and guide B at the NMF

Background

If you could start with saying some words about yourself and your tasks here at the museum. Why did you want to become a guide at the National Museum of Finland?

What are your tasks connected to the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi”?

How many times, or for how long have you guided the tour “Suomen historia tutuksi”? Was it any special reason for that you started guiding this tour?

Reflections on today’s tour

Tell me about your reflections on today’s tour. Something that you are especially pleased with? Did you encounter any problems?

Do you feel that this tour differed from the other times you have guided “Suomen historia tutuksi”? In what way?

Ambitions with the tour

Tell me about your ambitions with “Suomen historia tutuksi”

What do you want to accomplish as a guide in this tour?

What do you wish that the participants learn?

As I have understood the guides are rather free to choose their own route for the tour. How do you choose your route?
What does the title “Suomen historia tutuksi” mean to you?
Something to add about this theme?

The tour in practice

Could you tell me about when you got the task to carry out this tour for the first time? Experiences? Insights? Problems? What went like planned and what did not go as planned?
Do you think that there is any of your ambitions with the tour that is difficult to fulfil in practice, and why?
What experiences and insights have you got from the times you have guided this tour?
Do you think that any special part of the tour works better than the others? The opposite: is it any part that not work as good as the others?
Have you encountered any problems when guiding the tour?
What is the most fun with guiding this tour?
What is the most difficult with guiding this tour?
The tour is interactive. Can you tell me a bit about that – pros and cons with this interaction? Can you as a guide choose in which way to make the tour interactive or is that planned by others?
Is it something that you would like to change with this tour in the future?
What kind of feedback have you got from the students and teachers participating in this tour?
Something to add about this theme?

The tour and the museum’s role in society

What role do you think this tour has for the integration of immigrants?
What are your reflections on the role of the National museum of Finland in a culturally diverse society?
How do you define cultural heritage? What role should cultural heritage have to integration according to you? Something to add about this theme?
Appendix 3: Interview guide for the group interview with producer A and producer B at the SHM

Background

Could you say some words about yourselves and your tasks here at the museum? (Kan ni börja med att säga några ord om er själva och om era uppdrag här på museet?)

For how long have ”Gränslöst” been a part of your programme for schools and when did you start creating this learning session? (Hur länge har ni haft Gränslöst med i ert skolprogram och när började ni utforma lektionen?)

How many “Gränslöst” sessions would you estimate that you have had? (Hur många sådana här visningar uppskattar ni att ni har haft?)

Something to add about this theme? (Har ni något att tillägga på detta tema?)

Reflections on today’s tour

To producer A and producer B respectively: If you reflect on today’s learning session: Is it something that you are especially pleased with? Did you encounter any problems? (Till producent A respektive producent B: Ifall du reflekterar kring dagens lektion: är det något du är särskilt nöjd med? Stötte du på några problem?)

Do you feel that this tour differed from the other times you have guided “Gränslöst”? In what way? (Känner du att dagens lektion skiljer sig från andra gånger du har genomfört Gränslöst? På vilket sätt?)

Something to add about this theme? (Har ni något att tillägga på detta tema?)
The origin and the planning of "Gränslöst"

Whose initiative was it to create "Gränslöst"? If it was any of/both of the producers' initiative: From where did you get the idea? (Vems initiativ var det att skapa Gränslöst? Om det var någon av/båda informanternas initiativ: Varifrån fick ni idén?)

From where did you get inspiration during the process of designing this learning session? (Varifrån fick ni inspiration när ni utformade den här lektionen?)

Which were your aims and ambitions with the tour when you planned it originally and have these changed during the time you have carried out the “Gränslöst” sessions? (Vad var era syften och ambitioner med lektionen när ni planerade den ursprungligen och har dessa ändrats under tiden som ni har hållit Gränslösten?)

What do you want the participants to obtain from “Gränslöst”? (Vad vill ni att deltagarna ska få ut av Gränslöst?)

How do you view your role in these learning sessions? (Hur ser ni på er roll i lektionerna?)

Were you in contact with SFI when planning “Gränslöst”? What did SFI and their curriculums mean for your planning of this tour? (Var ni i kontakt med SFI när ni planerade Gränslöst? Vad betydde SFI och deras läroplan för ert planerande av Gränslöst?)

Was it something in the policy document of the museum that affected you planning of "Gränslöst" specifically? (Var det något i museets måldokument som påverkade planerandet av Gränslöst specifikt?)

Does the participants get some material in advance of their visits or/and at their visits to read afterwards? If yes: Tell me about when you planned this. (Får deltagarna något material före besöket eller under besöket för att använda efteråt? Om ja: Berätta om när ni planerade detta.)

What does the title "Gränslöst" mean to you? (Vad betyder titeln “Gränslöst” för er?)

Something to add about this theme? (Har ni något att tillägga på detta tema?)

The tour in practice

Could you tell me about your experiences from carrying out “Gränslöst” for the first time? Insights? Problems? What went like planned and what did not go
as planned? (Berätta om era erfarenheter från den första gången ni genomförde Gränslöst, när era planer testades i praktiken. Insikter? Problem? Vad gick som planerat och vad gick inte som planerat?)

What experiences and insights have you got from all the times you have carried out this session? (Vad för erfarenheter och insikter har ni fått från alla gånger ni har genomfört lektionen?)

Have you changed the structure of ”Gränslöst” during the years you have carried out the learning session? (Har ni ändrat upplägget i Gränslöst under åren ni genomfört lektionen?)

Do you think that there is any of your ambitions with the tour that is difficult to fulfil in practice, and why? (Tycker ni att det är någon av era ambitioner med lektionen Gränslöst som är svår att uppfylla i praktiken, och varför?)

Do you think that any special part of the tour works better than the others? The opposite: is it any part that not work as good as the others? (Tycker ni att det är någon viss del av lektionen som fungerar bättre än de andra? Det motsatta: är det någon del som inte fungerar lika bra?)

What is the most fun with guiding this learning session? (Vad är det roligaste med att hålla den här lektionen?)

What is the most difficult? (Vad är det svåraste?)

The learning session is interactive. Can you tell me a bit more about that – pros and cons with this interaction? (Lektionen är ju interaktiv. Kan ni berätta mer om det – fördelar och nackdelar med interaktion?)

Is it something that you would like to change with “Gränslöst” in the future? (Är det något som ni skulle vilja ändra med upplägget av Gränslöst i framtiden?)

What kind of feedback have you got from the students and teachers participating “Gränslöst”? (Vad för slags respons har ni fått från elever och lärare som deltagit i Gränslöst?)

Something to add about this theme? (Har ni något att tillägga på detta tema?)

The tour and the museum’s role in society

In which way do you think “Gränslöst” helps to fulfil the aims of Swedish History Museum? (På vilket sätt tror ni att Gränslöst hjälper till att uppfylla Historiska museets mål?)
Which role do you think ”Gränslöst” has for integration? (Vilken roll tror ni att Gränslöst har för integration?)

What are your reflections on the role of the Swedish History Museum in a culturally diverse society? (Hur reflekterar ni kring Historiska museets roll i ett mångkulturellt samhälle?)

Do you think that the responsibility of the Swedish History Museum in these questions – as a state-owned national museum – differs from other museums? (Tycker ni att Historiska museets ansvar i dessa frågor, som ett statligt och nationellt museum, skiljer sig från andra museers ansvar?)

How do you define cultural heritage? What role does cultural heritage have to integration according to you? (Hur definierar ni kulturarv? Vilken roll har kulturarv för integration enligt er?)

Something to add about this theme? (Har ni något att tillägga på detta tema?)
Appendix 4: Interview guide for the telephone interview with producer A

How do you define cultural heritage? (Hur definierar du kulturarv?)

What role does cultural heritage have to integration, according to you? (Vilken roll har kulturarv för integration enligt dig?)

You said that you were inspired by the work with the track ”Gränslöst” in the exhibitions of the museum and thought ”but why cannot we work with SFI groups in this way?”. Why did you want to make a project specifically for SFI students on this theme? (Ni sade att ni inspirerades av arbetet med spåret Gränslöst i museets utställningar och tyckte ”ja men varför kan vi inte jobba med SFI-grupper så här?”). Vad var det som gjorde att ni ville göra ett projekt just för SFI-grupper på det temat?)

My informants at the National Museum of Finland put forward that some persons had not wanted to participate in the guided tour because of that the museum reminds of a church and that one of the exhibitions strongly reminds of a church interior. Have you experienced something like that when you have been in the fourteenth century part of the exhibition History of Sweden? (Vid Finlands Nationalmuseum framhöll informanterna att vissa personer inte velat delta i guidningen på grund av att museet liknar en kyrka och att en av utställningarna påminner väldigt mycket om en kyrkointeriör. Har ni upplevt något sådant när ni varit i 1300-talsdelen av utställningen Sveriges historia?)

On ”Gränslöst” in its present compressed form

Do you think that any special part of the tour works better than the others? The opposite: is it any part that not work as good as the others? (Tycker du att det är någon viss del av lektionen som fungerar bättre än de andra? Det motsatta: är det någon del som inte fungerar lika bra?)

What is the most fun with guiding this learning session? (Vad är det roligaste med att hålla den här lektionen?)
What is the most difficult? (Vad är det svåraste?)