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Second World War and Holocaust Commemoration in Sweden

An analysis of Swedish commemoration practices in museums and
memorials

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Abstract

This thesis discusses commemoration processes of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Sweden. The timeframe for this analysis is set from 1995 on when Sweden joined the European Union and general interest in Holocaust research increased in all EU member states in the 1990s. The thesis focuses on memorials and exhibitions in Stockholm dealing with the topic. Through interviews and visual analysis of these heritage sites a commemorative character is identified. Furthermore, the concepts of 'Europeanization' and 'Memory Studies' are used to provide a conceptual and theoretical background for analysing the Swedish way of commemorating the Holocaust in the context of European integration.

The discussion shows that Sweden perceived itself as an innocent bystander to the war and the Holocaust for a long time and that research on these topics has not been carried out until recently. This changed with Sweden's membership in the European Union and the country developed from a bystander to a European leader in Holocaust education. Analysing commemoration processes the way they are presented in this thesis has not been done before and therefore the thesis fills a research gap.

Key words: Sweden, Holocaust, Second World War, Commemoration, Europeanization, Memory Studies, Cultural Memory, Interviews, Visual Analysis

Table of Content

1) Introduction	1
1.1) The research project	2
2) Literature Review	3
3) Methods	5
3.1) Data collection	6
3.2) Interviews	7
3.2.1) Strengths of interviewing	7
3.2.2.) Weaknesses of interviewing	8
3.3) Thematic Analysis of interviews	8
3.4) Memorial Analysis	9
3.5) Exhibition Analysis	10
4) Theory	11
4.1) Memory	11
4.1.1) Cultural Memory	12
4.1.2) Commemoration	12
4.2) Europeanization	13
5) Historical Background	17
5.1) The Second World War and the Holocaust	17
5.2) The Living History Forum	20
6) The Holocaust Memorial	22
6.1) The design of the memorial	23
6.2) The memorial as a place for commemoration	25
7) The Jewish Museum	28
7.1) The exhibitions	29
7.2) The museum as a place for commemoration	30
8) The Army Museum	33
8.1) War and Peace in the twentieth century	34
8.2) The Raoul Wallenberg Room	35
8.3) The exhibitions as a place for commemoration	37
9) The Swedish History Museum	40
9.1) The History of Sweden	41
9.2) The exhibition as a place for commemoration	43
10) Conclusion	45
11) Bibliography	50
12) Appendix I	54
13) Appendix II	55

1. Introduction

“Holocaust recognition is our contemporary European entry ticket”.¹ This quote by scholar Tony Judt offers a first impression on the importance of Holocaust and war recognition in Europe and refers to a shift of values in the European Union. While the memory culture of the member states before the fall of the Berlin Wall was based on positive events and a glorious past, it shifted to a more negative image highlighting the war and the Holocaust as major events to remember and commemorate.

This interest in two of the most gruesome events in history was intensified after 1989. 1989 and the beginning of the 1990s marked an era in which Europe confronted cultural and political memories about the war and the Holocaust that had not been focused on previously. The 1990s also marked the beginning of a new Europe and a new European Union – a Union that could now include former communist countries in its circle as well. This new European Union had to be constructed on new beliefs and values. What seemed better than being united by condemning Nazism and all the evil crimes against humanity of the 1940s? Klas-Göran Karlsson argues that the “common European values [...] were rather a shared culture of guilt and expiation.”² From now on, every nation that wanted to be a member of the European Union had to “adjust its national narratives about the Second World War into a moral story.”³ Sweden, which became a member of the European Union in 1995 made this adjustment and opened discussions and research debates about those topics.

War and Holocaust Commemoration in Sweden had not been well-researched topics before the mid 1990s while the general topic of the war and the Holocaust attracted many publications. The general narrative in these publications was that Sweden had been a bystander during the war. This view resulted in the fact that there was not much debate and almost no critical research on the issue until 1997. The Holocaust information campaign in 1997 was a turning point for the commemoration and the shaping of a new collective memory in Sweden.

¹ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 14.

² Ibid., p. 15.

³ Ibid., p. 15.

How exactly this commemoration is taking place today is one aim of the thesis as I want to analyse Holocaust and war commemoration within a country, which, for a very long time, perceived itself only as a bystander and not an active participant in the war. Even though Sweden has not been part of any military actions; it was not the innocent bystander nation it perceived itself to be. It could be argued that due to “economic relations with Nazi-Germany, Sweden directly or indirectly helped prolonging the war”⁴ and therefore has to come to terms with its past as well as the other members of the European Union did. New attitudes towards the past have been expressed through political initiatives as well as a public commemoration of the topic influenced, directly or indirectly, by the European Union. This involvement of the European Union is mostly referred to as Europeanization, a term I will use as a concept to describe and analyse the European dimension in commemoration practices in Sweden.

1.1 The research project

I have previously analysed both war and Holocaust Remembrance in Germany and found a focus on Sweden as a nation that perceived itself a bystander very fascinating for further research. Until now no analysis of Swedish commemoration of the war and the Holocaust through public exhibitions and memorials has been done and this is where this thesis comes in. The thesis aims to contribute to a larger research project investigating memory cultures and commemoration practices in both Sweden and Poland through museums and memorials. These constitute heritage sites are open to the public and play an important role in shaping collective identities. Memorials and exhibitions also often reflect national memory processes and provide the onlookers with guidelines on what to remember and to commemorate. This thesis will reflect on these processes in Sweden with the following research questions:

- How are the Second World War and the Holocaust commemorated in Sweden through exhibitions and memorials?
- Does this commemoration include a European dimension and how is it visible?

The focus of the thesis lies solely on Stockholm, Sweden’s capital and largest city. It provides most memorials and museums in the country and most of the information to answer the research question can be found there. I interviewed people in Stockholm, who were directly involved in implementing the chosen memorial and exhibitions. The focus of the analysis lies

⁴ Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17th 2015.

on one memorial and three exhibitions that were chosen in accordance with criteria to narrow down all the possible heritage sites in Stockholm. The thesis will start with an overview of the previously published literature on the topic before discussing the methods used to collect data as well as to analyse theories of memory culture and Europeanization in the context of the research question. All heritage sites will be described in their background and design before their commemorative character is analysed. Results will be summarized in a concluding chapter. The appendix includes the interview questions.

2. Literature Review

Sweden and its role in the Second World War and the Holocaust is not a new topic to scholars and researchers. The country's role in the war has been touched upon ever since the war ended with the first book being published in 1948 by researcher Wilhelm Tham.⁵ More books dealing with Sweden during the war, its role in the war and different positions and parties have been regularly published until today. The introduction of chapter five will discuss these publications.

The research on commemoration of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Sweden however has been scarce. The most crucial publications were made in connection to a few research projects and conferences and I will present a summary of those. Research publications that were considered as background source for this thesis were made in 2003, 2004 and 2013.

All these publications have the same starting point for their analysis – the years 1989 - 1990. A large critical as well as moral debate of the Second World War and the Holocaust began in Europe after 1989. Nowadays Holocaust recognition and remembrance is a key point in becoming a EU member state. The Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson argues that the desire to play a role in the EU has also been the driving force behind Sweden's newfound interest in the war and the Holocaust. According to him in the 1990s Sweden was on a mission to become "a member of the European club."⁶ As other authors, such as Conny

⁵ Stig Ekman and Klaus Åmark, *Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust*, (Stockholm 2003), 18.

⁶ Klas-Göran, Karlsson, „The Holocaust as politics and use of history. The example of Living History,“ In *The Swedish Success Story?*, edited by Kurt Almqvist & Kay Glans, (Malmö 2004), 245.

Mithander⁷, pointed out, becoming a member of this club meant Holocaust and war recognition and coming to terms with its own past.⁸ According to her, “Sweden assumed a great guilt regarding the Holocaust, although Sweden’s guilt is not as great when compared with other countries.”⁹

In their 2004 publication *The Swedish Success Story?* Kurt Almqvist and Kay Glans even go further to claim that “towards the end of the 20th century Sweden debated their country’s role during the Second World War and the Cold War with increasing intensity, and central elements of Swedish self-awareness were questioned.”¹⁰ These debates meant a shift from previous assumptions that there is not much to learn from history¹¹ towards the belief that “history can function as a sort of immunization against present day and future problems, above all against intolerance and xenophobia.”¹² Karlsson describes this shift as a “gradual mental reorientation and a change in the nature of [the Swedish] historical understanding.”¹³ This reorientation took place from a “positive Swedish perception of its position as outsider in relation to the Second World War and the Holocaust to a more negative or at least reflective end.”¹⁴ The more reflective end means a shift in perception from a bystander to a country that perceived its bystander role differently and not as innocent any longer. The Holocaust was therefore used for “national purposes through writing it into a Swedish historical context during the 1990s.”¹⁵

Sweden also had great influence in Europe and other countries in establishing a certain value to Holocaust Remembrance. The Stockholm International Conference in 2000 was organized by the Swedish Prime Minister at that time, Göran Persson, and saw many heads of governments in Europe and outside coming to Sweden to discuss the topic. Furthermore, the conference was “a clear expression of the change that the Swedish national self-image went

⁷ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 177.

⁸ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Echoes of the Holocaust. Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe*, (Lund 2003), 19.

⁹ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 177.

¹⁰ Kurt Almqvist and Kay Glans. *The Swedish Success Story?* (Malmö 2004), 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.12.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.12.

¹³ Klas-Göran, Karlsson, „The Holocaust as politics and use of history. The example of Living History,“ In *The Swedish Success Story?*, edited by Kurt Almqvist & Kay Glans, (Malmö 2004), 243.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

through during the 1990s”.¹⁶ “The Holocaust [also] became a concept to tie the absolute evil of history together with a good united Europe of the future.”¹⁷ The Holocaust “was thought to be an important aspect in the development of a historical consciousness which could promote a further, deepened integration in Europe based on a community of historical values.”¹⁸

These shared values were fighting intolerance and xenophobia as well as the growing anti-Semitism. The same goals were also stated in the main aim of the Swedish Living History Project established in 1997.¹⁹ The project-turned-governmental-research-body is still one of the main contributors on research and education to the topic. According to Karlsson “all-European preoccupation with Holocaust history and memory has arisen rapidly and unexpectedly”.²⁰ Before the fall of the Wall, there was no critical debate of this topic in either Sweden or Europe and as soon as the communist system collapsed, countries started researching their past and acknowledging the war and the Holocaust. And yet, there is still a lot of research to be done in most of the European Union’s member states.

As this overview has shown some scientific works have been written on debates and education on Holocaust and the Second World War in Sweden but the public commemoration remains underresearched. This thesis therefore offers a new approach as it analyses exhibitions and a memorial commemorating Second World War and Holocaust Remembrance in Sweden.

3. Methods

By analysing the mentioned cultural heritage sites, I discuss how they were produced, if there was a special intention and if the European Union was involved. To understand these issues, I conducted interviews and applied visual analysis of memorials and exhibitions.

¹⁶ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 183.

¹⁷ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Echoes of the Holocaust. Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe*, (Lund 2003), 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18 ff.

¹⁹ The Living History Project was an information campaign initiated by Prime Minister Persson. In 2003 it was turned into a governmental research body. More detailed information of the institution will be found in the main analysis

²⁰ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Holocaust Heritage. Inquiries into European Historical Cultures*, (Malmö 2004), 14.

The chosen heritage sites in Stockholm are:

- The Holocaust Memorial – Inauguration 1998
- “War and Peace in the 20th century” and the Raoul Wallenberg Room at the Army Museum – Opening 2012
- The Jewish Museum
- “The History of Sweden” at the Swedish History Museum – Opening 2010

All of these above-mentioned heritage sites matched certain criteria:

- 1) The heritage site must be located in Stockholm.
- 2) All heritage sites must deal with the Second World War or the Holocaust.
- 3) Either the whole exhibition or parts of it must be permanent or currently on display.
- 4) The heritage site must be accessible to the public.

3.1 Data collection:

I conducted five interviews in Stockholm from February 16th - 18th 2015. Each interviewee had a direct connection to the creation process of the chosen memorial or exhibition and one of the interviewee is a representative of the Living History Forum that is considered an essential contributor to research on the topic. The respondents were:

Harry Pommert – Vice-president of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden. The Jewish Community in Stockholm suggested interviewing Harry, as he was involved in the memorial creation and construction from the very beginning.

Lena Heijl – Curator of the exhibition “The History of Sweden” at the Swedish History Museum.

Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslén – Curators at the Army Museum. Ohlsson was responsible for “War and Peace in the 20th century” and Wesslén was responsible for the Raoul Wallenberg Room

Yvonne Jacobsson – President of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm.

Eva Fried – International Coordinator at the Living History Forum.

The main criteria for choosing these interview partners was that all of them were directly involved in the creation and construction process of the chosen memorial and exhibition or could give sufficient background information for the overall topic of war and Holocaust commemoration in Sweden.

3.2 Interviews

Interviews provide a deeper picture of the chosen memorial and exhibitions. As there are no publications about the chosen topic, it would not have been possible to answer the research questions through literature. By choosing interviewing I can collect more data and information – personal opinions as well as new information on the memorial and exhibitions. Furthermore, interviews provide first-hand information from the people who were involved in the creation process. I used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. The questions were structured in three main sections.

- Background of the interviewee and position within the museum or memorial creation process
- Background of the chosen heritage site
- European involvement

I tried to follow the same order of questions for every interview to get the same information from every interviewee. However, it was not always possible to follow the exact order as the interview partners sometimes already answered questions that were supposed to be asked at a later stage. A list with questions is given in the appendix.

3.2.1 Strengths of interviewing:

Face-to-Face interviews are easier to direct than email conversations or surveys. Using open-ended questions can help develop a deeper conversation with the interviewee. By asking open-ended questions the interviewee gets the opportunity to speak more freely and tell what is on his or her mind.

A second argument for interviewing is that “it gathers data not available in written records about people, events, decisions and processes.”²¹ When interviewing, the researcher is able to capture the person’s “spontaneous, rich, specific and relevant answer from the interviewee”.²² In fact, these spontaneous answers happen most of the time during personal interviews.

²¹Barbara Truesdell, *Oral History Techniques. How to Organize and Conduct Oral History Interviews*, last accessed May 17th, 2015, 19:30, http://www.indiana.edu/~csh/oral_history_techniques.pdf p 1.

²²Steinar Kvale, *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, (Thousand Oaks 1996), last accessed March 15th 2015, http://www.inside-installations.org/OCMT/mydocs/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20Booksummary_Interviews_SMAK_2.pdf, p. 3.

Thirdly, “If a respondent’s answer seems not to fit the intent of the question, the alert interviewer will seek clarification through the use of a Probe-asking questions, for example, *Could you explain exactly what you mean by that?*”²³ These clarification questions do not only give a better understanding but they can also provide much more information than originally aimed at.²⁴

3.2.2. Weaknesses of interviewing:

One weakness of interviewing is that the interviewee can answer the question “depending on how they perceive the interviewer”.²⁵ The interviewer has to make it clear from the beginning what the research purpose is and why interviewing was chosen.²⁶ In order to avoid a bias on the answers, it could be communicated to the interviewee why they were chosen in the first place. In this way the interviewee does not feel forced to answer the questions in a special way or to provide an answer they think the interviewer would like to hear. However, no interviewer can be totally certain that all the information given reflect the opinion of the interviewee at all times, therefore “it is the responsibility of the researcher [...] to pull evidence from the data which when interpreted sounds convincing, credible and reliable.”²⁷

3.3. Thematic Analysis of interviews

I decided to carry out a thematic analysis of the conducted interviews. Thematic analysis is “a type of inductive analysis of qualitative data that can involve multiple analytic techniques.”²⁸ I chose to use Thematic Analysis as it “moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is themes.”²⁹ There are different approaches to thematic analysis but considering the conducted interviews and the research questions, my chosen approach is called *Phenomenology*. With this term it is the “participants perceptions, feelings and lived experiences that are paramount

²³ Paul S. Gray, John B. Williamson and David A. Karp. *The Research Imagination. An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, (Cambridge 2007), 129.

²⁴ Nigel Newton, *The Use of semi-Structured Interviews in Qualitative Research. Strengths and Weaknesses*, 2010, last accessed March 16th 2015, http://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semi-structured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses p. 5.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁸ Greg Guest et. al., *Applied Thematic Analysis*, (Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 2012) last accessed April 22nd 2015, 13:55 <http://dx.doi.org/ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.4135/9781483384436.n10>, 4

²⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

and that are the object of study”³⁰ Most of the information gathered in the interviews were not accessible through other sources, so I had to rely on the interviewees.

Furthermore, Thematic Analysis identifies key terms in texts and in order to analyse the collected data, it has to be sorted into categories.³¹ The interviews conducted for this thesis were already sorted in three main categories that were mentioned before. Within these sections, I undertook an additional categorization and gave each section another theme. The first section is categorized into background about the interview and about the project. The second section, that focuses on the exhibition or memorial was sorted into themes of design, intention and outcome. The last section remained under the theme of European involvement. The purpose of this categorization is “to identifying patterns of meaning across a dataset that provides an answer to the research questions being addressed.”³² Additionally to collecting data through interviews and analysing them with the help of a thematic analysis, I will also carry out an analysis of the memorial and the exhibitions.

3.4. Memorial Analysis

When analysing the chosen memorial, I will mainly follow the three stages Yuliya Yurchuk described in her dissertation. These are:

- Creative Phase³³ - Questions to be asked here are mainly directed towards the construction process of the memorial.
- Ritualization – It focuses on “grounding of ritual action in the calendar through a process of institutionalization and reutilization”.³⁴
- The public’s perception of the memorial - It focuses on the “transformation [...] as active sites of memory [...] that depends on the second generation of mourners, whether they attach old or new meanings to the inherited monument or whether they forget about the place.”³⁵

³⁰ Greg Guest et. al., *Applied Thematic Analysis*, (Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 2012) last accessed April 22nd 2015, 13:55 <http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.4135/9781483384436.n10>, 4

³¹ The university of Auckland, *About Thematic Analysis*, last accessed April 22nd 2015, 13:01, <http://www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/our-research/research-groups/thematic-analysis/about-thematic-analysis.html>

³² Ibid., p. 13.

³³ Yulia Yurchuk, *Reordering of Meaningful World. Memory of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, (Stockholm 2014), 28.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

Similar to these three steps, studying memorials can be divided in analysing the three main aspects of an architectural heritage site: image, locus and the relation between them.³⁶ Image, in this sense, means the “physical representation” of the memorial.³⁷ The question to be answered here is *How was this memorial designed and why?* Locus refers to the location that was chosen for the memorial. If possible, a question to be answered is about the ‘Why’. *Why was this specific location chosen?* The last aspect, according to Yilmaz, is the relationship between the design and the location of this memorial.³⁸ *Is there a special reason why this design was chosen for this specific place?*

The same steps apply for the analysis of the location. At first, the location of the memorial must be discussed. *Can it be detected why this specific location was chosen?* When talking about the location, it is also important to talk about whether it is accessible to a wider public or only to a small group of people. Image-locus relation is another crucial part to take into account. It needs to be answered if there is a special reasoning behind this location, i.e. does it reflect a historical spot, which goes along with the person or event it commemorates?

3.5. Exhibition Analysis

Museums and exhibitions are “an elementary part of European Memory Cultures [...] and [t]heir collections [...] develop public images of Europe’s history, its present and its future.”³⁹ Exhibitions are therefore a central part for this thesis and shall be analysed accordingly. The publication *Exhibiting Europe in Museums – Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives and Representations* gives a good theoretic overview on how to analyse exhibitions.

- First stage: A discussion of the museum itself and its main information, such as location and historical background.⁴⁰ This discussion will provide a context for the exhibition, as it will explain why this certain museum chose to have an exhibition.
- Second stage: A discussion of the collection and of certain objects within the exhibition.⁴¹ In order to do this, a detailed description of the exhibition must be done. According to the authors of *Exhibiting Europe*, objects and collections can have

³⁶ Ahenk Yilmaz, *Memorialization as the Art of Memory. A Method to Analyse Memorials*, 2010, last accessed March 17th 2015, http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/archive/0258-5316/2010/cilt27/sayi_1/267-280.pdf, p. 8.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁹ Wolfram Kaiser, Stefan Krankenhagen and Kerstin Poehls, *Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives and Representations*, (New York 2014), 184.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 29.

different dimensions – they can either be European, national⁴² or both. This second step of discussing the objects of the exhibitions opens up space to question the curator's intention. Why did the curators of the exhibition decide to specifically have this object portrayed and not another one?

Answering these questions has been especially interesting in the case of the Army Museum and the Jewish Museum. The Jewish Museum was the first one to have an exhibition centred on Raoul Wallenberg in 2004. However, 2004 does not represent a specific date in the Wallenberg memory so it will be interesting to analyse why this year was chosen and not, for example, 2007, the 60th anniversary of his disappearance.

4. Theory

The main concepts used as theoretical foundations of this thesis are memory and Europeanization, defined below.

4.1. Memory

Memory is a very broad concept and for the purpose of the thesis I will not discuss the still scientifically debated issue whether 'Collective Memory' exists or not. I assume that so-called 'Collective Memory' exists and that it is part of a nation's identity. Maurice Halbwachs first defined 'Collective Memory' in 1925 as "the creation of shared versions of the past, which results through interactions, communications, media and institutions within small social groups as well as large cultural communities."⁴³ This idea of 'Collective Memory' was further used by Jan and Aleida Assmann in the 1980s.

It is important for this thesis to mention the classification of memory as "cultural memory" which was also defined by Jan and Aleida Assmann in the late 1980s. The Assmann's grounded their ideas on the theory of Halbwachs but at the same time, they argue that "there is a qualitative difference between a collective memory that is based on forms of everyday interaction and communication and a collective memory that is more institutionalized and rests on rituals and media."⁴⁴

⁴² Wolfram Kaiser, Stefan Krankenhagen and Kerstin Poehls, *Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives and Representations*, (New York 2014), 29.

⁴³ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, translated by Sara B. Young, (New York 2011), 15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

4.1.1. Cultural Memory

Cultural Memory, according to Assmann is “purposefully established and ceremonialized”⁴⁵ Its shaping does not result from witnesses of that time but it is shaped by ‘specialists’ such as archivists.⁴⁶ This shows a more official form of memory. Cultural Memory is also less changeable than communicative memory but transports a “fixed set of contents and meanings”.⁴⁷ In the case of Cultural Memory the memory of the past is transferred to an object that is preserved by cultural formations and institutional patterns of communication. I argue that Cultural Memory is important for the analysis of war and Holocaust commemoration as the memory of the events of the war and the Holocaust are merely transferred to objects – here the memorial and the exhibitions. Another explanation for this is the “Concretion of identity” of Cultural Memory, which means, “social groups constitute a Cultural Memory from which they derive their collective identity.”⁴⁸ In case of Sweden this means that up until the 1980s and 1990s their collective identity derived from the memory of the nation being a bystander in the war. Later on this perception changed to some extent and was discussed and debated throughout the country.

4.1.2. Commemoration

Commemoration is another term, which goes along with the memory debate. It can be seen as part of memory theory and memory research and yet it describes an official form of remembering something. In this context, Aline Sierp describes it as “institutionalized memory”.⁴⁹ Commemoration whatsoever has been the basis of collective memories and national identities.⁵⁰ While memory is more personal and subjective and based on people’s experiences, commemoration is the remembering of something that was chosen worthwhile to remember, “thus anniversaries of historical events mark and produce memory.”⁵¹ A selection of what is worthwhile to remember can either be made by authorities or by a group of people having a direct connection to the commemorated event. A good example for the latter is the Holocaust Memorial in Stockholm. Members of the Jewish community brought ideas for this memorial forward and it was then built with the help of authorities.

⁴⁵ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, translated by Sara B. Young, (New York 2011), 28.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁹ Aline Sierp, *History, Memory and Trans-European Identity – Unifying Divisions*, (New York 2014), 19.

⁵⁰ Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, *Rethinking Europe. Social theory and the implications of Europeanization*, (New York 2005), 95.

⁵¹ Aline Sierp, *History, Memory and Trans-European Identity – Unifying Divisions*, (New York 2014), 19

4.2. Europeanization

The concept of Europeanization is used as a theoretical background for the thesis. Europeanization was chosen as it portrays best the current happenings in a European cultural frame and in memory politics. Europeanization is also a useful tool in the analysis of commemoration of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Sweden. By using the concept as a process of becoming more European, the European dimension in the chosen memorial and exhibitions shall be discussed.

Research on Europeanization has grown exceptionally in the last few years with more and more scholars publishing books or papers about it and with even more approaches to it. However, no real consensus “on the meaning of Europeanization exists”.⁵² But the term often “denotes the process by which national politics and/or policy processes are increasingly dominated by EU agendas and/or ways in which EU norms [are] domesticated in member and non-member states”⁵³ Scholars also disagree in determining what Europeanization refers to⁵⁴ and what its boundaries are.

A very general definition of the term can be found in the publication *The European Union. How does it work?* It is stated that Europeanization “is the process whereby national systems adapt to EU policies and integration more generally, while also shaping themselves the European Union.”⁵⁵ The concept is not a simple or single term to describe. It is rather a “two-way” process with bottom up and top down dimensions.⁵⁶ The bottom-up dimension is “about the construction of the EU system of governance”⁵⁷, which, at the same time, refers to member states “uploading their preferences to Brussels via complex negotiations.”⁵⁸ The other approach is described as top down and refers to EU’s domestic impact⁵⁹ on the nation states. Both approaches will play an important role in determining whether there is a European dimension in the commemoration in Sweden or not. It is not possible to analyse

⁵² Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, *Rethinking Europe. Social theory and the implications of Europeanization*, (New York 2005), 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 16.

⁵⁵ Elisabeth Bomberg, John Petersen, and Alexander Stubb. *The European Union, How does it work?*, Second Edition, (New York 2008), 72.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 18.

⁵⁸ Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, *The Politics of Europeanization*, (Oxford 2003), 34.

⁵⁹ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 18.

only one of these processes as both influence each other and are often interlinked with each other.

Europeanization is not only characterized by these two approaches, but scholars, such as Mair, also argue that there are “two faces of Europeanization”.⁶⁰ Jurje describes these two faces as follows: Europeanization “consists of the institutionalization of a distinctly European political system and it involves the creation and consolidation of authoritative political institutions at the supranational European level”.⁶¹ The second face is described as “entail[ing] the penetration of European rules, directives and norms into the otherwise differentiated domestic spheres.”⁶² This classification has to be seen critically as there are various ways on how to adopt these rules on a domestic level. Three levels of this differentiation are pointed out that also follow the line of how Europeanization is used for this thesis.

- The formal level: The formal level is associated with “the institutionalization of the common body of rules into the domestic legislation of member states.”⁶³ The common body of rules refers to the European Union Acquis, a body of common rights and obligations that is binding on all EU member states.⁶⁴
- The informal level: The level includes member states as well as non-member states and refers to “the less formalized agreements [...] that are not strictly part of the Acquis⁶⁵ but can have substantial implications for national policies and practices.”⁶⁶
- Beyond the EU: The third level of differentiation reaches beyond the EU and “describes the standardization and convergence of cultural practices and lifestyles.”⁶⁷ Delanty and Rumford argue that Europeanization refers to “a multi-dimensional process of transformation which goes beyond the EU’s institutions to embrace a

⁶⁰ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 17.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ European Commission Homepage http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/acquis_en.htm, last accessed on April 24th 2015, 12:31.

⁶⁵ The *acquis* is the body of common rights and obligations that is binding on all the EU member states. For further information see the Homepage of the European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/acquis_en.htm, last accessed May 9th 2015, 12:27

⁶⁶ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 17.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

concern with networks and boundaries, the export of the EU model and the interpenetration of national systems.”⁶⁸

This differentiation follows the line of dividing Europeanization into direct Europeanization and indirect Europeanization, a division that shall be used in this thesis. In this sense, direct Europeanization means the influence of the European Union institutions in the society by policies or rules. Jurje calls this aspect “hard-case Europeanization” and describes it as “changes in the national settings that can be described as responses to pressure coming down from Brussels”.⁶⁹ This statement also reflects the top-down approach that is interlinked with this aspect. Contrary to hard-case Europeanization, there is also a softer form. This soft-case Europeanization describes “effects that can be attributed to horizontal processes based on interaction and co-operation among member states in the context of the EU.”⁷⁰ This means that there is no direct pressure from the EU to adopt certain policies on a national level but rather that politicians and authorities are indirectly influenced through meetings on a European level and later on adopt these ideas on a national level. Radaelli who also points out “the impact of the EU can be felt via softer mechanisms and others, such as regulatory competition”, supports this approach.⁷¹

Horizontal influences also show that studies of Europeanization are multidisciplinary and theories of Europeanization can be adopted in several disciplines. Von Hirschhausen and Patel argue that it “crosses the boundaries between the fields of political, economic, social and cultural [fields]”.⁷² It is even used in the field of memory politics. Aline Sierp refers to this as ‘Europeanization of National Memory’ and claims “the factor that did lead to the slow convergence of national memory discourses was an increasing awareness of the European dimension of WWII, caused by the greater interconnectness between countries within the framework of the European Union.”⁷³ Sierp wrote her analysis on Italy and Germany but

⁶⁸ Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, *Rethinking Europe. Social theory and the implications of Europeanization*, (New York 2005), 6.

⁶⁹ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 19.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷¹ Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, *The politics of Europeanization*, (Oxford 2003), 17.

⁷² Ulrike v. Hirschhausen and Kiran Klaus Patel, „Europeanization in History, an introduction“, In *Europeanization in the 20th Century – Historical Approaches*, edited by Martin Conway and Kiran-Klaus Patel, (New York 2010), 2.

⁷³ Aline Sierp, *History Memory and Trans-European Identity – Unifying Divisions*, (New York 2014), 117.

came to the same conclusions as Karlsson or Mithander, which is that this readjustment took place after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.⁷⁴

The cultural policies of the EU went back to history in the 1990s, as this was “interpreted as return to Europe or a reunification of Europe” especially after the breakdown of communism and the end of the Cold War.⁷⁵ History and a common historical ground to remember and to commemorate became more important for the European Union and its member states. Every nation started researching their pasts and histories in order to be part of the elite ‘club’ of European Union Members.

Including all the different fields Europeanization theories are used for, Claudio Radaelli even goes further and claims:

Europeanization is a process involving a) construction b) diffusion and c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public choices.⁷⁶ In other words, Europeanization is described as a process “of structural change, variously affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests.”⁷⁷

Even though it is used in so many different fields, there seems to be a gap in research on Europeanization on a cultural level or in cultural politics.

I argue that culture is rather seen as a tool for Europeanization. Changes on a cultural level can happen in accordance with the before-mentioned three differentiations pointed out by Jurje or the hard-case and soft-case definition of Europeanization. The cultural policies of a EU-member state can be directly influenced by EU policies that shall be adopted on a national level as well. But I argue that Europeanization on a cultural level is more often reached through direct cooperation between member states. This cooperation can happen through EU programmes such as *Culture Europe* or the *European City of Culture*. The EU Culture Programme “was an initiative that ran from 2007-2013 with a budget of €400 million to

⁷⁴ Aline Sierp, *History Memory and Trans-European Identity – Unifying Divisions*, (New York 2014), 115.

⁷⁵ Malgorzata Pakier, & Bo Stråth, *A European Memory? Contested histories and policies of remembrance*, (New York 2012), 39.

⁷⁶ Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, *The politics of Europeanization*, (Oxford 2003), 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

support projects and activities designed to protect and promote cultural diversity and heritage. The programme supported multi-annual cooperation projects and measures, as well as a variety of actions and initiatives, as well as cultural organisations, and contributed to policy analysis and dissemination activities.⁷⁸ In order to be funded within this programme member states had to cooperate. Within this cooperation, they surely influenced each other and that led to different changes and a form of Europeanization. There is no pressure to participate in the cultural programmes of the EU so I would not speak of a direct Europeanization in this context. It is rather a cooperation that leads to changes in most cases. Through this cooperation on a European level, a European identity can also be established. This European identity can be seen as a form of Europeanization that leads to an understanding in the society of what it means to be European rather than being a national individual. Featherstone and Radaelli see Europeanization in this context as “increasing transnationalism [...] that is the diffusion of cultural norms, ideas, identities and patterns of behaviour on a cross-national basis within Europe.”⁷⁹

In accordance with the presented approaches to Europeanization, it could be claimed that the differentiation of Europeanization into a ‘hard-case Europeanization’ and a ‘soft-case Europeanization’ plays an important role in the commemoration process. The question is whether there was any direct involvement from Brussels in the process or whether commemoration of the Second World War and the Holocaust is rather influenced by a soft-case Europeanization?

5. Historical Background

5.1. The Second World War and the Holocaust

Sweden tried to stay neutral during the war and yet it had economic relationships with Nazi-Germany. For decades, no “examination of the neutrality policy of the coalition government or of Sweden’s role in the Second World War took place”⁸⁰. The first important publication dealing with Sweden and the Holocaust *The Stones cry out. Sweden’s response to the persecution of the Jews 1933-1945* came as late as 1988 and was written outside of Sweden by Steven Koblik, an American scholar.

⁷⁸ European Commission Culture Homepage: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/tools/culture-programme_en.htm last accessed on April 26th 2015, 10:52.

⁷⁹ Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, *The politics of Europeanization*, (Oxford 2003), 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Koblik divides the “Swedish response to German persecution of Jews [...] into 4 periods.”⁸¹

- 1933 to 1938: Sweden was not affected by the persecution of Jews and did not take any stand in it.
- 1938 to 1939: An activation of the “Jewish problem” in Sweden. Jewish refugees turned to Sweden for help.
- 1939 to 1942: Still stand of any actions carried out by Sweden. The country tried everything to stay out of the war and every “foreign policy issues [...] were overwhelmed”⁸² by this.
- 1942 to 1945: Rescue actions undertaken by Sweden.

Publications made by Swedish scholars came a few years after Koblik’s book.

The first open criticism from within Sweden took place in 1991 and was started by Swedish journalist Maria-Pia Boëthius in her book *Honour and Consciousness. Sweden and the Second World War*⁸³. Boëthius criticized the official story that “Sweden conceded to German demands [...] had been the only way of keeping Sweden out of the War.”⁸⁴ She further claimed “financial and cultural establishment with Hitler’s Germany during 1939/40 were covered up and suppressed from the collective memory after the War.”⁸⁵ Boëthius’ argumentation seems logical since there was no real public debate on the issue until the 1990s. A turning point in openly discussing the country’s role during the Second World War was reached with the 1997 Holocaust information campaign that will be talked about later.

A break-through point in research publication was reached in the mid 1990s around the same time when Sweden eventually joined the European Union and the interest in the topic increased not only on a national level. A first important Swedish conference is the symposium *War experience, self-image and national identity* that was arranged in 1995 by the Bank of Sweden’s Tercentenary Foundation.

In 1996 American scholar Paul E. Levine at Uppsala University published the book *From Indifference to Activism. Swedish Diplomacy and the Holocaust 1938-1944*. This was the first critical, scientific publication about the topic made from a scholar within Sweden. Similarly

⁸¹ Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli, *The politics of Europeanization*, (Oxford 2003), 711.

⁸² Ibid., p. 46.

⁸³ The original Swedish title of the book is *Heder och samvete. Sverige och andra världskriget*

⁸⁴ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 179/80.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 180.

to Koblik, Levine divides the actions taken in Sweden during the Holocaust in different periods. Even though there are some differentiations in the time frame, Koblik and Levine follow the same line of actions undertaken by the Swedish government. There was little to no action until 1942, and then different rescue missions were carried out.

The 1990s saw a big wave of books, conferences, memorials, exhibition openings and projects in Sweden focused on the Second World War and the Holocaust. This shows clearly that after Sweden became a member of the EU, interest in the topic of Sweden and the Holocaust increased on a national level and led to governmental funding and initiatives. One example is the 2000 research project *Sweden's relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust*, which was funded by the Swedish Research Council after an initiative by the Swedish government.⁸⁶

In 2003 an accompanying book was published with the same title that shed light to the different fascist and anti-fascist movements in Sweden during the war as well as its economic dependency and relations with Nazi Germany. From the middle of the 1990s until now the research on the Holocaust in Sweden has significantly increased. An important breakthrough for this increased interest was the Stockholm conference in 2000 initiated by Prime Minister Göran Persson. Persson opened the conference with a “speech in which he emphasized the need for attempting to understand the nearly ungraspable horror that the Holocaust had implied.”⁸⁷ He went on to apologize “on behalf of Sweden for the Swedish politics of concession towards Nazi Germany during the Second World War; a politics that prolonged the War and indirectly contributed to the Holocaust.”⁸⁸ It was the first official speech to acknowledge that Sweden was not only a bystander and that even though there were no military actions, the country contributed to the war.

⁸⁶ The University of Stockholm, The SWENAZ Programme, <http://www.su.se/english/research/2.9045>, last accessed May 13th 2015, 11:35.

⁸⁷ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 184.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

5.2. The Living History Forum

Göran Perrson also initiated the ‘Living History’ project in 1997. It was “an ambitious initiative [...] to inform Swedish citizens about the Holocaust by means of a large and resourceful information project.”⁸⁹ This campaign resulted in the publication and distribution of the book *Tell ye your children* in 1998. The book was sent out for free to every household in Sweden⁹⁰ and was subsequently adopted for educational use in several member states of the EU. A revised version including a chapter about *Sweden and the Holocaust* was distributed in 2012.⁹¹ Contrary to the previous mentioned publications, *Tell Ye Your Children* rather gives an overview of the history of anti-Semitism in Sweden including background information about Jewish life in Sweden and racial theories during the 1920s and 1930s.

The concluding question of this book is very interesting: “What does the Holocaust mean for Sweden today?”⁹² It is answered by saying that “for decades, most Swedes failed to understand the effect the Holocaust had on their nation”. The Holocaust has a meaning for Sweden today and will have a meaning to the country for years to follow.

In 2003 the Living History project was transformed into a “civil authority”⁹³, which is now under the Swedish Ministry of Culture.⁹⁴ Eva Fried, the international coordinator of the Forum emphasizes “[there are] many organizations [that] are usually part of museums or universities but [the Living History Forum is] unique in this way that [they] are specially commissioned to work with this [topic] only and [are] totally funded by the government.”⁹⁵ The main mission of the Forum is to educate about “the Holocaust, Crimes against humanity under communist regime and other crimes against humanity.”⁹⁶ According to Eva Fried the Forum aims more at educational training than exhibiting.

⁸⁹ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Holocaust Heritage. Inquiries into European Historical Culture*, (Malmö 2004), 17.

⁹⁰ Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on february 18th 2015

⁹¹ Stéphane Bruchfeld & Paul A. Levine, *Tell Ye Your Children, A book about the Holocaust in Europe 1933-1945 – with new material about Sweden and the Holocaust*, (Stockholm 2012), 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹³ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Holocaust Heritage. Inquiries into European Historical Culture*, (Malmö 2004), 17.

⁹⁴ Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on february 18th 2015

⁹⁵ Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on february 18th 2015

⁹⁶ Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on february 18th 2015

“We deal with education and promoting awareness in different ways and our main target group, since we want to reach young people, we choose teachers [...]. So through teachers we hopefully reach out to students, to young people”⁹⁷. But the Forum does not only work with students and teachers, they also develop and work on exhibitions, which go on tour in Sweden.⁹⁸

Summarizing this historical background, it can be stated that Sweden’s membership in the EU took place at the same time as general interest in Holocaust research increased all over Europe. The first publications from within Sweden dealing with that topic came as late as the beginning of the 1990s. Scholarly motivated publications and research symposiums took place from the mid 1990s on and were often financially supported by the Swedish government, which shows that there was a political and national interest in researching the topic. Holocaust recognition and Holocaust memory became the “master narrative”⁹⁹ within the EU in the 1990s, the Holocaust even became “a shared European responsibility, and thus a narrative that tried to circumvent the question what role the different member countries had played in the war.”¹⁰⁰ Within this political and cultural trend Sweden developed from a bystander country in the Second World War to a country leading Holocaust commemoration and education in Europe and inspiring other countries to scrutinize their past. From the mid 1990s on, there were several actions undertaken to keep alive the memory of the Holocaust by building memorials and opening new museum exhibitions. This thesis will focus on discussing war and Holocaust commemoration by analysing the Holocaust Memorial in Stockholm as well as exhibitions in three museums in Stockholm.

The first two paragraphs of the heritage analysis describe both the historical information and the design of the memorial and the exhibition. All the pictures used in this research paper were taken privately and with the permission of the people related to the exhibitions and the memorial. The actual analysis and discussion is carried out in the third paragraph of each heritage site.

⁹⁷ Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on february 18th 2015

⁹⁸ One of these exhibitions was the 2007 project “Sweden and the Holocaust”⁹⁸ developed in cooperation with the Swedish filmmaker Roy Andersson.

⁹⁹ Anne Waehrens, *Is Soviet-Communism a Trans-European experience?* <http://balticworlds.com/is-soviet-communism-a-trans-european-experience/?s=memory%20communism> last accessed, May 14th 2015, 12:25

¹⁰⁰ Anne Waehrens, *Is Soviet-Communism a Trans-European experience?* <http://balticworlds.com/is-soviet-communism-a-trans-european-experience/?s=memory%20communism> last accessed, May 14th 2015, 12:25

6. The Holocaust Memorial in Stockholm

The Holocaust Memorial is located right in the city centre in Stockholm on the grounds of the Jewish Community and the synagogue. According to Harry Pommert:

In 1994 some people came up with the idea that there was no place in Stockholm for the survivors to go to on commemoration days or on days on Yahrzeit¹⁰¹. [...] There was no place for the people murdered in the Second World War to go to. [...] There had been other such monuments erected all over the world and so it was time in 94' for Stockholm¹⁰²

A contest was organized to collect ideas. One idea was turned into a full-scale plywood model. But Pommert explained that due to community elections, decisions concerning the memorial were postponed. Consensus was found within the community that the model would not be built as “[it] was very modernistic in it’s shape and it’s form and most people didn’t think that it agreed with the surroundings.”¹⁰³ The idea to have a memorial was postponed for another year and came up again in 1995/1996 as a new contest was organized. The main idea behind this new memorial was stated as follows by architect Gabriel Herdevall and sculptor Sivert Lindblom:¹⁰⁴

A dignified and secluded location on the Jewish territory, for memory and reflection and with simultaneous outlook and contact with the surrounding city, has been the starting point for the monument design. The location next to the synagogue gives the memory of the Holocaust victims a special place. The connection of Aaron Isaacs alley and the newly opened Raoul Wallenberg Square presents a bridge between Jewishness and Swedishness¹⁰⁵

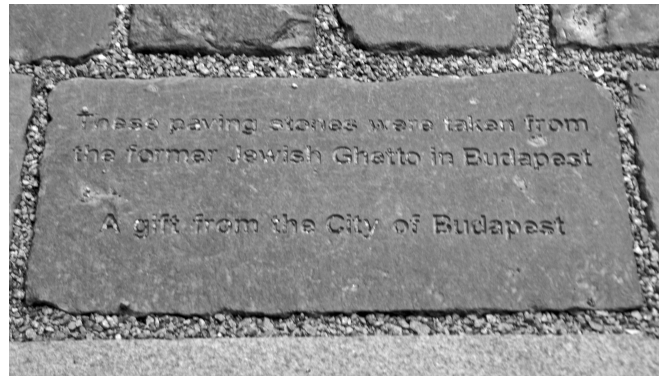
¹⁰¹ Yahrzeit is a Day in the Jewish religion to honour and remember the dead.

¹⁰² Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17th 2015.

¹⁰³ Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17th 2015.

¹⁰⁴ *Glöm oss inte, En bok om Förintelsen och Minnesmonument i Stockholm*, (Stockholm 1999), 15

¹⁰⁵ The original Swedish text reads: En värdig och avskild plats på judisk mark, för minne och reflexion och med samtidig utblick och kontakt med den omgivande staden, har varit utgångspunkter för Monumentets utformning. Placeringen intill synagogan ger minnet av de i Förintelsen dödade en naturligt hemvist. Utsträckningen i Aaron Isaacs gränd och den nya öppningen mot Raoul Wallenberg torg slår en bro mellan det judiska och det svenska.



The left picture shows the road connecting the Wallenberg Memorial and the Holocaust Memorial with each other. The road is paved with stones from the Budapest ghetto and symbolizes a railway. The picture on the right shows an English inscription on the beginning of the paved road. It reads: “These paving stones were taken from the former Jewish Ghetto in Budapest. A gift from the City of Budapest”

6.1. The design of the memorial

When the first ideas for the memorial were collected in 1994, there were about 6000 names to be added to it. After ideas for the final memorial were realized, the community noticed that more names were needed in order to fill it. The names were collected by the Association of Holocaust survivors and the Jewish community in Stockholm and were the results of names given to them by Holocaust survivors in Sweden. In the current version the memorial consists of over 8000 names.¹⁰⁶

As it is seen in the picture, there is a special order to the names. The name list is in alphabetical order of the italic names. The italic names represent the names of the survivors who listed dead family members. In this picture, Lili Ödmark listed three names: Irén, Illes and Marta Sternberg. The

Najman Nacha Bajla	1214 Keczno	1942 Treblinka
Jakubowicz Mordcha	1885 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Jakubowicz Cymel	1896 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Goldberg Zajnwel	1899 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Goldberg Zelta	1905 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Goldberg Fajwel	1908 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Goldberg Malka	1924 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
<i>Zytomierski Henryk</i>	1926 Sulejow	1942 Treblinka
Sternberg Irén	1899 Kisberezna	1944 Auschwitz
Sternberg Illes	1893 Hajduböszörmény	1944
Sternberg Marta	1924 Kralovo n/Tisou	1946 Söderby
<i>Ödmark Lili</i>		
Karczak Janusz m. 200 barn	1878 Warszawa	1942 Treblinka
<i>Alla vuxna och barn</i>		

next row shows the birth date and birthplace of the victims followed by the year and if known the place of death. The memorial became an important heritage site after its inauguration and

¹⁰⁶ *The Holocaust Monument in Stockholm*, Information Brochure, (Stockholm 1998)

people who were not aware of it before suddenly wanted to take part by providing names. More names were added but since the space simply was not enough, they could not continue to include the names in the same manner as before.¹⁰⁷ For the last granite stones only the name of the contributor and the name of the victim were included. Due to limited space no birth year, birthplace, year and location of death could be given. However, the memorial does not end with this granite stone. The last granite stone includes the names of people who were rescued from the death camps and brought to Sweden but they were in such a bad physical condition that they died shortly after.

In total the memorial consists of fifty-six plates of names of people who died in the Holocaust or shortly after they were brought to Sweden. Originally, there were forty-eight plates with names in the first construction of the memorial, after the inauguration, however, six more plates with victim names were added.¹⁰⁸ But names are not the only inscribed traces of the Holocaust left on the memorial. At the bottom, under the names of the victims, are the names of all the concentration and death camps starting with Auschwitz. The idea to include those camp names came from Pommert himself and was inspired by the Holocaust Monument in Miami:



As I told you about the monument in Miami and since we were anyway there we decided to go and look at it and this is what I noticed. The names of some of the worst camps – concentration and death camps. And so I suggested when I came back that maybe we should include something like this also

here in Stockholm. In Miami at the monument, they [the names of the camps] are at the top of it, like a tunnel. But here we put them at the base. And of course, at that end we start with Auschwitz.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17th 2015.

¹⁰⁸ *The Holocaust Monument in Stockholm*, Information Brochure, (Stockholm 1998)

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17th 2015.

The names of the camps and the names of the victims are by far not the only inscriptions. On top of the names are parts of a prayer written in Swedish and Hebrew. In English this prayer reads: “I will give them an eternal name, which cannot be destroyed”. According to Pommert this sentence is taken from the bible and symbolizes the memorial’s main mission – to eternally remember the victims of the Holocaust.

Right next to the beginning of the memorial is a plate stating the main information about it. The text is in Swedish. Translated to English it reads the following:

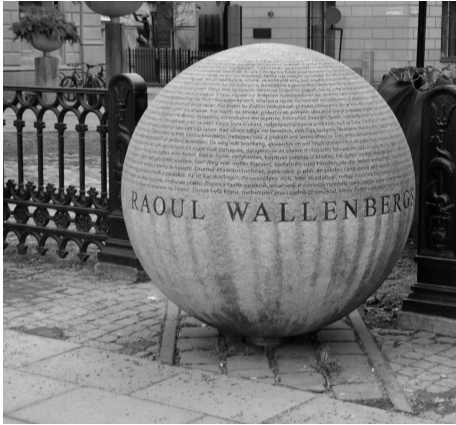


Don't forget us [-] The cries of the 6mio Jews who during the years 1939-45 were killed by the Nazis and their helpers, echoes from these stones. Here are named 8000 victims whose memory is guarded by the surviving families and who were saved to Sweden. Only with knowledge about the past can we fight racism, anti-Semitism and intolerance. The monument was jointly put up by the Jewish community in Stockholm and the Association of Holocaust survivors with funds from the Swedish government, Stockholm city, the Funeral Association Chevra Kadisha and many individuals. King Karl XVI Gustav inaugurated the monument on the 27th of September 1998.

6.2. The memorial as a place for commemoration

With its inauguration in 1998 the Holocaust Memorial was one of the first main war and Holocaust memorials to be erected in Stockholm. Furthermore, the memorial is directly connected to the Raoul Wallenberg Memorial, visualized as a globe with the following inscription. “The road was straight, when Jews were deported to death. The road was winding, dangerous and full of obstacles, when Jews were trying to escape from the murderers”.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ The International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation. Raoul Wallenberg Around the World Guide Sweden, last accessed March 24th 2015, <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/wallenberg/tributes/world/sweden/>



This inscription is first shown in Swedish followed by English and twenty-two other languages symbolizing the largest groups of victims in the Holocaust.

As an onlooker standing in front of the Holocaust Memorial it provides a certain atmosphere. Having more than 8000 names of murdered people on this memorial already gives a very strong meaning but at the

same time the narrative of the memorial is not only to teach and to educate but the visitor is left feeling as well. When standing at the memorial, the visitor is overwhelmed by feelings. Those can be different for every visitor; in my case it was sadness, shock and anger towards the perpetrators.

The idea to have this memorial was directly made with the thought of having a place to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust in Sweden. To my knowledge it is the very first memorial commemorating the Holocaust to be opened in Sweden and it was opened right after Sweden joined the European Union and shortly after the Living History Forum started its information campaign about the Holocaust. It is interesting to analyse whether there is a European dimension in the commemoration process of the memorial. From the information I gathered, it seems that the EU did not have any direct involvement in this at all. In fact, plans to have this memorial came up even before the country joined the EU. People within the Jewish community brought the idea forward and as Pommert stated, at the time the memorial was actually built, no one thought of asking for money from the EU.

Therefore, I argue that for this memorial a European dimension was not included in the planning and creation at the beginning. Main reasons for constructing and inaugurating this memorial in the first place were that Swedish Jews did not have a real commemoration place to go to on the Jewish Remembrance Days of 'Yahrzeit' and to mourn the loss of their loved ones at all. Even when ideas for the memorial came forward, it was not built with the thoughts in mind to have it as a European Commemoration place. This is also reflected in the list of contributors to the memorial – they are all Swedish. Even though it might be mainly Swedish Jews going to the memorial, it is open to the general public and there are some European elements in it.

First of all, the names given to build the memorial are names of European Jews. Swedish Jews provided them but all of the providers came to Sweden after the Holocaust and lived in other European countries before. Even though the main target group might be Swedish Jews today, it still gives names of other European Jews. This also goes along with the fact that there is a common responsibility created with the memorial. It is not only open to members of the Jewish Community in Stockholm but for the wider public. This also shows that it is not only part of the Jewish memory but also belongs to Swedish memory. In the interview with Harry Pommert he talked about people coming from abroad to see the memorial and the connected Wallenberg Memorial. It is not only Swedish History that is taught here and especially in relation to the Wallenberg Memorial comes a European dimension. For a long time Raoul Wallenberg was perceived as a European hero rather than a 'Swedish hero'. Since both memorials are directly linked to each other this brings the European Dimension to the Holocaust Memorial as well.

Yet, a hard-case Europeanization according to Jurje cannot be seen here. As the interview has shown, the memorial was not built due to influences made on policy levels by the EU but it was a Swedish decision to have this place. I would rather speak of a soft Europeanization that developed through influences from outside and through people's perceptions on things. However, I also think that the Holocaust memorial in Stockholm is a good example to educate to younger generations about the topic, which was explained above.

The Holocaust memorial is part of the collective memory of Swedish Jews and even of the Swedish society in general. It also contributes to the cultural memory as it was "consciously established"¹¹¹ and the social group, in this case the members of the Jewish community in Stockholm "derive their collective identity" from it.¹¹²

The location of the memorial plays an important role in its perception. Contrary to the 'Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe' in Berlin the one in Stockholm is located on grounds of the Jewish community. It is more secluded and therefore probably not as well known as the one in Berlin. The beginning of the memorial is located to the wall, which has the "Glöm oss inte" inscription on it. So when standing in this little alley and looking down at the memorial it appears to be kept in darkness. It is located right across the walls of the synagogue so it is always in the shadows. Looking at the end of the memorial, however, one

¹¹¹ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, translated by Sara B. Young, (New York 2014), 29.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 29.

looks directly at the Wallenberg Square, which is not kept in shadows and is therefore lighter. Even though this might be a coincidental phenomenon, I think it provides the memorial with a way to show even more respect to the victims than one would normally do. Furthermore, I think that the connection between the design and the location are a major factor for its commemorative use too. Of course, one could argue that the memorial would still provide an atmosphere of commemoration if it would have been located in a free space in the city centre of Stockholm but with its connection to the Jewish community and its location on the grounds of the Jewish community, it is primarily about Jewish commemoration but with a connection to Sweden.

7. The Jewish Museum

The Jewish Museum in Stockholm is one of the oldest Jewish museums in Europe and was founded in 1987 and its main aim is to present different aspects of Jewish life. According to Yvonne Jacobsson, the director of the museum:

One room has an exhibition on the life from the cradle to the grave and we are showing ceremonial objects [...]. And we have all kinds of interesting objects from the history of the Jewish life in Sweden [...]. [W]e have a special exhibition on Holocaust. A very small one with very delicate objects that are very very rare and haven't been shown elsewhere and we have also a multimedia theatre showing films [...] about the Holocaust which was rather difficult a film to make because it's built on real quotations from the perpetrators, the victims and the bystanders.¹¹³

Data for the analysis of the Jewish Museum and its exhibitions was collected in February 2015 in a personal interview with the museum director Yvonne Jacobsson. The Jewish museum is a vital part for the analysis as its exhibitions do not only focus on Jewish life in general but also on the Holocaust and Raoul Wallenberg. The first exhibition in Sweden commemorating Raoul Wallenberg had the title *Raoul Wallenberg. A man can make a difference* and was shown at this museum. Later it went on to be exhibited at the Swedish institute. "The exhibition is a way for the Jewish Museum in Stockholm to honour Raoul Wallenberg's remarkable achievement, and to provide a deeper understanding of one of our

¹¹³ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

country's biggest heroes.”¹¹⁴ The exhibition was accessible for the public for almost a year from January 25 – December 30, 2004.¹¹⁵ All of the objects presented in the exhibition were originals and have been given to the museum by Wallenberg's sister Nina Lagergren.

7.1. The exhibitions



Unfortunately, an analysis of the Raoul Wallenberg exhibition was not possible since the exhibition is not on display at the Jewish Museum nowadays. Only some of the objects from that previous exhibition are still on display. They are exhibited in context of the exhibition on Jewish history and the Holocaust. Both are found in a big room of the museum

covering the history of Jewish life in Sweden as well as the history of the Holocaust.

The room shows several aspects of Jewish lives presented through objects from everyday life as well as pictures and texts. For the analysis, I did only focus on this part of the museum as the other temporary exhibition is merely focusing on Jewish businesses in Sweden and stands in no connection to the research topic. Unfortunately, I was also unable to watch the movie Yvonne Jacobsson mentioned, the information given about it are based on the interview.

The exhibition room is divided into two parts. When entering the room, the first objects shown are related to the Holocaust, such as a dress “that was sewn by a woman, from a blanket in Bergen-Belsen and the textile consists of human hair.”¹¹⁶ Additionally to the dress, some pictures and originals of the yellow Star of David are shown as well as pictures from the camps after their liberations. The other side of the room begins with the history of Jewish life in Sweden mainly through pictures and texts. Objects shown



¹¹⁴ Yvonne Jacobsson, *Raoul wallenberg. One man can make a difference, Exhibition catalogue*, (Stockholm 2004), 4.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

there represent every day objects and do not focus on certain people or a certain timeframe. The history of the Jews in Sweden is continued by a huge cupboard-like object with things “that [one] draw[s] at and then [one] can find information about different aspects during certain periods”¹¹⁷ As it is seen in the above picture, the cupboard is interactive. The door offers general information about the time and then there are different plates the visitor can decide to look at.

The last vitrines in the room focus on the Holocaust and show some leftover items from the original Wallenberg exhibition from 2004. All of the objects are authentic and were private donations. The picture below shows a ‘Schutzpass’ created by Raoul Wallenberg. A similar object is found at the Army Museum that will be discussed later.



Additionally to these objects and time periods, the exhibition also mentions the White Busses rescue mission in 1945¹¹⁸ and other missions to rescue Jews. The rescue missions are not talked about in any of the other analysed exhibitions but the Army Museum features a wall with pictures of people, who, besides Raoul Wallenberg, saved Jews.

7.2. The museum as a place for commemoration

The Jewish Museum in Stockholm is an important place for commemoration of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Sweden. The museum was one of the very first Jewish museums to be opened in Europe and since the beginning focused on Jewish history and Jewish aspects of life, but the visitors are not only Jews. For the analysis, I did only focus on one part of the museum and one room with two exhibitions linked to each other – the history of Jews in Sweden and the Holocaust.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹¹⁸ The White Busses rescue mission was carried out by the Red Cross in 1945. Jewish women and children with connections to Sweden were brought from the concentration and death camps to Sweden. Their stop was Malmö. Since 2007, there is a memorial in honour of the rescue mission centrally located in Malmö at Värnhemstorg.

The museum was the first to honour Raoul Wallenberg in a special exhibition within the country in 2004. The exhibition *Raoul Wallenberg. One man can make a difference* was such a huge success that it went to several other European cities after being exhibited in Stockholm. “It went to 8 or 9 places [...] to Bania Luka, Budapest, Moscow and St. Petersburg and Warsaw and three places more and it was shown in Stockholm and it was shown in Lund.”¹¹⁹ With that exhibition the museum was the first to recognize the value Raoul Wallenberg had for Sweden and the Swedish society. According to Jacobsson, the decision to have this first Wallenberg exhibition was made because “it was about time”.¹²⁰

With the analysed exhibition, the museum follows a clear narrative. It combines authoritarian¹²¹ elements with elements of knowledge individualization¹²².¹²³ The authoritarian character is shown as most of the information is provided through pictures and texts informing and most likely also educating about that time. Individualization is reached through the cupboards and the mentioned movie. They give the visitor the possibility to decide what they want to find out and about which period they want to learn more. The information plates within the cupboard are both in English and Swedish. Especially for children, this is a great method of interaction with the presented material. Even though the visitor is told about the history and the facts, it is still their decision whether to deepen their knowledge or not. Furthermore, the visitor is presented with another kind of interaction as well. About 1/3 of the visitors to the museum are school classes coming to gain first hand information from witnesses of that time. The witness account is very important to the museum as it provides the pupils with the opportunity to talk to people who actually experienced the exhibited events. The museum becomes a place of dialogue through this exchange and offers a much deeper understanding than only showing objects could do. Furthermore, the guided tours are lead by trained pedagogues who know “how to reach out to the students”¹²⁴ and can provide an even better educational outcome.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹²⁰ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹²¹ By authoritarian elements, I mean elements and objects that are brought upon the exhibition visitors by the curators of the museum. The information and material is shown in the exhibition and there is no possibility to individually deepen this knowledge or to individually decide about which parts one wants to learn more.

¹²² By elements of knowledge individualization, I mean information and material for which the visitor decides individually whether they want to find out more about this or not. It can be separated rooms or interaction or audio points within an exhibition to that the visitor has to go in order to get more information about certain things.

¹²³ Both terms were developed in discussions about the exhibitions with the thesis supervisor.

¹²⁴ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

This way of narrative combination also causes effects. The visitor leaves the exhibition not only knowing about the presented facts but also feeling and having a deeper understanding of what happened. The feelings are mainly reached through the objects, as they are unique and present authentic items from the time. A good example that caused a lot of feelings was the mentioned dress as it is a personal item created at that time.

I argue that the main intention of the museum is to educate first and foremost about the history of Jewish life but also about the Second World War and the Holocaust. It is not only education of visitors that is aimed at but also opening of dialogues about the time. This is done by having guides and witnesses who have first hand knowledge. Also, authentication is important to the museum. All the objects shown are unique and not available in any other museum. They are also not given to other museums in Europe, so if visitors want to see them, they have to come to Stockholm.

Furthermore, the educational aspect of the exhibitions lies clearly in the history of the Jews in general than it does on the happenings of the war. Therefore, there is only a minimal division of history within the museum. The Holocaust is part of the Jewish history throughout Europe and it has to be reflected upon in an exhibition dealing with Jewish history. The events of the 1940s are singled out and given a greater frame within the exhibition. Reasons for this can be that by showing the gruesome events and by talking about them, history like this shall be prevented from ever happening again.

Secondly, I argue that there is a clear European dimension within the museum and the exhibitions. This dimension was first visible when the museum decided to have the exhibition about Raoul Wallenberg. It was the first one in Sweden and before that Wallenberg was more acknowledged as a European hero rather than a Swedish one.¹²⁵ The exhibition helped changing this perception of him. Commemoration of Wallenberg was done worldwide first and at last in his home country. The exhibition can be seen as a bottom up approach to Europeanization as well. After its successful time at the Jewish Museum it travelled through Europe and was shown in several other European cities. The Swedish memory and perception of Raoul Wallenberg was brought to Europe and influenced other European places in their commemoration. Similarly to the Holocaust Memorial, I would speak of a soft-Europeanization. There was no direct involvement of the EU. In fact, Yvonne Jacobsson even

¹²⁵ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

said that applying for EU money would have been too complicated and would have taken too long.¹²⁶ The decision to have the Wallenberg exhibition was not made due to policies but through changes in the society that were influenced by European neighbours who started honouring Wallenberg before Sweden did. Sweden actually was one of the last countries to have Wallenberg memorials. The first one was erected in Budapest in 1949¹²⁷, while the first Swedish monument was opened in Lidingö in 1999.¹²⁸

But even after 2004, the European dimension is still visible in the museum. The museum shows a movie about the Holocaust with authentic material and statements from victims and perpetrators. It is a clear European dimension as these perpetrators came from outside Sweden. With the movie, the focus does not only lie on Sweden but on other European nations who were part of the war. The third aspect that provides the Jewish Museum in Stockholm with a European dimension is the presented objects. Even though most of the objects are from Swedish Jews and present the way of life of Swedish Jews, some of the objects and pictures also show non-Swedes or objects created by other Europeans. Furthermore, some of the objects are presented in connection to Raoul Wallenberg, who, as previously stated is deemed a European personality.

8. The Army Museum

The next commemoration place is the exhibition “War and Peace in the twentieth century” with the Raoul Wallenberg Room at the Army Museum. The main focus of this analysis is on the Wallenberg Room. The data was collected in February 2015 through interviews with the exhibition curators Andreas Ohlsson and Anders Wesslén. The exhibition “War and Peace in the twentieth century” that was reopened in October 2014 with new objects and updated bilingual texts¹²⁹ is one of the permanent exhibitions at the museum. It is connected to the Raoul Wallenberg Room, which, on one hand is part of the exhibition and on the other hand is its own exhibition. Before the Re-Opening, the texts were in Swedish only. Now they have

¹²⁶ Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, Director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹²⁷ The international Raoul Wallenberg Foundation, Raoul Wallenberg Around the World Guide Hungary: <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/wallenberg/tributes/world/hungary/>, last accessed May 8th 2015, 12:58

¹²⁸ The international Raoul Wallenberg Foundation, Raoul Wallenberg Around the World Guide Sweden: <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/wallenberg/tributes/world/sweden/> last accessed, Max 8th 2015, 13:00

¹²⁹ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

been shortened and an English version was added as well.¹³⁰ The Raoul Wallenberg Room, however, resulted from a former, temporary exhibition about heroes.

It was an exhibition that wanted to approach children and young adults and wanted to explore the hero role really. And it was Robin Hood, it was Joan of Arque, it was Raoul Wallenberg. [...] They [who worked with it] understood that Raoul Wallenberg is a very important person and wanted to do something more bigger around him. So they made a room separate from the exhibition in this permanent exhibition.¹³¹

That was in 2012 and it continued ever since. Both exhibitions take up a whole floor in the museum, so their role is majorly important.

8.1. War and Peace in the twentieth century

The exhibition begins with the First World War and then continues with the Interwar period, through the Second World War all the way up to the Cold War. The exhibition finishes with a picture of the fall of the Berlin Wall. To introduce the Second World War and the Third Reich, the museum used interactive media material. The part begins with a black and grey poster of SS troops and Wehrmacht soldiers marching through Nuremberg in the beginning of the 1940s. The poster is supported by a radio speech of the Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson, in which he “announced that the War has broken out”¹³² The aim of this radio message is to show the visitors how it felt like for the population at that time to sit in their homes and look out of the window or listen to the radio and find out what happens in the world outside of Sweden.¹³³ Further on the exhibition at the Army Museum brings the visitor back to an old equipment room of the Swedish Army from the 1940s. The equipment and mobilization room is used as a starting point for guided tours within the exhibition but also serves as an interaction point between the museum staff and the visitor:

And then we have like a dramatization with two Swedish soldiers. One is for the Germans and transporting their military troupes on Swedish railways because we have

¹³⁰ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹³¹ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹³² Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹³³ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

to agree on their terms and another who is criticizing it. So we have like a dialogue about that with the students involved.¹³⁴

8.2. The Raoul Wallenberg Room



Right next to the mobilization room is the Raoul Wallenberg Room that is an authentic reconstruction of his office in Budapest. The room shows the value Raoul Wallenberg has in Sweden nowadays. Even though he was Swedish, the country started quite late to acknowledge his actions during the Holocaust. I

think this room presents the exhibition with a European dimension.

The first thing one notices when entering is the main desk with the wax figure of Raoul Wallenberg. The figure presents a realistic picture of Raoul Wallenberg in his office in the early 1940s. Having this exhibition centred on Wallenberg also presents new approach for the museum, as they usually do not focus on specific individuals but rather on groups of people.

[...] Our exhibitions in general are focused on the everyday soldier, no individuals but everyday soldiers, the most typical soldiers and phenomenon's and [...] also he is the only figure that gets a name. All the other figures are just representatives of a kind of a person, a personality type.¹³⁵

Raoul Wallenberg clearly is the centre of attraction in this exhibition and the curators and the museum are proud to have this kind of authentic exhibition. The Army Museum's exhibition includes personal and authentic objects, which belonged to Wallenberg. His passport and his medals are part of the objects the Army Museum exhibits. They



¹³⁴ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹³⁵ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

are all “input from his family”¹³⁶ and are shown as part of the exhibition. Every item, which is seen on the above picture, was handed back to his family in that box after Raoul Wallenberg disappeared in 1947. All the items of that box are now exhibited at the museum including his passport. As it was mentioned before the exhibition holds a great deal of authentic objects. In front of the wax figure on his desk lays an “Schutzpass”.

[H]e talks on the phone and this is a version of his office in Budapest. So we see him at his desk making an important phone call, perhaps to an SS officer or perhaps to a colleague or somebody important. And he has a “Schutzpass” on the desk and that’s a real “Schutzpass” because he handed out these too several thousand of the Jewish Hungarians to save their lives. So this is a copy of a real one and the person is real as well and this is actually made by Raoul Wallenberg. This is designed by him[...].¹³⁷

In general the Wallenberg room is designed in very much detail. The ‘office’ is not only an accurate replication of his original office, but the ‘Schutzpass’ is original as well and personal belongings are exhibited. Another detail is the clock shown in the first picture, which is actually working but much faster than a normal clock. The Wallenberg room is also closely connected to another room in the museum, which was added in 2012. The so-called “Auditorium” is a room, which is not supposed to stand alone, but is an integral part of the exhibition and shall be seen in close connection to it. The room sheds light on Sweden and Hungary during the war and the Holocaust, which is portrayed by pictures from both countries.



¹³⁶ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

¹³⁷ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

Both pictures are black and white posters from Sweden and Hungary in the 1940s. They are structured and shown with a swastika going through the picture-wall. Furthermore, the pictures from Hungary show merely ruins while it appears that the pictures shown in the Swedish poster display intact cities and places of the country.

This room is concluded by a video footage of survivors of the Holocaust, but unfortunately due to juridical reasons, the movie is only shown in Swedish and does not have any English subtitles. On the other side of the room is a showcase with an authentic German military uniform from the 1940s and several posters from Sweden from the same time frame. The uniform is a gift from the German military forces to the Army Museum in the beginning of the 1940s. Personal items are shown as well like the original 'business card' of Hermann Göring. The card as well as the book and the postcards are personal donations to the museum.

8.3. The exhibition as a place for commemoration

The analysed exhibitions are an important source for the commemorating the Second World War and the Holocaust. Both exhibitions are rather new but could already attract a huge numbers of visitors. Having the focus on Wallenberg was a big step for the Army Museum as it was the first time that they left their original path of showing groups of people. Raoul Wallenberg is singled out and presented as an individual and is therefore highlighted as something special to remember.

Yet, the exhibition is not authoritarian in its narrative. The visitor is not told what to believe and what to find out with the exhibition. It is open for interpretation, which is reached through all the authentic and detailed objects. The best example for this open interpretation is the clock on the wall behind Wallenberg. The only secured knowledge the visitor receives when looking at it, is that the time is going by really fast. According to the curators, this symbolizes the little time Wallenberg had to save people.¹³⁸ It shows the pressure Wallenberg most likely felt – the pressure of saving as many people as possible while time was working against him. Different visitors can come up with different interpretations regarding their knowledge of Wallenberg or history of the Holocaust.

¹³⁸ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

Another reason why the exhibition is a place for commemoration is also that it offers a kind of individualization of knowledge. As the curators said, the exhibition has many school classes who come and visit and are taught about Wallenberg and about the history of the war in Sweden. It was also stated that the mobilization room, which was described before, offers the possibility to have some interaction with the students. The students can discuss their own opinions based on their knowledge or what they learned in the exhibition and can interact with the guide and with each other. The Wallenberg room itself also offers a way of interaction and discovery. In the 2009 version of the exhibition, the desk in the room was secluded and people were not supposed to get close to it. Now, there is no security barrier and people can, for example, look and the 'Schutzpass' and read through it. This provides another outcome than people just going through the room and seeing the different objects.

It can further be argued that the museum stresses that the Second World War and the Holocaust are of more importance for that period of time in the exhibition than the First World War, for example. The exhibition begins with the First World War and ends with the fall of the Berlin Wall, yet the Second World War and the Holocaust and especially Raoul Wallenberg have the biggest space in that exhibition. It can be argued that the curators deemed this timeframe the most important to educate and teach about and therefore created a form of commemoration with it. Yet authentication seems to be most important for the curators, as all exhibited objects are authentic and original. Nina Lagergren, Raoul Wallenberg's sister is also a very frequent guest to the exhibition. As far as it was stated, she does not speak as a guide to the visitors but she is among the visitors and many of the objects are exhibited with her permission.

I argue that by giving the original objects to a museum a certain way of inclusion of the visitor is aimed at. The inclusion is supposed to create a collective memory and in certain ways also a collective identity. The image of Europe's history is provided through Raoul Wallenberg and through the auditorium, which also provides a European dimension to the exhibition. The auditorium combines the history of Sweden and Hungary during the war and also gives some German elements. The focus does not only lie on one country but on three European nations. The wall of pictures shows both the Swedish and Hungarian dimension. The posters are designed in black and white and feature black swastikas as well. In the Swedish poster, the pictures show an intact country and the swastikas are found on the edges of it. This could symbolize that Sweden was more of a bystander during the war and was not

in the middle of the happenings contrary to Hungary, which was right in the centre of attention. This is symbolized through the pictures showing destroyed cities and ruins and also a swastika, which covers the middle of the picture.

The German dimension is brought into context by the military uniform that is presented in the auditorium as well. It was given to the Army Museum in the 1940s and is shown in a glass cabinet with other German items such as the business card of Herman Göring or different Nazi posters. Bringing in these items shows a third approach when deeming Hungary a victim of the war, symbolized through the ruins in the pictures, Germany a perpetrator of the war, symbolized through the mentioned objects and Sweden a bystander to the war, symbolized through the pictures of an intact country. A common sense of responsibility is created with this room and also brings in the European memory dimension. It is not only directed at Swedish citizens but also at Hungarians, Germans or other people wanting to know about Wallenberg and his history.

A European dimension is also found in the Wallenberg Room itself. Even though Wallenberg is the centre of attention, there are other, mainly Hungarian people, exhibited as well who saved Jews during the war. The exhibition was not financially or otherwise supported by the EU but I still claim that the European dimension and a form of Europeanization are visible here as well. I would not say that this was aimed at from the beginning but it developed through time. Anders Wesslèn stated that, for example, the pictures of the other people who saved Jews were added at a later stage as the museum felt that they should mention that Wallenberg was not the only one saving Jews.¹³⁹ Also, the auditorium, which shows a clear connection between Sweden and Hungary was added at a later stage and was not part of the original exhibition. This argumentation can even go back to the first project, which later on resulted in the Wallenberg Room. The Wallenberg commemoration is also a good example for a bottom-up Europeanization within the EU. Commemoration of his actions started in Budapest and went on throughout the whole European Union and even further than that.

It could be argued that there is tension between the museum's overall mission and the exhibitions, specifically the Wallenberg Room. One could ask why the Wallenberg Room is exhibited specifically at the museum and not at any other museum in Stockholm. The Army

¹³⁹ Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslèn, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18th 2015

Museum describes itself on the official homepage as “a museum in central Stockholm that shows Sweden’s history from the 16th century until today with a focus on how people were influenced by wars and conflicts. Authentic objects and dramatic sceneries present the every day war situation.”¹⁴⁰ Yet, other European countries are mentioned and exhibited as part of the exhibition as well and bring a greater focus to a European commemoration and a collective and communicative memory which is not only including Sweden but also more of Europe. At first sight it seems rather strange that the Wallenberg Room is presented at the Army Museum since Raoul Wallenberg himself was at no point in his life part of the Swedish Army. At first glance it seems that the exhibition probably would have found a better place at the Swedish History Museum or even the Jewish Museum. But after considering all the facts about the room and reading the main aim of the museum, it seems like the right choice to have the Wallenberg room in this museum as the room presents a dramatic scenery of war happenings.

9. The Swedish History Museum

Data for this exhibition was collected in February 2015 on location in Stockholm through an interview with Lena Heijl, the responsible curator for the exhibition. This permanent exhibition is centrally located on the first floor of the museum and covers the timeframe from the year 1000 all the way up to 28 February 1986 when Olof Palme was murdered. Works on that exhibition began several years ago and ultimately led to an opening in 2010.¹⁴¹ This exhibition actually plays an important role in the organization of the museum:

So for a very long time we have had the responsibility for archaeology and for medieval church part. [...] So, a few years ago we made an exhibition called “Swedish History”. [...] Because we wanted now to be the one and only museum in Stockholm, or in Sweden, to have a introduction history, from stone age up until today. So we changed our name, because before it was the National Museum of Swedish Antiquities. Now it’s the Swedish History Museum.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ The Army Museum Homepage, „Om oss“, last accessed March 25th 2015, <http://www.armemuseum.se/om-armemuseum/om-armemuseum/> The original Swedish text reads: ett museum i centrala Stockholm, [som] skildrar Sveriges historia från 1500-talet till nutid med fokus på hur människor har påverkats av krig och konflikter. Autentiska föremål och dramatiska scener gestaltar krigets vardag.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

¹⁴² Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

The exhibition actually started as a larger project and was initiated by history professor Dick Harrison, who also wrote the introduction text for the 20th century room.

It started with one of the companies that give out book [sic!]. Dick Harrison, he went to them and said “It’s definitely time for a new dictionary and several books to tell about the history of Sweden because it’s very old-fashioned the one we have.” And he got them interested and they started that work and then the Swedish television decided they should make a series of programs with him and a very popular program leader talking about the history of Sweden and they were making ten different one hour long programs going from Stone Age up until today and then they, Swedish television and this publishing house, they came to us and said “Do you want to be the third part of this project and make an exhibition about the history of Sweden?” And then we said okay.¹⁴³

9.1. The history of Sweden



“The History of Sweden” is designed in several rooms that are all connected with each other. Every room is dedicated to another century and focuses on an overall title for the room that was significant for the described time frame. The room dedicated to the twentieth century is designed under the header “Folkhemmet”¹⁴⁴ and symbolizes a typical Swedish apartment at that time where people sit in their home and just look out to the world.

The room is introduced through a text board that shows the area the Swedish country covered in the twentieth century. It also gives additional information about the time written by Dick Harrison¹⁴⁵, Professor of history and a little anecdote written by Jonas Jarl Skute.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

¹⁴⁴ Folkhemmet is Swedish and means, loosely translated, the home of the folks. During the 20th century, the term merely has an ideological meaning.

¹⁴⁵ The text written by Dick Harrison reads: 20th century Sweden. „Poverty Sweden“ was still here at the beginning of the 20th century. An agrarian world of huge income differentials and social conflicts, a nation with slum districts and share-cropper barracks, a country where children whose parents are unable to provide for them are put up – or rather down – for auction. Within a few decades, all this changes. The drudgery of forest and field which has dominated life ever since the Neolithic, declines. Instead there are now more people working in towns and cities, in offices and industry. Sweden becomes one of the wealthiest countries – a democracy, a welfare society, with an average life expectancy twice what has been historically normal. Conceptions like „leisure“, „holidays“ and consumption become living realities, even to ordinary people. It is only now that

The ‘folkhem’ symbolizes an apartment with three different rooms that are represented through the glass tables. If the visitor stands in between the tables or right next to them, it seems as if one would stand directly in the middle of the apartment. This is designed through the little wall implications hanging on either side.

[...] In the twentieth century there were the social democrats ruling for very many years and one of the things that was important for many people was working for how people lived. And this was called “Folkhemet”. So that we thought was the most important thing and that is why we have this metaphor for Sweden¹⁴⁷



Every of the three glass tables have other objects important for a specific timeframe within the century. One table is dedicated entirely to the Second World War and the Holocaust. The table’s content are pictures, newspaper articles and other objects that are private donations from Lena Heijl and one of her co-workers as the museum itself was specialized on archaeological exhibitions before and did not have other such objects to present in the exhibition.

All of the provided material is in Swedish only and represents evidence from within Sweden at the time. The newspaper articles are originally published in Swedish newspapers and all of the objects have to be seen in a Swedish context. None of the objects represents another country’s opinion or was a gift to the museum back in time. Another important detail in the design of the room is a big orange wall naming some of the most gruesome places and historical events from the 20th century, such as Treblinka or Hanoi. According to the curator, the idea behind this wall was the following:

people begin, in their heart of hearts, to feel Swedish. In 1900 there are still few people who know what the Swedish flags looks like. Our present-day image of ourselves and our national identity goes back no more than a hundred years in time.

¹⁴⁶ The text by Jonas Jarl Skute reads: The land of welfare, I have everything at arm’s length. My parents in the old people’s home, the children at the kindergarten, the bank, post office and Co-Op in one and the same square. A man at my side, shoulder by shoulder in our standardised, enamelled, zinc-coated kitchen. He wants a shopping list to take with him, asks me to get out: clothes for the children, tinsel for the Christmas tree, his own socks. All at arm’s length. I have everything at arm’s length.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015



And one of the things that are also typical for this [folkhem] is that everybody being inside Sweden could look out on the rest of the world. And one of the things is the Second World War and another thing is all of this. All of the terrible things happening in other parts of the world while we are here in neutral Sweden in folkhome.¹⁴⁸

It is the same approach and the same interpretation used to describe Sweden as the Army Museum does and which, as it was stated before, also goes along with how Sweden perceived itself at that time – a bystander looking out to what is happening in the world but not actively taking part in it.

9.2. The exhibition as a place for commemoration

Contrary to the other two exhibitions that were analysed, “The history of Sweden” does not focus solely on the Second World War or aspects associated to it. The main interest of this exhibition was the overall history of Sweden but since both events played a role in the perception of Swedes at that time, they are only a smaller part in the exhibition. It can be argued that the main message of the room dedicated to the twentieth century is that Sweden stayed outside the war and has only been a bystander.

The exhibition was a big step for the historical museum as it also led to a name change and according to the curator; it is the only exhibition in the whole country focusing on the history of Sweden. However, “The History of Sweden” is more authoritarian in its narrative as only few objects are open for any discussion. Most of the objects presented are fact-based. In difference to the other two exhibitions, “The history of Sweden” also does not provide any deeper individualization of knowledge. The objects and facts are presented without the possibility to go deeper or discover things on their own. This does not have to be a negative fact, but it provides less interaction between the visitor and the exhibition. It is more of a one-way communication with the history of Sweden told by the museum and the visitor coming to the exhibition and mainly learning about it. In this context, it is also shown that the main aim

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

was to educate rather than open new discussions. The visitor will most likely leave the exhibition knowing but not feeling like they would after visiting the exhibition at the Jewish Museum. This is due to the little interaction with the objects and the non-individualization of knowledge through the exhibition's concept of educating.

Another argument speaking for the visitor leaving knowing but less feeling is that the exhibition is not focused on special events or groups of people but rather on the country itself. The visitor does not have the opportunity to identify with a person or a group. This approach is a clear contrast to both the exhibition at the Army Museum and the exhibition at the Jewish Museum. Both exhibitions focus on either a single person (Raoul Wallenberg) or a group of people (Swedish and European Jews). It is therefore easier to feel connected to them than in the exhibition at the historical museum.

I also argue that the focus of the exhibition "The history of Sweden" is more Swedish than European. Up until the room covering the twentieth century, all the facts and events presented are directly linked to Sweden and happened in Swedish history. The same can be said for the presented objects. They are rather Swedish than European, which, unarguably comes with the topic of the exhibition. Some European aspects, however, can be found in the "folkhem" room even though they are very little and outnumbered by Swedish objects and representations. The most important European or even beyond-European aspect is the orange wall in the centre of the room. It symbolizes how Swedish people looked out to the world but did not actively take part in these actions. The events written on that wall symbolize some of the most gruesome events in the history of the twentieth century. In the middle of that wall and in the biggest size is the word "Treblinka" written, a clear European aspect, as it represents one of the worst death camps of the Second World War.

Also some of the newspaper articles do report about war happenings outside of Sweden. Even though the newspapers itself are Swedish, the information presented in them does give a European framework and inform Swedish citizens about the happenings outside of Sweden. Another aspect speaking for the Swedishness of this exhibition and the main goal being educating Swedish citizens is the target groups. As Lena Heijl stated, the main target group of this exhibition are people wanting to learn about the history of Sweden.¹⁴⁹ Although they

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

might be people from other European countries coming to look at the exhibition, I think the overall design and concept of it is directed towards Swedes. Heijl further stated that many school classes visit the exhibition and that “[the museum’s] pedagogues to have a lot of different themes that they could show. They could pick some different centuries or they can have one theme going through all of it or they very often tailor them for requests from schools.”¹⁵⁰ In this sense, the exhibition creates a common responsibility for its visitors but this responsibility is mainly aimed at Swedes.

When Heijl mentioned the way this idea was created, it was also clear that the museum itself did not think about a European dimension in the first place. The focus was clearly put on Sweden and the exhibition was supposed to teach about Swedish history over the years. The European elements pointed out before are part of the exhibition but only take up a small part in it. Except for Dick Harrison and the Swedish television channel the museum also did not cooperate with any other institutions or the European Union. All the objects exhibited are private donations and belonged to the museum before and were used again for this exhibition. The European Union or other European institutions had no involvement in this exhibition nor did they give any funds.

Even though the exhibition is more focused on Sweden, I still argue that it offers a valuable place for the commemoration of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Sweden. It provides important insight on the way of thinking and dealing with the happenings of the war and the Holocaust in the Swedish society. This way of thinking is described through the bystander perspective. More so than one of the other two exhibitions, “The history of Sweden” is created from a Swedish perspective only. It is therefore a great source of knowledge on how the society reflected upon the war and the Holocaust from within their homes. This perspective is unique and not given in any of the other two analysed exhibition.

10. Conclusion

The main aim of this research paper was to analyse how the Second World War and the Holocaust are commemorated in Stockholm and if there is a European dimension in the commemoration. The focus was on Stockholm as it is the capital and presents the largest number of memorials and exhibitions. It was discovered that all of the analysed heritage sites

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on Februar 17th, 2015

offer an opportunity to commemorate the Second World War and the Holocaust. It was also found out that all of the analysed heritage sites combine rather strong national elements with European elements.

The theoretical concept of Europeanization was applied for this analysis. Europeanization was defined by scholars such as Jurje, Delanty, Featherstone and Radaelli. According to their understandings of the concept, Europeanization was divided in hard-case Europeanization and soft-case Europeanization. Hard-case Europeanization was described as the influence that institutions of the European Union have in the society through rules and policies that the member states are expected to follow. It is a direct form of Europeanization that often presents changes directly influenced by Brussels.¹⁵¹ Soft-case Europeanization on the other hand, is, according to Jurje not reached through any direct policies or rules by the EU but rather through co-operation amongst member states in meetings between citizens and co-operation in pan-European projects. The member states rather influence each other rather than being influenced by Brussels.¹⁵²

With the analysis of the mentioned heritage sites, I discovered that a European dimension could be detected in all analysed commemoration places. However, none of the presented places showed signs of hard-case Europeanization as the term was defined before. No signs could be found that any of the places were created as direct responses to concrete pressures from the EU to adjust to a policy nor have they been financially supported by the European Union. Instead, signs of soft-case Europeanization can be found. Every heritage site was influenced by informal interactions and co-operations. Proof of this could be found in the analysed exhibition at the Army Museum. The Wallenberg room resulted from a previous exhibition and was later on updated due to European influences and perceptions. The pictures of other Hungarians rescuing Jews from Budapest, for example, were added at a later stage.

This soft Europeanization can also be described by the aforementioned two-way. On the one hand Sweden was influenced through its membership in the European Union. Sweden became a member in 1995, a time when general interest in Holocaust research increased throughout

¹⁵¹ Flavia Jurje, *Europeanization and New member states. A comparative social network analysis*, (New York 2013), 19.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Europe. Danish researcher Anne Waehrens even refers to this as a “master narrative”¹⁵³ that shows “the EU [...] in contrast to the Holocaust, which is portrayed as a fundamental break with basic values such as human rights, democracy, and the rule of law — values that the EU stands for, protects, and promotes.”¹⁵⁴ Holocaust Remembrance was a common ground that offered not just a European entry ticket in the 1990s; it even became a founding myth for Europe. Holocaust Remembrance was used as a tool for shaping a new community of European member states and acknowledging the Holocaust provided a country with a special place within the “European club”.¹⁵⁵ Sweden was challenged to engage in this discussion and found its very own way to do so. This can be seen as proof of the top-down approach Europeanization takes. Sweden engaged in discussions about the topic due to influences from other member states and the overall discussion of the topic that took place throughout Europe at that time. However, the country did not only engage in this discussion, one may suggest it became the European leader in Holocaust commemoration, education and information campaigns. This happened due to the Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson’s initiatives.

The Stockholm International Conference organized by Göran Persson in 2000 recognized a new beginning in European politics on the Holocaust and the Second World War and was the first conference of its kind that brought together several political leaders of European and non-European member states. The conference established the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) as well as more declarations on Holocaust Remembrance and Education. The IHRA consists today of 39 member countries and observer states in total.¹⁵⁶ Twenty-six out of the 28 EU member states are part of the IHRA. Only Malta and Cyprus are neither a member nor an observer to the IHRA. This initiative, on the other hand, marks the bottom up approach described within the concept of Europeanization. With the conference and the creation of the IHRA Sweden got a greater influence on the politics of memory and commemoration in the rest of Europe.

While the Stockholm International Conference marked a process that led to changes not only on a national Swedish level but also on a European level, other initiatives directly led to

¹⁵³ Anne Waehrens, *Is Soviet Communism a trans-European experience?* last accessed Max 17th, 2015, 14:49. <http://balticworlds.com/is-soviet-communism-a-trans-european-experience/?s=memory%20communism>

¹⁵⁴ Anne Waehrens, *Is Soviet Communism a trans-European experience?* last accessed Max 17th, 2015, 14:49. <http://balticworlds.com/is-soviet-communism-a-trans-european-experience/?s=memory%20communism>

¹⁵⁵ Conny Mithander, „European Cultural Memory Post 89“, In *European Studies. An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm & Adrian Velicu, No 30 (New York 2013), 15.

¹⁵⁶ Homepage of the IHRA, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/>, last accessed March 23th 2015

changes on a local level – mainly exhibition and memorial openings. However, it should be stated that the first initiatives, such as the opening of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm in 1987 and the creation of the Holocaust Memorial in Stockholm in 1996 originated in Jewish initiatives. Commemoration processes began within the Jewish community than the general public. It can be described as a spillover effect from initiatives taken up by Jewish communities in the United States and Israel. In fact, the Holocaust Memorial in Miami has to some extent influenced the Holocaust Memorial in Stockholm. It was a commemorative dimension on a local Jewish level. With the actual planning and inauguration process of the memorial, national elements were added as well, shown through the financial support given by the Swedish government as well as the inauguration ceremony of King Carl XVI Gustav. The support by the Swedish government came in its turn at the time when Sweden joined the EU and Sweden became involved in European Holocaust Remembrance. Thus the memorial has also a European dimension.

However, as it was proven by the exhibitions, the dominant narrative of Sweden as a bystander to the war is still present throughout the country and the society. Even though critical debates have taken place now, perception has only changed to some extent. The bystander role will most likely always be within the minds of the society but at least this perception is seen critically and not as innocent as before.

Another important aspect within all analysed sites is the combination of both national and European elements. As it was argued before, some of the sites were opened with a national character in mind and were later on influenced by European elements whereas others, such as the exhibition at the Swedish History Museum clearly emphasize the national character of the exhibition. Thus my conclusion is that the heritage sites I analysed point to the fact that a European identity is not replacing a national identity. Inarguably, all the discussed places present, to some extent, a European identity or at least try to shape a European identity. None of them however tries to replace the national Swedish identity. As it was pointed out before, Sweden, due to its history has a very special way of remembering the Second World War and the Holocaust. It perceived itself as a neutral state that managed to stay outside any military conflicts of the Second World War. This perception is still dominant but its hegemonic position has been questioned and criticized since the 1990s. The questioning of the role of the innocent bystander can be found in Stockholm's commemorative sites such as the exhibition

at the Army Museum that shows pictures of peaceful Sweden in the 1940s but at the same time pictures and objects of Swedish Nazi supporters.

However, the notion of the innocent bystander is also still present in some of the described places. The pictures of peaceful Sweden and ruined Hungary in the auditorium at the Army Museum as well as the overall design of the “folkhome” room at the Swedish History Museum are proof for that. In fact this perception lives on but is modified by new European additions. It is more of an extension of national identity with European elements that takes place here.

Summarizing this thesis, it can be stated that Sweden followed its own path in the commemoration process of the events of the War and the Holocaust. Commemoration and acknowledgement of both events started relatively late compared to other European nations, which was due to the bystander role Sweden perceived itself in for a long time. Extensive research was carried out in the 1990s, research bodies were created in Stockholm and Uppsala, Wallenberg memorials were opened all over Sweden from the 2000s onwards and 2004 also marked the year of the first Wallenberg exhibition in Sweden closely followed by the 2007 exhibition “Sweden and the Holocaust” that picked up the bystander role.

Commemoration in Sweden transitioned from being more national to being more European caused by a soft Europeanization. This thesis only focused on Stockholm, but an investigation of commemorative places in Gothenburg and Malmö would be interesting but could not be carried out by me due to a limited availability of time. Especially a further investigation of Malmö is an important topic for further research, as it was the destination that the rescued Jews were brought to with the so-called ‘White Buses’ in 1945. It would have been interesting to analyse whether this rescue mission is presently commemorated in the city or not. There is a clear European dimension in the rescue mission and an analysis of this commemoration would have been an important contribution to the existing research.

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11.4. Interviews:

- Interview with Andreas Ohlsson & Anders Wesslen, Curators at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, the Interview was conducted on February 18, 2015.
- Interview with Yvonne Jacobsson, director of the Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 18, 2015.
- Interview with Lena Heijl, curator at the Historical Museum in Stockholm, the interview was conducted on February 17, 2015.
- Interview with Harry Pommert, The Vice-President of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Sweden, the Interview was conducted on February 17, 2015.
- Interview with Eva Fried, International Coordinator at the Living History Forum in Stockholm, Interview was conducted on February 18, 2015.

Appendix I

Interview Questions:

The first set of question deals with the background of the people I am interviewing. It will be questions like:

- What is your position in the museum?
- What is your position within the exhibition?

The next set of question will deal with the exhibition/memorial itself:

- Since when are you dealing with the topic “Second World War/Holocaust” in Sweden?
- When did the first idea to create this exhibition emerge?
- How did you get the idea for this exhibition?
- Was the idea immediately supported by authorities?
- Did you cooperate with other institutions? If yes, how did this cooperation look like?
- How long did it take to prepare the exhibition?
- Why did you decide to design the exhibition/memorial this way?
- What is your idea behind the exhibition?
- Who is your major target group?
- How did the target group/public respond to this exhibition?
- Are any further exhibitions/memorials planned to elaborate more on the topic?
- Is the exhibition permanent or temporary?

The next set of questions would deal with the involvement of the European Union

- Did the EU/European Commission was involved in this project at all?
- If yes, how does this involvement look like?
- If no, Are there reasons for it?
- Do you think Sweden was influenced to commemorate the War and the Holocaust more after it joined the EU in 1995?
- If yes, why? And how does this changed attitude looked like?
- If no, Why?

Appendix II

Because of the length of the interviews, transcripts are not included in Appendix II. They are, however, available on request.