

2015

Prosjekt Nytt Nasjonalmuseum: Negotiating a Norwegian Identity

Diana Huynh
dhuynh@wellesley.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.wellesley.edu/thesiscollection>

Recommended Citation

Huynh, Diana, "Prosjekt Nytt Nasjonalmuseum: Negotiating a Norwegian Identity" (2015). *Honors Thesis Collection*. 256.
<https://repository.wellesley.edu/thesiscollection/256>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Thesis Collection by an authorized administrator of Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. For more information, please contact ir@wellesley.edu.

PROSJEKT NYTT NASJONALMUSEUM

NEGOTIATING A NORWEGIAN IDENTITY

Diana N. Huynh
Spring 2015



Undergraduate Thesis
Department of Political Science
Wellesley College

Thesis supervisor

Craig N. Murphy

M. Margaret Ball Professor of International Relations

Readers

Patricia G. Berman

Theodora L. and Stanley H. Feldberg Professor of Art

Christopher Candland

Associate Professor of Political Science

Robert L. Paarlberg

Betty Freyhof Johnson '44 Professor of Political Science

ABSTRACT

There is a vast amount of attention in Norway going into cultural institutions that is supposed define the image of the capital and Norwegian society. The focus on ‘building culture’ has nevertheless left a lacuna of what or where the Norwegian identity is in relation to this process. Former definitions of the state and the general consensus of what it means to be Norwegian have in many ways changed over the past three decades.

I am therefore interested in crafting a response to the fleeting conditions of this Norwegian identity at the start of the century, by considering the way it is represented through the building of a museum. As a case study, the new National Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design in Oslo, or *Nasjonalmuseet* as it is better known, can in many ways be described as an interface that bridges the ‘new’ ideas with the ‘old’, and thereby revealing how the formulation of what the Norwegian identity might be is under negotiation.

My discussion exists amidst a larger discourse of the role cultural institutions and urban development play in the formulation of a Norwegian identity in the twenty-first century. In addition to arrive at predictions about the new museum as such, I hope to respond to how this is reflective of a broader framework of the cultural, economic and political situations in Norway.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without knowing it at the time, this thesis began sometime in the spring of 2013, when I took a seminar called “Urban Design Politics” at the urban planning and studies department at MIT (DUSP). I am indebted to the seminar and Professor L. Vale for making sense of my academic curiosity, to look for more politics in spheres that already seemed ‘political’, and for broadening the nexus of cultural, public and urban policy with the built environment. Norway’s new national arts museum as a process encapsulates the dynamics of these forces at play, and is one of the reasons why it was a welcomed opportunity for me to approach it from the lens of political science.

MANGE TAKK to Professor C. Murphy, for your supervising, our discussions about Norway and beyond, and for navigating the process ashore. To Professor P. Berman, for tirelessly pushing me into questioning art and the social context in which I was researching deeply and widely, helping piece together my often-diffused thinking, and for always being there. To Professor C. Candland, for your encouragement and interest in the project, and to Professor R. Paarlberg, for coming on the thesis committee in the eleventh hour.

To Professor. W. Joseph and the Political Science department, Birgitte Bye at Statsbygg, Arnstein Sande at Kleihues+Schuwerk, Ulf Grønvold at Nasjonalmuseet, Arne B. Amundsen at UiO, and Brooke Henderson at the Wellesley LTS. A special thanks to Lee Dykxhoorn who let me use his diagrams of Oslo, and everyone else that has helped shaping the project in one way or another.

And to my family and friends, tusen takk.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

3	Abstract
4	Acknowledgements
7	Introduction
15	The New National Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design
30	Nation Building Museums
44	Negotiating a Norwegian Identity
79	Norway Unbound
82	Appendices
94	References
96	Illustration credits
98	Bibliography



INTRODUCTION

When I started endeavouring the write up of this research, my aim had been to provide an interpretation of the emergence of what I thought would be along the lines of a ‘New Oslo’. Surprisingly, recognising the way that this new history, or identity, is being represented within Norwegian society and to the outside world rendered the actual history of the capital, and even Norway, less important. In recent years, there has been a vast amount of attention going into cultural institutions that is supposed to define Norwegian identity. The plans for consolidation of museums along the waterfront in Oslo in particular have therefore made me question how the museum, as a repository of history and culture, is used to authorise certain structures of national representation (Figs. 1, 2). This includes the symbolic meanings of the museum as an institution as well as a building; political power can take many forms, and buildings are, after all, products of social and cultural conditions.¹

The Norwegian National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, or *Nasjonalmuseet* as it is better known, can in many ways be described as the blueprint of this physical and symbolic process. During its current construction, the museum is called *Prosjekt Nytt Nasjonalmuseum* (PNN), and I chose this title in order to reflect that the discourse captures the museum in its contemporary moment, before completion.² In the near future PNN will ultimately stand as Norway’s national museum, which makes it particularly exciting to be able to understand the forces involved in the design process

¹ Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 3.

² PNN: Project New National Museum (trans.).

and hypothesise how the museum will, or may be, a point of reference for what is considered ‘national’ and how people will relate to it as such.

Although my analysis is focusing on uncovering social, political and cultural dimensions of a seemingly national museum, a point of the departure has nevertheless been the firm conviction about the importance of what is inside it: art. To borrow from the words of political scientist Murray Edelman, “Art should be recognised as a major and integral part of the transaction that engenders political behaviour [...] In a crucial sense, then, art is the fountainhead from which political discourse, beliefs about politics, and consequent actions ultimately spring.”³ This is why consciousness about what is embedded in new museums and cultural decision-making practices is necessary in order to change the way we plan for better, sustainable societies.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis seeks to anchor the power of the new National Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design in Oslo as a negotiator of Norwegian identity.⁴ The capital city has for the past decade experienced unprecedented plans for re-concentrating cultural buildings along the waterfront (Fig. 3). The focus on ‘building culture’ has nevertheless left a lacuna of what or where the Norwegian identity is in relation to this process. Former definitions of the state and the general consensus of what it means to be Norwegian have in many ways changed over the past three decades. This can for example be seen in how

³ Murray J. Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2.

⁴ I will use *Nasjonalmuseet* interchangeably with PNN, the former, which refers to the museum organisation est. 2003 and its four sub-institutions, and the latter to the temporary and spatial process at Vestbanen.

foreign policy now has a “bigger” reach, while nationally, Norwegian society and economy are increasingly diversified. The nuances are far more manifested in the infirm agreement that ‘Norway is changing,’ and that ‘a new We’ is currently being formulated; both domestic and foreign policy agendas are revised along with the people who belong to it.

I am therefore interested in crafting a response to the fleeting conditions of this Norwegian identity at the start of the century. As a case study, the museum acts as an interface that bridges the ‘new’ ideas with the ‘old’, and thereby revealing how the formulation of what the Norwegian identity might be is under negotiation. My discussion exists amidst a larger discourse of the role cultural institutions and urban development play in the formulation of a Norwegian identity in the twenty-first century. In addition to arrive at predictions about the new national museum as such, I hope to respond to a broader framework of the changing cultural, economic and political conditions in Norway: a Norway faced with the intersection of oil wealth, globalised capital, and the realisation of a critical juncture in the way the social and urban fabric of the state is viewed and understood.

METHODOLOGY AND OUTLINE

Before outlining what is to be discussed in the following chapters, a word about the method is in order. Since the case study in focus is called a national museum, it was necessary to rely on and situate the theoretical and historical backdrop of national museums in the development of nation states in eighteenth century Europe, and arguably, still goes on today. As will be seen, a similar process of nation building efforts was also present in Norway before the country gained independence from Sweden in 1905. Today, these ideas of building the nation are more focused on responding to a transnational context rather than a national one.

PNN is an active process, and much is to be added to what is written here upon its completion five years from now. The understanding of my research question have depended on insights gained from interviews with responsible government actors and *Nasjonalmuseet*, as well as from materials like annual reports and official statements. Interviews and the direct opinions of individuals involved with PNN have been important given that it is a project often debated, and only seem to be understood by the public through the media. In my findings, I aim to highlight that the museum reflects the move towards a modernisation of culture that is less contingent on nationalistic expression on the one hand, and, on the other, as an actor in Oslo's capital developments, is also contributing to leveraging the urban status that Norway strives to express; all of which is not developing without degrees of equivocation, and at times, resistance.

My viewpoint is largely a product of social relations within academic theory, between it and Norway, and the European context. In the years following the opening of the new museum, I believe quantitative studies would be necessary to compliment these

qualitative aspects. Such studies will be able to capture a broader picture of who the visitors will be, and over a longer time, provide more detailed information that shows how the new cultural buildings planned for the waterfront might contribute to changing the social dynamics within Oslo, and between the capital in relation to rest of the country.⁵

The representation of such process however, is not unproblematic and rather challenging. A main problem I have had to face is the available sources of data, some quantitative, but mostly qualitative. The thesis' literature maps museological approaches with urban theory, as well as social science discourses about cultural globalisation and the built environment, all of which need to be grounded in the Norwegian context. But what to tell and from which perspective? I wanted to relate from the past as much as the present. Themes emerged within themes, but through the interviews I was able to form an argument about PNN to demonstrate that the Norwegian identity is negotiated at this moment.

First, I provide a detailed context of PNN, trying to cover as much of its recent history as relevant. Second, I discuss the origins of national museums and why this history suggests that PNN in some ways follow a significant European trajectory, but also in ways that it might not. Third, I present my findings through a series of interviews, which in each their way, indicated that the ways PNN is negotiating Norwegian identity further reflects that there is much to be resolved. In the conclusion, I evaluate my findings and make some predictions about the museum when it opens in 2020.

⁵ Broadly speaking, there is much more research to be done in Norway in the museum field. In a recent article from 2014, the Norwegian Research Council stated that the scholarly work done on museums and culture in Norway was undermined.

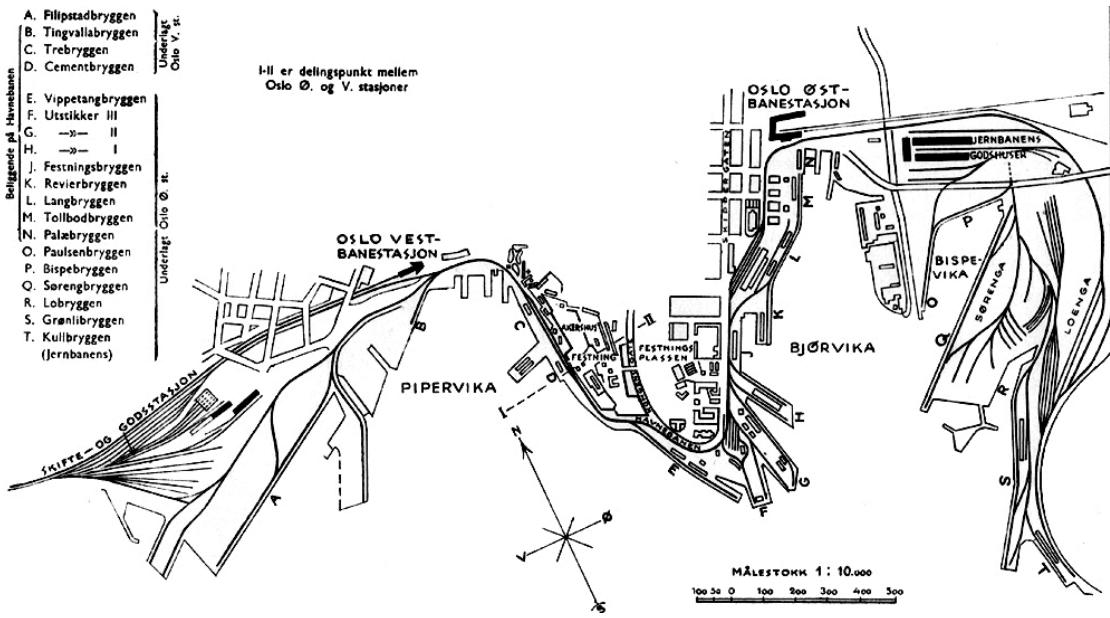


Figure 1. Map of Oslo's waterfront in 1936.



Figure 2. Aerial view of waterfront planned for renewal.

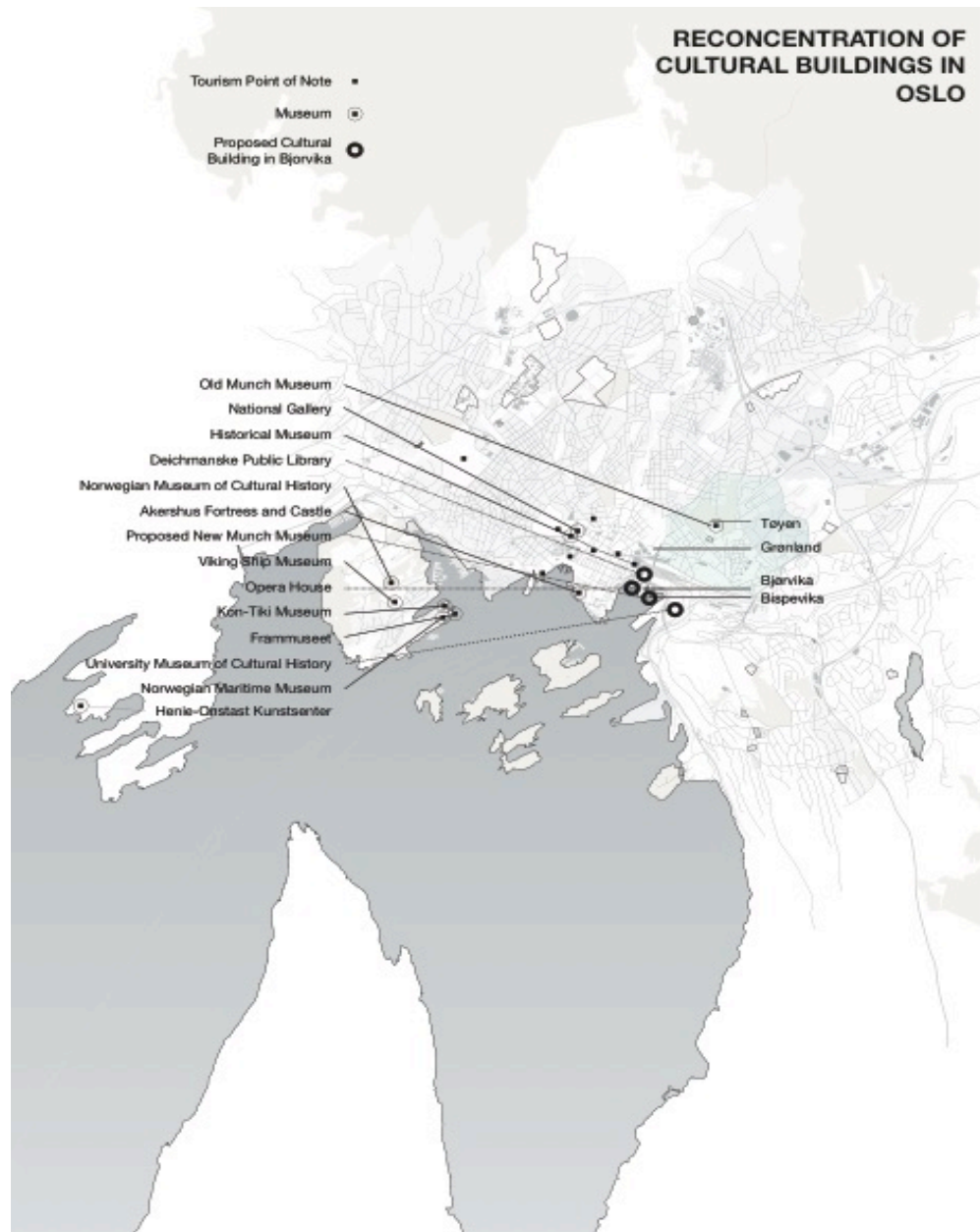


Figure 3. Map of cultural buildings located in various parts of Oslo, many are to be relocated to the waterfront.



PROSJEKT NYTT NASJONALMUSEUM

THE NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARTS, ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN AT VESTBANEN, OSLO

“It will become a building that is going to change the face of Norway”⁶

– Trond Giske, Minister of Cultural Affairs (2005-2009)

A NATIONAL MUSEUM FOR NORWAY

Museum establishments in Norway, by and large, began in the nineteenth century as the country was striving for independence from Swedish union. Strictly speaking, Norway did not have a formal national museum during this time, but this is contestable when we consider the National Gallery from the 1830s. When founded the fine arts museum was anchored in parliamentary decisions. I will return to the history of Norwegian museums later, as it is the case study in focus here.

Nasjonalmuseet was established in 2003 as the result of four independent institutions fusing into one umbrella organisation. That the organisation took on the ‘national museum’ title renders it much older than it actually is. The National Gallery (*Nasjonalgalleriet*, 1837), the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design (*Kunstindustrimuseet*, 1876), the Museum of Architecture (*Arkitekturmuseet*, 1975), and the Museum of Contemporary Art (*Museet for Samtidskunst*, 1988) are all located in

⁶ Giske quoted in Sandra Kolstad, "Slik Kan Nasjonalmuseet Bli," *Aftenposten*, October 16 2011. Accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/Slik-kan-Nasjonalmuseet-bli-5584357.htm>

central Oslo.⁷ The museums display, respectively, a variety of exhibitions that include Norwegian and foreign art, architecture and design.

Prior to the merger, the National Gallery was only one of the few museums in Norway using the term 'national' as part of its title, even though government operated and funded museums include the Norwegian Mining Museum (*Norsk Bergverksmuseum*, 1965), the Archaeological Museum in Stavanger (*Arkeologisk Museum*, 1975), and the Museum of Contemporary Art (1988). Other museums, like the open-air Museum of Cultural History (*Norsk Folkemuseum*, 1894), are known for their display of national material culture since the fifteenth century to the contemporary era, but not recognised as a government initiation as such. When inaugurated by the Norwegian Parliament in 1837, the National Gallery was named the Norwegian State's Central Museum for Fine Arts (*Statens sentral museum for kunst*). The new cultural institution opened for the general public in 1842 at the Royal Palace and borrowed some of the palace's rooms as gallery space.⁸ The priority of the museum was to establish a national canon and to cultivate national heritage - missions that still remain an important part of the museum's curatorial operations. The National Gallery was relocated several times until 1882, when it received its own building at Tullinløkka, just down the road from the Royal Palace.⁹ (Figs. 4, 5). Between 1903-1920 the National Gallery was united with the national sculpture collection, and called the State Museum of Art (*Statens museum for kunst*). The

⁷ The two former were state governed and are the oldest and only museums with permanent exhibitions from their own collections; the latter were privately governed.

⁸ See Håkon Krogenæs, "Brudeferd I Hardanger Eller Likferd På Sognefjorden: Om Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Konsolidering Og Konflikt" (Master, University of Oslo, 2009).

⁹ The relocation was funded by the Private Savings Bank of Oslo (*Sparebanken*) and designed by architects Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Adolf Schirmer.

museum's official name was eventually changed to the National Gallery, a title it held until the merger in 2003. That the organisation would take on the 'national museum' title was not a given, historically speaking.

The merger of what became the National Museum for Art, Architecture and Design was in part a response of a nation wide museum reform that has characterized culture-Norway in recent years.¹⁰ The priorities of this reform have focused on converting state museums into private foundations or organisations with national financial support that operate somewhat like public-private partnerships.¹¹ In the early 2000s, government funded museums were subject to a process that reduced the number of museums from approximately 800 to 100.¹² This policy implementation was met with strong critique from the museum sector. However, while other museums struggled to adjust to reorganisation, *Nasjonalmuseet*, which was one the most highlighted mergers, could state with great confidence that it would become, "the most important arts arena in Norway and one of the most prolific in Northern Europe," as well as to, "bring Norwegian art to the world."¹³ It was nevertheless going to take quite a few years before the organisation got on its feet.

¹⁰ See Lill Eilertsen, "Norwegian Cultural Policy and Its Effect on National Museums," ed. Lill and Amundsen Eilertsen, Arne B. (Linköping University Electronic Press 2012); Lise Talleraas, "An Ungovernable Diversity? Norwegian Museum Politics on the Subject of Local and Regional Museums in the Period 1900 – 1970" (Umeå University 2009).

¹¹ Lotte Sandberg, *Alle Snakker Om Museet : Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst : Fra Visjon Til Virkelighet* (2008), 17-20.

¹² Liv H. Haugen, "Museumsreform Gir Mer Byråkrati," *Aftenposten* Oct 19, 2011.

¹³ Sandberg, *Alle Snakker Om Museet : Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst : Fra Visjon Til Virkelighet*, 17.



Figure 4. Aerial view of Tullinløkka, University of Oslo buildings to the left.

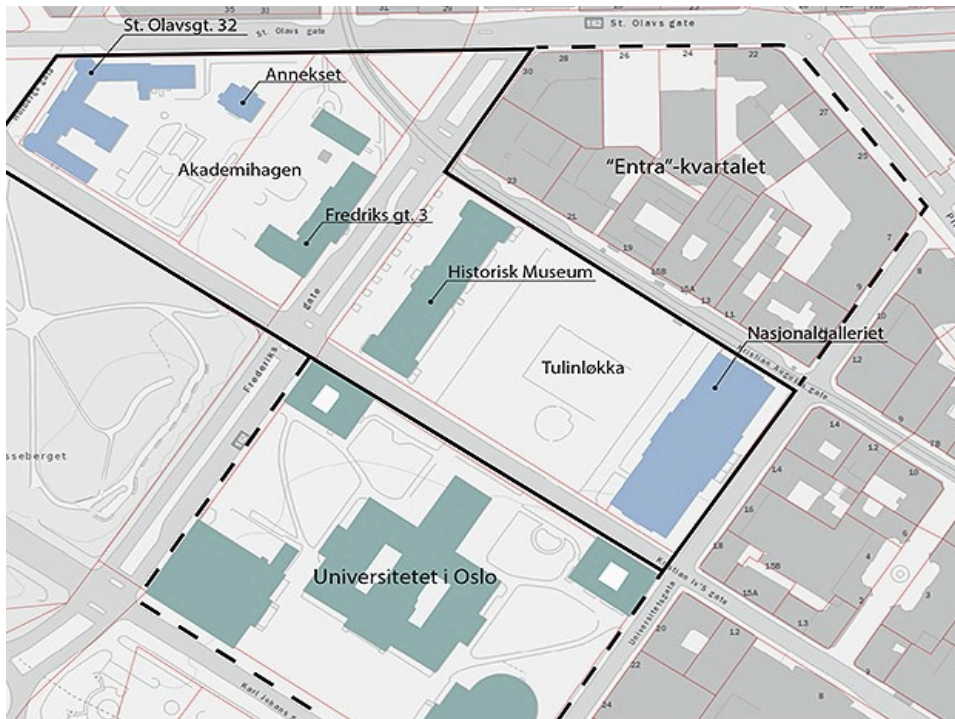


Figure 5. Plan of Tullinløkka. The National Gallery is located to the right.

A CONTESTED CULTURE DEBATE

The years leading up to the government proposal for a centralised national museum had been marked by a long contested ‘culture debate’.¹⁴ According to Lotte Sandberg, the museum merger in 2003 had several flaws, fraught with organisational tension as well as external and internal critique. Having followed the process for years as *Aftenposten*’s art critic, Sandberg questions the New Public Management (NPM) ‘master plan’ that supposedly fuelled the merger.¹⁵ The museum’s establishment was a complex process which saw the involvement of scholars, media, board directors, art milieus, politicians, each group with divided insights and opinions, bureaucratic dimensions, and responsibilities - not to mention ambivalent agreements on a defined governance model for the museum that took years to stabilise. While this was often presented as an institutional issue, it was also reflective of how the attitude towards culture and cultural representation was questioned more rigorously than in previous years.

One of the central popular criticisms was that the ‘new’ museum had not addressed a canon ‘national’ enough in its inaugural exhibitions, particularly at the National Gallery. It was, in short, a response to what people thought of the museum’s lack of vision and understanding for the ‘national’.¹⁶ This was amplified by what Sandberg observes as a heavy influence of corporate logic, driven by a market vocabulary that treats the museum as a corporation. There was no doubt that NPM had been a

¹⁴ ‘Culture debate or *Kulturdebatt* is often a loaded term that characterises the public debate of Norwegian cultural policy, funding and institutions.

¹⁵ New public management (NPM), a term formally conceptualized by Christopher Hood (1991), denotes broadly the government policies, since the 1980s, that aimed to modernise and render the public sector more efficient.

¹⁶ Sandberg, *Alle Snakker Om Museet : Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst : Fra Visjon Til Virkelighet*, 20-23.

guiding factor of the merging process and its subsequent years.¹⁷ According to Sandberg, the NPM focus led to the growth of a bureaucratic, capitalist oriented culture-governance, while curatorial expertise was increasingly down-prioritised and marginalised.¹⁸ In the wake of the exhibition scandal that saw the resignation of its first, Swedish (!) director, Sune Nordgren, shortly after, the museum's second director, Allis Helleland, assured that, "We will set all sails to establish one of the world's greatest museums."¹⁹ The rhetoric was clear, but whether it was convincing at the time is another point of contention. The critique raised during the mid-2010s focused on ineffective policies and governance, but very little focused on what it meant that Norway now had a 'national museum' institution and what this actually represented. One reason might be, as Arne Bugge Amundsen mentions, is that museums consciously try to steer away from nationalistic tendencies.²⁰ Another reason is also rooted in the fact that what Norwegian culture is to encompass in the new century is still an ongoing question.

Sandberg's critique is important in understanding the context leading up to the merger and the issues that the museum faced during its first years. What can be drawn from her observations is that *Nasjonalmuseet*, at least when it was written about in 2008, was far from ready to take on the global museum stage, let alone figuring out what kind of canon or approaches it would take and for whom this was to represent. How will this be approached in the new museum when it opens? Similar to its peer institutions across the world, the museum is influenced by outward oriented interests while vested in local

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Bugge, Arne A. Interview by Diana Huynh. March 22, 2015.

bureaucracy. As Sandberg notes, “*Nasjonalmuseet* in Norway is [currently] hardly as attractive as the world leading museums, but its development certainly contributes to an already complicated globalization for the art museums of the world.”²¹

PROSJEKT NYTT NASJONALMUSEUM

While the critique surrounding the new museum and its organization passionately unfolded in popular media and in books like Sandberg’s, discussions about a new building for its collections had been a precondition of the merger. As a result, ideas for a new museum (re)surfaced. The issue of space limitations had already concerned the National Gallery for decades and elaborate plans for a new museum building had been proposed. And for decades, these plans were abandoned for an array of bureaucratic reasons.²² This happened three times. In 1972, 1995 and 2005, commissions were announced for a new building at Tullinløkka, known to locals as the parking lot between the National Gallery and the Museum of Cultural History (*Kulturhistorisk Museum*).²³ The debates related to the National Gallery’s expansion plans were eventually coined the ‘Tullin-case’. I will not go into great detail about the 1972 commission, but there are issues from the 1990s that are of interest to understand the ambivalence of who are setting the premises for PNN and to a greater extent, Norwegian culture building. For instance, the selection and then rejection of Telje-Torp Aasens’ design in 1996

²¹ Sandberg, *Alle Snakker Om Museet : Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst : Fra Visjon Til Virkelighet*.

²² See Ulf Grønvold, "To Bomskudd," *Kunst og Kultur* 1, no. 88 (2005).

²³ Tullinløkka has since the 1960s been a contested prime urban space location since no agreement has ever settled on what it should be used for, how, or whether to be used at all.

characterised an increasingly important role of the popular media.²⁴ Slaatta et. al. argued that a lot of what played out in public also led to the dissipation of, if not delegitimise, bureaucratic support.²⁵ Contemporary coverage of PNN is still marked by this, and deeper analysis of the media as a democratic actor in its process is significant, but left outside this scope.

1996 also revealed an issue of taste. Half a year after the initial project was put on ice, Petter Olsen, a Norwegian shipping magnate, and Polish architect Piotr Choynowski, on behalf of a movement called ‘The City’s Renewal’ (*Byens Fornyelse*) offered another proposal.²⁶ (Fig. 6). The Pantheon-like building suggested was a banal neoclassical building. It is interesting to see that this was still considered a possibility twenty years ago, because a building like that would doubtfully be considered in Oslo today. The City’s Renewal project, it must be mentioned, was related to “A Vision of Europe”, which was a European organisation that called for the return to classical and local architecture. Olsen and Choynowski’s design gained leverage for some time, and this desire to return to classical aesthetics revealed who preferred what in Oslo, which speaks to the then-division between bourgeois taste and how this differs from the formulation of a vernacular favoured by social democratic values. It might also suggest that the government was not paying that much attention to building museums at the time. “The defense of modern architecture in Norway is first and foremost related to the social democratic ideological affinity and association with functionalism’s radical programme in the 1930s, and thereby not well anchored in the economic and bourgeois elite. This

²⁴ See Tore Slaatta, Askildsen, Solveig, "Arkitektur Og Journalistikk: Nyhetsmedienes Roller I Tullinløkka-saken," *Kunst og Kultur* 1, no. 88 (2005).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 31-34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 28-30.

part of Oslo's population reflect an anti-modern elite, of which 'The City's Renewal' underpins."²⁷

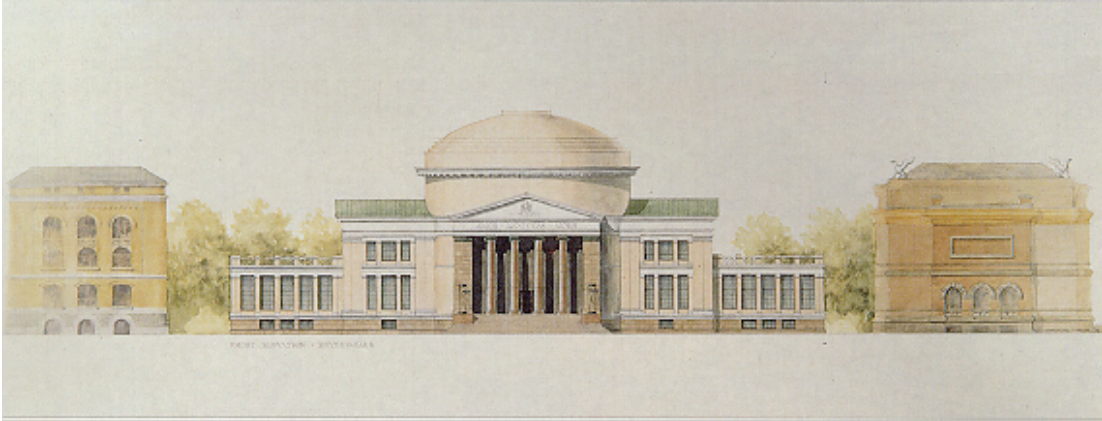


Figure 6. "The City's Renewal," Petter Olsen and Piotr Choynowski's design for the National Gallery in 1996.

Around this time some people also began to direct their attention towards the 2003 merger. But before PNN came to fruition, there were once again, in 2005, new plans for yet another museum building at Tullinløkka.²⁸ Ulf Grønvold, former director of the Museum of Architecture wrote, "We are now facing a third competition [for a new building] at Tullinløkka. Why should we think that we would succeed this time around?"²⁹ At the *fin de siècle*, the political leadership and support for a new museum was certainly more robust. Grønvold was optimistic himself, and assured that, "This is our golden opportunity. Our newfound oil wealth makes it easier to finance many of these overdue projects. This is the time we can build cultural institutions that we have lacked. If there is ever going to be a new building at Tullinløkka, it has to be now."³⁰ Yet

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ulf Grønvold, "To Bomskudd," *ibid.*

²⁹ Tore Slaatta, Askildsen, Solveig, "Arkitektur Og Journalistikk: Nyhetsmedienes Roller I Tullinløkkasaken," *ibid.*

³⁰ Ulf Grønvold, "To Bomskudd," *ibid.*

from 2005-2007 the nature of *Nasjonalmuseet*'s statements in their annual reports subtly changed as Tullinløkka was still in the open. Although everybody thought that the project was going to be successful, plans took a sharp turn in 2008, when the Minister of Cultural Affairs of the then governing Labour Party, Trond Giske, made the decision to move the plans for a new museum building to Vestbanen, another prime-property of the city that used to be the old 'west railway' station by the waterfront (Figs. 7, 8).

Words were not sparse when Mr. Giske announced the plans for the new National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design at Vestbanen. The decision to scrap Tullinløkka altogether after three decades of plans untaken happened hastily in the spring of 2008. Statsbygg, the government building and planning agency, had repurchased the property at Vestbanen for approximately NOK 172 million from the City of Oslo, and as such, Mr. Giske, directors of the museum, and representatives from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs saw a possible use of the property for *Nasjonalmuseet*.³¹ Vestbanen had earlier been considered as a location for both the municipal library (*Deichmanske bibliotek*) and the National Opera and Ballet (now located in Bjørvika, renowned for its unique design by architecture firm Snøhetta).³² 2008 thus formed an unprecedented momentum for the museum plans. Once Vestbanen was settled as the final location, an anonymous international architecture competition was announced in 2009, which was a significant expansion in design possibilities compared to the 1995 competition, which had been European based.

³¹ Statsbygg is the government's key advisor in construction, public property, and real estate development with more than 650 employees. Statsbygg works under the Ministry of Renewal and Administration, but provides services and support to all ministries and state entities.

³² See The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, "St.Prp. Nr. 37 (1997-98): Om Nytt Operahus," (Oslo: Regjeringen, 1998).



Figure 7. Photo of Vestbanen, the old western railway station in Oslo, with the City Hall in the background.



Figure 8. Aerial view of Vestbanen before PNN construction. Aker Brygge district neighbouring to the right.

In November 2010, a jury for the commission, lead by museum board director Svein Aaser, announced the winner after close consideration of the top six finalists (Appendix A). Out of 237 submissions it was the German firm Kleihues+Schuwerk Gesellschaft von Architekten who won with their proposal, *Forum Artis* (Fig. 9, Appendix B). The design was, among other criteria, chosen on the basis of its practical qualities and the way it speaks to the architectonic landscape of the waterfront and surrounding buildings.³³ The jury's evaluations stated the following: "The luminous hall (*alabasthallen*) is the project's dominant visual element. This contributes to the monumental aspect of the building, whose elegance lies in that it acts as a horizontal contrast to its surrounding vertical area. The project has a simple expression that is distinct and gives the expansive area dignity. The luminous hall, which extends over the entire top floor solidifies the building's engagement with its environment and creates a great vista towards the City Hall Square. The jury believes that this could become a focal point within the city and as viewed from the fjord. In all its simplicity, the luminous hall holds iconic strength."³⁴

After Kleihues+Schuwerk's design had been chosen, Statsbygg presented a preliminary proposal to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs that was approved in 2013. As declared, "The Parliament hereby agrees to the construction of a new building for *Nasjonalmuseet* at Vestbanen within a framework of NOK 5 327 million per July 2013."³⁵ The third and current director of *Nasjonalmuseet*, Audun Eckhoff, announced

³³ Statsbygg, "Juryrapport, Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur Og Design," (2010), 10-14.

³⁴ Ibid. *Alabasthallen* will be the city's new landmark, contrary to its name, the hall will not made of mineral alabaster, but of recycled glass. It will measure 133 m long, 6 m high and with a 1 m wide 'corridor' visitors can walk through.

³⁵ See The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, "Prop. 108 S (2012–2013) Nybygg for Nasjonalmuseet På Vestbanen," (Oslo Regjeringen (the Norwegian Parliament), 2013).

the following in a press release after the Parliament's decision: "This is a great day for Norway and the arts. The new museum building will provide Oslo and Norway a significantly stronger and visible position in the visual arts. The art will be made more accessible to a wider audience than the museum is today. I look forward to welcoming you to the national museum at Vestbanen."³⁶

Forum Artis will have a total area of 54 600 m² distributed among more than a thousand rooms. 13 000 m² will be dedicated to gallery space, a scale unprecedented in Norway, and also making the museum one of the largest in Europe. PNN construction was inaugurated in March 2014 by Thorild Widvey, current Minister of Cultural Affairs of the Conservative Party (Fig. 10). In its preliminary plans, the museum's completion was planned for 2018, but is now scheduled to be open to the public in 2020. Before moving to the new museum at Vestbanen, the four museums will remain open at their current locations in central Oslo. The Museum of Architecture, with its unique building in the old quarter of *Kvadraturen*, will remain at its current location.

Given the decades it took to complete the plans for PNN, one could ask why finally got approved at this point of time. The national museum's complicated past, as shown, also suggests that this recent, and somewhat troubled past is important to keep in mind as next chapters look to how it negotiates Norwegian identity.

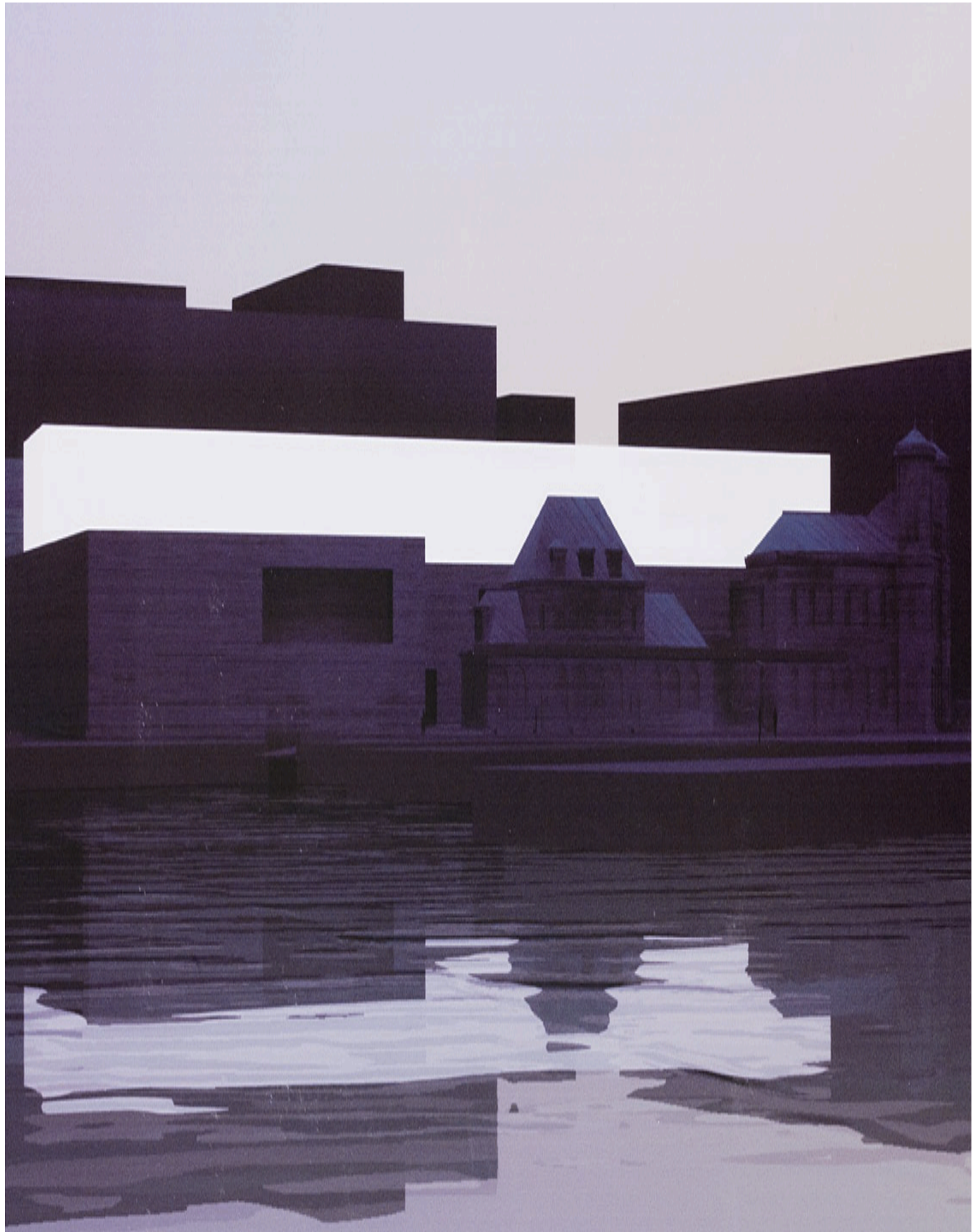
³⁶ Nasjonalmuseet, "Nytt Nasjonalmuseum Vedtatt," news release, 2013.



Figure 9. Kleihues+Schuwerk's *Forum Artis*, Vestbanen, Oslo.



Figure 10. Statsbygg is in charge of construction of PNN at Vestbanen.



NATION BUILDING MUSEUMS

Before going on to the main part of the project's argument, this chapter is going to focus on the origins of the national museum. I aim provide a context of the European trajectory of nineteenth century museum establishment that were charged with nationalistic ambition and self-improving goals. Although many national museums are moving away from the essentialist ideas of the nation, the way in which they are being used suggest that this shift is challenging. This is also true in the case of PNN, whose status as a national museum can still be argued against.

TYOLOGIES AND ORIGINS

One of the premises here is that the representation of national identity has become a highly charged issue for many national museums. According to Fiona McLean, "National museums are implicit in the construction of national identities, and the ways in which they voice or silence difference can reflect and influence contemporary perceptions of identities within the national frame."³⁷ Museums have thus played an important role as officially sanctioned arenas for the establishment of national unity.³⁸ This is particularly evident in Europe, where the development of museums transpired when the ideology of nations and nationhood came to full fruition. Whether those ideologies still operate similarly, if at all, are questions that are at the centre of national museum discourse. As institutions, the public often takes it for granted that national museums have existed for a

³⁷ Fiona McLean, "Museums and National Identity," *Museum and Society* 1 (2005): 1-4.

³⁸ Peter Aronsson, "Uses of the Past: Nordic Historical Cultures in a Comparative Perspective," *Culture Unbound* 2 (2010): 553-56.

long time, even before the emergence of nation-states. In fact, it is overlooked how new the ‘concept’ of the national museum is. Broadly speaking, the lacuna of museum studies in general was not filled until the 1970s, when a lot of academic work emerged on the topic.³⁹ The debates – both scholarly and popular - surrounding museums today, and national museums in particular, are prolific. Why do national museums exist? What past and present purpose do they serve? How do they differ and why? Such questions seem too obvious to bear mentioning for the museologist, yet, they need to be posed when we begin considering institutions that today identify themselves and are identified by the public as national museums.⁴⁰ If I were to ask why capitols exist, the answer regarding their ‘national’ purpose appears to be evident as embedded in political structures, but the role these institutions play take many forms, at once products of social structures and cultural conditions, and arguably what moulds the social and the cultural into such conditions over time.⁴¹ National museums are intrinsically related to the societies in which they transpired. Karsten Schubert writes that since the 1970s, “The museum is changing. In the past it was a place of absolute certainties, the fount of definitions, values and education... Today, the museum is a the centre of a heated debate about its nature and methodology.”⁴²

Given this, there is perhaps an overlapped understanding of how the national museum originated with regards to the following typologies outlined by Lee Dykxhoorn.

³⁹ Karsten Schubert, *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009), 15.

⁴⁰ Peter Aronson in Simon J. Knell, *National Museums: New Studies from around the World* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁴¹ See Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*.

⁴² Schubert, *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day*, 23.

He frames the historical typology of the museum in twofold: 1) as a repository for objects and 2) as a place for the exchange of ideas.⁴³ In the former, “the architecture becomes static, a container of objects, elitist, and cut off from its own time. It is a place meant to store and preserve the idea of a particular moment,” whereas the latter, denotes the Greek concept, *mouseion*, which means ‘a place sacred to the Muses’.⁴⁴ Dykxhoorn notes that for the Ancient Greeks it was the interchange of ideas that was the main purpose of the museum, and not merely as a container of objects. The institutions for which antiquity used to study special arts and sciences has since evolved into highly politicized spaces.

While the historical progression of the Museum is a history too broad to include here, what is of interest are the three widely used paradigmatic models explaining the origins of national museums. These are, “The spread of the Enlightenment, the nationalism born out of Napoleonic conquest, and the shaping of subjects into citizens.”⁴⁵ The desire to collect and systematically order the world was a practice emerging during the Renaissance, through encyclopaedic collections known as *Wunderkammer* or cabinet of curiosities.⁴⁶ These collections of materials from all over the world were aristocratic endeavours that turned into private treasure museums for the nobility and wider elite circles to marvel at for many decades. Eventually the attention moved from the representation of splendour to the possibilities of accumulated objects as a space of inquiry.⁴⁷ More specifically, the forging of nation-states in Europe during the mid-

⁴³ Lee Dykxhoorn, "Reuse the Muse: The Museum as a Transcultural Negotiator of National Identity" (Master, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2011), 13-15.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ , Peter Aronsson, “Explaining National Museums,” in *National Museums. New Studies From Around the World*, ed. Simon Knell et al., 30-31.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 31.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 44.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries culminated the development and promoted what would become ‘national museums’ with collections deriving directly from these aristocratic collections, as well as possessions from colonial conquest and territorial expansion. As Schubert notes, during this era, “the museum was the domain of learned gentlemen and access was quite restricted.”⁴⁸

All this preceded the 1753 establishment of the British Museum, wherein the British Parliament had made the decision to use public funds to support its first public museum. The British Museum became the model for the universal museum of the Enlightenment, aiming to display ‘the reach of earth’s creation to the present day’.⁴⁹ The French examples emerged in a different, revolutionary, vein. The Louvre, which opened in 1793, and Musée des Monuments français, among other museums established in Paris after the founding of *la République*, furthered the ideas of the museum as a public resource and became templates for the modern national museum. From the outset the French examples were all tied up with the ambitions and politics of the new French national.⁵⁰ “The museum did not only symbolise the new order, but was also an important tool in the implementation of its revolutionary agenda: it was through the arts that the public was to understand the Revolution’s history, its purpose and aims.”⁵¹ Both the British Museum and the Louvre also became cultural symbols of imperialist expansion

⁴⁸ Schubert, *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day*, 17-18.

⁴⁹ Knell, “The National Imagination” in *National Museums. New Studies From Around the World*, ed. Peter Aronsson et al., 4-9.

⁵⁰ Yet, according to Schubert, the idea of Louvre as a public museum had in fact already been discussed in the waning years of the *ancien régime*, although it took the Revolution to propel the radical new institution into reality.

⁵¹ Schubert, *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day*, 18-20.

and global domination, identities that both nations were cultivating.

Following British and French examples, national museums were subsequently established in many other European countries. The real growth of the museums' global expansion took place towards the end of the nineteenth century - each with an intriguing historical and political context tied up to its canon (Appendix C). 1870 marked one wave of Western imperialist expansionism, which in turn was followed by a second wave seen after the Second World War.⁵² In both centuries the need for post-war political restoration processes to be complimented with national display was critical in many countries. Although there are variations to what extent the national museum functioned as the major driving force, the symbolic role it played, and particularly what kind of politic it revealed, was always present.

The origins of national museums are important, because by linking the emergence of national museums to research on other national symbols such as flags, anthems and national days, future analysis will also attempt to say something about national museums as part of a larger nexus of national symbolism.⁵³ “The nation-building process may thus be explored by the dating of national symbols and shed light on that which is actually imagined as national.”⁵⁴ (In Norway, one could argue that this began in 1814). To underscore, Aronsson points out that the study of national museums as significant

⁵² Knell, *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*.

⁵³ Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, "Making National Museums in Europe – a Comparative Approach," in *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010 - Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizens*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

cultural institutions has been neglected for a long time.⁵⁵ He reminds us that, “The traditional grand narratives of national museums are built out of embedded ideas about the linearity of history, the evolutionary possibilities of institutions [and] of state-making trajectories. This is low-resolution history, satisfying the need for order and a safe direction for history both inside museums and in historiography.”⁵⁶ Ultimately, we need to be critical of this history and ensure that national museum narratives are analysed and understood in their situated contemporary context— a task that is much easier said than done.

NATIONAL MUSEUMS: SOME CONCEPTS

Within this broad nexus of national museum origins and the development of European nation-states, Norway’s PNN is rather modest in comparison. However, it is important to draw from this history to challenge how the new museum will be part of negotiating what it means to be a nation in a century of hyper-globalisation. History shows that PNN will likely interact with the creation of a political community, but in which Norway?

This framing ultimately calls for an analysis of what nations, nationalism and national identity mean, but I will only touch upon this briefly. The three concepts are all inseparable from one another, and did not emerge at the same time but rather presuppose each other. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner define nationalism as, “primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent, [it is] a theory of political legitimacy.”⁵⁷ Understood in these terms, the idea

⁵⁵ Aronsson, “Explaining National Museums,” 139.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (2nd ed.). Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2009: 1.

of political legitimacy, through nationalism is what has brought forth nations, and not the other way around. The presumed existence of states is necessary, often treated as a normative and even as an inescapable presence in the post-industrial world, but is by no means a sufficient condition for nationalism. Nations and states are therefore contingencies and not universal necessities that exist together at all times.⁵⁸

This is consistent with Eric Hobsbawm's observations, who wrote that, "Nations are more often the consequence of setting up a state than they are its foundation."⁵⁹ Nationalism, according to Gellner, holds that in the case of nations and states, one is not complete without the other, but each needed to emerge separately and contingently.⁶⁰ National identity, as formulated according to these processes, is a logical development that succeeds statehood cultivated and forged over time after political power has been established.⁶¹

The need for national identity, I would argue, is well articulated by David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Lowenthal examines how we celebrate, contest and domesticate the past to serve present needs. To him, the past inherited remains essential to the cult of commemoration, allowing us to make sense of the present while imposing powerful constraints upon the way that present develops.⁶² The past

⁵⁸ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* 6.

⁵⁹ E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 78.

⁶⁰ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* 6

⁶¹ Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*.

An example of national identity shaped this way would be what Lill Eilertsen presents: "The dramatic political changes in Eastern Europe concurring with major demographic changes in Western Europe have created a new agenda for using culture and cultural institutions politically to smooth or counteract the effects of the changes."

⁶² See David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

therefore acts as potent a force in affairs such as the building of national museums.

In a different vein, Lawrence Vale considers government buildings as a decisive mechanism to build a government and to support specific regimes.⁶³ Both capitols and national museum buildings have served specific political purposes in the processes of national formation and celebration of nationhood for centuries, “An act of design in which expressions of power and identity seem explicit and inevitable, both for the government client and for the designer.”⁶⁴ In other words, what a government builds (or does not build) can subsequently tell a lot about its governance or how it would like to be perceived.⁶⁵ Such processes are fascinating and inextricably linked to nation- and state building. In the case of national museums, both the physical building and the processes of negotiation reveal museum policy as an expression of national policy, particularly as part of the politics of nation-as-home.⁶⁶ National museums and nationhood must therefore be scrutinized in order to tell us something about the nature of the relations between the two.⁶⁷

Although national identity building and urban development efforts, as seen in Norway, do not always mark the day-to-day political agenda, they underpin the cultural image and reputation of a country. To borrow from Eilertsen, “The political functions of national museums are obviously of a rhetorical character, stating how politicians and leading specialists and professionals intend to reshape the national museums and

⁶³ Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, 3-6.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Aronsson and Elgenius, "Making National Museums in Europe – a Comparative Approach."

⁶⁷ Ibid.

accordingly to distribute new symbolic and material value to these institutions.”⁶⁸

National museums are symbols that represent their nations in various capacities, negotiate meanings of the past, present and future, which are all tied up to the ‘imagined’ concept as articulated by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*.

Anderson cogently observes the symbolic collective, the imagined community, where the individual’s ability to commemorate experiences is not personal, but part of the nation’s consciousness about the past and distinctiveness.⁶⁹ More specifically, the frequent binary perception of collective memory and cultural heritage as something that has been ascribed a social nature is often present in museum institution. In his words, “Museums, and the museumizing imagination, are both profoundly political.”⁷⁰

Given the different political processes of countries today, ambitions and functions of national museums vary according to the character of past nation- and state making. Take for example the differences between Western countries and the newfound post-colonial nations of the mid-twentieth century, which undeniably make interesting comparative studies as Anderson has demonstrated. Interestingly, Eilertsen adds that in recent decades there are, “surprisingly few differences between ‘old’ and ‘new’ national states in Europe with regard to museum policies,” which is one way we can examine Europe as a collective.⁷¹ Within this context, Norway is a fairly recent post-colonial project that has been affected in various ways of these global dynamics.

⁶⁸ Lill Eilertsen and Arne B. Amundsen, "Museum Policies in Europe 1990 – 2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia " (paper presented at the EuNaMus, 2012), 8-10.

⁶⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* Revised edition ed. (New York: Verso, 2006).

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 72.

⁷¹ Eilertsen and Amundsen, "Museum Policies in Europe 1990 – 2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia ".

As Aronsson claims, “national museums are taken as institutions of national collection and display, which claim and are recognised as being national and which articulate and negotiate national identity.”⁷² Yet, national museums are far from being exempt of reproach, where they try to be neutral, objective and rational – they are not. It took nearly 200 years before the assumptions at the core of the museum’s definition were subjected to close scrutiny.⁷³

EUROPEAN NATIONAL MUSEUMS (EUNAMUS)

For the past couple of decades, a profusion of research in the field of museology has focused on the impact museum spaces have on the public in shaping civic values, and the political work museums do pertaining to architectural processes. EuNaMus is a project in recent years that exemplifies the relevance national museums’ history and origins still have, and present a strong discourse of a post-modern development that calls for cultural policy to overcome the essentialist national ethos of many institutions.⁷⁴

The project became the first comprehensive overview of its kind of national museums in Europe. EuNaMus was designed to establish a dialogue on the future of national museums in a changing Europe, aiming to explore new ways to understand the creation and power of the heritage formed by European national museums to the world. More broadly, the project sought to reconnect the European people’s modern relationship

⁷² Knell, *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*.

”National museums are defined and explored as processes of institutionalized negotiations where material collections and displays make claims and are recognized as articulating and representing national values and realities.”

⁷³ Schubert, *The Curator’s Egg*, 15

⁷⁴ Aronsson, "Uses of the Past: Nordic Historical Cultures in a Comparative Perspective," 556-58.

with history and material culture. The large research project began in 2010 and culminated in 2013, and was supported by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme. The multilateral project grew out of collaboration between university partners starting with a network of young and senior cultural researchers with a mission to investigate, "beyond the stereotypical ideas of museums as either a result of outstanding heroic individuals, exponents of a materialization of pure Enlightenment ideas or outright ideological nationalistic constructs disciplining citizens into obedience."⁷⁵ The EuNaMus project recognises the political roots that accompanied the shaping of European cultural power following the Enlightenment and provide fresh insights on the European context.

Moreover, EuNaMus put interdisciplinary research on museums in a comparative perspective, creating a platform for unprecedented comparative studies that have broadened as well as deepened considerations likely to be central for citizens, cultural policy makers, and museum professionals for future studies.⁷⁶ If post-Second World War was the last big wave of museum making in the tide of post-colonial nationalism, I am certain that in a few decades, political scientists, museologists, art historians and theorists of other fields will look back to the beginning of twenty-first century as the third wave of modern history as an era of shaping national museums and its practices.

The 'language' in which the EuNaMus project was shaped suggests that developing cultural policy and further understanding of the national museum is instrumental, underscoring that it is "one of [the] most enduring institutions for creating

⁷⁵ Eilertsen and Amundsen, "Museum Policies in Europe 1990 – 2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia " 15.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 1-5.

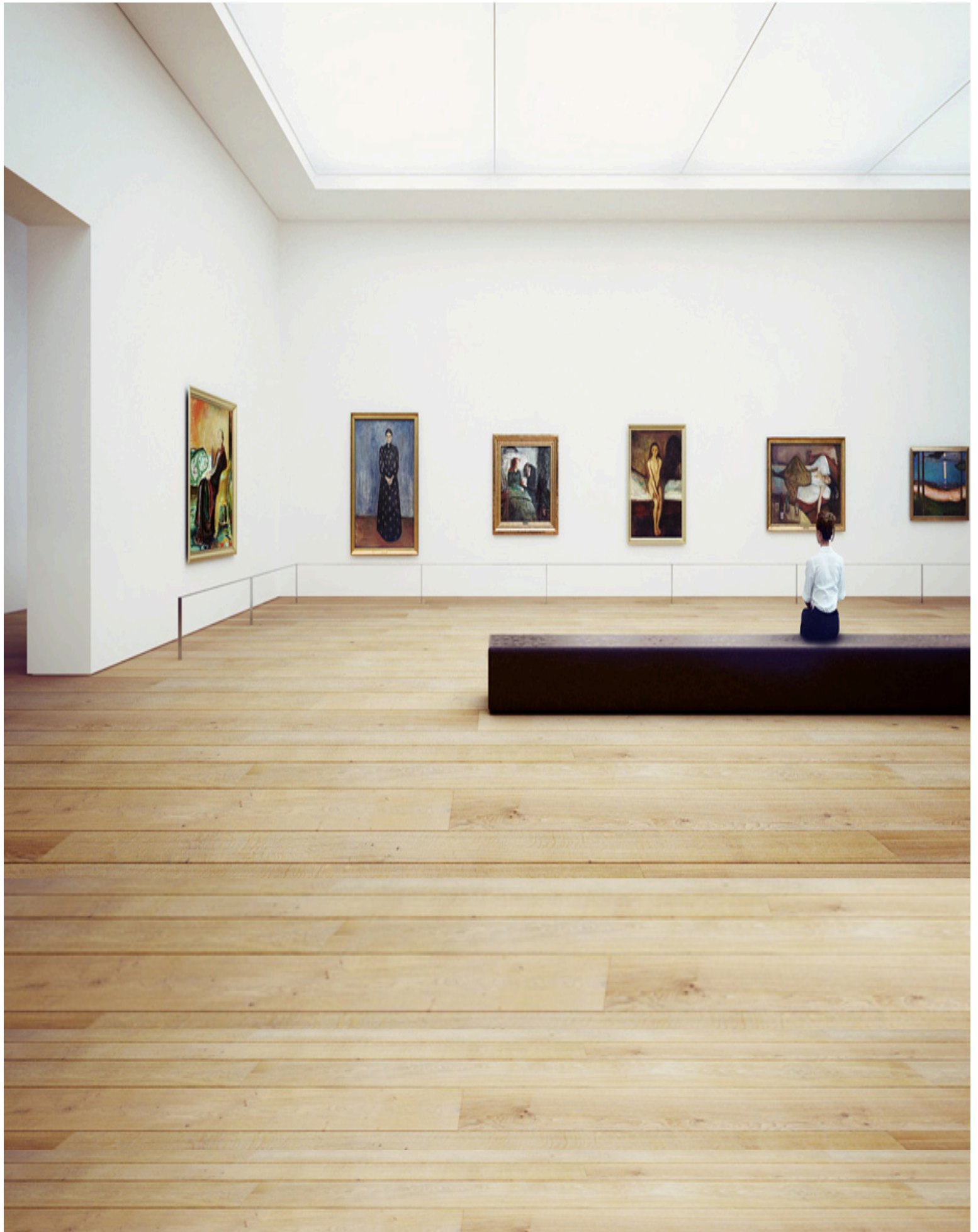
and contesting political identities.”⁷⁷ Reimaginings of the national are constantly confronted by questions of democracy and democratic values. For example, countries including The Netherlands, France, Denmark and Germany continue to prioritise national museums that communicate strong historic canons. Why, we might ask, is this the case, when its neighbouring countries in Sweden and England are taking a more multicultural approach aiming to display a more diverse idea of society? The cultural is inherent to the political, the question is whether the long-term effects of a project like EuNaMus will succeed in engaging the general public. Can national museums as political development promote and protect the interest of their own and the citizens? According to Eilertsen, national museum institutions, “As central producers of national narratives national museums have the power not only to define a nation’s relationship to the past, but also to reflect on its present situation. [Currently] the notion of ‘national identity’ is put to debate, and museums are accordingly being used by policy makers as instruments for negotiating identity, diversity, and change.”⁷⁸ Schubert supports these claims, saying that, “Of all cultural symbols the [national] museum is both the most venerated and the most contentious and therefore most vulnerable to sustained attack.”⁷⁹

Given this context, it is worthwhile asking whether Norway is undergoing a wave of *Nation Building* Museums, or is it a *Nation Building* Museums, or simply *Nation Building Museums*? What are the differences in these concepts and the kind of projections they might confer of a process like PNN that to the Norwegian people, if not of the world?

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 5.

⁷⁹ Schubert, *The Curator’s Egg*, 16



NEGOTIATING A NORWEGIAN IDENTITY

“Culture has many locations”

–Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 1994

In a speech delivered at the World Islamic Missions mosque (WIM) in Oslo, previous Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonas Gahr Støre, addressed the issue of plurality and unity in Norway: “To develop a new ‘we’ is our major task, especially when it comes to people with different relations to Norway. Our answer cannot be that other people from the outside must become more like us. We must rather expand and create a new image of what is ‘us’ - who ‘we’ are [...] Together we share the Norwegian society’s challenges. And we share the international community's challenges.”⁸⁰ The points Gahr Støre made in addressing this community about how the country’s cultural, economic and political conditions are changing speaks to the same attention going into cultural institutions that is supposed to define Norwegian society.

As the foregoing chapter offered, establishing and building national museums has historically called for a notion of a ‘we’ and the nation. Perhaps this process was more straightforward in a Norway of the past, where nationalistic expression was critical in the struggle for independence. The country has since developed in a unique trajectory than other post-colonial countries, positioning itself on the global policy arena in a way which suggests Norway is often bigger than it seems. Yet, even with its stable welfare

⁸⁰ Jonas Gahr Støre, "Å Skape Et Nytt Og Større ”Vi”," ed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oslo2006).

dimension and social advances through the past century, Norway is still faced with the introspection of what its identity is.

BUILDING THE NATION

Going back in time, history tells us that Norwegian state institutions were few and weak after 400 years of Danish rule. Yet, the cultural and intellectual elites were - towards the end of the Napoleonic wars - seeking distinct expressions of a national identity of their own.⁸¹ Museum institutions were therefore established with the aim of supporting and developing a Norwegian identity, and they played an active role in the nation's struggle for independence, which culminated in the separation from Denmark in 1814, and later from the union with Sweden in 1905.⁸² Norway depended on the work of museums, and the broader context of an independent culture in order to establish itself as a nation.⁸³ An example is an early public hearing from the Directorate of National Heritage on Conservation (*Riksantikvaren*), stating that, "the National Gallery constitutes central elements in the development of Christiania as a cultural centre in an independent state together with the Museum of Cultural History (*Historisk museum*) and the National Theater (*Nasjonalteateret*)."⁸⁴

Museums continued to serve the Norwegian project of nation building during the

⁸¹ Arne B. Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway," in *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010 - Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizens*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011).

⁸² Eilertsen, "Norwegian Cultural Policy and Its Effect on National Museums."

⁸³ For the Norwegian independence movement, see Francis Sejersted, "Unionsoppløsningen I 1905," *Det Store Norske Leksikon*, https://snl.no/Unionsoppl%C3%B8sningen_i_1905#menuitem6.

⁸⁴ Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

first half of the 20th century, as parts of the official cultural policy, which was important because Sweden governed Norway's foreign policy until 1905. Museums provided an authorized national narrative of cultural unity and predestined development. During this time Norway's political trajectory was conservative and, "most minority cultures were portrayed – if at all – as primitive or lower cultures unworthy of being associated with the nation's cultural history."⁸⁵ The prevalence of essentialist nationalism in the Norwegian museum field was, according to Eilertsen, imposed by the Norwegian Nazi party (*Nasjonal Samling*), who used the national narrative to further their own ideological agenda in the years before and after the Second World War.⁸⁶

This development demonstrates that the most important museums were established when Norway was eager to confirm national identity and culture.⁸⁷ "Museums [...] played a major role in developing and sustaining important symbols like the Viking ships, the Viking and Medieval heritage in a nation proud of its ancient past and material representations of urban, and especially of rural origin, from the more recent cultural history of the nation."⁸⁸ Given that political and cultural authorities started to develop museum policies immediately after 1814, the late nineteenth (era of Norwegian romantic nationalism) and the early twentieth century became the heydays of Norwegian nationalistic sentiment if we look away from the Nazi-influences.⁸⁹

Most of this narrative is taken for granted as part of cultural history today, but its

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Eilertsen, "Norwegian Cultural Policy and Its Effect on National Museums." And see Vegard Orheim; Hetland Stoveland, Øystein, "Samarbeid Med Den Tyske Okkupasjonsmakten I Norge. ," (Det Store Norske Leksikon, Sept 18, 2014).

⁸⁷ Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

absence in a project like PNN begs the questions, in what ways is the narrative preserved, and in what ways is it not? And more importantly, how will PNN's development be consistent with the new 'we' - as Mr. Gahr Støre would have it?

In my discussion with Professor Amundsen, who is the Dean of the Humanities faculty at the University of Oslo, maintained the view from his own work that the establishment of cultural institutions in the nineteenth century was decisive for Norwegian nation building. Whether the country really has ever had a national museum is not as straightforward, which complicates how PNN might be able to look back to this history the same way other European countries can. "Technically it is an institution we have lacked, but we cannot overlook the early history of the National Gallery, as well as the more recent founding of the national Sámi museums, although they hold a rather contested status." I asked Prof. Amundsen what it meant that Oslo now receives its 'national' museum building. "I assume that certain politicians and museum actors see it as a way to show the international community and the Norwegian people that Norway has a strong national culture supported by a strong economy. Other might view this as a confirmation of Oslo's and the country's east region hegemony of Norwegian culture. That Norway's political and economic elite wants to display that the country is European, modern and expansive is evident. Ironically this is being realised in a time when the oil-adventure is diminishing..." At the same time, he also added that the museum development in Oslo in recent years has focused more on the social democratic equilibrium than the preoccupation of museum ideals and national ideals, and that this is generally positive for the urban development. "Some will argue that Norway is historically a state built on the balance between regions that were in permanent conflict,

and not on national cultural ideas. Compared with other countries, Norway has seen a strange construction that we are still marked by today, also when it comes to museum history.”

To compare what Professor Amundsen characterises as Norway’s ‘strange construction’, we can consider the term ‘Norway’ which, as Iver B. Neumann observes, is full of ambiguity and by extension challenges the country’s claim of identity. Neumann is one of Norway’s most prominent scholars of international relations advocating for EU membership. His history of Norway is, in large part, an argument about the role Norway should take within Europe. In his work, he looks back to Norwegian history in order to understand what it means to use ‘Norway’ as a term today. He criticises ‘Norway’ as it appears in Norwegians’ conception of history, and consequently how this has marked European debates (i.e. EU membership). Neumann asks the reader: Who is it that has shaped the term ‘Norway’? His answer, briefly put, is that of the politicians and historians. His work is an attempt to settle with these historians and politicians, the content they have ascribed to the term ‘Norway’ and the political consequences this has had. Ultimately, Neumann asks, who has power over (the use of) the term 'Norway'? How has the concept changed? Can the term 'Norway' retain its power as such? What are we confronted with if we frame the new national museum as Norwegian *and* national within Neumann’s critique?⁹⁰

⁹⁰ See Iver B. Neumann, *Norge-- En Kritikk : Begrepsmakt I Europa-Debatten* (Oslo: Pax 2001).

LOOKING TO FINLAND AND SWEDEN

The history of Finland the Finnish National Gallery offers quite a different trajectory than that of Norway. The Ateneum in Helsinki, not inaugurated until 1888 was, “built for educational purposes... the national character of the collection grew with the development in Finnish art.”⁹¹ Like Norway, Finland’s development of museums and fine arts was affected by political upheaval in the early nineteenth century, when Sweden lost Finland to become Russian territory. This had a fundamental effect on Finland’s own self-image as the country was formulating its political and economic constitution. There was a lacuna in the cultural life of Helsinki, so with the help of well-travelled academics, the Finnish Art Society (*Finska konstföreningen*) was founded in 1861, influenced by the writings of Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and the German model of *Kunstvereins*.⁹² The Society had an extraordinary role in the production of a national history of art and artists, and significant efforts were put into this development.⁹³

When the Ateneum building was built, it united the fine arts and strengthened the need to present the story of Finnish art; it happened as an evolutionary process that nurtured the idea of collecting over time before establishing a national character and producing a museum.⁹⁴ “Finland was never going to be able to compete with the collecting of old European art by older and richer countries. Instead, it had all the potential of creating a collection of great national relevance.”⁹⁵

⁹¹ Susanna Petterson, "Producing an Art History of the Nation," in *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*, ed. Simon J.; Aronsson Knell, Peter; Amundsen, Arne (New York: Routledge, 2011), 138.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 141.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 139-140.

Whether the Ateneum building itself speaks to this national is another question, but some of this history is seen continued in recent years, when Helsinki commissioned Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art, to designate a separate space for modern art and offers an ultra-internationalist contrast to the Ateneum (Fig. 11).⁹⁶



Figure 11. Ateneum Museum and Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art, Helsinki, Finland

Finland is used here in part to underscore how, even within the Nordic countries, differences in cultural representations have been different. Aronsson, in an instructive essay on the topic, states that, “The Nordic States themselves have had relatively varied experiences of state-making and violence, which, in spite of contemporary similarities in political culture, are accordingly reflected in different historical cultures. Perhaps there is

⁹⁶ In the case of *Nasjonalmuseet*, it has been suggested that some of the older collections should remain at the current National Gallery, where the canon can focus on Norwegian works.

less in common than the Scandinavian rhetoric suggests?"⁹⁷ Indeed, comparing Norway's museum development to its Scandinavian neighbours today reflects how its cultural history is one of a relatively recent independent nation, despite the fact that as a Nordic country it can draw from 'a shared ancient history' and make uses of this past.

In a rather different example, the open-air museum in Skansen, Sweden, which was inaugurated in 1891 as part of the Nordic Museum, offers a very different account of what it meant to make a museum national. Its founder, Arthur Hazelius, had specific visions to 'remake' Swedish society, because "what our nation *especially* needs is to be *roused* from its indifference to its native country."⁹⁸ Mattias Bäckström explores the Nordic Museum as a socially reforming institution, rendering Hazelius's interesting museum vision that in some aspects can be said to have reactivated early nineteenth-century national Romantic Movement in Scandinavia. Bäckström notes that, "Hazelius worked in the medium of the museum and created an organic social sphere at a time when a different modern institutional vision was being pursued in the political sphere."⁹⁹ The founder was well aware that the museum's emphasis on folk community and concept was of cultural-historical significance as well as a national and a social one.¹⁰⁰ For Hazelius, the establishment of civic ownership was important, representing, "a different relationship between a national museum and a people, in which ownership was legitimised by the museum's ability to represent the Swedish people organically through patriotic love and cultural history, not through the modern institutions of the Swedish

⁹⁷ Petterson, "Producing an Art History of the Nation," 139.

⁹⁸ Mattias Bäckström "Loading Guns with Patriotic Love," in *National Museums: New Studies from around the World* in Simon Knell et. al, 70.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

state.”¹⁰¹ Thus, the open-air museum at Skansen was both ideal and real, but would it resonate in Sweden today? Operating in a different scale and mode than that of the British museum for instance, the Swedish case could not be more different from the British regarding the work it did and the vision it embodied from its founding. More importantly, Skansen’s open-air museum became the template for which many open-air museums in Europe modelled themselves on; the Norwegian folk museum at Bygdøy is one of them.

Taken together and seen in relation to the history of national museums, both Finland and Sweden constitute a broad array of attempts to symbolise their respective national identities. PNN can certainly be understood or compared in terms of its Nordic neighbours, but Norway is at this moment at a very different place than Finland and Sweden were when the ideas for their museums were envisioned.

NEW WAYS OF SHAPING THE NATIONAL

In my discussion with Ms. Birgitte Bye, the Director of Communications for PNN, she noted that, “Norway hasn’t had too much of a complicated history to look back to, and we haven’t really employed much of this in recent culture building efforts. After the war, it was important to reassert the nation, but because of Hitler’s vision of culture and such, nationalistic sentiment in cultural institutions was shunned.”¹⁰² Yet, there is no doubt that Norway has significant *lieux des memoirs* - places of memory - such as museums,

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 75

¹⁰² A significant frame for European and Western historical culture the last century has been the remembrance of the Holocaust, which is nominal in Norway. Yet, the country is still making sense of the atrocities brought by a single individual’s act of terror that happened 22 July, 2012.

memorials, and rituals (e.g. 17th May celebration) that combine mental and material spaces with references to a meaningful past.¹⁰³ This way of preserving national memory is *ipso facto* embedded in a place like the new museum, but there is much that suggests that PNN, however, is less about highlighting the process as a *lieu de memoire* to a given past, than it is to give the present a marker. I therefore sought, through a series of conversations, to understand how PNN is negotiating a new Norwegian identity as the country is forging itself in the twenty-first century.

An important starting point was to gain a sense of the internal positions of *Nasjonalnuseet* and what kind of use of national culture entails in their work. I interviewed Mr. Ulf Grønvold, was the previous director for the Museum of Architecture, and recently the project coordinator for PNN before retiring as a senior curator.

I began asking Mr. Grønvold to what extent the annual reports reflect the mission of *Nasjonalnuseet* and their curatorial activities, since the media often dominate the public perception of PNN. According to Mr. Grønvold the annual reports' aim is to convey different entities of the organisation, and that it is, "more of a commercial motivation behind it." He added that, "It is a different section of the museum that does this kind of work on behalf of the organisation, and to this end, it becomes a form of history making of the museum, as well as a marketing strategy directed at the audience in which tone and expression varies to the need and currency of the museum."

Speaking of the audience, I then asked whom the new museum will attract. "In the new museum, the concerns of the curators, broadly speaking, is not to alienate the visitors," Mr. Grønvold replied. "The focus is on the museum experience, and I admit

¹⁰³ See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989).

that there hasn't been enough priority on this, everything from text to language as a part of the exhibit, those are details that will make a difference for the new targeted audience." Like the other subjects I interviewed in Oslo, Mr. Grønvold also shared their opinion for the lack of priority culture has had: "In Norway, we've been awfully behind to build this kind of museum, especially compared to the Nordic and European countries. Germany for example, has built and still builds a lot of cultural institutions. In the 1980s there was a wave of museums being built across Europe, but we never quite latched on to this. We've had the oil revenue, so we haven't been concerned about building or updating a national cultural profile, but we have begun in the last fifteen years or so. And one would be mistaken to just be focusing on museums. It can also be seen with arts and cultural centres across the country, in Stavanger, Kristiansand, Bodø, and Bergen, all of these places reflect an enormous national effort to enhance culture."

In order to understand PNN, it is necessary to go back to the 1970s, when the first proposal was initiated for the National Gallery (see pp. 21-24). Mr. Grønvold has witnessed the steady development of the museum for decades, and seemed in many ways relieved that there is now a museum being built at Vestbanen. We began discussing PNN and the circumstances that led to the commission, as well as the choice of Kleihues+Schuwerk's design, *Forum Artis*. Asked whether the German firm was selected based on national criteria set by the Parliament, Mr. Grønvold reminds me that it was an anonymous submission, so the design was chosen first and foremost because it fulfilled several of the practical criteria that *Nasjonalmuseet* was seeking. He said it is a good thing that the design did not fall on a sculptural building, but one "reflected by German rationalism," as it would not have been wise to settle for a Bilbao effect.

We discussed the choice of material, which, I will later argue, shows the architect's assumptions about the cultural and social preferences of PNN. Mr. Grønvold said the stone façade was a decision made together by the PNN jury and the architecture firm, and involved little political attachments as such. "[The museum] will have a stone façade and interior consisting of wood, but this was a decision made by the museum and already envisioned by Klaus Schuwerk when the firm designed it. There was no political involvement that required the building to consist of wood or stone, although historically speaking it makes sense that both would be part of the national museum's design. If you look back to when Gardemoen (Oslo International Airport) was built there was conscious decision making behind the material."¹⁰⁴ Designed by Aviaplan, (a collaboration of several Norwegian architectural firms) there was, when the new airport was planned, a clear requirement that it had to reflect "good Norwegian building tradition and craftsmanship."¹⁰⁵ And it is true, to a great extent, that any visitors flying in to Oslo will be engrossed by the wooden interior that characterises the national airport. It seems that much of the same effect is planned for the national museum as well, even though this has not been politically anchored, suggesting that Schuwerk chose a solution that reflects the political role of the building, yet which is in many ways keeping a distance from the typical microcosm (e.g Viking history, 'land of the midnight sun') of Norwegian identity.

By contrast, Mr. Grønvold pointed out 'Sametinget' in Karasjok, which "Is an overtly symbolic building." Located north in the country, it is the seat of the Sámi Parliament of Norway. According to official statements from the commission, the

¹⁰⁴ Aviaplan, "Oslo International Airport Gardemoen," <http://www.nielstorp.no/?gallery=oslo-international-airport-gardemoen>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Norwegian government sought for a building that would make “the Sámi Parliament appear in a dignified way” and “reflect Sámi architecture.”¹⁰⁶ There was a clear need of that building to speak to the identity of the Sami people and by extension, what is part of Norway’s identity.

Mr. Grønvold restated that political involvement in terms of the museum building would yield unproductive outcomes. “The museum will be a result of purely architectural decisions, conscious of the national and the local.” He underscored this point by adding: “Is the Opera national? No, not really, its design was presumably envisioned for a Japanese context. The building happened to blend in to its landscape pretty well and became an enormous success. The only aspect of the national that was debated back then was the question of whether to use Norwegian granite or Italian marble. Evidently, it was the right decision to settle for marble and so on, but it boiled down to architectural decision-making, not political ones.”

Elaborating this, Mr. Grønvold said, “Klaus Schuwerk was the one who pushed for the idea of using local stone. The material, for some reason, is a subject matter that people seem to understand in Norway, which is clearly related to the slogan, “*til Dovre faller*.”¹⁰⁷ The media and popular debate often resort to the connection this slogan has with Norwegian identity, but as Mr. Grønvold maintained, “*Nasjonalmuseet* is designed to exist harmoniously with its location at Vestbanen, and we should take seriously the

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ The expression “til Dovre faller” (until the Dovre mountains fall) is widely used in Norwegian. It was used in the oath sworn during the Norwegian Constituent Assembly in 1814. The highest mountain in the region is called Snøhetta. In 1814 it was assumed that Snøhetta in Dovrefjell was the highest mountain in Norway, since the higher peaks in Jotunheimen had yet been discovered.

symbolic effects. Yet, it doesn't necessarily have to be based on political decisions that the building takes a national form. There is no doubt that public buildings have historically presented Norway as a modern nation - which is significant to Norway.¹⁰⁸



Figure 12. The National Operal and Ballet designed by Snøhetta.

We are still forging an identity now in the twenty-first century, focusing on 'being modern' by making the culture visible in various ways. If you take a capital like Washington D.C. for instance, that was about expressing an identity reflecting imperial power. There is little doubt that for Norway, solutions to our identity will be negotiated through certain buildings. But the aim is to present Norway as a modern nation, rather than to present the national museum as 'Norwegian', and this is perhaps more important

¹⁰⁸ By modern, it was also meant to signify the past, when Norway was striving for independence, as well as the present, wherein Norway is again on a mission for the 'new' modern

than anything else.” “The priority has mostly been concerned about the architectural functions that had to fulfil the curatorial needs of the museum. The programme and planning of the national museum is in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture – this makes it more national than most institutions that are locally governed, like the new Munch Museum. We haven’t been searching for what is particularly Norwegian – maybe the stone is as national as it gets.”

Evidently, there has been little stipulation from the Norwegian government to consciously look to Norway’s historical past. The legislature of PNN has arguably been insignificant in terms of maximising the national expression through architectural treatment, but this is also connected to the way the Parliament agreed to only govern the museum organisation from a financial point of view. To this end, the new museum will mean a lot for the profile of national culture and Oslo as a city that needs to be understood as a building that will represent Norwegian values by virtue of being a national institution, as well as having followed bureaucratic procedures. From the conversation with Mr. Grønvold, there is a sense that PNN will affect the national over time, and become part of what the new Norwegian identity will be. This is especially true in terms of the physical building, although there were no answers that could be provided at this point of time about the curatorial programme. For Mr. Grønvold, it is obvious that, “It is not a national building in the sense of its physical symbolic elements, but it will be a reflection of the time that we’re now part of shaping. This is as good as it can be at this point of time.”

TRICKLE-DOWN CULTURE

So this idea of a modern Norway, what does it actually mean? My conversation with Ms. Birgitte Bye from Statsbygg reflected this consistent idea that PNN is fronting a new cultural direction that the country is taking, but it also became more evident that the museum is concerned with international recognition, suggesting that the Norwegian identity perceived externally is just as important, if not more, than it is currently perceived internally.

I began asking Ms. Bye how *Nasjonalmuseet* alongside the new Munch museum will work to represent Norwegian identity or act as a nation building force. Statsbygg is responsible for most of the government buildings both domestically and abroad, so the work that they do is conscious of the ways Norwegian values are presented, whether this is through university buildings, hospitals, preservation of cultural heritage or penal institutions. Unlike some of these buildings, where the political role is often self-evident, the process is not as straight forward in a project like PNN. “Norway has not used culture in the same way other countries have done in its nation building. We are however starting to orientate ourselves in this direction. The understated architecture of the building is in part about prioritising subtle design. In some ways, we are looking to the way in which Finland built up their national identity. Finland hasn’t used a single flag in their nation building efforts, whereas we have relied on a lot of flag bearing; the national 17th May day, fjord and mountains – in short we’ve been a ‘flag nation’. This is why the jury went for an understated building that would give Norway a modern expression.”

Although Ms. Bye said that Statsbygg is not heavily involved in setting any of the symbolic premises of PNN, there is no doubt that they are more aware what this kind of

work means since Statsbygg is very active in planning monumental buildings. Statsbygg also oversaw the construction of the Opera building, and when I met Ms. Bye in Oslo, plans for the new ministry buildings in the Parliament quarter (*Regjeringskvartalet*) was taking shape, which is expected to be one of the most expensive projects Statsbygg has ever undertaken. “What these projects bring together is that they are part of fronting cultural values. The national museum will therefore be a really important museum.”

I then asked Ms. Bye why culture is being such a big priority right now. Not surprisingly, she replied that, “Norway was barely hit by the financial crisis and we are still benefitting from that privilege. But with the decline in oil revenues, there is no doubt that culture is a new priority. This is one major concern of the government, working to sustain the Sovereign Wealth Fund and so on. Moreover, Norway hasn’t had the need for deep ‘soul searching’, because we haven’t had the same complicated past that we needed to commemorate, but there has been a need for this after 22nd July. This has contributed to a much more complex confrontation with the future and our democratic society. Apart from this, the museum has not been invested in the historical national context.”

Although this might not have negative implications, the notion that the historical cultural past is acting on the ‘sideline’ became more perceptible, which is why I was again interested in whom the museum was going to attract and how they would relate to it. “One of the main aspirations of the project is to attract more people, and make art accessible. The large space of the museum is also planned in the hope of hosting international exhibitions in the future, and contribute to a high level of cultural exchange and expertise.” But will this outward oriented focus overshadow the priority of attracting local visitors? “The museum is working to make this a much more accessible space. But

this will take time, and we might not even know until the museum opens to the public. In Oslo there has been a barrier to what many people regard as high-culture. We are after all a country of ‘outdoors people’, but like the National Opera and Ballet has struggled with, the fine arts lacks a strategy to attract the general public. This will be a challenge, but it is not easy to predict what the outcome might be. It’s hard to say if it will attract more national visitors, the hope is that the growth in numbers of visitor will be relative to that of international visitors too.”

Ms. Bye could not speak for all of the upcoming plans of *Nasjonalmuseet*, but in terms of marketing and building brand identity for the museum, a strategy will be developed by Jane Wentworth *Associates*, a London based consulting firm that has taken on projects for the Ateneum Museum in Helsinki, Nasjonalmuseum in Stockholm, SMK in Copenhagen as well as the National Museum in Qatar and Tate Modern.¹⁰⁹ This kind of global profile is the ambition of many national museums, and by choosing Jane Wentworth it is important for *Nasjonalmuseet* to partake in this arena.

In relation to this, I asked if the focus on attracting more visitors and making the museum visible on the global stage is related to the Fjord City developments, and I was particularly interested in the question of access, given the museum’s location and the fact that Fjord City has been criticised for gentrification. The Fjord City plans (*Fjordbyen*), approved by the Oslo City Council in 2008, is a comprehensive strategy for urban

¹⁰⁹ On their webpage, JWA had published this about the PNN commission : “We are thrilled to be selected for this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to work with the museum at a key moment in Norway’s cultural renaissance. “There was tremendous interest in this commission,” says Astrid Dalaker, Director of Communications at the National Museum. “But there was nonetheless no doubt whatsoever that Jane Wentworth Associates was the outstanding candidate. We know we’re in the best of hands as we begin our collaboration with Jane Wentworth and her team.” See <http://www.janewentworth.com/clients>.

renewal of Oslo's waterfront, aiming to connect new areas and public amenities with the city centre (Fig. 13).¹¹⁰ According to Ms. Bye, "Fjord City is a risky project but a necessary step towards Oslo's urban development. It will provide the city with a new profile and public spaces that have not been available previously. There is a geographic and symbolic division that will always exist between Oslo 'West' and 'East', but this summer the new harbour promenade (*Havnepromenaden*) is opening, which will create a new connection between these stratified sociocultural zones. If anything, public spaces will provide the exposure to new city areas, and to convey this option for the public - both in the arts and the waterfront in general - will be important."

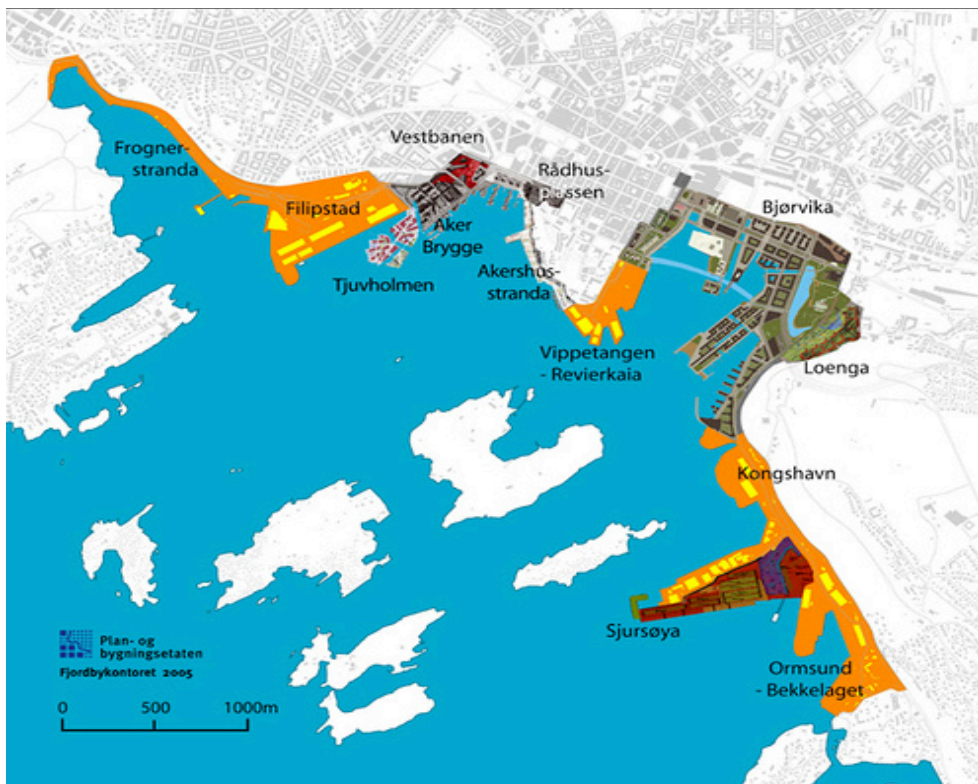


Figure 13. Area map of Fjord Byen.

¹¹⁰ Oslo Planning and Building Agency, "Fjordbyen," <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/politikk-og-administrasjon/prosjekter/fjordbyen/>.

What Ms. Bye said about international recognition and attracting tourists is a big part of the picture – reflecting that Oslo is ready to take on a different kind of status in the way it is perceived as a destination. “Oslo might have taken on a kind of tourism that reflects a certain life style, indicative that you can afford to go on holiday in an expensive country because of the living standards. Yet, VisitOslo (the official tourist agency) is good at promoting the city in a way that is reflecting rest of the country as well. The combination of culture and nature is what we’re good at, and this is the marketing profile that has been prioritised for a long time, and this won’t change, although the cultural options are expanding with new cultural buildings.”¹¹¹

In recent years, however, the developments plans for Fjord City have been more invested in the project to create a curated view of a metropolitan Oslo situated between the waterfront and forests drawing on Scandinavian ‘heritage’, but also a confined view of what it means to be Norwegian. By focusing on corporate buildings and luxury housing with ‘culture’, the Fjord City plans have thus far created a very narrow view of what Norway is in its projection to the outside world. At the most critical, one could argue, as Dovey does, “there is a complex dialectic whereby overt expressions of power in space tend to be commensurate with the vulnerability of that power. This is evident in the nouveau riche phenomenon of the grand house produced in the attempt to turn new money into social status.”¹¹² PNN is trying to avoid this, according to Ms. Bye, since it is recognising that a lot of national depth gets lost in what is globalised, but this might not be consistent with some of the ways that Fjord Byen is developing (Fig. 14).

¹¹¹ VisitOslo is the city’s tourist marketing and service institution.

¹¹² Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 36.

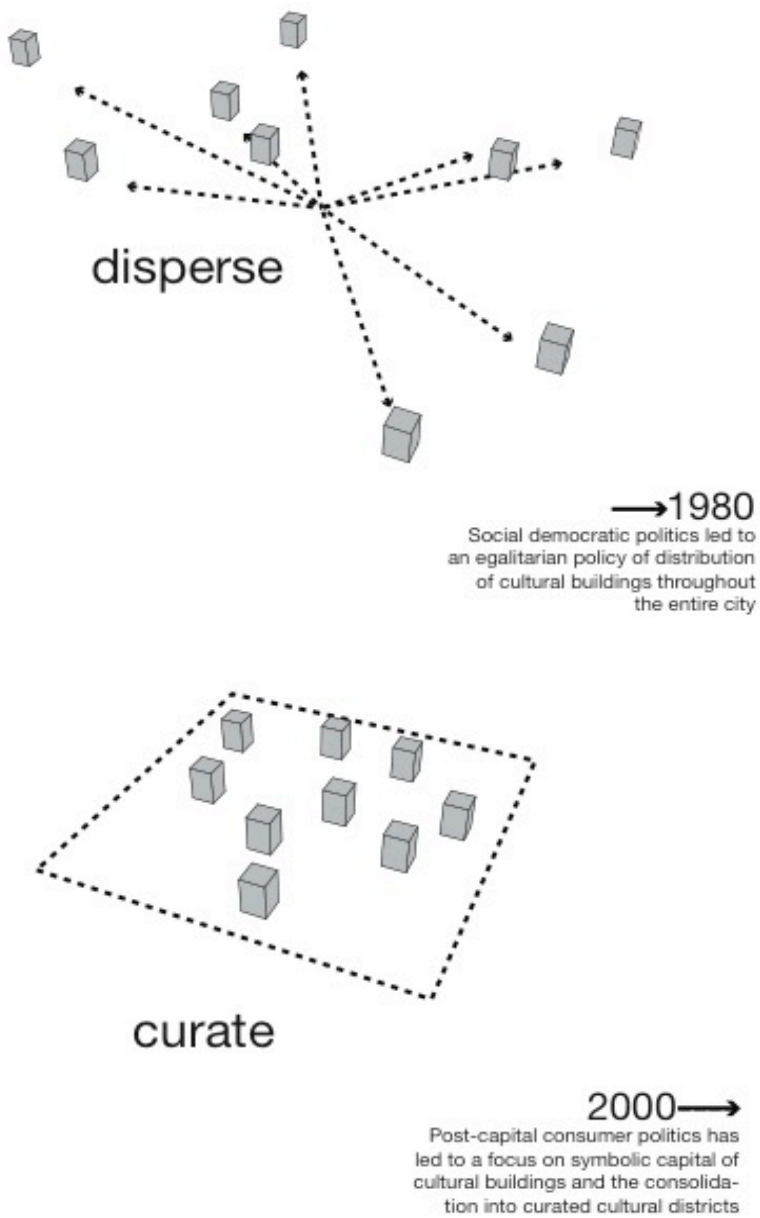


Figure 14. Spatial trend of cultural planning over the past four decades.

AN ARCHITECT'S VISION

From the conversations with *Nasjonalmuseet* and Statsbygg, understanding the architecture became critical, since the design vested in national buildings are important symbolic part of a nation's identity.¹¹³ Given that PNN is concerned with its outward projection, the architecture of Kleihues+Schuwerk is critical in exploring how the national is negotiated.

In an interview published in Statsbygg's quarterly magazine *Åpent Rom*, Schuwerk emphasised the democratic mission of the museum: "To me it is important that the museum is an open space that engages, who will bring people together and talk about what they are experiencing. I want this to be an accessible place, a place you can go to even if you just want to go for coffee with a friend."¹¹⁴ In response to where *Forum Artis* originated, he said: "The idea came from a kind of collective dream about the 'transparent' room. I saw something similar at a church in Switzerland, close to Zürich. I started with the history of Oslo, which the competition pamphlet had not specified or referred to. I researched the area thoroughly, through pictures and sources that explained the urban fabric of the location. I saw the historical axis between Akershus festning, the City Hall and Vestbanen, as well as the old street structures and wanted to consciously work with this [structure]."

To elaborate on these statements, I spoke with Mr. Arnstein Sande, Kleihues+Schuwerk architect and Project Group Coordinator for PNN, who could explain in greater detail what Schuwerk had articulated above. I was interested in how the

¹¹³ See Aronsson, "Uses of the Past: Nordic Historical Cultures in a Comparative Perspective."

¹¹⁴ Geir Anders Rybakken Ørslie, "Et spørsmål om kvalitet," *Åpent Rom*, Nov 2004: 16.

firm thought about the idea of Norway in their design. “The design was adapted to Oslo, so it’s placed-based in many ways. Yet, if it was going to look ‘Norwegian’ it would have stood out more as an individual - perhaps sculptural - building, and that was not the intention at all.” Mr. Sande said Kleihues+Schuwerk had shown practical approaches befitting the museum’s needs, as well as envisioning a design that blends into the city fabric and its surrounding architecture. “We focus on long-term quality and endurance as a standard that will make us ‘popular’. This is the first time we build something at this scale, and for us it is a fantastic opportunity, it manages to keep a distinct expression of the firm in an international prestigious building.” As for whether the Bilbao effect was desired, Mr. Sande, said that, “the firm does not seek to be anything beyond the project itself, i.e. we seek to purely market ourselves through the project and building. We do hope for a little bit of the effect Snøhetta had with the Opera, although we don’t work with the same context.” He also added that, “Schuwerk carries German values in its design of course, but we evaluated Oslo deeply and widely, and spent a lot of time analysing the city – particularly how to situate the object in a way that would be accessible - practically and architectonically.” It is evident that there are many references to European contemporary practice, especially Germany and Switzerland, but the firm was also very fascinated by the City Hall, a functionalist-style building erected in the 1950s, with a rich history of its own, that is adjacent to the museum (Fig. 7).

Given the drastic reconcentration of cultural buildings, some of the concerns raised about the Fjord City plans need also be asked for the institutions themselves. Not only will this affect the social dynamics of the urban fabric, but in terms of scale it will actually be a building that will overwhelm the size of the Royal Palace, although this

comparison need not be anything beyond scale since the monarchy only has a symbolic position in Norway (Fig. 15). Mr. Sande thought nevertheless that, “It is a an advantage that it is located in the city centre. It seems like a natural placement. The same goes for the Munch museum, it is important that monumental buildings is in the city centre.”

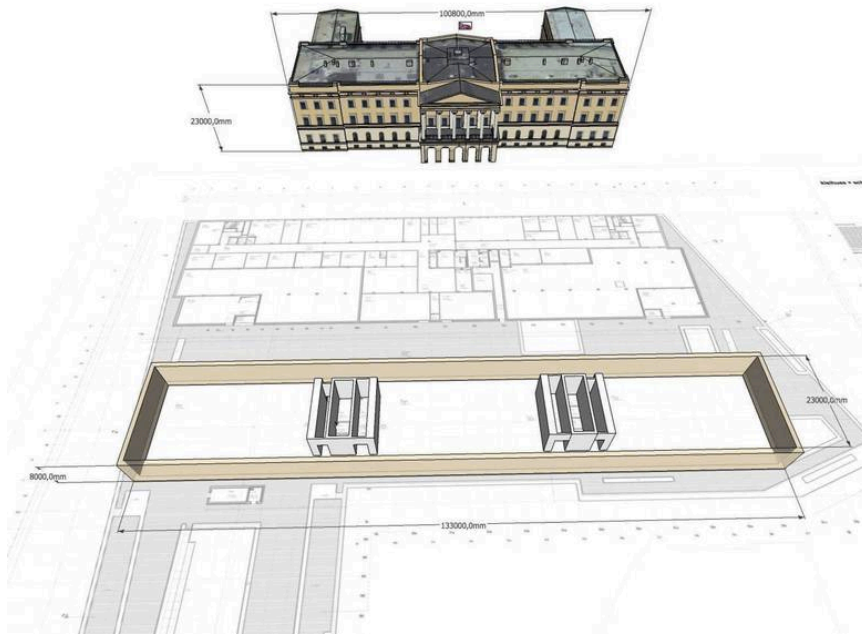


Figure 15. The size of the new national museum is 30 metres longer compared to the Royal Palace.

“The luminous hall (Alabasthallen) will be the central element that expresses that the museum is here to expand its presence and accessibility to the public. The volume was determined in close consideration of the waterfront and it was therefore important that part of the building is reflecting the fjord. It is important to underscore Oslo as a capital city with a monumental building like the museum, shifting the attention from oil industry is one reason why. Norway has a lot of institutional and public buildings – the effect of building a new museum might therefore not be as transformative, but it

represents a golden age of our oil wealth. It is an investment for the future to put money in culture, which is in the interest of Norway as a nation – this is a shift moving away from the previous preoccupation of Olympic arenas and investment in sports. Whether such monumental buildings are actually engaging the public can be said with less certainty, but it makes a difference, providing a sense of pride, belonging, and most importantly evidence of documented culture.” He also added that, “the ‘transformation’ of the National Gallery to *Nasjonalmuseet* has not been a very obvious process in itself. The audience is likely to regard the museum with a ‘new building’, and less so as a national museum. But, as Mr. Sande agreed with, all of this certainly points to on-going nation building.” Will the museum be free? “I’m not sure, but it’ll make a difference to who ends up going.”

What is particularly pertinent from all the things Mr. Sande expressed, is that the architect has a major stake in how a building is signifying something about its country. One could ask whether Kleihues+Schuwerk was one of the few submissions that maintained a national vision for PNN. *Forum artis* means a space for the arts, but *forum* also comes from Latin, meaning, ‘a place for discussion’, which evoke the Greek term *museion*, as a place devoted to the muses and for the study of arts and sciences. Perhaps this philosophy was what set the firm apart.

STONE SPEAKS THE TRUTH

When Snøhetta’s Opera building was under construction in the early 2000s, a major part that characterised the ‘national’ debate was whether to use Norwegian stone, or not to use Norwegian stone. The way that material has come to negotiate Norwegian identity in

these projects, I would argue, is quite unique to Norway. In the case of the Opera, several politicians had passionately argued for the use of local granite.¹¹⁵ Statsbygg's choice (who was also responsible for the construction) ultimately fell on Italian marble known as *Bianco Carrara la Facciata*, that came at the cost of approximately NOK 57 million.¹¹⁶ One politician's response to the decision was that, "This is incredibly sad. I had hoped that they would think deeper about this and made a wiser choice. As far as cultural policy and industrial policy is concerned, it is completely pointless that one does not choose Norwegian stone. Some of this has to do with the association with Norway's fjords and mountains, and that we do not make use of local stone in one of the very few cultural buildings which we will build in Norway, is for me absolutely incredible."¹¹⁷ In hindsight, the appearance of the Opera has harnessed tremendous reputation. Given the national and international success of the Opera as an architectural monument, little commentary has since been given to its absence of Norwegian stone. The choice of material in PNN is undergoing a similar process, but there has been less debate about it. Perhaps building cultural institutions is becoming more of a consensual process wherein PNN is setting premises for future projects.¹¹⁸

More than 19.000 m² with flagstones will be needed on the façade of museum. No decision has yet been made to what will be used and where it will come from, but Schuwerk has expressed that the use of Norwegian *oppdalsskifer* (slate) is ideal: "I think

¹¹⁵ Kristin Vold, "Italiensk Marmor til Operaen," *NRK*, Oct 26, 2014, accessed Feb 28, 2015, <http://www.nrk.no/kultur/italiensk-marmor-til-operaen-1.538548>

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Tine Skei Grande quoted in *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Camilla Bilsta & Jørn Haudemann Andersen, "Oppdalsskifer kan tape for kinesisk stein," *NRK*, Sep 12, 2014, accessed Feb 29, 2015, <http://www.nrk.no/trondelag/oppdalsskifer-kan-tape-kampen-1.11929736>

everyone agree it will sound a bit strange that a national museum in Norway is dressed in Chinese or Austrian stone. This is about emotions and national identity.”¹¹⁹ Culture commentator Agnes Moxnes observes that the use of Norwegian rock is a big theme: “It means a lot to many people that Norwegian stone is used because it is the government that finances the project and it will also be good for Norwegian industry. In addition, it is a matter of ethic that the identity and material have a Norwegian affiliation.”¹²⁰

Both Mr. Grønvold og Mr. Sande did mention that the stone façade creates recognition with Norwegian nature. The material (granite) becomes a part of the visual language and enables to connect with the people. Stone in Norway has traditionally been a local resource and represent a specific location, cities name stone after its colour.¹²¹ The paradox is that everyone seem to want Norwegian stone, officially speaking, but the law and regulations does not specify that it has to be, it can very well come from China. “Globalisation interrupts the local processes for sure, but this is also the reality, it doesn’t make it any less real than the clothes we buy from other parts of the world,” Mr. Sande noted.

Because Norway is bound by the European Free Trade Association Agreement (EEA), Statsbygg is committed to invite foreign stone suppliers to bid for the project.¹²² Unlike Klaus Schuwerk, Statsbygg has not made it equally clear that they want or need to

¹¹⁹ Klaus Schuwerk quoted in Ann Christiansen & Arve Henriksen, “Arkitekten ønsker norsk stein til Nasjonalmuseet,” *Aftenposten*, Sept 11, 2014, accessed Feb 29, 2015, <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/Arkitekten-onsker-norsk-stein-til-Nasjonalmuseet-7699789.html>

¹²⁰ Agnes Moxnes quoted in Camilla Bilsta & Jørn Haudemann Andersen, “Oppdalskifer kan tape for kinesisk stein.”

¹²¹ See Sixten Ringbom, *Stone, Style and Truth : The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture 1880-1910* (Helsinki 1987).

use Norwegian stone. According to their statements, “We do not have a need to say that we will use Norwegian stone, it is the stone quality and durability we prioritise, not its symbolic value.”¹²³ Mr. Grønvold also viewed the use of foreign material as unproblematic, underscoring that it reflects the global dynamics that Norway is already partaking in, and to this end, what ultimately makes the museum ‘national’ has less to do with where the material comes from. That it comes all the way from a place like China speaks to a Norway that generations from now will look back and probably understand the country at this point of time. However, according to a juridical expert quoted in a national newspaper, it is a contradiction that the Norwegian government spends enormous resources to build a Norwegian identity through its national products, everything ranging from salmon to design, meanwhile public commissions does not seem to emphasise the distinctive nature of Norwegian design and quality.¹²⁴

POLITICAL STATEMENTS IN ITS MANY GUISES

Is Mr. Grønvold right in saying that the stone, symbolically speaking, might be as national as it gets? Public cultural projects in Norway are undoubtedly vested in the democratic mission. PNN is no exception in striving to make art more accessible to the people - local, domestic and international alike. As a public commission, PNN is charged with national rhetoric. Because the funding and permission to build *Forum Artis* came from the Norwegian government, there were official statements about its national significance.

¹²³ Statsbygg representative quoted in Arve Henriksen, “Norsk Stein Uproblematisk,” *Aftenposten*, Feb 15, 2015, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/-Norsk-stein-uproblematisk-7905014.html>

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

Ms. Hadia Tajik, succeeding cultural minister of the Labour Party said the following about the museum developments: “This shows that Norway is a very rich artistic and cultural nation. Secondly, I think that the sum of these [cultural] buildings, and not least their contents will be fantastic for anyone interested in art and culture in Norway.”¹²⁵ Anniken Huitfeldt, the next minister, mentioned that, “The best architecture won. This will become a fantastic arena for the arts and will be significant for the visual art form. We have not withheld anything in the process, this is a large cost to the government, and serious economic considerations have been made.”¹²⁶ By the time the PNN construction started, Thorild Widvey said, “[The museum] will be a different experience, a modern building with modern communication methods, technology, a bookstore, restaurants, offering dining facilities on the roof and views towards the Akershus Fortress and the fjord. It will be a completely new attraction in Oslo. It is interesting architecture, and is going to provide a lot to the cityscape.”¹²⁷ Meanwhile, the minister is also calling for an increase in the private funding of the arts, which suggests an interesting trajectory the new museum might take, but the question of public versus private might critically affect what national culture is supposed to be.

From Statsbygg and *Nasjonalmuseet* the enthusiasm has been present all the way: “Norway needs a national museum that has the necessary facilities required to maintain and display visual arts in a way that aligns with the notions attached to its cultural and

¹²⁵ Hadia Tajik quoted in NTB, “Fantastisk uke for kunsten i Norge,” Jun 6, 2013, accessed April 10, 2015, <http://www.aftenbladet.no/kultur/Tajik---En-fantastisk-uke-for-kunsten-i-Norge-3192201.html>

¹²⁶ Anniken Huitfeldt quoted in Grete Kristin Hennissen, Cecilie Klem & Jan Carlsen, “Forum Artis blir nytt nasjonalmuseum,” *Arkitektnytt*, Nov 15, 2010, accessed April 10, 2015, <http://www.arkitektnytt.no/forum-artis-blir-nytt-nasjonalmuseum>

¹²⁷ See Ringbom, *Stone, Style and Truth : The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture 1880-1910*.

social significance.”¹²⁸ In addition, “It has taken us many years to get here, which cost us two board directors. But now the dream has come true. It has required strong political will to make this happen.”¹²⁹ “This is a project that will add up nicely into the range of Norway’s, not to mention the capital’s, monumental buildings. But *Nasjonalmuseet* also stands out in other ways. The project has ambitious environmental targets, and there are of course strict requirements relating to protection of our national treasures.”¹³⁰ Moreover, “We are hoping that the new museum will become a ‘living space’ for people in Oslo, a new place to gather, and that it will become an attraction along the lines of Louisiana in Copenhagen and Moderna museum in Stockholm.”¹³¹

These expressions of PNN lend themselves to a very broad role the building will have, beyond serving the ‘cultural nation’. This is of course related to the fact that - as Vale suggests - the architecture of government buildings is political architecture: “All buildings are politically engendered [...] buildings that seem to be an important part of the public realm, should perhaps be judged by broader criteria than those which attend to narrowly private interests.”¹³² This is why these statements need to be seen in critical light; they seem to perpetuate conventional expectations of what the museum would

¹²⁸ Svein Aaser, “En stor dag for Norge og kunsten,” <http://www.byggfakta.no/en-stor-dag-for-norge-og-kunsten-53449/nyhet.html>

¹²⁹ NTB, “Blir like dyr som operaen,” *Dagbladet*, Nov 15, 2015, accessed April 10, 2015, http://www.dagbladet.no/2010/11/15/kultur/forum_artis/operaen/nasjonalmuseet/vestbanen/14304083/

¹³⁰ Øivind Christoffersen, “Norges Nye Nasjonalmuseum”, *Statsbygg*, 2010, 21.

¹³¹ Audun Eckhoff quoted in Anette Torjusen, “Slik skal milliardsmuseet bli en publikumsmagnat,” *NRK*, Aug 31, 2014, accessed April 10, 2015, <http://www.nrk.no/kultur/nasjonalmuseet-med-store-mal-1.11904635>

¹³² The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, “Kulturministeren Markerte Byggestarten for Nytt Nasjonalmuseum,” <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/Kulturministeren-markerte-byggestarten-for-nytt-Nasjonalmuseum/id753988/>.

mean for the country, emphasising its symbolic effect that are consistent with traditional visions and functions of national museums, rather than speaking to the challenges of cultural pluralism and how the change of the urban fabric might actually contribute to complicating the process of political unity.

“REUSE THE MUSE”

I have hitherto been able to form my understanding of the Norwegian identity as negotiated by PNN from that of the inside viewer as well as the outside, but I recognise that this understanding has been dominated by organisations and individuals that represent top-down visions of what this identity might be. In the last interview I was therefore more intent on gaining comparative perspectives that were less attached to institutional aspirations, and operated within the academic and social realm.

For his master thesis, Mr. Lee Dykxhoorn proposed a design for a new museum in Oslo, “that acts as public infrastructure situated across the boundary between east and west Oslo.” Mr. Dykxhoorn was interested in exploring the role of design for politically charged projects, and at the time he was doing research, there was another widely publicised ‘culture debate’ that centred around the relocation of the Munch Museum, which his project was modelled on. Because he ultimately had taken on ‘a commission’ for a national project, I wanted to know what kind of visions he had and how his interpretation of Norwegian identity transpired. In his own work, he wrote that, “The imposition of this [design] system questions contemporary definitions of Norwegian identity through the relationships developed between the historic narrative of the museum

and the slices of city life that it presents at the intersections.”¹³³ How he arrived at this had begun with a leisurely trip to Oslo. Mr. Dykxhoorn told me that, “I visited Oslo for the first time in 2008, staying with family friends. From general conversations they were telling me about the issues that were going on about immigration in Oslo, and how the country was dealing with a big influx of population from Somalia and other African and Middle Eastern countries.” To him, it was interesting to try to understand how the issues around immigration revealed, “this collective decision by Norwegians that you suddenly identify with a particular group.” By this Mr. Dykxhoorn was talking about how national values were projected in relation to integration. It made me think of how PNN, in claiming visitor empowerment, is yet to have a concrete strategy for seeking alternative practices that would build the visitor’s connection with the museum beyond its physical spaces. How democratic will the museum’s vision be, if the museum allows for a potential identity that can exclude, to be formed within it?

Being able to talk to a non-native about the Norwegian museum building process helped refined the ways in which I have tried to consider PNN in relation to other countries. For Mr. Dykxhoorn, the decision to design a museum was somewhat arbitrary just as Oslo was somewhat of an arbitrary location. But when he settled for the topic, he was interested in the immigration debate that was going on in Norway. The way Mr. Dykxhoorn understood it was that a lot of this had to do with Norwegian trying to figure out what it means to be Nordic, Scandinavian and even Norwegian, while dealing with the ‘outsider’s dilemma’. According to the research that Mr. Dykxhoorn did with information from the public statistics database, 25 percent of Oslo’s population in 2008

¹³³ Dykxhoorn, "Reuse the Muse: The Museum as a Trancultural Negotiator of National Identity," 3-5.

was from a different ethnic background.¹³⁴ Moreover, the percentage of the Norwegian population born in Norway has shifted from 97 percent in the 1980s to 89 percent in the 2010s.¹³⁵ So the museum Mr. Dykxhoorn envisioned was, in a political way, about representing this huge demographic shift through design, both its exterior and collections.

The project proposed connecting artefacts as a strategy to construct transcultural identity in the museum, although I found it curious that his understanding of cultural representation was focused on the most obvious aspect of local material culture and national figures. Spatially, his vision about connecting the city by using the museum as infrastructure was fascinating. Transporting visitors from one part of the city to another in a way that the public transport does not is not often seen in a museum, “undermining through process the traditional modes of cultural legitimation of the museum and allowing for an imposition of an alternate kind of user driven identity for the city.”¹³⁶

Mr. Dykxhoorn explained that, “Oslo became a very interesting place because of its subcultures, particularly with regard to how it is dealing with urban development. There is no doubt that Oslo is picking up a European model of dealing with post-industrial sites, the use of cultural planning is seen many other countries. But it is not obvious to predict how this will be for a place like Norway - it is only through academic models we see how this might turn out. I picked Norway because rest of the world, so to say, had already gone through this kind of [identity] process.”

Mr. Dykxhoorn was not surprised by Kleihues+Schuwerk’s design solution, given that the Vestbanen property was confined by existing structures. I told him about my

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

work with PNN and asked him why he thinks that the way the project is currently planned for the public seems disconnected with Norway's modern notions of national identity. "There is this general idea that art for the people equates to sharing culture. But the truth is, as I have seen through working with other museums, is that most projects begin with very "public aspirations." Once it comes down to making individual decisions about a project there is pressure to take certain directions that will cater to the protection of the art, existing patrons, and people that have a stake in the museum." It is yet difficult to predict who will be the main visitors of the new museum, why are they there, what is the museum doing for them and what are they doing for the museum. Certainly, the choice of having the national museum's brand identity developed by a London based firm with a globalised client base suggests one way in which this is compromising its 'public aspirations', although further comparisons with the museums whose brand identity have been established is needed. Another is that the use of material has also demonstrated the ways in which the Norwegian identity, in an interesting way, might still be promoted by using either local or international stone, but again, this is reflective of the ways PNN choose to be perceived.



NORWAY UNBOUND

“Many have reach terms on that the ‘culture debate’ is the surest sign that all is well in the Kingdom.”

- Odd Gunnar Skagestad, *Minerva*, 2007¹³⁷

As I discovered throughout this project, the current focus on ‘building culture’ is ultimately more than a strategy to secure an alternative mode of production or strive for national display during the heydays of sovereign wealth, although both are implicit and anchored in *Prosjekt Nytt Nasjonalmuseum*. The museum is a complex microcosm, and as the planning around ‘building culture’ both symbolically and physically, is ongoing, it is evident that PNN is negotiating Norwegian identity. *How* it is negotiating is by revealing how the museum is representing a nation that is seemingly less interested in being contingent on nationalistic expression, compared to Norway’s nation building past. To this end, it is filling the lacuna, but it also shows that the role of the historic past in the present, the way it can include and exclude, is unresolved in question of Norwegian identity.

This is reflective in the building itself, which seems to become a quiet giant, a subdued and cool colossus with a distinct horizontal orientation and rational form. However, is *Forum Artis* understated in a way that people will understand its democratic role, or is it merely a “strategic” solution in a given architectural space? The promise of architecture need not to be literal, which is why the design emerges as neutral, but neutrality always entails politics. Yet perhaps this rich ambiguity can be interpreted

¹³⁷ Odd Gunnar Skagestad, “Tullinløkka – atter en gang,” *Minerva Tidskrift*, June 12, 2007, <http://www.minervanett.no/tullinlkka-atter-en-gang/>, accessed May 20, 2015.

according to the many vistas of a modern Norway that will be more than just a building that could exist anywhere.

It is not easy to predict whether it will become a unifying building for everyone. Only if the building is able to change along with a Norway that is likely to look different from thirty, forty years from now on, it can avoid being the crystallisation of a given cultural or political moment that show the preferences of a minority group. Moreover, the museum has a responsibility as national and public repository to maintain and cultivate national interests, but who this national will speak to can only be determined over time and there are contradictions implied by the current programme.

As the foregoing conversations reflect, *what* Norwegian identity *is* at this point of time remains inconclusive, but PNN suggests that there is a tentative, curated form of culture, a subidentity that aims to represent both an ‘Oslo-ness’ (subnational) and ‘Norwegianness,’ (national) but perhaps more importantly a ‘Globalness’ (international). Perhaps it is a position of privilege to aim for these projections without great cost to society. But who is shaping the premises of these projections? Is the democratic reality kept at an arm’s length? To borrow from Bhabha, “we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity [...]. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the ‘beyond’: an exploratory, restless movement caught so well in the French rendition of the words *au-delà* - here and there, on all sides, *fort/da*, hither and thither, back and forth.”¹³⁸ This sense of Norway unbound will continue in the years to come, even when the new

¹³⁸ Homi Bhabha, introduction in *Location of Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 1994): 7.

museum opens to the public. As Lotte Sandberg's book title suggests; for now,
"Everybody is talking about the museum."



APPENDIX A: Top Six Finalists for the Oslo's national museum



“Urban Transition” by JAJA Architects ApS, Copenhagen. (2nd price)



“Tryllesken” by Henning Larsen Architects A/S, Copenhagen. (3rd price)



“216 m_box” by Narud Stokke Wiig Arkitekter og Planleggere AS og Narud Stokke Wiig Sivilarkitekter AS, Oslo

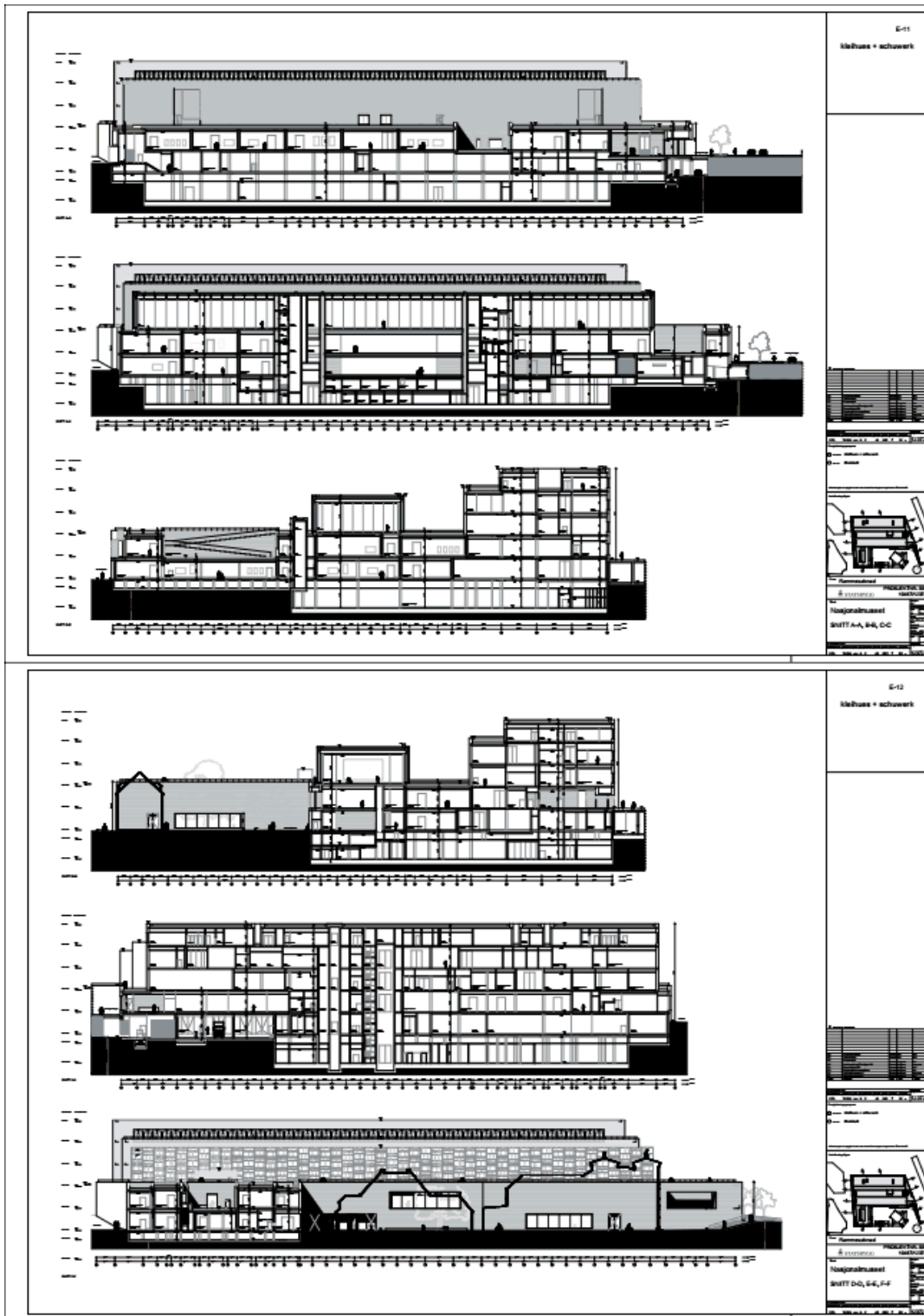


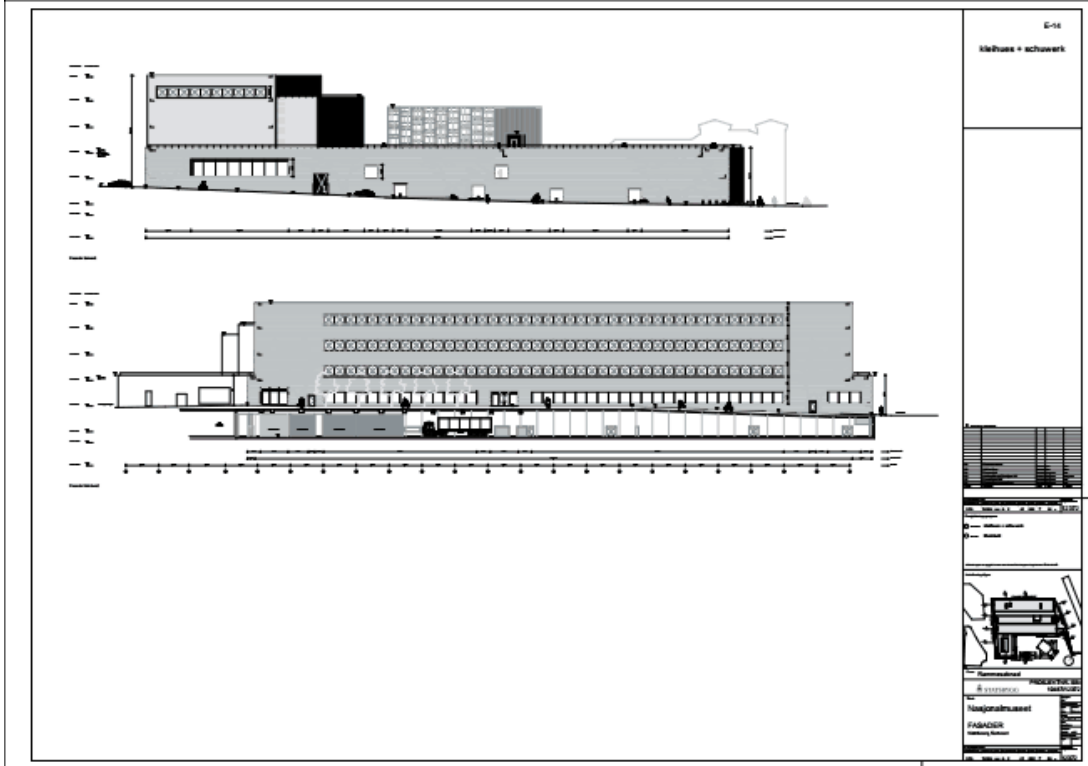
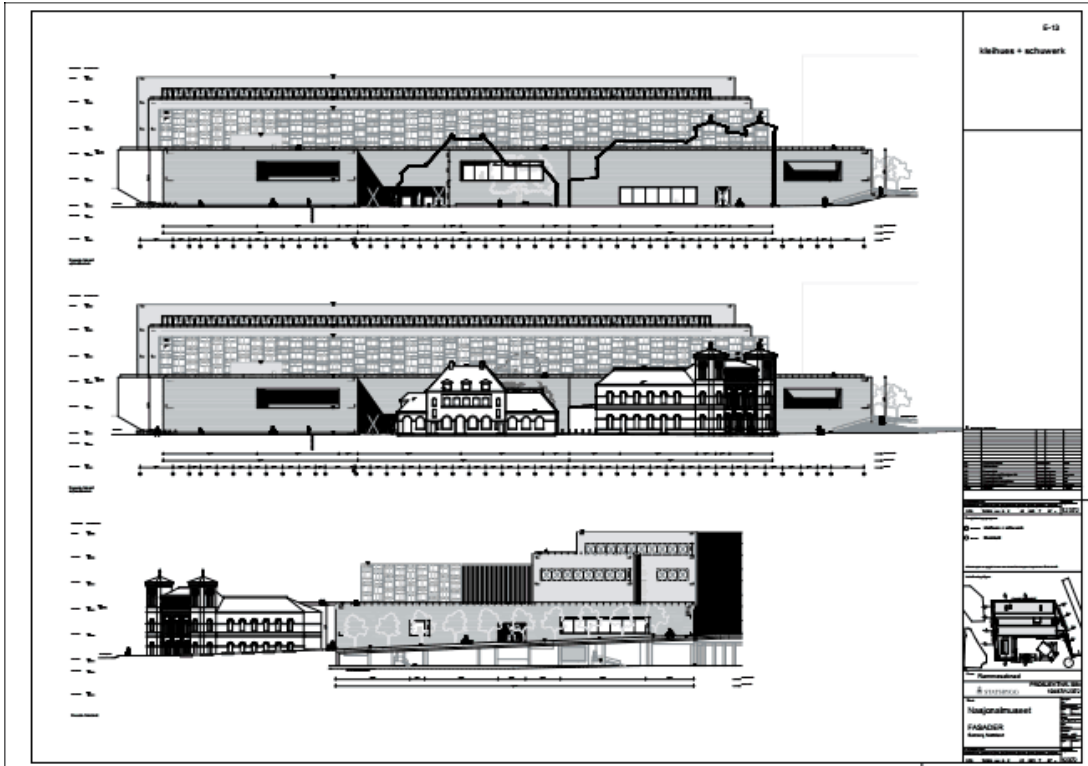
“Urban Canvas” by Sleth Modernism, Århus.



“Back in Black” by Erling Moes Tegnestue, Oslo.

APPENDIX B: Plans, Kleihues+Schuwerk's design of *Forum Artis*





APPENDIX C: European National Museums Establishment

Country	Museum	Inauguration	Actor	Temporal reach
Britain	The British Museum	1759	Sir Hans Sloane, Parliament, Aristocrats	Creation of the earth to the present day.
France	Musée du Louvre	1793	Revolutionary government	10 000 BC to 1848.
Czech Republic	National Gallery	1796	Aristocracy	14 th to 20 th c.
Belgium	Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique	1801	Monarch	11 th to 19 th c.
Hungary	National Museum	1803	Aristocracy	History of civilization.
Netherlands	The State Museum in Amsterdam	1800-1808	Monarchy, City of Amsterdam	1100 - 1900.
Austria	Universal-museum Joanneum	1811	Arch-duke Johann, Steirischen Stände	All encompassing.
Norway	Commission of Antiquities	1811	Private organisation	Antiquity to Medieval times.
Spain	Prado Museum Museo Nacional del Prado	1819	Spanish Crown, Spanish state	Classical to Neoclassical period. Middle Ages to 19 th c.
Croatia	Archaeological Museum of Split	1821	Monarch, Emperor Franz I, Regional Parliament	Prehistory to Early Christianity.
Slovenia	National Museum of Slovenia	1821	Monarch, Aristocracy, Church and civil society	Antiquity to the present.
Sweden	National Portrait Gallery	1823	Court, Monarch	Renaissance to present.
Denmark	National Museum	1827	Monarch	Stone Age to contemporary society.
Serbia	The National Museum	1844	Princely collections and State	Prehistory to the present day.
Finland	The Finnish Art Society	1846	Civil Society, Aristocracy	19 th h c.
Germany	Germanic National Museum	1852	Aristocracy (1852), Parliament	Pre-history to 1650 at opening.
Luxemburg	National Museum of Natural History	1854	Scholarly societies	Geological time to present day.
Scotland	National Museum of Antiquities	1858	Society of Antiquaries, Aristocracy and middle class patrons	Prehistory to early Modern period.
Malta	Palace Armoury	1860	British Governors	16 th c. to 19 th c.
Italy	Uffizi Gallery	1860/61	State	1581-2000.
Poland	Museum of Fine Arts (1862-1916) then National Museum	1862	Tsar of Russia, local government	Antiquity to Contemporary period.

Iceland	The Antiquarian Commission	1863	Private initiative, Parliament	Settlement (870s) to the present day.
Estonia	Estonian History Museum	1864	Civil society	8000 BC to the present.
Romania	National History Museum of Romania	1864	Aristocracy	Pre-History to present.
Turkey	Ottoman Imperial Museum	1869	Ministry of Education	Prehistory - 18 th c.
Portugal	National Museum of Ancient Art	1884	Monarchy	1200-1850.
BiH	National Museum of BiH	1888	Civil society, regional government, state	Antiquity to the present.
Greece	National Archaeological Museum	1893	Archaeological Service	Greek Neolithic to Late Antiquity (7 th millennium BC to 5 th AD).
Latvia	National History Museum of Latvia	1894	Civil society	9000 BC to 1940.
Wales	National Museum Cardiff	Late 19 th c.	Local and national politicians	Prehistory to the present.
Switzerland	Swiss National Museum	1898	Swiss federal parliamentary act	5000 BC to 20 th c.
Bulgaria	National Archaeological Museum	1905/06	Bulgarian Learned Society, Ministry of Culture and Education, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences	Bulgarian and Balkan History, Pre-History, Antiquity to the Middle Ages.
Ireland	National Museum of Ireland, Archaeology	1908	Politicians in Dublin	Prehistory to ca. 1550.
Cyprus	Cyprus Museum	1909	British Archaeologists, Greek Cypriot intellectual elite	Neolithic period to Roman period.
Lithuania	National M.K. Čiurlionis Art Museum	1925	Artists, intellectuals, nation-builders of the 1920s-30s	1400s-1900s.
Slovakia	Slovak National Museum	1928	Civil society	Slovak territory from prehistory till today.
Northern Ireland	Ulster Museum Belfast, National Museums Northern Ireland (NMNI).	1962	Parliament of Northern Ireland, Belfast Corporation	Cosmic time (geology), pre-historic to modern (history).
Sápmi	The Sámi Collection	1972	Private initiative	Sami culture in general, time not specified.

APPENDIX D: Norwegian National Museums Establishment

Summary table, Norway

Name	Inaugurated	Initiated	Actors	Ownership	Type	Values	Temporal reach	Style Location
1. Commission of Antiquities <i>Antikvitets-kommissionen</i> Continued as:	1811	1811	Private organisation	Private	Archaeology	Norwegian Pre-History and History	Antiquity to Medieval times.	Christiania Cathedral School, located in Christiania (former capital).
2. The University's Collection of National Antiquities <i>Universitetets Oldsaksamling</i>	1829	1823	University professors	State	Archaeology	Norwegian Pre-History and History	Stone Age to Medieval times.	Old university building (1828). <i>Domus Academica</i> (1852) in Neoclassical style, Oslo.
3. The University's Coin and Medal Collection <i>Universitetets Mynt-kabinett</i>	1835	1817	University professors	State	Cultural History	Norwegian and International Foreign Coins and Medals.	650 BC to today.	Old university building (1835), <i>Domus Academica</i> (1852) in Neoclassical style, Oslo.
4. The University's Ethnographic Museum <i>Universitetets Etnografiske Museum</i>	1857	1854	University professors	State	Cultural History	Norwegian Folk Culture, Sami Culture, Non-European cultures	No specific time span.	<i>Domus media</i> (attic) in Neoclassical style, Oslo.
1-4. United as Historical Museum <i>Historisk Museum</i> (1904), Museum of Cultural History <i>Kulturbistorisk Museum</i> (2004)	1904	1902	University professors	State	Archaeology, Cultural History	Norwegian Pre-History and History, Non-European cultures		Art Nouveau and 'Norwegian' style, located in the central cluster of Museums, Oslo. Viking ship museum, as part of the above in modern, 'sacral' style, located close to the Norwegian Folk Museum.
ART AND DESIGN: A SECOND LINE OF MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT								
5. The National Gallery. <i>Nasjonalgalleriet</i>	1842	1836	Parliament, Bank of Oslo	State	Art	Norwegian and European Art	Antiquity to 1950(emphasis: 1800s-1900s).	The Royal Castle (1842-) in Neo-classical style. The National Gallery (1880) in Neo-Renaissance style, in central cluster, Oslo.
6. The Museum of Decorative Art and Design. <i>Kunstindustrimuseet</i>	1877	1876	Professors, architects, artists.	Private	Art	Norwegian and European Design	Antiquity – present time.	Neo-Baroque and Art Nouveau, in central cluster.
7. Museum of Contemporary Art <i>Museet for Samtidskunst</i>	1990	1990	Parliament, museum curators.	State	Art	Norwegian and International (1945)	1945 to today.	Old Norwegian bank building (1907) in Jugend style. Located in historical city centre and Art museum quarter, Oslo.

5-7. United as National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design <i>Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design</i>	2003	2003	Parliament, museum curators	State Foundation	Art	Norwegian and International Foreign art		Still kept in original exhibition buildings, Oslo.
POST-REFORMATION MATERIAL: A THIRD LINE OF MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT								
8. Norwegian Folk Museum. <i>Norsk Folke-museum</i>	1896	1894	Professors Private initiatives	Private foundation	Cultural History	Norwegian and Sami culture	1500 to today.	Visitors centre (1995) in postmodern style, exhibition complex (1934 - 38) in modern style and 158 historical buildings, located in Museum cluster. outside Oslo.

APPENDIX E – Interview template (in Norwegian)

1. Nasjonalmuseet

- Hva betyr det at Norge får et såkalt nasjonalmuseum?
- På hvilken måter har vi manglet dette bygget (og fusjonen av organisasjonen) som et nasjonalt symbol?
- Hva slags historie har den nye prosessen rundt Vestbane prosjektet sett til? (dvs. lokal, internasjonal, samtid, Norges grunnleggelse?)
- Hvordan forholder Nasjonalmuseet seg til et nasjonalt museums (inter)nasjonale rolle? dvs. representering av en nasjons kultur, symbol politikk osv.
- Hvem styrer nasjonalmuseet?
- Kan du forklare prosessen rundt utbyggelsen på Vestbanen?
- Hvem bygges nasjonalmuseet for? Hvordan jobber museet med å inkludere sosialt mangfold?

2. Kulturpolitikk / kulturplanlegging

- Hva slags (andre) samfunnsmessige mål har Nasjonalmuseet?
- Til hvilken grad mener du kultur blir brukt som en strategi, både for byutvikling og på vegne av Norge generelt?
- Hvordan har debatten rundt nasjonalmuseet påvirket planleggingen?
- Var det noen gang snakk om finans-krise påvirkninger?

3. Byplanlegging

- Hva mener du er god byplanlegging?
- Hvilken av disse kvalitetene ser du igjen i Nasjonalmuseet med tanke på lokasjonen på Vestbanen?
- Fremmer Nasjonalmuseet byutvikling, på hvilken måte?
- Hva vil du si er hovedtilknytningene mellom Nasjonalmuseet og Fjordbyen – er prosjektet innovativ byplanlegging?

4. Samlokalisering

- Hva blir Oslos byprofil om 5-10 år?
- Hva synes du om samlokaliseringen av museer og Operaen langs Oslos sjøfront?
- Er dette god kulturpolitikk? Hvorfor / hvorfor ikke?
- Er det fare for at imagebygging av Vestbanen og resten av Fjordby-områder kommer til å handle mer om retorikk fremfor virkeligheten?

5. Arkitektur/ Offentlig rom

- Hvor viktig var/er arkitektur i planleggingen/konstruksjonen på Vestbanen?
- Hvordan falt valget på Kleihues & Schukwerk?
(mulighet til å se på de andre bidragene?)
- Med sammensetningen av kultur, næringsliv og boliger samt åpne allmenninger som vil komme til sjøfronten, hva blir utfordringene for Nasjonalmuseet?
- Hvem tror du museet og dets område kommer til å bli et sted for?

6. Stedsmarkedsføring og imagebygging

- Hvordan mener du Nasjonalmuseet vil bidra til imagebygging og stedsmarkedsføring av Oslo?
- Hvordan kommer Nasjonalmuseet til å markedsføre seg?
- Konsulentfirmaet Jane Wentworth Associates, kan du nevne litt om hva de kommer til å gjøre?

7. Governance-prosesser og aktører

- Hvilken interesser, utenom offentlige aktører, påvirker Nasjonalmuseet mest?
- Synes du at Nasjonalmuseet burde gå i retningen av offentlig-privat samarbeid?
- Hvordan kan Nasjonalmuseet hjelpe til å skape et kulturelt mangfoldig bydel?

8. Annet

- Noe mer som kan tilføyes eller understrekes?
- Andre du kan anbefale meg å snakke med?

APPENDIX F – “Negotiating a Norwegian identity”



REFERENCES

- Affairs, The Ministry of Cultural. "Kulturministeren Markerte Byggestarten for Nytt Nasjonalmuseum." <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/Kulturministeren-markerte-byggestarten-for-nytt-Nasjonalmuseum/id753988/>.
- . "Prop. 108 S (2012–2013) Nybygg for Nasjonalmuseet På Vestbanen." Oslo Regjeringen (the Norwegian Parliament), 2013.
- . "St.Prp. Nr. 37 (1997-98): Om Nytt Operahus." Oslo: Regjeringen, 1998.
- Agency, Oslo Planning and Building. "Fjordbyen." <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/politikk-og-administrasjon/prosjekter/fjordbyen/>.
- Amundsen, Arne B. "National Museums in Norway." In *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010 - Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizens*, edited by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, 653-66. Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011.
- Aronsson, Peter. "Uses of the Past: Nordic Historical Cultures in a Comparative Perspective." *Culture Unbound* 2 (2010): 553-63.
- Aronsson, Peter, and Gabriella Elgenius. "Making National Museums in Europe – a Comparative Approach." In *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010 - Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizens*, edited by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, 5-20. Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011.
- Aviaplan. "Oslo International Airport Gardemoen." <http://www.nielstorp.no/?gallery=oslo-international-airport-gardemoen>.
- Dovey, Kim. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Dykhorn, Lee. "Reuse the Muse: The Museum as a Transcultural Negotiator of National Identity." Master, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2011.
- Edelman, Murray J. *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Eilertsen, Lill. "Norwegian Cultural Policy and Its Effect on National Museums." edited by Lill and Amundsen Eilertsen, Arne B., 43-68: Linköping University Electronic Press 2012.
- Eilertsen, Lill, and Arne B. Amundsen. "Museum Policies in Europe 1990 – 2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia " Paper presented at the EuNaMus, 2012.
- Gahr Støre, Jonas. "Å Skape Et Nytt Og Større ”Vi”." edited by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Oslo, 2006.
- Grønvold, Ulf. "To Bomskudd." *Kunst og Kultur* 1, no. 88 (2005): 36-43.
- H. Haugen, Liv. "Museumsreform Gir Mer Byråkrati." *Aftenposten*, Oct 19, 2011.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Knell, Simon J. *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

- Kolstad, Sandra. "Slik Kan Nasjonalmuseet Bli." *Aftenposten*, October 16 2011.
- Krogenæs, Håkon. "Brudeferd I Hardanger Eller Likferd På Sognefjorden: Om Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Konsolidering Og Konflikt." Master, University of Oslo, 2009.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country* [in English]. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- McLean, Fiona. "Museums and National Identity." *Museum and Society* 1 (2005).
- Nasjonalmuseet. "Nytt Nasjonalmuseum Vedtatt." news release, 2013.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Norge-- En Kritikk : Begrepsmakt I Europa-Debatten*. Oslo: Pax 2001.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-24.
- Norway), NSB (National State Railways of. "Map of Oslo's Port." Public Domain. Wikipedia, 1936.
- Petterson, Susanna "Producing an Art History of the Nation." In *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*, edited by Simon J.; Aronsson Knell, Peter; Amundsen, Arne. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Ringbom, Sixten. *Stone, Style and Truth : The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture 1880-1910*. Helsinki 1987.
- Sandberg, Lotte. *Alle Snakker Om Museet : Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst : Fra Visjon Til Virkelighet*. 2008.
- Schubert, Karsten. *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day*. London: Ridinghouse, 2009.
- Sejersted, Francis. "Unionsoppløsningen I 1905." Det Store Norske Leksikon, https://snl.no/Unionsoppl%C3%B8sningen_i_1905_-_menutitem6.
- Slaatta, Tore, Askildsen, Solveig. "Arkitektur Og Journalistikk: Nyhetsmedienes Roller I Tullinløkkasaken." *Kunst og Kultur* 1, no. 88 (2005): 23-35.
- Statsbygg. "Juryrapport, Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur Og Design." 1-38, 2010.
- Stoveland, Vegard Orheim; Hetland, Øystein. "Samarbeid Med Den Tyske Okkupasjonsmakten I Norge. ." Det Store Norske Leksikon, Sept 18, 2014.
- Talleraas, Lise. "An Ungovernable Diversity? Norwegian Museum Politics on the Subject of Local and Regional Museums in the Period 1900 – 1970." Umeå University 2009.
- Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Figure 1. NSB (National State Railways of Norway), "Map of Oslo's Port." Illustration. Public Domain. 1936.

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Oslo_port_map_1936.jpg, accessed April 5, 2015.

Figure 2. Oslo City Planning and Building Agency. "Fjordbyen." Illustration. 2008.

Figure 3. Dykxhoorn, Lee. "Reconcentration of Cultural Buildings in Oslo." Thesis. 2011. MIT School of Architecture and Planning.

Figure 4. Tur, Lasse. "Tullinløkka, Sentrum, Nasjonalgalleriet." Photograph. 2007. NTB Scanpix.

Figure 5. Statsbygg. "Tullinløkka-området, Oslo." Photograph.

<http://www.statsbygg.no/Nytt-fra-Statsbygg/Nyheter/2015/Statsbygg-utreder-Tullinløkka>, accessed April 10, 2015.

Figure 6. Vindheim, Jan. "Grønne Byer." Illustration.

<http://www.vindheim.net/byliv/urbanisme.html>, accessed April 10, 2015.

Figure 7. Wilse, Anders Beer. "Oslo Vestbanestasjon i 1938." Photograph. Public Domain. 1938.

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4c/Oslo_Vestbanestasjon_i_1938.jpeg/250px-Oslo_Vestbanestasjon_i_1938.jpeg, accessed April 5, 2015.

Figure 8. Tur, Lasse. "Vestbanen, 2007." Photograph. 2007. NTB Scanpix.

Figure 9. Arkitekt Kleihues + Schuwerk Gesellschaft von Architekten mbH. "Forum Artis." Statsbygg. Web. 2010.

Figure 10. Statsbygg, "Her Bygges Nytt Nasjonalmuseum." Web. 2011.

Figure 11. Steven Holl Architects "Kiasma Art Museum." Web. Architectural Review, 2011. http://www.architectural-review.com/Pictures/web/i/q/q/AR-1998-August---Art-Museum-by-Steven-Holl-Architects-in-Helsinki-pages-1-and-_380.jpg, accessed April 10, 2015.

Figure 12. VisitOslo. "Oslo Opera House." Web. 2013.

<http://www.visitnorway.com/us/where-to-go-us/east/oslo/to-do--see/attractions-in-oslo/norways-new-opera-house/>, accessed April 10, 2015.

Figure 13. Oslo City Planning and Building Agency. "Map of Fjordbyen." Web. 2008.

Figure 14. Dykxhoorn, Lee. “Spatial Interpretation.” Thesis. 2011. MIT School of Architecture and Planning.

Figure 15. Nasjonalmuseet. “Kjempen på Vestbanetomten Vokser Opp.” Photograph. 2015. Aftenposten. <http://www.aftenposten.no/fakta/innsikt/Kjempen-pa-Vestbanetomten-vokser-opp-7614422.html>, accessed April 10, 2015.

Appendix A. Joachim Seehusen “Nytt Nasjonalmuseum.” Illustration, Statsbygg. 2009. http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/m_box20909070943.jpg/alternates/w940/m_box20909070943.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Ibid,
http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/tryllesken20909070943.jpg/alternates/w940/Tryllesken20909070943.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Ibid,
http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/urbancanvas20909070943.jpg/alternates/w940/UrbanCanvas20909070943.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Ibid, http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/back-in-black20909070944.jpg/alternates/w940/Back-in-Black20909070944.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Ibid,
http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/forumartis10909070944.jpg/alternates/w940/forumArtis10909070944.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Ibid,
http://www.tu.no/migration_catalog/2009/09/07/urbantransition10909070944.jpg/alternates/w940/UrbanTransition10909070944.jpg, accessed April 14, 2015.

Appendix B. Kleihues + Schuwerk, “Forum Artis.” Web. 2010. <http://divisare.com/projects/128237-klaus-schuwerk-kleihues-schuwerk-National-museum-at-the-Vestbanen-Oslo>, accessed April 14, 2015.

Appendix C. Lill Eilertsen and Arne B. Amundsen. "Museum Policies in Europe 1990 – 2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia." Table. 2011.

Appendix D. Arne B. Amundsen. “National Museums in Norway.” Table. 2011.

Appendix F. Thomas Hylland Eriksen. “Dramatiske endringer.” Illustration. VG. 2012. <http://1.vgc.no/drublish/images/article/2012/10/03/23121326/1/990/1393941.jpg>, accessed April 20, 2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Aronsson, Peter. "Explaining National Museums", in): *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity* by Simon Knell et. al. (eds). *National Museums. New Studies from Around the World*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Aronsson, Peter. "Representing Community: National Museums Negotiating Differences and the Community in the Nordic Countries" in): *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity* by Katherine Goodnow & Haki Akman (eds). Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.

Aronsson, Peter and Lizette Graden, (eds.). *Performing Nordic Heritage: Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture (The Nordic Experience)*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co, 2013.

Árnason, Jóhann Páll and Björn Wittrock (eds.). *Nordic Paths to Modernity*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Berger, Stefan. *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Berger, Stefan, Linas Eriksonas & Andrew Mycock (eds.). *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.

Berger, Stefan & Chris Lorenz (eds). *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Bhabha, Homi. *Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994).

Brandal, Nik, Øivind Bratberg and Dag Einar Thorsen. *The Nordic Model of Social Democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Dovey, Kim. *Framing places: mediating power in built form*. (2nd ed.). London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Edelman, Murray J. *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1988

Edelman, Murray J. *From Art to Politics : How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Ellefsen, Karl Otto. "Studier av byens fysiske transformasjon - Oslos arkitektur i endring," in *By og byliv i endring: studier av byrom og handlingsrom i Oslo*, Aspen, Jonny (ed). Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2005.

Evans, Graeme. *Cultural Planning – an urban renaissance?* London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

Garathun, Mari. "Nytt Nasjonalmuseum Blir Norges Dyreste Kulturbygg Etter Nesten 50 års Planlegging." *TU Bygg*. N.p., 5 Feb. 2014. Web. 28 Aug. 2014. Online: <http://www.tu.no/bygg/2014/02/05/nytt-nasjonalmuseum-blir-norges-dyreste-kulturbygg-etter-nesten-50-ars-planlegging>

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Giebelhausen, Michaela, ed. *The architecture of the museum: symbolic structures, urban contexts*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003.

Gullestad, Marianne. *The Art of Social Relations: Essays on Culture, Social Action and Everyday Life in Modern Norway*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1992.

Gullestad, Marianne: *Plausible Prejudice: Everyday Experiences and Social Images of Nation, Culture and Race*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2010.

Hall, Stuart. "Un-settling 'The Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation. Whose Heritage?" *Third Text*, 13:49, 1999: 3–13.

Hall, Peter. *Good Cities, Better Lives: How Europe Discovered the Lost Art of Urbanism*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Hanks, Laura Hourston and Jonathan Hale. *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, ed. Suzanne Macleod, Oxon: Routledge, 2012.

Harvey, David. *The condition of postmodernity : an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Cambridge-Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Held, David, McGrew, Anthony, Goldblatt, David and Perraton, Jonathan. *Global Transformations. Politics, Economics, Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.

Hobsbawm, Eric & Terence O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Karp, Ivan, Kreamer, Christine M. and Lavine, Steven D. eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Knell, Simon et al. (Eds). *National Museums – New Studies from Around the World*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.

Logan, John R. and Molotch, Harvey L. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Lundahl, Mikaela. "Nordic Complicity? Nordic Identity as 'Non Colonial' and Non-participatory in the European Colonial Event". 2006. Web: <http://www.rethinking-nordic-colonialism.org/files/index.htm>.

Neumann, Ivar B. *Norge – en kritikk. Begrepsmakt i Europa-debatten*. Oslo: Pax Forlag AS, 2001.

Oslo Kommune – Fjordbyen. "Fjordbyen: Bjørvika - Oslo kommune." Web. 11 Mar. 11, 2013. <http://www.prosjekt-fjordbyen.oslo.kommune.no/.pdf>.

Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites Of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Pontusson, Jonas. "Once Again A Model: Nordic Social Democracy in a Globalized World" in *What's Left of the Left: Democrats and Social Democrats in Challenging Times*," Cronin, James E. et. al. (eds.). Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Porter, Michael Eugene. "Regions and the New Economics of Competition" in *Global city-regions: trends, theory, policy*, Allen J. Scott (ed.). Oxford: Oxford, 2001.

Porter, Michael Eugene. *The competitive advantage of nations: with a new introduction*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Business, 1998.

Refsum, Christian. "Oslos urbane kvaliteter i kjøpesenterets tid" in *Delutredning III. Om Oslos særegne karakter og urbane kvaliteter*." Oslo: Oslo Kommune, 2010.

Rekdal, Per Bjørn. *Norwegian Museums and the Multicultural Challenge. Principles and Practices in Exhibition and Education*, Oslo: Norwegian Museum Authority. 2010. Web: <http://www.abm-utvikling.no/publisert/tidligere-utgivelser/nmu>.

Sandberg, Lotte. *Alle Snakker om Museet: Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst – Fra Visjon til Virklighet*, Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2008.

Sandell, Richard. *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Smith, Anthony. "The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal," in *Myths and Nationhood*, Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (eds). C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1997.

Statsbygg. "Nytt Nasjonalmuseum. PNN." *Statsbygg*, 15 Apr. 2014. Web. 28 Aug. 2014. <http://www.statsbygg.no/Prosjekter-og-eiendommer/Byggeprosjekter/Nasjonalmuseum/>

Stråth, Bo. "Methodological and Substantive Remarks on Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of a European Community," *German Law Journal*, 6:2, 2005: 4.

Sylvester, Christine. *Art/Museums: International Relations Where We Least Expect It (Media and Power)*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2009.

Sørensen, Øystein and Bo Stråth, eds. *The Cultural Construction of Norden*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997.

Thijs Krijin. "The Metaphor of the Master: 'Narrative Hierarchy' in National Historical Cultures of Europe", in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenzs (eds). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Vatne, Eirik. "Kunnskapssamfunnet og storbyenes rolle som arena for økonomisk utvikling" in *Storbyene i kunnskapsøkonomien: arena for kunnskapsdeling og nyskaping*," Eirik Vatne (Ed). Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2005.

Varutti, Marzia. *Which Museum for What China? Museums, Objects and the Politics of Representation in the Post-Maoist Transition (1976-2007)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva, 2008.

Witoszek, Nina. "Fugitives from Utopia: The Scandinavian Enlightenment Reconsidered" in *The Cultural Construction of Norden*, Øystein Sørensen & Bo Stråth (eds). Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997.