



DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION

MATERIAL DESIRES

Mapping professional awareness and
understanding of LGBT heritage in Sweden

Frejdel Haar Bidstrup

Degree project for Master of Science with a major in Conservation
2020, 60 HEC
Second Cycle
2020:36

Material desires: Mapping professional awareness and understanding of LGBT heritage in Sweden

Frejdel Haar Bidstrup

Supervisor: Anneli Palmsköld
Degree project for Master of Science with a major in Conservation

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
Department of Conservation
P.O. Box 130
SE-405 30 Gothenburg, Sweden

<http://www.conservation.gu.se>
Fax +46 31 7864703
Tel +46 31 7864700

Master's Program in Conservation, 120 ects

Author: Frejdel Haar Bidstrup
Supervisor: Anneli Palmsköld

Title: Material desires: Mapping professional awareness and understanding of LGBT heritage in Sweden

ABSTRACT

The field of heritage has increasingly involved itself with discussions of representation and inclusivity. Playing a major part in the construction, preservation and management of cultural heritage, the role of the heritage professional has been a prominent topic in literature and media. While museums have taken increasing strides to include and recognize lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) narratives, the topic appears absent within heritage management. This raises questions in regard to the field's insights and awareness of LGBT perspectives as well as these histories' place within a larger heritage discourse. Drawing on an authorized heritage discourse (AHD) characterised by professional privileging of physical aspects of heritage, the thesis investigates the relationship between LGBT heritage and those who are tasked with its preservation. Positioning itself within the context of trends towards more inclusive heritage practices, the thesis explores the professional understanding of and attitudes towards LGBT heritage and perspectives by examining interviews with nine heritage professionals from the Swedish National Heritage Board. Combining qualitative semi-structured interviews with onsite observations, the study demonstrates how minor interventions such as presentations and presence of a "specialist" have notable (if potentially short-term) impact on professional understanding and awareness. Illustrating how traditional material-focused frameworks carry limitations when faced with heritage which poses particular demands, the study maps out the unfamiliarity of LGBT perspectives within the field. Further, the thesis reveals several possibilities of preservation of LGBT heritage and application of LGBT perspectives. In addition to further contributing to the general discussion of ethical implications for official heritage recognition, the thesis calls attention to unique issues tied to state- and governmental level of implementation and recognition. Although concluding that the sector is slow-moving, the study recognizes several openings for approaching LGBT heritage and perspectives, finally presenting recommendations and suggestions for further research and practice.

Title: Material desires: Mapping professional awareness and understanding of LGBT heritage in Sweden

Language of text: English

Number of pages: 97

Keywords: heritage management, heritage professionals, LGBT heritage, inclusion

ISSN 1101-3303

ISRN GU/KUV—20/36—SE

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by a four-month internship at the Swedish National Heritage Board's Unit of Conservation Advice. I would therefore like to express the deepest of gratitude to the participants of the study and the others at the office, who not only allowed me, but welcomed me into their workplace during that time. Dialogue with you have been illuminating, and your encouragement has been invaluable. I also thank my supervisor Anneli Palmsköld, for the intellectually stimulating discussions as well as practical advice during the writing process. Finally, my special thanks to those who provided support and help throughout this work. This accomplishment would not have been possible without you.

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	9
1.1 Background	9
1.2 Purpose and research questions	12
1.3 Case study and delimitations	13
1.4 Disposition.....	14
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH	15
2.1 The concept of heritage and the heritage professional.....	15
2.2 Swedish cultural heritage management: noting the material, normalizing the absences.....	17
2.3 Noticing categories: intersectionality and norm criticism	23
2.4 Understanding LGBT heritage: love, oppression and the norms of sexuality	26
2.4.1 What makes an object queer? Lessons from museums and other practice	27
2.4.2 Silences and silencing: implications and consequences of inclusion	29
2.4.3 Who makes an object queer? Lessons from practice	30
2.5 Material desires: Lessons from an authorized discourse.....	31
3. METHOD AND MATERIALS.....	35
3.1 Methodological approach.....	35
3.2 Data collection	36
3.3 Sample and setting of study.....	40
3.3 Ethical considerations.....	44
3.4 Data analysis	44
3.5 Methodological discussion	45
3.6 Chapter summary	49
4. PROFESSIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND AWARENESS OF LGBT HERITAGE	50
4.1 Ideas of inclusion, representation and democracy	51
4.2 The LGBT perspective	54
4.2.1 Implementation and knowledge.....	55
4.2.2 Applying an LGBT perspective	58
4.3 The importance of knowledge for LGBT heritage	59
4.3.1 An overview of Swedish LGBT history.....	62
4.4 Preservation strategies for the heritage of LGBT communities	67
4.4.1 Sites and buildings	68
4.5 Chapter summary	72

5. DISCUSSION	73
5.1 Professional understandings of LGBT heritage.....	73
5.1.1 The gender perspective.....	73
5.2 The practicalities of understanding: normative models and preservation frameworks.....	74
5.2.1 Preservation frameworks.....	76
5.2.2 Implementation and training	79
5.3 Silences and silencing – to include or not to include	83
5.4 Norm criticism and political correctness	84
5.5 Concluding comments	87
5.6 Going forward: suggestions for future research and practice	90
6. SUMMARY	92
7. SAMMANFATTNING.....	95
LIST OF TABLES.....	98
LIST OF FIGURES	98
REFERENCES	99
APPENDIX I – BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND CONSENT	113
APPENDIX II – INTERVIEW PROTOCOL	115

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Public bodies across several arenas such as education, universities, public services and cultural heritage institutions have been accused of being victims of “political correctness” and postcolonial ideologies. A recent example is the Swedish heritage debates of 2016–2018, which centred around discussions of politization, representation and identity politics in heritage politics. The Swedish author, journalist and sinologist Ola Wong published several debate articles across the main Swedish newspapers, the majority in *Svenska Dagbladet*. In the articles, he describes the results of a “cultural politics that went astray in post-colonial thinking and the suffocating norm of normative criticism” (Wong 2016, translation by Bernsand & Narvselius 2018, pp. 85-86) which sprung from populist ideas in which “the belief of objective facts are denied and with it the need of museums as an institution for collecting, discovering and sharing knowledge” (Wong 2016). Wong feared that norm criticism (*normkritik*) and postcolonial perspectives were threatening not only the Swedish heritage, but also its professionals. The same article featured accounts of repressive work environments from multiple independent sources, including this quote:

Fokus på våra möten är hela tiden att locka minoriteter och hbtq-personer till museerna, retoriken är hela tiden att vi är alldeles för vita, alldeles för heterosexuella. Självklart är det viktigt med människors lika värde. Men vi som kulturinstitutioner måste bottna i vår verksamhet och inte låta oss lånas till att vara megafoner som vinklar historien efter det för tillfället politiskt gångbara budskapet.¹

(Wong 2016)

In a study of the heritage debates in daily press 2016–2017, published by the Unstraight Museum, Mika Handelsman-Nielsen (2018, p. 45) writes that the critique of norm criticism and identity politics, as used by Wong and others, is founded upon inadequate renditions of the practicing fields and their application of the concepts in question. Claims were seemingly connected to a resistance towards the increasing equality between marginalized and privileged groups that these conceptual tools help facilitate (ibid.). Increased recognition of previously unacknowledged heritage within a community may cause peers outside the marginalized group to experience feelings of disturb as well as perceived loss of heritage due to the seemingly sudden disruption of their understanding of a “safe” and homogenous community

¹ Translation: “The focus of our meetings is always about attracting minorities and LGBT people to the museums, the rhetoric is always that we are too white, too heterosexual. Of course, the equal value of all people is important. But as cultural institutions we must be rooted in our mission and not let ourselves be lent to be used as megaphones that adjust history according to the politically acceptable message of the moment.”

(Dierschow 2014, p. 95). At the same time as the heritage debate was ongoing, scholars and departments for gender and postcolonial studies were subjected to growing threats and harassment (Aro 2020; de los Reyes, Ericson, Holgersson, Martinsson & Mulinari 2017; Ericson 2019). Occasionally, critical opinions and harsh letters in the press escalated into physical threats, as was the case in December 2018, when a suspicious-looking parcel was left at the entrance of the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research, a unit within the University of Gothenburg which promotes gender research and carries out assignments on behalf of not only national, but Nordic and European initiatives (Elbied Pettersson 2018; Evans 2019). The parcel was found to be a hoax device and the incident was later classified as aggravated assault (*grovt olaga hot*).

In contrast to Wong's and others' worry of norm criticism and postcolonial ideologies' dominion, the existing body of research suggests that the heritage management sector has paid little attention to feminist theory and gender studies. The absence of women, the LGBT community, the working class, and ethnic minorities is notable (Colella 2019; Furumark 2013; Grahn 2007, 2011; Laskar 2019; Myrin 2009; Oram 2012; Smith 2008). Two different images emerge: one where political correctness, gender theory and norm criticism together with minority groups run rampant, keeping heritage professionals and national heritage as hostages; and the other delivering a disappointingly more lacklustre performance, showing few signs of such activity.

As the heritage field partakes in the construction, preservation and management of cultural heritage and aspects related to it, it is likewise the field's responsibility to recognize, preserve and manage values of these groups. While the general underrepresentation of non-dominant groups and communities is part of a wider challenge within the heritage sector, the particular group of interest for this thesis is the "threatening" LGBT community. How the exclusion and inclusion of certain narratives is used to facilitate political marginalization of groups has been researched, and a failure to record the heritage of LGBT communities enables governments and dominant groups to deny its existence in the past, and as such, its legitimacy in the present (Byrne 2005). This phenomenon was observable when Maria Larsson, the Swedish Minister for Children and the Elderly, in 2011 argued that the forced sterilizations of transgender persons should and could not be likened to other forced sterilizations in Swedish history.² Sterilization was until 2013 a requirement for transgender persons wishing to correct their legal gender.

² Specifically, Maria Larsson said: "Jag blir lite lätt upprörd när man jämför med tvångssteriliseringar från historien. Det är inte jämförbart, låt mig säga det. Här handlar det om att man har *på frivillig väg valt att byta kön*." (Forsblad 2011 [emphasis added]). Translation: "I become a bit upset when [this] is compared to forced

In the past decade, more research on the heritage of the LGBT community has been produced in connection to museum practice (Axelsson & Åkerö 2016; Ferentinos 2015; Koskovich 2014; Laskar 2019; Mills 2008; Steorn 2012). Despite this, many researchers note particular under-representation in fields of heritage studies and conservation (see for example Laskar 2019; Levy 2013; Oram 2012). In a Swedish context, previous studies on LGBT heritage have not addressed buildings nor heritage management to any greater extent. Except for research in connection to museum practice undertaken by the Swedish National Heritage Board as well as the now defunct Swedish Exhibition Agency, *Riksställningar* (2015), the topic has not been addressed in the setting of heritage management on a governmental level.

Different operations such as county administrative boards, libraries and other cultural institutions, including museums, have started to apply for the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex rights' (RFSL) LGBTQI certification³ (RFSL 2020a). However, the cultural heritage management field has showed little interest in taking such actions, and offices are not found on the list. Meanwhile the heritage management sector continues to struggle with taking queer and gender perspectives into consideration, research on museum practice found that both Swedish and international current practice thus far seldomly occurs outside “the monolithic institution of the museum” (Adair 2010, p. 266). In summary, LGBT narratives, heritage and history are exhibited in conjunction to Pride festivals or during other temporary events (Lendi 2014; Mills 2006; 2008; Riksställningar 2015). Nevertheless, the growing use of organized thematic walks, tours and exhibitions, commemorative markers and plaques point towards an increased awareness and acceptance of the need to discuss the topic, rather than avoiding it. While these implementations do help raise awareness and recognize LGBT heritage and history, their temporary and shallow nature has been criticized as they have little to no impact on official narratives, do not incite change nor lead to direct preservation of historic resources (Adair 2010; Dubrow 2016).

Historically, place has been of great importance for LGBT communities. Vital for socialization when homosexuality and gender non-conformity was outlawed by society (Adair 2010; Giesecking 2016; Nilsson 1998; Reed 1996; White 2009), much of the LGBT community's tangible heritage and spaces have been discreet in the

sterilizations in history. It is not comparable, let me tell you that. Here, someone has *freely chosen to change their gender*". See also Westerlund (2017) for description of the process to remove the sterilization criteria.

³ A certification led by RFSL, where organisations learn strategic work based on norm critical perspectives, increasing employees' knowledge and awareness surrounding sexuality, gender and other norms and how these affect LGBT people. The training course led by an instructor from RFSL takes about five months, and is followed by an assessment after a year. Certification is valid for three years, and organisations need to re-certificate after three years. Certification poses several requirements on organisations. See (RFSL 2020b) for further details.

environment, intentionally hidden as a safety strategy. Even when no oppressive structures in the forms of the 1988 Local Government Act's Section 28 which prohibited local authorities and schools from "intentionally promoting" homosexuality (Vincent 2014) in the UK, or the Finnish prohibition of "promotion of homosexuality" removed in 1999, are found, intentional concealment may remain (Dierschow 2014; Orangias, Simms & French 2018; Reed 1996). There is still potential risk in acknowledging LGBT heritage. For example, the opening of the GLBT History Museum in San Francisco received attention from anti-LGBT media outlets such as fundamentalist Christian radio programs, neo-Nazi blogs in Spain, and an Islamist website in Indonesia (Koskovich 2014, p. 71).

The lack of engagement from the heritage management sector raises many questions regarding the LGBT community's place not only in the heritage discourse, but particularly heritage management and society at large. Before we can successfully suggest and employ methods and models to include and recognize LGBT history and narratives in built heritage, it is necessary to first identify the current professional understanding and practice. In this instance, where there is little prior material and practice, it not only becomes a question of what practitioners are doing, but first and foremost a question of *how* the topic is understood by them.

As such, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the relationship between LGBT heritage and those who are tasked with its preservation. With an education in heritage management and prior work in historic houses and sites⁴, this research is based not only on academic outlook, but professional and personal experience as well.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the Swedish heritage management field's relationship with LGBT heritage by focusing on heritage professionals' understanding of the subject on a national level. To capture an image of current preservation practice concerning LGBT heritage, I am assessing how currently employed heritage professionals (advisors) at the Swedish National Heritage Board understand and work with LGBT heritage. This is carried out through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. With this aim and objective as a point of departure, the two following research questions guide this thesis:

- How do heritage professionals understand LGBT heritage?
- Based on this understanding, how is it applied in practice?

⁴ I have worked at *Gunnebo Slott*. During the writing of this thesis I became employed at the cultural reserve *Åskhults by*, a hamlet unaltered by agrarian reforms. I here assisted in revising the daily tour on health, love and sex during the 19th century.

1.3 Case study and delimitations

This investigation takes the form of a case study of the professional understanding of LGBT heritage in a governmental setting. The case study is based on the understanding of nine individuals from the Swedish National Heritage Board, mainly the Department of Conservation's unit for Conservation Advice. The research data in this thesis is drawn from semi-structured interviews and participant observation gathered between November 2019 and February 2020. The reader should bear in mind that the National Heritage Board has several departments and units, all most relevant actors in this apparatus. For example, the Department for Cultural Environment (located in Stockholm) focuses on heritage legislation through decisions and recommendations. Due to practical constraints and a wish to focus more on practical application than legislative, this study was unable to encompass all relevant parts of the organisation for the study. However, the study included two participants from the Department for Cultural Environment and the Communications Department to broaden the perspectives from heritage professionals involved in these processes.

As the concept of heritage shifts, *LGBT heritage* was not strictly defined in attention to a specific time period or type of object. However, the study attempts to create an overview of places with LGBT ties in Sweden with focus on the history of lesbian, bisexual and queer women, as a means of a beginning exploration of a less visible and acknowledged part of LGBT heritage, featured here as a timeline. The terms queer and the acronym LGBT are used interchangeably in this thesis. Historically, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or other gender-nonconforming individuals have navigated their identities differently than in contemporary society. Many may not have identified with these labels, as they are contemporary.

While a full discussion of current Swedish heritage politics, the debate and concepts which surround it lies beyond the scope of the study⁵, the thesis attempts to consider the broader effects and implications of the increased visibility, acceptability, recognition, and integration of the LGBT community in the political, national heritage sphere.

⁵ However, see Bernsand and Narvselius' (2018) analysis of this context, its development and the surrounding discourse with attention to, among others, norm criticism and the heritage debate.

1.4 Disposition

The following chapter begins by presenting and discussing the theoretical positioning of the study. After the theoretical points of departure, I then examine a selection previous research and literature, further situating the study within the research issue and context. Chapter 3 details the methodology of the study and contains information regarding the methods and materials of the study, as well as a discussion of the chosen methods' limitations. The fourth chapter contains the empiric material of the study. It is divided into four sub-chapters which serve to illustrate different aspects of understanding of LGBT heritage within the case study. The chapters are organized into the themes of perspectives, knowledge and preservation. The reader is also given an overview of LGBT history and sites through a timeline, before moving on to the practical dimensions of preservation practice. The final chapter concludes the thesis by discussing and evaluating the research findings. I here compare different heritage values from frameworks earlier presented together with participant responses. Finally, I draw conclusions and discuss recommendations for the field. The thesis is then summarized in both English and Swedish.

2. Theoretical framework and previous research

In this chapter, I will first sketch out the development of the concept of heritage and the role of the heritage professional, mainly based on Laurajane Smith's (2006) *Authorized Heritage Discourse*. I then briefly outline the Swedish context of cultural heritage management with different preservation evaluation frameworks. Particular focus is put on how perceived neutrality of heritage may manifest, and further how norms affect the view of heritage. Most importantly, I wish to underline how these norms are put forward and reproduced in cultural heritage management practice. Here, the notions of intersectionality and norm criticism are introduced to the study. The second part of the chapter continues to delve into these themes but with attention to LGBT heritage, discussing previous research in the area.

2.1 The concept of heritage and the heritage professional

Laurajane Smith (2006) introduced the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) in *The Uses of Heritage*, where she characterizes a professional and Eurocentric heritage discourse in which particular understandings of heritage and values associated with it are naturalized. *The Uses of Heritage*, along with the framework it detailed left significant scholarly impact upon publication (Skrede & Hølleland 2018). What Smith (2006) describes as the AHD is a discourse which privileges certain values ascribed in the physical fabric. Such values include age value, architectural value, and monumentality and are considered 'classic' aspects of the conservation field. These "tangible values" become "used as shorthand for, or explicitly to define, expert derived values such as the scientific, historical, or educational values of material heritage" (Smith & Campbell 2017, p. 35), while heritage professionals often refer to "intangible values" as those given to heritage by non-experts (ibid.).

Favouring "aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith 2006, p. 29), heritage experts, or professionals, are not only created by the AHD, but also reassert it. Conservation, preservation and restoration of heritage are not simply objective technical procedures, but also actions which maintain these meanings (ibid. p. 88). Further, Smith argues that the AHD not only frames conservation documents such as charters and conventions, but also is reasserted and legitimized in these documents and practices that they guide (ibid.). By privileging "innate aesthetic and scientific value" and materiality, Smith argues that the (real) cultural and political work of the heritage process is obscured (ibid. p. 87). Assuming the face of common sense, as a

discourse, the AHD becomes an “effective mechanism of social regulation, or a socially regulated way of doing things [...] the social practices of heritage management are regulated not only by the formal legislative texts we recognize as Acts or documents of public policy, but also by a discursive pressure to conform to what appears to be normalcy” (Waterton & Smith 2009, p. 13). The “objectivity” of heritage is thus uncovered.

Documents such as the *Faro Convention* (Council of Europe 2005), which entered into force in 2011, embody a discursive shift as the field gradually moved its interest from grand narratives and architectural monuments to democratic notions centred around diversity and representativity, observed internationally in the aforementioned document, among others. Likewise, the concept of experts has been influenced by the shift of interest from strict tangible values of heritage such as authenticity and monumentality to broader conceptualizations of socio-political values in heritage (Hølleland & Skrede 2019, p. 826). During this process, Smith’s work has not been without contestation. In his discussion of the conservation practice within the English planning system (termed conservation-planning), John Pendlebury (2013) explores the relationships developed between conservation-planning and other policy spheres of regeneration and economic development by making use of Smith’s (2006) AHD. Pendlebury argues that the field of conservation has successfully repositioned itself “from being regarded as a barrier to development to being regarded as an active agent of change” (2013, p. 710), and in this process, conservation-planning has become a distinct and different entity (referred to as “an assemblage”) from other conservation activities. The conservation-planning assemblage is, contrary to Smith’s (2006) initial characterization of the discourse, not entirely self-referential, as it is affected and changed due to the “wider social forces and tactical positioning within the political and economic frames within which it works” (Pendlebury 2013, p. 710). Instead, Pendlebury draws out three sub-AHDs within the cultural-planning assemblage, or AHD, labelled the *Conservation Principles*, *The Heritage Dividend* and *Constructive Conservation*, where the latter is explained to deploy “a challengingly flexible interpretation of what constitutes as acceptable and desirable conservation practice, often far removed from the traditional emphasis on the authenticity of material fabric” (ibid. p. 722).

Despite Pendlebury’s claim of successful repositioning, in addition to recommendations to move focus beyond issues of the physical fabric (Avrami, Mason & De la Torre 2000, p. 66) and new charters, the discursive turn in the field is not tangibly apparent. Noting the little empirical evidence showing the extent of how these new understandings have actually changed the normative discourse in planning offices, Carol Ludwig (2016) challenges some of Pendlebury’s conclusions. Ludwig first calls attention to that Smith does acknowledge that the AHD is changeable, but

most crucially, Smith points out that “the AHD’s ability to adapt to such external pressures is fundamentally determined by the degree to which these pressures align with the orientating points, or underlying principles of the AHD. Subsequently, any values which sit outside of this authorized framework are firmly resisted.” (Ludwig 2016, p. 714).

By drawing on Smith’s AHD, Ludwig (2016) demonstrated that despite the discursive broadening of the professional concept of heritage moving beyond the traditional values characterized by the AHD, the traditional, material (“tangible”) values still dominated heritage designation processes and listings. In her investigation of local conservation planners and designation processes in the UK, she found that the acknowledgement of intangible heritage was somewhat constrained as grounds of justification for designation, and only 4% of total and proposed local heritage designations related to intangible heritage (ibid.). Participating planners felt unfamiliar with designating buildings with no aesthetic or historic merit, and intangible narratives were seen as “supplementary information; something that ‘adds something’ to the more tangible effect (of the art-work)” (ibid. p. 820). In her four case studies, the three most commonly applied criteria were variations of physical-led, material values related to architectural quality and historic significance, criteria correlating closely with English national statutory listing criteria (characterized by an authorized heritage discourse). The planning system thus did not align with the rhetoric of broad current concepts of heritage in policies, but rather still lingered in material-focused expert interpretation of heritage. Instead, the rhetoric of including intangible heritage narratives in conservation planning presented itself as a, as Ludwig borrows from Pendlebury (2013), “fragile sub-AHD”, subject to “instant regression” due to its inability to align with the deeply embedded culture and norms within the profession (Ludwig 2016, p. 824). The conclusion was that the extent of the developing discourse, although emerging as a trajectory of change, had clear limitations.

2.2 Swedish cultural heritage management: noting the material, normalizing the absences

Sweden has a long history of institutionalizing cultural heritage and its management. King Gustavus Adolphus instituted the Swedish National Heritage Board in 1630 and the first conservation charter, titled *Placat och Påbudh, Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiquiteter*, was released in 1666 by the seventh Director-General, Johan Hadorph. Rooted in this long history, the Swedish National Heritage Board remains a focal point within the professional and public spheres. Mirroring classic conservation documents such as the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) and further developments, the National Heritage Board has continued to publish the guiding

documents, policies and reports which the cultural heritage management and preservation framework rests upon.

The value assessment guideline *Kulturhistorisk värdering av bebyggelse* (2002) written by Axel Unnerbäck, published by the National Heritage Board, remains a fundamental assessment model currently used in Swedish cultural heritage management. In his model, Unnerbäck distinguishes between two main categories of values: *historical/document value* and *experience values, socially and aesthetically engaging values*. The first category concerns the building's quality as a document for historical knowledge of buildings and architecture, society and technological advancements, while the second category refers to more experiential values, such as architectural and artistic values, symbolic value and continuity and identity. While qualities such as authenticity and rarity are here only considered strengthening motives for conservation, the value assessment model is predominantly grounded in "classical" authorized values.

Since the publication of *Kulturhistorisk värdering* (Unnerbäck & Lierud, 2002), several other models have been published to support the developing discourse, such as *DIVE* (Reinar & Westerlind 2009) and the *Platform for Cultural Historical Assessment and Prioritization (Plattform för kulturhistorisk värdering och urval)* (Génetay & Lindberg 2015, 2017). The latter, a policy document from the Swedish National Heritage Board, describes a fundamental approach for assessment and prioritization of all kinds of cultural heritage, not only buildings, complex environments and landscapes, but also objects and ancient remains. The platform, intended to complement rather than replace established and currently used methods such as the Unnerbäck model (ibid. 2015, p. 7), serves as a point of departure in assessment and prioritization of cultural heritage in regard to both its tangible and intangible content, distinguishing between value and the process of assessment. In the document, five aspects of assessment, commonly used in cultural heritage management with ambiguous meaning with the suffix *-value* (Génetay & Lindberg 2017, p. 149), are presented. These are *cultural historical* aspects, *aesthetical* aspects, *social* aspects, *ecological* aspects, and *economical* aspects. Whereas the first is similar to Unnerbäck's historical/document value, his second category is distinguished into separate distinct aspects, with the addition of two new dimensions; the ecological and the economic (reminding of the three spheres of sustainable development).

Although the platform does call attention to the intangible expressions and dimensions of cultural heritage, overall heritage management practice appears to still be preoccupied with materiality. For example, a pilot study investigating the future needs of practitioners within the Swedish heritage sector, commissioned by the National Heritage Board, found that built heritage professionals expressed needs for

further technical and material knowledge (Jensen 2019, pp. 20-22). Meanwhile, museum practitioners requested further skills within a social dimension grounded in equality, such as norm criticism, intersectionality, gender, LGBT, youth and children as well as accessibility and diversity perspectives (ibid. p. 17).

Similar to how the recognition of intangible values in international cultural heritage documents (see ICOMOS 1994; UNESCO 2003) was progressively integrated into Swedish preservation frameworks, the discursive shifts towards universal heritage and cultural diversity resulted in legal mandates and nationwide projects striving for increased inclusivity and embrace of diversity. According to Tobias Harding, we see a development where the nation's cultural image moves from being occupied with safeguarding *the national culture*, to the nation-state seeing itself as a protector of *the diversity of culture(s)* (2012, p. 53). Notable projects initiated in this spirit include *Agenda Kulturarv* (2004) and its successor *Kalejdoskop* (2010 – 2012), which later crystallized into the government bill *Kulturmiljöns mångfald (Diversity of the historic environment)* (Proposition 2012/13:96). Most importantly, the proposition *Kulturarvspolitik* (Proposition 2016/17:116) marked a turning-point in Swedish cultural heritage politics. Not only was it the first time cultural heritage was addressed as a separate political field, but the cultural heritage policy also included changes to the *Historic Environment Act* (SFS 1988:950) as well as the creation of the first separate Museum Act (SFS 2017:563). It was also during this year that the Swedish National Heritage Board released *Vision för kulturmiljöarbetet 2030 (2030 Vision for cultural heritage)*, the results of an assignment from the government's 2014 appropriation directions. The National Heritage Board here presented the vision for the year 2030, where “everyone, regardless of background, feels that they are able to make claim on the cultural heritage which has shaped Sweden” (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p. 4).

The idea of diversity in heritage policies has been, and continues to be, subject of scholarly discussion. Harding notes that the increasingly prominent role of cultural diversity in several areas of politics is seemingly complementary in nature (2012, p. 53). While arguably having significant impact in heritage politics and policies, the open and unproblematic perspective on heritage and ideas of diversity have been shown to be difficult to execute in practice, not only on national levels, but regional and local as well (Aronsson 2006; Holmberg & Weijmer 2012; Holtorf 2006; Högberg 2013; Karlsson 2019; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2018, 2016). A survey of ten governmental agencies⁶ carried out by the Swedish National Heritage Board indi-

⁶ The ten agencies in the survey were: the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, the Agency for Marine and Water Management, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the Board of Agriculture, the Swedish Forest Agency, the Swedish Transport Administration, the Swedish Agency for Economic and

cated that the national goals for cultural heritage (established in 2014) were seldomly taken into consideration in the surveyed agencies' operational processes (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2018, p. 6), but rather followed the general legislation for cultural heritage and the *Historic Environment Act* (SFS 1988:950). Another report, surveying the 21 County Administrative Boards' distribution and grants of the government allocation for cultural heritage management⁷ between 2008 and 2017 showed that while 81% of grants for preservation measures were given to sites open to the public, only 20% were given to sites with universal access (i.e. had implemented accessibility measures which allows everyone to partake in the site, not necessarily navigating the physical site itself) (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2019). Around 1% of funds were used to improve the physical accessibility of sites (ibid. p. 15).

The idea of diversity also opens up for questions regarding who, as well as what, cultural heritage represents and recognizes. In the publication *Kön och Kulturarv*, on gender and heritage practices, Bente Magnus and Kersti Morger (1994) write:

Kulturmiljövård er ikke en virksomhet som forbindes med kjønn. Den er offentlig, 'nøytral' og objektiv. [...] Eksisterende kulturmiljövård gir seg ut for å være alment i sine vurderinger og avgjørelser, men bakenfor skjuler det sig nokså ensidige vurderinger oftest utfra det ene kjønns, nemlig hankjønns erfaringer.⁸

(Magnus & Morger 1994, p. 9)

Magnus and Morger's (1994) early contribution which devoted itself to opening a discussion on how gender perspectives are reflected in our physical heritage, calling attention to the sector's unfamiliarity (nonetheless on an institutional publishing level!), had seemingly little impact on the sector. In an external review of the Uppland county museum's knowledge of the gender power system (Simonson 2009), the architect Ylva Larsson examined the listed historic properties within the county. Like Magnus and Morger (1994) and Grahn (2007, 2011), Larsson found the heritage management field the most unaccustomed to applying a gender perspective in the overall sector. Buildings were seen "gender blindly", and buildings and their descriptions were prioritized over the human context and societal norms (Simonson 2009, p. 72). Larsson appoints this absence of gender perspectives to the field's separation of objects (the buildings) from the human dimension, a prerequisite for

Regional Growth, Geological Survey of Sweden, the National Property Board and the Swedish Fortifications Agency.

⁷ *Kulturmiljövårdanslaget* (commonly referred to as *KMV-anslaget*) is distributed by the National Heritage Board.

⁸ Translation: "Cultural heritage management is not a practice associated with gender. It is public, 'neutral' and objective. [...] Current heritage management touts itself as broad in its assessments and decisions, but behind it hides rather one-sided valuations usually based on the opposite gender's, namely the male gender's, experiences."

being able to apply a gender perspective at all (Grahn 2007; Simonson 2009, p. 72). Yet, when Larsson presents multiple contexts and strategies where gender perspectives are applicable on current material, including opportunities to acknowledge context and structures of society in which different building materials and techniques have emerged from, as well as being mindful of how women and men are met differently when seeking preservation advice, the response from the museum was as follows:

Att anlägga genusperspektiv på byggnadsmaterial och byggnadsteknik är lättare sagt än gjort. Har kalkputsen ett kön? Är blandningen och pigmenten i linoljefärg genus-specifik? Material och teknik får nog ändå betraktas som könsneutrala ting.⁹

(Simonson 2009, p. 72)

Indeed, Magnus and Morger's (1994) observation of the heritage management field's perception of neutrality and objectivity seemingly still stands after 15 years. Returning to the AHD and the naturalization of heritage and its political dimensions, the elicited response by the Uppland county museum demonstrates the difficulty to acknowledge and recognize interpretations outside the authorized discourse (i.e. the "neutral" material fabric). It also highlights the subordination of the human dimension and the prioritized position of architectural elements in institutionally sanctioned historic building descriptions (Grahn 2011, p. 232).

In his critical analysis of signs at ancient monuments in Skåne county, Anders Högberg (2013) found that women were less represented than dead individuals. The signs, an expression of the AHD, as such reiterated a history of exclusion and normative gender roles, depicting women as passive and children as entirely absent in history. As Högberg notes, the exclusion of women and children was not purposefully kept by the Skåne County Administrative Board, but neither was it questioned (ibid.). The AHD:s dictating sense of normalcy, as discussed by Waterton and Smith (2009) earlier, may therefore help explain not only the inability to "see" gender and sexuality within built environment and sites, but also the lack of reaction to the under-representation. Högberg explains:

Once again it is important to point out that there is no single person at the Skåne County Administrative Board who is consciously working to confirm the prevailing gender-power order. The signs as they look today, as pointed out above, are consequences of a long history of administration. But it is also important to point out that no one before has reacted to the representation of gender and age in the pictures, which clearly shows that the authorized heritage discourse is incorporated in society's patriarchal power structures (Faludi 1991).

(Högberg 2013, p. 155)

⁹ Translation: "To apply a gender perspective on building materials and techniques is easier said than done. Does lime plaster have a gender? Is the mixture and pigments of linseed oil paint gender-specific? Materials and techniques should perhaps be considered gender-neutral things."

Different normative models and the exclusions based upon them become so normalized in our everyday life that we do not recognize them. Appearing obvious and “natural”, we may not see the necessity of reflecting upon them (Grahn 2007, 2009; Högberg 2013; Laskar 2019; Svensson 2006). It is a widely held view that the neglect to include perspectives in heritage practice seldomly is a conscious act (Grahn 2011; Högberg 2013; Laskar 2019).

Several scholars have highlighted how some aspects of identity receive scant attention in heritage research. According to Smith (2008), gender, ethnicity and class are some of the most unproblematized and naturalized aspects of identity within heritage discourses. In her study of English county houses, she demonstrated how middle-class visitors unproblematically found pleasure in visiting such sites, helping the visitor to establish a sense of cultural security and reassurance of their own class and national identity (Smith 2006). As the AHD renders certain difficult histories and social experiences of class difference and privilege conformable, they are made safe and acceptable (ibid. p. 151). Similarly, Alison Oram (2012) notes how the representation of women, ethnic and national identities as well as sexuality remain under-explored themes in heritage literature on historic houses.

Concerning the heritage management sector in particular, Grahn (2007, 2011) has observed a notable absence of feminist theory and gender awareness within the area of practice, supporting earlier presented publications above (i.e. Magnus & Morger 1994; Simonsson 2009). Meanwhile, more recent reviews confirm that sustained research concerning management, preservation, interpretation and transmission of heritage remains rare (Colella 2018; Levy 2013). In the introductory chapter of *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics* (Grahn & Wilson 2018), co-editor Ross J. Wilson comments the paradoxical position of gender, which appeared “fated to be regarded as a niche topic as assessments of power, discourse, identity, consumerism and authority have become established fields of enquiry within heritage studies” (Wilson 2018, p. 3).

In a study of Swedish museum and heritage workers commissioned by the National Heritage Board, Anna Lund (2015, p. 40) found that the responding museum and heritage workers saw blind spots in practice as a consequence of a homogenous workforce. Grahn (2016, 2018), among others, has highlighted how patterns of subordination in society at large are found to be reproduced in the heritage sector itself. Consequently, these patterns are then reproduced in museum exhibitions, building descriptions and more (ibid. 2011, 2016; Högberg 2013; Laskar 2019; Simonson 2009; Svensson 2006). Investigating how different aspects of identity are reflected within the concept of heritage is therefore an increasingly important area for the field. Of particular concern is the role of historical buildings and cultural heritage

environments, which unlike objects displayed in museums, cannot attain the same “out of sight, out of mind”-existence as they are often located in situ, and have done so for a long time. Taking up a more integrated, permanent presence in public space and everyday life. Grahn (2007, p. 34) argues that their influence on what is considered to be “obvious” and “natural” important parts of our heritage is greater than that of museum objects. In this context, the need for heritage management to engage more critically with aspects of identity such as gender and sexuality becomes increasingly difficult to ignore. While Graves and Dubrow (2019) argue interpretation be prioritized within preservation planning (called attention to already in the 2000 the Getty Conservation Institute *Value and Heritage Conservation* research report which discussed how traditional preservation frameworks and perspectives appear non-ideal in addressing these underlying challenges, see Avrami, Mason and De la Torre 2000), existing research indicates a sector more concerned with the material fabric of buildings rather than the human dimension (Grahn 2011; Jensen 2019; Ludwig 2016; Simonson 2009).

2.3 Noticing categories: intersectionality and norm criticism

To disrupt and challenge the reproduction of subordination patterns within the sector, Grahn (2006, 2009, 2016) proposes the potential of intersectionality. Evolving from a Black Feminist Movement in the 1970–80s¹⁰, the term intersectionality is commonly attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) who introduced the term when noting how feminist and antiracist movements neglected to take the experience of black women into account. By examining forms of intersecting oppressions such as race, gender, (dis)ability, sexuality, ethnicity and nationality, intersectionality identifies and captures the contextual dynamics of power, difference and oppression, which often take different forms depending on what axes of power that are intersecting. As such, the dynamics of difference and sameness are examined, capturing and engaging contextual axes of power (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall 2013, p. 787). The concept has continued to be developed by feminist, postcolonial and antiracism scholars and been applied in many different fields. In Scandinavia, its use has grown increasingly strong, producing notable works throughout the years (see de los Reyes, Molina & Mulinari 2005; Lykke 2011).

Within heritage studies, intersectionality provides a useful theoretical entry point for examining what particular heritage, along with its representations, that has been sustained and privileged. Serving as a useful lens when examining areas of priority in official heritage documents in relation to type, Grahn (2009, 2011) used it to

¹⁰ See for example the Combahee River Collective Statement (1977).

show how the dimension of gender in officially sanctioned historic buildings in Norway was tied to an ethnic Other, which further contributed to the marginalized position of women and ethnic groups in national Norwegian history. Ingrid Martins Holmberg and Malin Weijmer (2012) used an intersectional perspective to evaluate how different categories of identities were included within the projects of Kalejdoskop.

While explicit attention to and use of the term *intersectionality* appears rather new in heritage studies, scholars have long been aware of how parameters of categories and identity affect heritage, connected to the development of critical heritage studies. Rather, in a Swedish heritage context, the notion of norm criticism (*normkritik*) is more familiar. Often associated with identity politics (Bernsand & Narvselius 2018), norm criticism is a theoretical and empirical framework which helps raise awareness of social norms and underlying oppressional structures. It thus promotes questioning of what is deemed “normal”. Grahn (2009, 2016, 2018) describes a practical scenario employing norm criticism in the fifth step of her integration “ladder” found in *Table 1*.

The strong prevalence of heteronormativity within museum exhibitions (Hylten-Cavallius & Svanberg 2016, p. 165; Laskar 2019; Sandell 2017; Vanegas 2002) is a good example of how cultural institutions may reproduce oppressive structures found in society. A relatively recent case was the exhibition *Playground*, held 2015 – 2016 at the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg, where LGBT narratives and identities (while explained) were subordinated by general themes such as love and family and exhibited heteronormative patterns (Axelsson & Åkerö 2016). In addition, the exhibition neglected to address the current and earlier activism and struggle for societal acceptance and visibility (ibid. p. 14).

Further models of inclusion have been presented by Laskar (2019), developed from Kevin Kumashiro’s (2002, 2004) research on anti-oppressive education and teaching in schools. The models share similarities with Grahn’s (2007, 2009, 2016, 2018) grades of integration, and can be shortly summarized as 1) exhibitions *for* the marginalized, 2) exhibitions *about* the marginalized, 3) exhibitions *critical of privilegization and marginalization*, and 4) exhibitions which *changes both practice and visitors*. Both Grahn’s and Laskar’s models were developed with attention to museums, including strategies intended to challenge, question and change the current practice. However, both authors encourage application and use of the models within other cultural heritage practices (Grahn 2007; Laskar 2019, 2020).

Table 1 Grahn's (2007, 2009, 2016, 2018) grades of integration	
1	<p>The dominant is privileged The dominating gender or group is privileged. Unconscious or conscious non-communication and de-selection of all that has to do with the subjugated gender or group in relation to what is shown. No sign of (gender) awareness.</p>
2	<p>History of addition The subordinate gender or group is added to history as a small and separate part, that is separated from the "grand" narrative. The part is usually located at the outskirts of an exhibition. No sign of gender/intersectional awareness.</p>
3	<p>Registering Counting and sorting on gender or group. An equal number of artefacts are associated with each gender or group. The registering is not based on any gender/intersectional theoretical discussion or in consideration of power relations.</p>
4	<p>Visibility The subordinate gender's or group's efforts are especially emphasized and are allowed to dominate (a display). The visibilization is not based on any gender/intersectional theoretical consideration or power relations.</p>
5	<p>Gender/intersectional aspects Gender/intersectional theoretical aspects are explicitly included as a smaller part of an exhibition. The gender/intersectional aspects are grounded in one or more specific gender/intersectional theoretical approaches and perspectives. The knowledge of the aspects involved must be well-constructed, however the display does not have to show in-depth knowledge of all other theories within the field. Power relations are explicitly questioned, and there is emancipatory potential.</p>
6	<p>Gender/intersectional perspective A perspective based on gender/intersectional theoretical approach is included as one out of several equally integrated perspectives in an exhibition. The choice of gender/intersectional perspective is grounded upon both good overview and in-depth knowledge of gender theories. Power relations are questioned explicitly and there is emancipatory potential.</p>
7	<p>Gender/intersectional focus Perspective(s) grounded in gender/intersectional theory explicitly permeate the entire exhibition. The whole display builds on both good overview and in-depth knowledge of theories within the field. Power relations are questioned explicitly and there is emancipatory potential.</p>

Table 1 Grahn's grades of integration.

By investigating the representation of sexuality, we gain understanding and help in identifying which ideals and norms that cultural heritage institutions, as well as society, has recognized and upheld over time (Grahn 2007; Laskar 2019). Sandell (2017) shows yet another expression of heteronormativity in museum practice:

An insistence on irrefutable proof of same-sex activity (which, of course, would never be expected to prove someone's heterosexuality) can sometimes point to genuine concerns for historical accuracy but also, in many cases, to deeply embedded, conscious or unconscious, prejudice.

(Sandell 2017, pp. 75-76)

Attention to this was exemplified by Oram (2012), who describes the historic house as a conduit for the AHD, which reflects established versions of history and social relations, by extension presenting normative models of gender, sexuality and family (ibid. pp. 536-537). In her analysis of the former home of Anne Lister, Shibden Hall in West Yorkshire, Oram points out how the strong emphasis on the house as a family home was highly misleading, and reinforced a false image of a nuclear heterosexual family history, completed with a children's room. Anne Lister's well-documented and known lesbianism, together with the particular child-absentness of the Lister family¹¹, was foregone. While Anne Lister's lesbianism and refusal to comply with societal gender norms and expectations is today talked about at the Estate, Oram argues that this is done on the premise of Anne as an "an interesting (and now acceptable) anomaly, rather than as a critique of the meanings of family and sexuality in public history" (2012, p. 542).

Having discussed how the ideas of the AHD can be used as a lens through which the professional understanding of heritage may be examined, and how intersectionality and norm criticism may help call attention to categorisations which the AHD has helped normalize and naturalize, the following section examines how this pertains to previous research of LGBT heritage.

2.4 Understanding LGBT heritage: love, oppression and the norms of sexuality

Returning to the research topic, LGBT heritage appears to be a neglected area of study within the heritage management field. Furthermore, in a Swedish context, LGBT perspectives are often lumped together with gender perspectives (Fernstål 2011; Lendi 2014). While this study focuses on LGBT with attention to heritage professionals, a review of current knowledge production connected to museums is warranted, in particular pertaining to how museum practitioners have understood and worked with the topic. The following part of this chapter therefore seeks to

¹¹ Children were only present during two periods in the house between 1420 and 1932, totalling 32 years out of 200 (Oram 2012, p. 541).

describe LGBT heritage research in greater detail, which is done together with addressing what this entails in regard to professional understanding, practice and implications. First, the understanding of LGBT heritage will be discussed. Subsequently, the preservation practice surrounding it is addressed.

2.4.1 What makes an object queer? Lessons from museums and other practice

In one of the earliest publications concerning LGBT and heritage institutions, Angela Vanegas (2002) examined LGBT material in British museum collections. In a similar manner to how material and techniques were perceived as gender neutral, reduced to a matter of “things” in the Uppland county museum (Simonson 2009), Vanegas found heteronormativity to be an explanation as to why museum professionals see everyday objects as “neutral”, i.e. the users of these objects were assumed heterosexual (2002, p. 99). Her respondents had few objects catalogued as LGBT or with other associated words such as *Gay* or *Lesbian*, and Vanegas found confusion among museum staff as to what LGBT material was, but also how it should be catalogued and collected (ibid.). Objects which were brought up by respondents largely had explicit connections to LGBT life, such as Pride badges and other paraphernalia. In addition, objects in collections which curators saw a possibility to interpret as lesbian or gay often carried sexual undertones, with examples such as body-piercing jewellery or AIDS ephemera (ibid.). Lesbian women and gay men were defined by, and reduced to, their sexuality, causing respondents to only feel able to represent them through objects related to sex (Adair 2010; Vanegas 2002). Charlotte Lendi’s (2014) study of seven Swedish museums’ collection practices of LGBT objects, at large reproduced these results: participants reduced LGBT perspectives to questions of what was visible, as well as questions of representation and other quantitative aspects of their collections (ibid. pp. 76-77). Most notably, respondents did not find the labelling of “neutral”, everyday objects as LGBT viable, and such practice was found seemingly hard to defend from a scientific standpoint, even described as forced (ibid. p. 65).

The issue of what “makes” an object queer has been subject to much scholarly discussion. It is important to be mindful that both the term queer and the acronym LGBT are anachronistic. Sexuality and identity as well as labels shift over time (Laskar 2003; Oram 2001). Likewise, as stated in 1.3, what constitutes as LGBT heritage varies over time, as well as across communities (Byrne 2005; Gorman-Murray & McKinnon 2018; Sandell & Smith 2018; Ware 2017). In a field where materiality takes dominant conceptualising prevalence, narratives that have sought to remain out of plain sight face difficulty being recognized.

In a discussion mostly concentrated to museum practice, we find the works of Patrik Steorn (2010, 2012) among many others (Laskar 2019; Lendi 2014; Mills 2006; 2008; Winchester 2012). Scholars often involve queer theoretical perspectives in order to deconstruct and discuss essential meanings embedded in such constructions (see for example Bonnevier 2007, 2012; Mills 2008; Winchester 2012). However, leaning upon Susan Ferentinos' (2015) and Laskar's (2019) comments that theoretical discussions and practice may not share identical theoretical standpoints, this thesis will not address queer theoretical approaches in a direct manner, nor make use of it. Rather, the rest of the chapter, as well as the study's results, attempt to grasp *what LGBT heritage may be* in order to hopefully capture facets of it. First, I will however address what may constitute as an LGBT site or building here. Andrew Gorman-Murray and Scott McKinnon (2018, p. 239) vaguely define queer heritage as "spaces and communities of practice that they enable". Denis Byrne (2005) excellently aids in materializing it in his paper *Excavating desire: queer heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region*:

How might we define the term 'queer heritage'? We could choose to define it as encompassing the whole culture of 'queerness' that we have in a sense 'inherited' from the past. And that would include everything from our politics to our language to our literature. In other words, it would constitute the passing on of a tradition of what it has meant to be queer in this part of the world.

What I am concerned with here, however, is restricted to the physical places and landscapes created or inhabited by homosexuals in the Asia-Pacific region in the past. These would include the buildings or outdoor spaces that we have lived in, danced in, or had sex in. The places where we have created gardens, painted, written novels, or fallen in love. It would include gay beaches and gay beach resorts, the sites of lesbian music camps, famous cruising areas in public parks or shopping malls, saunas and sex clubs, gay hairdressers, drag clubs, gay and lesbian discos. It would also, of course, include sites of discrimination and physical violence against us.

There are also the gay websites like Gaydar and Fridae which contain places like chatrooms and noticeboards where people meet and circulate in a queer virtual landscape. I restrict myself in this paper, however, to 'real' topographic space as distinct from virtual space.

What I'm invoking when I talk about queer heritage is a whole queer geography or topography. That is to say, a constellation of sites of homosexuality scattered across the landscape along with the conceptual and physical linkages ('pathways') between them. Each year new places are added to this landscape and old places grow a little older. Places close down, burn down, fall down; they deteriorate and, like we older queens, they slip quietly into a state of ruin (gracefully, we'd like to think). Inevitably, many 'places' eventually cease to be represented on the ground by any readily observable physical traces, which is not to say that archaeological traces wouldn't still be present. Even so, the places may continue to live in people's memories and have a presence in the books, magazines, and photos that 'capture' and evoke them.

(Byrne 2005, pp. 1-2)

2.4.2 Silences and silencing: implications and consequences of inclusion

The invisibility of LGBT persons and an absent discussion about their human rights were recurring themes in the Council of Europe's report *Discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity in Europe* (2011, p. 7). In the same vein, the traces of LGBT or queer pasts often go by unnoticed. Yet, inclusion also appears to be conditional. According to Oram, the memory and material legacy of "famous lesbians" from the past have been preserved because of their class status and contemporary importance, not because of presumed (or confirmed) lesbianism (Oram 2001, p. 46). Factors such as class has been of great significance for those outside the heterosexual norm, and helps render sexuality tolerable even outside of it.

Regardless of curatorial motivation, the omission or masking of LGBT narratives has been argued to harmfully impact not only LGBT visitors, but also staff, as it encourages them to mask their own relationships (Adair 2010, p. 266; Lennon 2018, p. 15). In a pilot study by Heimlich and Koke (2008), the results showed that a lack of representation within cultural institutions negatively affected gay and lesbian visitors' visits to these establishments. To make queer history visible may evoke visitors to feel a personal connection to history, creating a feeling of unity within a wider sexual community (Oram 2011). However, this biographical approach has also been problematized by Mills (2006), who notes on the temptation to assign (contemporary) ahistorical identities to individuals in the past who have lived a "queer" experience. Oliver Winchester (2012), sharing Mills' questioning of ethics surrounding such "outing", simultaneously addresses the core issue while situating it in an institutional context:

Perhaps a figure in an object's history was LGBT or Q or the artist or designer could be considered gay or transgender? Likewise, a collector or curator who crossed paths with an object may have been a lesbian or bisexual. Yet is an investigation into the biography and sexuality of an individual warranted or could such an endeavour be interpreted as superfluous at best and tokenistic political correctness at worst? What imprint, if any, can such histories leave on a physical object?

(Winchester 2012, p. 145).

However, Richard Sandell and Matt Smith (2018) argue that queer histories leave a most significant imprint on physical objects:

However, arguably the most compelling reason for including queer lives in the curation and interpretation of these buildings is that they are very often integral to understanding the history of the house itself. The inclusion of queer histories should, therefore, be understood as a core part of the curatorial remit and not something that can arbitrarily be excluded based on the preferences, concerns and fears of individual staff.

(Sandell & Smith 2018, pp. 41-42)

They also differentiate between silencing and omission in museum practice (Sandell & Smith 2018, p. 42). This is in contrast to Vanegas (2002, p. 106), who argues that curators' act of excluding, or making lesbians or gay men invisible, is a form of institutional homophobia, regardless of intent. To question the relevancy of sexual identity when interpreting past and current societal practices (as done by Winchester 2012) has been contested by Dubrow (2002), who calls attention to the problematic implications such ideas have when used as rationale to suppress public discourse on subjects such as sexuality and sexual orientation.

As shown, the relationship between LGBT heritage and heritage institutions remains complex and conflicting. What can be said is that the memory and heritage of the LGBT community creates a diverse set of approaches for people to remember, criticize, discuss, advocate, celebrate, reflect and heal (Orangias, Simms & French 2018, p. 723). The following section further discusses more practical aspects of LGBT perspectives and implementation, introducing central issues concerning heritage work and staffing in connection to the topic.

2.4.3 Who makes an object queer? Lessons from practice

Staffing is an ever-central issue for heritage discourse and practice. Much, if not all, heritage work relies on passionate individuals. This concerns all topics, such as techniques and materials, different building types and time periods, but rings particularly true for marginalized narratives. The community or group in question must often themselves secure and preserve their heritage resources, which may be done through community archives and volunteering. Research shows that LGBT perspectives and themes in museums most often become questions for passionate individuals (Grahn 2007; Laskar 2019; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015). Museums may rely on a staff person, who often does this work in addition to their assigned job duties. They may also collaborate with groups temporarily, or hire consultants who work with the (often short-term and/or temporary) LGBT program.

When institutions do not actively engage in collecting and cataloguing LGBT material, responsibility to ensure that such heritage is preserved is put onto the community itself, which does not necessarily have the knowledge and/or resources to do so (Meinke 2016; Vanegas 2002). The reliance of passionate individuals and "labor of love" (Ferentinos 2015, p. 152) within institutions is not only unsustainable, but also questionable from an ethical standpoint. Vanegas (2002, p. 104) calls attention to the unethical implications of when gay and lesbian museum workers are left to be the driving force behind such initiatives, which puts pressure onto these individuals both internally as well as from the community. Vanegas' assertion is especially solvent in a topic where it appears to be members from the community who conduct research about the community (Lendi 2014, p. 63).

While Ferentinos (2016) encourages professionals and organisations to challenge their own assumptions of what is and isn't considered appropriate, the relevancy, or ties to, LGBT history are not always immediately visible (Ferentinos 2015; Reed 1996; Springate 2017; Vanegas 2002). Outsourced specialists are therefore needed in order to aid the identification of gaps and traces of LGBT pasts, but also to support workplaces towards holistic integration of LGBT awareness. There is therefore a seemingly a fickle balance to this. Smith and Goodwin (2012) note that specialists are needed even as museums incorporate [accessibility] more holistically into their organisation, as they create and push for legal statutes. In contrast, Vanegas (2002, p. 100) remains particularly critical towards hiring external specialists for exhibitions, as it avoids direct confrontation for museum staff, who need to confront differences between themselves and parts of the community they serve. Nevertheless, single individuals cannot change an institution's procedures, and successful initiatives require full engagement of the organisation (Ferentinos 2015; Grahn 2007; Laskar 2019; Riksutställningar 2015). Most importantly, as Richard Sandell stated when interviewed by Riksutställningar, the characterized temporary and external work on LGBT inclusion points towards inadequate integration in daily practice (Riksutställningar 2015, p. 37).

The final section of this chapter shifts its focus back to the heritage management field, returning to the theme of professional practice and understanding. In addition, earlier examples of how LGBT heritage may be situated within an authorized discourse are introduced.

2.5 Material desires: Lessons from an authorized discourse

While the body of knowledge concerning LGBT heritage sites and buildings is notably lacking in both Sweden and Europe, a growing, substantial amount of research production and institutional recognition has taken place in the United States. Here we find, among others, the former President Barack Obama's designation of the *Stonewall Inn* as a national monument. The site of the Stonewall riots June 28, 1969, and the LGBT community's fight for human rights, was here declared part of all America's history (Obama White House 2016). Places connected to LGBT heritage have slowly started to gain recognition, and the National Park Service collaborated with Megan E. Springate, producing an extensive theme study on LGBT sites and preservation in America (Springate 2016b). Much of the knowledge production taking place within the academic field is however under-recognized, found in dissertations and student theses (see for example Curran 2019).

Since the repeal of the “gay propaganda law” Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988 in the UK in 2003, recognition of LGBT narratives in public history gradually increased. Several initiatives, such as Historic England’s project *Pride of Place* 2015–2016, as well as the National Trust’s *Prejudice & Pride* programme in 2017 have taken place. The LGBT London nightclub venue *The Royal Vauxhall Tavern* was the first property to receive listed heritage status based on its historic and cultural significance for the LGBT community in 2015. In connection to *Pride of Place*, a guide was published to assist actors in identifying and recognizing LGBT-related sites and objects within the official heritage protection system and planning decisions. Four different associations are of particular interest: those of *historic social interaction*, *political action* and *community organisation*, as well as *sites connected to individuals of contemporary importance* (Historic England 2016).

Looking outside of the institutional and academic sphere to where the vast majority of documentation and engagement has taken place, a richer portrait which matches Byrne’s (2005) definition emerges. Those wishing to designate LGBT historic sites are thus faced with the challenge of traditional preservation frameworks demand both architectural values and “hard evidence” of social history, not always apparent in the history of a marginalized community. Several authors have discussed the particular challenges of including LGBT narratives in built heritage, most pertaining to the issues of materiality (Ferentinos 2015; Graves, Buckley & Dubrow 2018; Graves & Dubrow 2019; Lennon 2018; Oram 2018; Springate 2016a). As establishments have often been situated in the urban margins, factors such as shifting economic and “cultural realities in a dynamic city” have led to continuous change over time, resulting in diminished integrity of these spaces, historically leaving properties vulnerable to substantive change or demolition (Graves & Watkin 2016, p. 7), thus making them ineligible for formal recognition and therefore often preservation funding. When the central element of LGBT spaces appears to be the practice of socialization, taking many forms such as churches, coffee shops, saunas, community centres and bars (Bromseth 2015; Giesecking 2016; Hallgren 2008; Scott 2004), the focus on documentation and architectural values fails to capture social historic contexts and values. In turn, this neglect leaves gaps in knowledge which are then carried through in planning, preservation and future development (Dubrow 2016).

Damon Scott’s (2004) Draft Historic Context Statement *Sexing the City: The Social History of San Francisco’s Sexual Subcultures, 1933-1980* was created with the purpose to provide support when seeking preservation grants for LGBT sites. Scott distinguishes between three property types important to the formation of San Francisco’s collective LGBT identity: 1) *sites of social interaction such as bars,*

entertainment venues, bath houses and public festivals, 2) sites of political action and reaction where events have taken place, and 3) institutional centres dedicated to community development (ibid. p. 7). The central aspect of sites is an association with social history. They were unified and defined by the cultural and historical associations to this identity and did not have a distinct architectural style. Rather, in addition to their significance as important locations where an LGBT identity could be interpreted, they were parts of understanding the social, cultural, political and economic history of the sexual subcultures of the city.

Likewise, in the artist Sam Hultin's maps within the project *I'm Every Lesbian* (2013 - 2016), we find community meeting places, spots where someone shared their first kiss, places of violence, and buildings connected to both emancipatory as well as oppressive political measures. First and foremost, shifting between personal and collective memory, the maps contain a message of community uniting lesbian sexuality and lived experiences while simultaneously oftentimes engaging the broader LGBT community. Another of Hultin's projects, *Eva-Lisas Monument* (2019), in which the personal archive of the lesbian and transgender pioneering activist Eva-Lisa Bengtson (1932–2018) is manifested into a history detailing the relatively undocumented part of the early transgender rights movement, through the use of performances and city walks marking places of importance in her life. These (now non-visible) sites, such as lesbian community spaces, night clubs and organisation offices, materialize a community of solidarity, friendship and resistance towards norms and oppressive structures, but also highlight how Bengtson, part of both lesbian and transgender communities, was often excluded within them due to conditional inclusion.

Recent scholarship has called attention to how intersecting oppressions impact representation of and within LGBT communities (Axelsson & Ludvigsson 2018; Graves & Dubrow 2019; Hallgren 2008; Sandell, Lennon & Smith 2018; Springate 2016c). Particular emphasis has been put on gender, as the general under-representation of women is reflected in the published history of LGBT communities. Most literature addresses and documents the spaces of gay men, depicting a one-sided portrait of a, as shown, highly heterogenous community. Swedish works such as *En annan stad* by Margareta Lindholm and Arne Nilsson (2002), describing gay and lesbian life between 1950–1980, was criticized by Carlsson (2004) for reproducing heteronormative ideas, causing lesbian women to be mainly situated in the home. The under-representation of women within the LGBT community is as such exacerbated by the dimension of non-conforming sexuality, causing lesbian women to be more silenced than gay men (Adair 2010, pp. 266-267; Carlsson 2004).

Finally, due to their historical function and context, sites connected to LGBT history may embody sexual content, such as public toilets and leather sex clubs. A long-standing challenge within the field is to address sex and sexuality in public spaces that do not explicitly identify as queer (Ferentinos 2015, p. 127). Returning to Sandell and Smith's (2018) note on the difference between silencing and omitting, one example of the issue with LGBT heritage and non-explicit public spaces, as well as LGBT themes not being immediately apparent to straight staff, is Jonas Rahmqvist's (2017) study of public toilets and their cultural heritage in Gothenburg. A Bachelor Thesis in Conservation, it illustrates how the material and technical focus in designations and descriptions of public toilets caused the major role and function of them in male gay life during the 1900s to be left out. Not only did it illustrate that a substantial amount of source material was found in connection to homosexual activity, such as Arne Nilsson's (1998) extensive mapping of public toilets in Gothenburg for cruising, but their significant role in male gay life during large parts of the 1900s was not mentioned in the designation descriptions or listings of the buildings themselves. Rahmqvist (2017) shows that this non-inclusion not only fails to capture the significance and major role of public toilets in cultural history values, but also that it is impossible to fully depict these values without including the sexual context, and therefore by extension the history of the LGBT community.

Rahmqvist's study is one of the few, if not only, examples of Swedish academic works on the topic concerning conservation. The existence of documents such as Historic England's guidelines (2016) and Laskar's guide (2019) indicate a changing field, similar to what may be observed with the discursive shift in the concept of heritage. However, in a field consisting of a relatively homogenous workforce, with a dominant discourse remaining focused on material values, the lack of research concerning LGBT heritage and heritage management compared to museums raises many questions as to LGBT heritage's place in built heritage conservation management as well as the field's insight in the topic.

3. Method and materials

This chapter describes the research methodology. First, the overall methodological approach and rationale are introduced. The chapter then presents the format of the interviews and the observation, with special consideration to ethical practice and quality of study. The chapter culminates in a discussion and evaluation of the effectiveness of the methodology, concluding with a reflexivity statement as well as summary.

3.1 Methodological approach

The study first and foremost set out to explore heritage professionals' understanding of LGBT heritage, a topic with little prior research. With little earlier data to provide a foundation, an inductive, qualitative approach was chosen in order to gain insights to and describe this phenomenon. Qualitative methods offer an effective way of research seeking to understand, describe and provide context for social phenomena, and are especially well-suited for the aim of understanding a specific community or group's view of a selected subject (Flick 2018, p. 5). In addition, the chosen qualitative framework aligned with the methodology of similar research published in recent years (see Lendi 2014; Ludwig 2016; Riksutställningar 2015).

Due to the lack of general knowledge concerning LGBT heritage practice, a case study design was selected in order to most effectively address the questions posed in Chapter 1. A qualitative case study was deemed particularly useful, as such research design allows for deep understanding and detailed illustration of the interactive processes at work (Bell 2005, p. 10), while a qualitative approach accommodates the addition of unforeseen but crucial data. Further, the goal of this study was not only a greater understanding of the topic, but to present a way forward for those in the field. The case study approach has been recognized to most effectively contribute to changing, adapting or aiding the current practices as it builds upon experience and practice, seeking to critically investigate and analyse them (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 2010).

Qualitative research design can be adapted for investigations that require a wide analytical lens and a variety of data collection methods. Seeking to examine how official professionals worked and understood LGBT heritage, collection methods needed to cover a broad range of data such as:

- 1) The field's theoretical perceptions and understanding of the topic
- 2) Professionals' perception of LGBT heritage
- 3) Professionals' work concerning LGBT heritage

4) Professionals' educational and professional background

The previous chapter has already covered the literature consulted for the study. Still, I want to acknowledge several dissertations and student theses that provided much depth to the thesis, specifically Lendi's master thesis (2014), Hanna Hallgren's dissertation (2007) and Rahmqvist's Bachelor thesis (2017). Unprinted sources such as interviews, e-mail correspondence and internal documents as well as my own observations in the workplace during the internship helped capture how practitioners understand and apply the topic. This was further supported by printed sources, covering a range of publications and documents such as reports and projects by the National Heritage Board, legislative documents, archival material and newspaper articles.

Archival material was examined at *Queerrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek (QRAB)*, an LGBT archive, in Gothenburg, to survey potential LGBT sites. This material served as foundation for interviews, blog posts and presentations. In this thesis, the gathered data is included as a timeline in order to broaden the contextual scope of the research problem without detracting from the ability for an effective analysis. The reader is thus able to partake in some of the presentation content, which included historical events relevant to LGBT history in Sweden, as well as a limited number of identified sites.

3.2 Data collection

Triangulation through the use of different sources of information as well as multiple methods is critical when aiming to describing and capturing the complexity and interests as holistically as possible. Two primary data collection methods were used in this study: participant observation and semi-structured interviews, supported by archival and documentary surveys. Data collection in the forms of personal semi-structured interviews and participant observation took place at the National Heritage Board's Department for Conservation, the unit for Conservation Advice between November 2019 and February 2020. Methods were employed with particular attention to power and consent, which will be further discussed later in this chapter.

3.2.1 Fieldwork and participant observation

Participant observation yields "thick" primary data, often unattainable by other means. The collected in-depth information aids understanding how different subjects are organized and prioritized within the group under study. As a method, participant observation enhances the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, thus working both as a data collection method and analytical tool (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011). It may also be used as an approach to establish more solid contacts

with participants, which provides better rapport, in turn granting better access to participants and activities (ibid. p. 110). In this study, participant observation served as a backdrop for other research methods rather than a method in itself.

While all forms of research involve the process of making decisions and re-evaluating research design as the research progresses, DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) argue that it is explicitly built into the method of participant observation. Since the researcher continues to make decisions about the focus of observation and participation even in the field, the research design may change as phenomena not originally included are added, or the researcher discovers new angles to the research question (ibid. p. 182). Participant observation as such not only strengthened the choice and quality of deliberate sampling, but also enhanced the quality of interviews as better rapport could be established with participants.

In order to gain a better insight into the professionals' context and understanding, participant observation took place between November 2019 and February 2020 at the National Heritage Board's Department for Conservation and the Unit of Conservation Advice, located in Visby, Gotland. The purpose of the observation was to provide context for sampling as well as development of the interview protocol. The Department for Conservation and the unit for Conservation Advice were chosen as they work with the development of methods as well as advice for care and conservation of buildings, ancient monuments, historic landscapes, artefacts, objects and materials.

Researchers are often relegated to a space out of the way when conducting observation at a workplace (Ladner 2014, p. 127). However, this was not exactly the case for this study. I was given a desk and workplace, as well as a computer, an official email address and a key tag, which granted access to internal documents. My placement in the middle of the office space gave people instant access to me. This made them able to inform me about what they as well as other units which I was not directly involved with were doing. One helpful opportunity this allowed for, was when an employee in the museum and collection unit asked if I knew about the recent publication *Den outställda sexualiteten* (Laskar 2019), released earlier the same month. Had they not told me, I would have found it much later in the process or worst case; missed it entirely.

The placement in the office together with the same working hours as the employees also offered the possibility to pick up on the activities, meetings and tasks which were happening. The flexibility of the qualitative framework allowed me to adopt a flexible, situation-based approach to fieldwork, which resulted in overt observational participation in many different meetings. During meetings, I was seated at

the table with the participants. Observations made during meetings as well as their content were documented through field notes organized in a diary.

Being at the workplace also provided a unique opportunity for employees and participants to share information with me as they wished, on their own terms. I received emails with things that they thought could be of interest (not only connected to the National Heritage Board, but everything from newspaper articles that they would connect to my presentations and think about, to potential places of lesbian sites that they wondered if I knew about).

On my own initiative, I wrote blog posts on the National Heritage Board's blog, *k-blogg.se*¹². I also held two presentations concerning the topic of my thesis, on December 2, 2019, and January 20, 2020. In the first presentation I introduced the research background, questions and aim, announcing that interviews were planned to start in the following weeks. These two strategies allowed for another unique data collection point, as I would receive comments on the blog posts. In such a way, they also granted me an additional entry for perception by other professionals as well as the public. While the blog posts did not seemingly yield any prominent data, it is necessary to discuss the presentations. Participant observation is generally used for descriptive research, but may also be used to test certain kinds of hypotheses (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, p. 110). As the results will show, they became a great way to test hypotheses. Although not originally planned, the presentations were an instrument of change, and the participation in presentations thus became a parameter accounted for participants' responses during interviews during analysis. The presentations also had value from a data collection standpoint; participants would already have an insight to my topic, thus allowing for less diffuse interview responses. This may however also be limiting, as participants may tailor their responses to what they think is relevant, unintentionally leaving out potentially useful information. In this specific instance where there was very little general knowledge of the topic within the field, the benefits outweighed the disadvantages. To mitigate the bias from presentation-attendance, participants who had not attended all, or any of the presentations were included in the study.

3.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative interviews are a useful tool granting access to “the ways in which subjects experience and understand their world. It provides a unique access to the lived world of the subjects, who in their own words describe their activities, experiences and opinions” (Brinkmann & Kvale 2018, p. 10). Seeking to explore heritage

¹² The three blog posts, *HBTQ + kulturmiljövård = sant?* (Haar 2019), *Att öppna dörrar* (Haar 2020a), and *Vad tar vi för plats i historien?* (Haar 2020b) did not contain any results from the participant study, but presented sites and material from the archival study and literature.

professionals' understanding of LGBT heritage, the method was chosen as the data was deemed hard to acquire in-depth with other methods (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 2010, p. 193). Semi-structured interviews, with the advantage of adaptability, were particularly useful for engaging the diverse background experience of participants. It encouraged and allowed for spontaneous follow-up questions to responses, resulting in better capture of their experiences. As opposed to unstructured interviews, the semi-structured interview protocol also provides a consistent framework for interviews. This concentrates the data collected through them, facilitating the process of data reduction.

The interview topic guide (see *Appendix II*) was based on previous research, archival material as well as documentary review of the National Heritage Board's documents. Protocols used in previous similar topics, such as Lendi's (2014) and the report *Kulturarv är mångfald!* (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2004) were consulted. Central statements, such as Grahn's (2011) observation of the cultural heritage sector's lack of working with gender perspectives, provided foundation for interview questions. The perspective hierarchy as described by Lendi (2014) as well as the crowding of perspectives (Riksutställningar 2015) were also central. Questions concerning LGBT perspectives were to a large extent introduced in questions embedded in how they fit into a diversity perspective, together with comparison to other aspects, such as gender, ethnicity, disability and class. Further, the protocol drew inspiration from questions guiding the LGBT programming of ICOSOC (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience) webinar. *Table 2* lists the interview questions within the corresponding research question.

<i>Table 2 Index of corresponding research questions</i>	
How do heritage professionals understand LGBT heritage?	<p>How can LGBT themes be uplifted in built environments?</p> <p>Have you had any training here (or prior) on LGBT themes?</p> <p>Do you identify any particular difficulties in applying an LGBT perspective? If so, which?</p> <p>Have you come in contact with LGBT heritage?</p>
Based on this understanding, how is it applied in practice?	<p>Have you come in contact with LGBT heritage?</p> <p>What is your opinion on earlier projects (such as Agenda Kulturarv, Kalejdoskop, Vision 2030)?</p> <p>According to you, did any earlier projects (Agenda Kulturarv, Kalejdoskop, Vision 2030) associate or work with an LGBT perspective?</p> <p>Has LGBT been mentioned in earlier diversity work? If so, how?</p> <p>How has and may LGBT heritage, based on current preservation frameworks, be preserved?</p>

Table 2 Index of corresponding research questions.

Potential participants were contacted at half-point of observation and internship. No participant declined participation. Prior to interview, all participants were given an informed consent form and a paper with the study's background, stating the purpose and aim of the study, as well as participants' rights. All participants consented and filled out the form. The form is found in *Appendix I*.

With consent, the interviews were recorded with a dictaphone. Limited notetaking was done during interviews. Recording interviews is considered best practice within research. Not only does it strengthen validity and transparency, it also heightens the accuracy of analysis and allows for better contact with participants as the amount of notetaking is reduced. A dictaphone has the advantage of a reduced risk of participants forgetting that they are being recorded, as the instrument is not inconspicuous compared to a phone on a table. On the other hand, the awareness of knowing that you are being recorded can sometimes inhibit honest responses from participants (Bell 2005, p. 164). In addition, the better audio quality reduces the risk of unclear recordings and disruptive noise.

Participants were given the choice of location in hopes that it would make them feel more comfortable and less likely to restrict themselves. All interviews were conducted in the workplace during office hours, either in participants' own office or a meeting room. This setting may have impacted responses, as participants may not have felt comfortable voicing negative opinions in their workplace. The interviews were conducted between December 19, 2019, and January 31, 2020, and lasted roughly 45 minutes – 1 hour and 45 minutes.

3.3 Sample and setting of study

I will here describe the sampling, setting and participants of the study. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with nine officials. Participants were purposely sampled from the unit of Conservation Advice and the Conservation Department. Interview participants were eligible if they had the title of built heritage professional or advisor (but may have backgrounds as conservators or landscape preservationists). The aim of sampling was to achieve as wide diversity as possible among parameters such as age, gender, length of employment time, education and discipline, and length of time in field. Resting on recommendations that future research seek out more underrepresented positions than within her sample (Lund 2015, p. 12), this study strived to include as few directors as possible.

Due to the emergent and inductive nature of the study, a precise sample size was not established beforehand. Because of the diverse working and academic background of participants, it was not practically possible to continue conducting interviews until true saturation was reached. Although it had not been originally

planned, two individuals outside the unit and department were brought into the study to broaden the perspectives from heritage professionals involved in these processes.

3.3.1 The Swedish National Heritage Board

The Swedish National Heritage Board is organised in six departments (*Fig. 1*). As an agency, they have responsibility for answering to the government as well as civil society through letters of appropriation, legislation and providing guidance. The Department for Conservation serves as a centre for knowledge, focusing on the long-term management and preservation of cultural heritage. It is comprised of the three units *Conservation Advice*, *Heritage Studio* and *Heritage Science*. Together, they are responsible for coordinating and communicating development of conservation methods and the advice for care and preservation of buildings, ancient monuments, historic landscapes, artefacts, objects and materials. By communicating, coordinating and developing knowledge for the management of heritage, they serve as advisors for both civilians and heritage professionals within the areas above. Other areas of work for the unit for Conservation Advice are risk management, climate adaption, museum collection management and energy conservation.

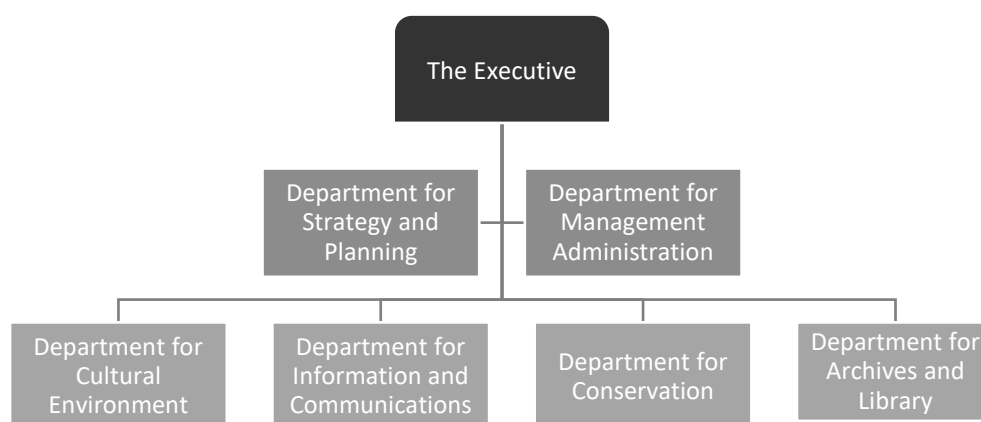


Figure 1 Organisational chart of the Swedish National Heritage Board.

3.3.2 Participants

The nine participants were employees at the National Heritage Board of which seven belonged to the unit for Conservation Advice. The remaining two participants were from the Department for Information and Communications and the Department for Cultural Environment respectively. *Table 3* summarizes the characteristics of participants. As shown in *Table 3*, the majority of participants had prior experience within regional heritage management, either at county administrative boards

or county museums, mostly located in the central parts of Sweden. While participants had been employed differently long in the field and at the National Heritage Board, the National Heritage Board's position requires employees to have significant experience and merits. The gender distribution in this study was 66% women, a sample similar to Lund (2015), whose sample of heritage practitioners consisted of 72% women. The analysis did not identify any significant differences in responses related to employment time, age or gender. However, as previously touched upon in 3.2.1, attendance of presentations was found to impact participants' responses. Six out of nine participants had attended one or both presentations prior to their interview. Three participants did not have the possibility to attend before their interview.

<i>Table 3 Characteristics of participants</i>	
Characteristic	<i>N or range</i>
Gender	
Woman	6
Man	3
Employment time at the National Heritage Board	3 months – 16 years; mean = 5,8 years; median = 2 years
Earlier work experience type	
Regional heritage management <i>County administrative board or county museum</i>	5
Academia	1
Other <i>State museum, architectural firm, or N/A</i>	3
Specialisation type	
Buildings and heritage	3 ¹³
Archaeology	3
Landscape conservation	1
Conservation	1
Architecture	1
Presentation attendance prior to interview	
One or both	6
None	3

Table 3 Characteristics of participants.

¹³ Two out of the six participants who had worked as heritage officers had attended the two existing specific university programmes for built heritage conservation management which are found in Gothenburg (University of Gothenburg: *Bebyggelseantikvariskt program*) and Visby (Uppsala University: *Byggnadsantikvarieprogrammet*) in the mid-2000s.

3.3 Ethical considerations

The ethical guidelines from the Swedish Research Council (2017) were taken into consideration from the early stages of planning and per ethical standards, consent forms were created. As much as possible was done pre-emptively to hinder and address ethical concerns prior to conduction of study. Aligning with the previously discussed tradition of self-reflexivity, I recognized my responsibility as a researcher to maintain positive relationships with the participants and inform them of the research I was conducting.

Since the integrity of the participants was a central issue, the utmost care was taken to assure participants' consent, integrity and feelings remained a main priority. While the study was not anticipated to pose serious ethical threats to participants' well-being or health, a potential risk of impact on professional reputation was identified beforehand, due to the small size of the workforce. Securing anonymity was further complicated by the setting of the study, in particular in a field where "everyone knows everyone". Nevertheless, various safeguards have been employed to minimize risks, such as the removal of as many identifiers as possible. For example, as the aim of the study was to investigate practitioners' understanding of how LGBT heritage fit within a notion of heritage, name records of participants were deemed irrelevant for the context as the phenomenon under study was not tied to the individuals themselves. Moreover, due to the small sample size, I opted to not assign participants any false names or numbers, as it further would aid the reader in connecting quotes and thus identifying participants easier. It may however still be possible to identify participants, which participants were made aware of prior to signing the informed consent form. Lastly, I was the only person who had full access to the interview recordings and transcripts. The only exception to this was the translation of quotes, as earlier described. All featured quotes and translations have been approved by the participants.

3.4 Data analysis

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed in order to maximise the possibility to identify themes within the data. Transcriptions were verbatim, and noted pauses, gestures and sounds such as laughs and sighs. Transcription, interpretation and coding of data proceeded in parallel with the conduction of interviews. Upon preliminary analysis, several themes emerged, such as *(the lack of) knowledge, practical application and preservation of LGBT heritage buildings and sites* as well as *questions of ethics*. These were then used to structure data based on the research questions.

Individual summaries of the interviews with relevant quotes structured around the identified themes, were sent to the participants who were thus given the chance to point out misunderstandings and/or provide clarification. All nine participants responded to their individual summaries, whereof two had notable clarifications and comments.

In order to gain deeper understanding of participants' perceptions, responses were first examined and compared within these themes to detect patterns. Following, data and patterns were compared across the themes. Finally, the data was compared and contrasted with issues raised in earlier research and literature. Synthesis, like transcription and interpretation, did not happen in separate, isolated consecutive steps, but rather continuously and simultaneously between data and previously established research. In order to look for similarities and differences among participants' answers, the data within corresponding themes was also cross-case analysed. The frequency of topics and themes within interview responses were noted in order to aid identification of patterns and strengthen the validity of observations. With this, the attendance of presentations was found to be an unplanned parameter which influenced responses. This finding was used during analysis, as touched upon earlier in 3.3.2.

Using quotes from participants is the most reliable use of data within this research design, enhancing validity and methodological transparency of the study. Transparency is necessary in order to assure the audience of legitimacy of the conclusions gained from the data in both quantitative and qualitative methods. With the intention of improving transparency, the translated quotes featured in the results are presented together with their original. This was also a means to attempt to capture the participants' responses as "truthfully" as possible. It should be noted that I do not have any formal nor theoretical training in translation. Because of this, in addition to wanting to mitigate potential bias from me and the sake of better transparency as possible, quotes underwent a primary translation by me, were then anonymized and consulted with others. Translations were carried out with the intention of reflecting the manner of speech in mind.

3.5 Methodological discussion

It is important to note that neither interviews nor participant observation are neutral tools of data gathering. As the researcher serves as the instrument of data collection, it is affected by parameters such as gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity, class, background and theoretical approach. Not only does this impact observation, analysis and interpretation of data and the study itself, it also affects how participants

perceive and work with the researcher at hand (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011; Kawulich 2005).

The positions of power between participants and the researcher are not only affected by the aforementioned parameters. The researcher, being an outsider, is not the only one with power: participants themselves decide what information they want to rely. Being stationed at the site of observation, the relationship between me and my position as a researcher as well as intern, and person, was not always easily navigated, especially over time. This became apparent in interviews, where the semi-open structure enabled me to approach the same topic differently, based on the rapport established between the participant and I prior to the interview. This was also observed during meetings. Initially, I was not invited to speak or give thoughts (and had no intention of doing so, either). However, barely a month in, this position shifted. I was included in concluding thought rounds, on their invitation (I did not express anything during these). This serves to show that while the researcher determines a level of participation and membership during observation, it is not only decided by them, but also the group (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011).

Successful use of participant observation as a method requires the researcher to practice a great deal of self-reflexivity during the entire research process, in order to understand and assess the impact of their own viewpoint on not only collection of data and analysis, but the written product (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011). Though academic writing is notoriously believed to embody personal distance and objectivity, where the researcher separates themselves from the topic for the intent of validity and legitimacy, these expectations are not always realistic nor efficient for the researcher (and I would argue such objectivity does not exist). Like Hallgren (2008), I wished to engage more with the absent part of history of the LGBT community, which I am a part of. In this section, I will continue to discuss how parameters such as those described above may have affected the position of the researcher in my research.

In the article *Identifiering och kategorisering: om det kulturella erkännandets möjligheter och begränsningar*, Birgitta Svensson (2006) writes:

De som tillhör en minoritet blir ständigt påmind om sin identitet, medan en relativt homogen svensk medelklass med till exempel vita män sällan funderar på vad de har för kön eller hudfärg.¹⁴

(Svensson 2006, p. 182)

¹⁴ Translation: "Those who belong to a minority are continuously reminded of their identity, while a relatively homogenous Swedish middleclass with for example white men seldomly reflect on their gender or the color of their skin."

Self-reflexivity is a funny thing. On a superficial level, it may be presented in the following manner: *With an educational and professional background fitting the workplace, in combination with being white and read as a woman in a female-dominated field, I was not obviously dissimilar from the employees. However, I was significantly younger than not only the participants, but seemingly the entire workplace. This was the most obvious difference, and it may have affected how I was perceived.* But what Svensson (2006) points to is how the awareness of one's own identity is intricately tied to external perception, and many of us are confronted daily with how identity categories outside the majority affect us.

Initially, and for a long time during my internship, I became increasingly aware of how my own sexual identity affected employees' perceptions of me. I was for this reason hesitant to disclose my sexuality (as if it had not been inevitably and indirectly communicated that I was a lesbian based on the choice of research topic¹⁵). During coffee breaks and lunches, I hesitated to disclose relationships, consciously choosing more gender-neutral terms when referring to personal romantic relationships. Self-interest affects choice of research topics. Does an insider perspective aid a lot of aspects during research? Absolutely. Does my position as a lesbian in a professional environment which at surface level appears heterodominant affect how I am perceived and met? I can only establish that it certainly did on a personal, emotional level within myself.

3.5.1 Validity and reliability

While the research methods were both appropriate and necessary for the data needed to be gathered, it is imperative to discuss the limitations of the research design. The limitations of the chosen qualitative approach concern the validity of data. The structure of a case study, together with the use of participant observation and interviews, does not allow for the same replicability and verification as quantitative research.

The case study approach has been subject to criticism based on an unreliability to provide generalizations of a studied phenomenon (Bell 2005). It is also claimed to be more prone to verification bias compared to other approaches (Flyvbjerg 2006, pp. 234-237). According to Flyvbjerg this critique is based on a foundational misconception of the method as a whole, and if anything, the method contains greater bias towards falsification of preconceived notions, rather than verification (2006, p. 237). Most importantly, while no actual generalizations may be drawn from the basis of a single case study, they contribute to the critical mass of data for the topic

¹⁵ As noted by Lendi (2014).

researched within the academic sphere and aids the researcher in discovering previously hidden facets of the object under study.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, p. 69) argue that one of the goals in designing research which includes participant observation is to improve the interpretation and validity of the account of the studied phenomena and its context as much as possible. Due to the experiential approach of participant observation, it is discussable if any phenomena can truly be accurately represented. By using additional data collection and analysis strategies, such as interviews, participant observation is strengthened (Kawulich 2005).

The limited sample size also impacts the validity and generalizability of the findings. By not transcribing the interviews, the number of participants could have been increased. However, it was argued that a smaller sample size was more desirable than sacrificing quality for larger quantity. Interviews may sometimes be substituted with surveys, also allowing for a larger sample size. A survey would not have been as likely to gather deep descriptions, nor is it ideal as a complement for participant observation. Finally, the population under study is small. While the use of focus groups could have granted a bigger sample, it would have sacrificed a non-negligible part of anonymity. They also carry the risk of select participants to dominate the discussion, consciously or unconsciously thus silencing other participants. Those with opinions contrasting accepted opinions within the group may also not be comfortable with voicing these in a group setting.

Reliability, the extent of which results can be reproduced by using the same approach in other time and circumstance, is difficult to assess in research using participant observation. It is rarely replicated, and observers will most commonly not approach the same question and setting with similar techniques (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011). Some insights in the study could however not have been obtained by other means, or from interviewing alone. Finally, without it, one of the most interesting findings from the study would not have happened, as it was the fieldwork which entirely activated the chain of events leading to the fortuitous discovery. Participant observation is uniquely difficult form of study. While observation and interviewing may be perceived as innate skills, they require practice in order to gather data with good quality. In this case, I have experience in both interviewing and to some limited extent carrying out fieldwork and observation from earlier research. One way to check reliability and validity is to test if other researchers would acquire similar or the same responses when using your instrument (Bell 2005, p. 118). This was done by consulting other researchers' methods and strategies concerning similar topics, such as Lendi (2014).

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the research methodology. With a qualitative case study approach, data collection methods of semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation were used to gather insights to heritage professionals' understanding of LGBT heritage, with purposefully sampled nine individuals and observation with a duration of four months. The research design was divided into two parts: the first consisted of fieldwork, archival studies and participatory observation, designed to get better picture as well as backdrop for sampling. The second part consisted of semi-structured qualitative interviews, with which the primary data was collected with the participants.

The utmost care was taken to assure, to the greatest possible extent, the anonymity and feelings of the participants. No individual except for the researcher had access to the raw interview data. Due to the potentially sensitive information within the study, informed consent was a priority throughout the study. This was done by acquiring written informed consent, as well as performing several check-ins with participants throughout the study, in the form of interview summaries and sections of analysis containing their quotes being sent to them for confirmation. Several measures, such as cross-analysis of cases (participants), triangulation (with use of multiple methods, sources and existing literature) and third-part checking of quote translations, were implemented to increase validity and transparency. The methodology carries the same limitations as commonly found for qualitative research.

4. Professional understanding and awareness of LGBT heritage

Two conceptualisations of LGBT heritage emerged from analysis: 1) an LGBT perspective, and 2) a type of heritage associated with the LGBT community and sexuality. Two different terms, *perspective* and *LGBT heritage*, are used in reference to these. *Perspective* has already been introduced in this study in conjunction with aspects such as LGBT, gender or diversity; it is a lens which may be applied when wishing to focus awareness towards specific themes. The other term serves as a label of heritage, in similar manners as when referring to, for example industrial heritage or maritime heritage.

The reason for these two conceptualisations may in part be explained by human inconsistency. While some participants (and I myself) use the terms relatively interchangeably, the two concepts both seemingly revolve around knowledge, but present different angles. They are, after all, interrelated and connected, not always possible to separate. Despite being similar, noteworthy differences in meaning were found between them during analysis. It cannot be ruled out that my inconsistency did not contribute to participants' own choice and usage of words, but the concepts appear to provide different applications and implementations.

This chapter has therefore been divided accordingly into several parts. The results are introduced by first establishing the contextual starting point in which the study was carried out in, i.e. the participants' work context and the governmental and political framework upon which it is constructed. Section 4.2 is devoted to the concept of an LGBT perspective and its possible application and implementation. In the subsequent section, the importance of knowledge is illustrated with the aid of an LGBT history timeline. Based on this, LGBT heritage and its suggested preservation is then presented in 4.4. Before moving on to the Discussion chapter, the results are summarized.

The focus on quotes in the following chapters has dual intent. The emphasis on participants' voices grants the audience the opportunity to read important first-hand accounts, while also being an effort to minimize bias in the presentation of research. Where appropriate, observational data has been woven in with the interview data to further support the reader's understanding of the participant and findings.

4.1 Ideas of inclusion, representation and democracy

Following the overall discursive developments of cultural heritage policy (see chapter 2), the last two decades have seen a growing trend towards ideas of diversity together with notions of inclusion and representativity in Swedish heritage politics and legislation. It is therefore not surprising that the National Heritage Board's governmental position and the political implications of inclusion and representativity were central in participants' discussions of inclusion and representativity.

The term *perspective* is often used to signal a state of awareness (Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015), as done both by myself and the participants of the study. The use, or application, of different perspectives heightens professionals' sensitivity for highlighting certain narratives, aiding in recognizing traces outside their own sphere of reference. For example, the so-called "diversity perspective" (*mångfaldsperspektiv*) is mentioned in a range of the National Heritage Board's documents, from policies and legislations to organisational visionary documents and guidelines. For participants, diversity perspectives, heritage diversity and inclusivity were seen as means to (dis)engage political societal forces, as these three quotes from separate participants discuss:

A: I feel like we, today, see more and more, lots of expressions of fear of the unknown. And then I think you need more and more... knowledge and opportunity to handle that, in different ways.¹⁶

B: I believe it's important to share that kind of knowledge [LGBT history], because I think it's important to tell stories. Or like, tell (hi)story. And to get different perspectives on it, and that I feel, like... there are forces in society against that.¹⁷

C: I believe everyone should get to speak, and everyone's equal worth. That's exactly what it's about. And that it's supposed to counteract hate and other things. Like, the more everything is normalized, the less hate there should be, at least. Less communities put against each other, or opinions, this fear of the new and foreign, or different.¹⁸

To preserve a diverse heritage, and therein LGBT heritage, was part of the responsibility to broaden the image of cultural heritage. Recognition and preservation were matters of justice and equality, connected to common heritage and ideas of democracy. Participants were well-aware of political implications of inclusion, and a potential threat to diverse narratives increased the urgency and importance of

¹⁶ "jag tycker att vi ser i dag mer och mer, en massa yttringar av att man är rädd för det okända. Och då tror jag att man behöver ha mer och mer... kunskap och möjlighet att hantera det, på olika sätt."

¹⁷ "Jag tycker ju att det är viktigt att sådan kunskap sprids, för att jag tycker att det är viktigt att man berättar historier. Eller att man liksom berättar historia. Och att man får olika perspektiv på den, och det tycker jag väl att... det finns ju krafter i samhället som är emot det."

¹⁸ "Jag tänker att alla ska komma till tals, och alla är lika mycket värda. Det är ju precis det det handlar om. Och att det ska motverka hat och annat. Alltså som, ju mer man normaliserar allt, desto mindre hat borde det bli, i alla fall. Att folkgrupper ställs emot varandra, eller åsikter, den här rädslan för det nya och främmande, eller annorlunda."

preservation. Being able to officially recognize previously unrecognized heritage was also seen as a large benefit. But when translated into practice, the vision of diverse heritage and representation faded:

At least there's some kind of implicit vision to reflect society. [...] *thus it has its place.* It's an ambition, at least. But nevertheless, it's a Sisyphean task to actually accomplish it. But it's part of the fundamental idea, in some way.¹⁹

Outside of organisational documents, participants' responses, as the one above, indicated that they did not actively work with diversity perspectives. The tangible impact of diversity initiatives and projects was debatable. Most relevant for the unit, the impact of Vision 2030 was summarized as little. Tending to not only the sector, but also the government and civil society, the different arenas and their actors steers focus, at least temporarily:

We have all these interdisciplinary questions that the National Heritage Board has tried to handle and decide what line to adopt towards them, and it's been... it's been difficult to sustain long-term. We didn't make any comparisons here back then, but our department was given a very clearly defined task during the time when the government launched their efforts for disability politics. And there, we really gained a deeper understanding of how difficult it was to tackle an issue that wasn't, so to speak, of a kind that could be placed on a single part of the organisation, but rather was a shared responsibility [by many], and to also keep it alive even after, so to speak, the direct government initiative was reduced. From what I assume and understood back then, there was a hope from the government's side that this had now been seen to and had been integrated into the agencies' ongoing assignments. But when it, so to speak, was removed from appropriation letters and thus didn't require specific follow-ups, it pretty quickly slid down in priority, and we once again landed in the more tangible matters of fact, where each department's more specific questions came to the forefront.²⁰

What opened up is a reality where the unit and organisation at large is faced with limited time to do what needs to be done, necessitating them to focus on what is deemed the most pressing. Inquiries from different actors do not necessarily overlap, and what is inquired is what is traditionally known: "what you're not working with, you don't ask for, even if you probably should"²¹, as a participant lamented.

¹⁹ "Det finns i alla fall någon slags uttaland vision av att avspegla samhället. [...] *därmed har det ju sin plats.* I alla fall som någon slags ambition. Sedan är det ju liksom något slags Sisyfös-arbete, att klara det här då, likt förbannat. Sedan finns det ju i grundtanken, på något sätt."

²⁰ "Vi har alla de här tvärs-frågorna som Riksantikvarieämbetet har försökt hantera och förhålla sig till, och det har varit... de har varit svåra att hitta en långsiktighet i. För vi gjorde inga jämförelser här då, men vår avdelning fick ett väldigt tydligt specifikt uppdrag under den tid som regeringen gjorde satsningar på funktionshinderpolitiken. Och där fick vi verkligen en fördjupad bild av hur svårt det var att jobba med en fråga som inte var, så att säga, av ett slag som kunde läggas på en enskild del av organisationen, utan var ett samlat ansvar som många hade, och också att hålla liv i den även efter det att, så att säga, det tydliga regeringsinitiativet tonades ned. Där man då, vad jag förmodar och förstod, hade, så att säga, förhoppningen från regeringens sida att nu hade man sett till att det här hade arbetats in i myndigheternas löpande arbete. Men när det, så att säga, togs bort ur regleringsbrev och det inte krävdes några specifika återrapporteringar på det, så halkade det väldigt snabbt ned i prioritet, och så landade man tillbaka i de mer hårda sakfrågorna där den enskilda avdelningens mera specifika frågor var det som kom i förgrunden."

²¹ "Det som man då inte jobbar med, det frågar man inte efter, även om det kanske borde vara så."

Furthermore, LGBT heritage was seen as a “niche topic”, presenting a common predicament of priority and request. Most notably, as a “niche topic”, it carried the challenge of not always being perceived as part of the general public’s interest.

When asked about if any of the projects aimed to make institutions engage with overlooked narratives and perspectives, such as *Agenda Kulturarv* and *Kalejdoskop*, had brought up LGBT perspectives and heritage, the overall response was quite negative. One participant responded:

FREJDEL: Out of the projects we discussed earlier, *Agenda Kulturarv*, *Kalejdoskop* and like... the vision, can you recall if any connected more to an LGBT perspective than the others?

PARTICIPANT: Not really, I think. At least not that I know of. I feel like it’s been pretty absent within cultural heritage environment management. [...] That part seems like it’s more connected to museums than historic preservation, [perhaps].²²

Working with LGBT heritage appeared to be more than simply a matter of priority and request. The use of inclusive practice by applying different perspectives was recurrently connected to museums rather than heritage management. Several participants associated LGBT topics to museums, and the work to preserve and connect LGBT history to heritage sites was seen as part of ethnographers’ and museums’ practice rather than that of heritage management professionals.

When the government released its LGBT strategy in 2014, several strategic agencies were appointed specific assignments. The agencies in question were the Equality Ombudsman, the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the Public Health Agency of Sweden and the Swedish Arts Council (Regeringskansliet 2014). Following the recommendations from the 2016 evaluation of the strategy made by the Swedish Agency for Public Management (Statskontoret 2016), the Swedish Migration Agency, the National Agency for Education and the Swedish Gender Equality Agency were added to the list of agencies. In June of 2020, the group of appointed agencies was extended further to include the Swedish Police Authority and the Ombudsman for Children (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet 2020). While appointed to create conditions for improving knowledge about and equal treatment of LGBT people, no strategic agency is found on RFSL:s list of certified organisations and operations (RFSL 2020a, 2020b).

²² FREJDEL: Av de här tidigare diskuterade projekten då, *Agenda kulturarv*, *Kalejdoskop*, och... visionen och så, var det något som du kan minnas som knöt an mer till hbtq-perspektivet än något av de andra?

PARTICIPANT: Egentligen inte, tror jag. Inte sådär som jag känner till. Det är ganska dåligt med sånt, kan jag tycka, inom kulturmiljöområdet... [nämen] det är snarare museiverksamheter som har dem, men inte så mycket kulturmiljö, inte den här delen.

The National Heritage Board, neither an LGBT strategic agency nor LGBTQI certified, has funded several initiatives for LGBT heritage, the latest being the guide by Laskar (2019). The only observation of working with LGBT heritage and/or perspectives at the department, excluding this study and presentations held with it, was a breakfast lecture in connection to the publication of Laskar's (2019) guide, which the National Heritage Board in part funded. I was the only person to attend from the unit for Conservation Advice. While many employees surely did not have time to attend, and the guide itself is directed towards museums, when speaking to other employees at the office, it appeared that some had not understood that they were welcome to attend, thinking that it was directed towards the units which work with museums.

While deemed important, an overall lack of integration and implementation of diversity perspectives was a recurring topic. Participants rarely, if ever, situated the LGBT perspective and/or topic outside of the diversity cluster. LGBT themes and sexuality were in particular strongly associated with, and attributed to a gender perspective and/or topic. When asked about their own experiences with LGBT heritage, several participants noted that it was likely that they had unknowingly come in contact with it, but had lacked the skill to "see it" (thus failing to recognize it). The interviews indicated that neither participants nor the sector worked with the topic of LGBT heritage, or used an LGBT perspective in their current work.

This chapter began by providing a brief introduction to the context of the participants. It went on to show that participants were largely unfamiliar with the topic and did not work with it. The responses indicate not only a weak connection between LGBT heritage and practice, but to the overall sector. In spite of this, the participants expressed interest in the topic. The section that follows moves on to examine the participants' understanding of LGBT heritage as a point of perspective further.

4.2 The LGBT perspective

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, to apply perspectives grants professionals an opportunity to "see" things differently, or detect traces and things outside their own sphere of reference. Several participants noted that it was likely that they had unknowingly been in contact with LGBT heritage, but had lacked the skill to "see it". This awareness, or ability to "see" LGBT themes and history, was sometimes described as "wearing a pair of glasses", which the participants did not carry nor have. If seen as a learned skill, a possible explanation for the current relationship is rooted in knowledge. Part of this non-possession was connected to a lack of

“intrinsic knowledge”, which participants related to their own sexual orientation and individual, as shown in this quote:

If you want to include this perspective seriously, you need to know more. Because it’s not something that just comes naturally. I don’t have it. I have friends who have that culture, but myself, I don’t. So I think knowledge is important.²³

Without “intrinsic knowledge” and no foundational understanding obtained elsewhere, the participation in this study was seen as an “eye-opener”. A participant reflected on the Uppland county museum’s response (Simonson, 2009) concerning buildings and materials being genderless and said:

I think that what you’ve told us, it opens your eyes and you get it. Then you think ‘*oh, of course, it goes without saying*’, I think. Then comments like the one from the museum, about plaster not having a sexuality*, become a bit ridiculous. But I understand that that opinion would exist if you don’t understand the perspective.²⁴

As presented earlier in the previous section, participants closely related an LGBT perspective to gender, as part of diversity perspectives. Working with other (minority) perspectives opened the door for increased awareness of other perspectives as well. Similar instances of this was described by participants when the unit had been handed specific attention to environmental issues, also described as an “eye-opener” specifically concerning the Sami people and their heritage. Another example was the unit’s introduction to accessibility issues, which one participant felt had increased the overall awareness towards other marginalized perspectives. It was felt that the accessibility initiative and training that had taken place at the department for select employees, also increased knowledge and awareness for the others. One cited possible reason for the increased awareness was that the unit had maybe not had a lot of awareness beforehand.

4.2.1 Implementation and knowledge

During this research, it was discerned that participants’ education did not fully prepare them for working with LGBT, gender or similar “intangible” diversity-related aspects of heritage. A participant touched upon the role of university programmes:

We work quite generally with those questions. And I think of it like, I know this isn’t gender, but this immateriality. [...] It’s something I’ve called attention to at a couple

²³ ”Ska man kunna få med det här perspektivet på ett seriöst sätt, så måste man veta mer. För det här är ingenting som bara kommer naturligt, liksom. Eftersom jag inte har det. Jag har vänner som har den kulturen, men jag har inte den med mig, själv. Så jag tror att det är viktigt med kunskap”

* This was in reference to the quote by the county museum of Uppland introduced in Chapter 2. It was featured in one of the presentations.

²⁴ ”jag tycker att det som du har berättat för oss, då får man ju upp ögonen och då förstår man. Då tänker man ‘*amen just [det], det är självklart*’, tänker jag. Då blir en sådan här kommentar från det här museet om att putsen inte har en sexualitet*, det blir litet sådär löjeväckande. Men jag förstår ju att det finns den uppfattningen, om man inte förstår det perspektivet.”

of seminars, and with students at the university. Although it's not one of my areas of expertise, I've taken an issue with when it's not acknowledged.²⁵

Neither of the two participants who had attended the two specific university programmes for built heritage management could recall any deeper discussions on diversity perspectives and inclusion, including topics such as LGBT and gender, in the curriculum at large. If brought up, it was on initiative of students who felt that it was missing, in similar situations as described by the participant above.

Training and certification

Identified as an issue of lack of knowledge, participants frequently reflected upon and commented on their own inexperience with the topic. No participant had received training or education in LGBT heritage at the National Heritage Board. However, during their employment at a county administrative board, one participant had attended lectures concerning LGBT in a county-level context. One participant discussed their self-perception in connection to knowledge in the excerpt below:

PARTICIPANT: It's been kind of, and I feel there's maybe still... both a – because I feel pretty uneducated [about it] – but also a small fear of norm criticism from... parts of the organisation.

FREJDEL: Ah, scared in what way?

P: I think it's like, they think it's silly, that it's not interesting. They're scared it 'overrides' other perspectives you're used to. I feel like those expressions can be seen, sometimes.

F: Is it-

P: -and it surprises me a bit, because for me, I feel more like, 'well I'd like to learn more about norm criticism', instead.

F: But it's not like... more like people are, like that kind of... a fear of not wanting to step on anyone's toes and they're scared of messing up?

P: That's something I can relate to. But I think it's more a fear of norm criticism will, so to speak, 'take over' the old historic systems or like, [...] how you'd describe things etcetera. And it shows, in different ways... maybe not here at the unit, but in other places.

F: And in the field in general?

P: Ae, ae, ae.

PARTICIPANT: Det har ju varit liksom, och det upplever jag att det kanske fortfarande finns en... både en – för jag känner ganska mycket okunskap för mig själv – men också en liten rädsla från... delar av organisationen för normkritik.

FREJDEL: Ah, på vilket sätt är man rädd?

P: Nämen jag tror att man tycker det är larvigt, det är inte intressant. Man är rädd för att det 'tar över' andra perspektiv som man är van vid. Det tycker jag att man kan se ytringar av ibland.

F: Är det-

P: -och som kan förvåna mig litet, och som jag känner så här, litet 'amen jag skulle nog vilja lära mig mer om normkritik', istället.

F: Men det är inte... mer att folk är, alltså den sortens... att man är rädd för att man ska trampa folk på tårna och att rädd för att göra fel?

P: Det kan jag känna igen mig i. Men jag tror att det är mer att man är rädd för att normkritik ska vara, så att säga, 'ta över', de gamla historiska ordningarna eller sådär, [...] hur man beskrev saker och så vidare. Det kan jag se ytringar av, på olika sätt... inte på kanske den här avdelningen, men på andra ställen.

F: Och i fältet i allmänhet?

P: Ae, ae, ae.

²⁵ ”Vi jobbar ju ganska generellt med frågorna. Och jag tänker på det här som, nu är inte det genus, men det här immateriella. [...] jag har ju lyft det på flera seminarier, och för studenter på universitetet. Även om det inte är ett specialområde som jag kan, men jag har ju sett en problematik kring att det inte uppmärksammas.”

Training and certification were positive tools in the process of acquiring more tools and broadening competency, even when not deemed personally relevant. The interest to attend such initiatives were mainly grounded in personal interest rather than professional. In addition to increased general knowledge, several participants also linked such training and interest to interpersonal aspects, as one participant alluded to:

They're questions you need training in, because if you don't have direct access to that culture, I think you need that. Just to understand, be open-minded, and unprejudiced.²⁶

Basic training in diversity perspectives was seen as a welcomed part in the process of being an inclusive workplace as well as learning how to not be discriminatory. Participants also recognized that in order to see the benefit and use of a perspective, an understanding of it was needed.

The overall response indicated a welcoming of further education, for all and for them personally, regardless of the applicability in their own work. All participants expressed unanimous interest in further education and/or training not only concerning LGBT perspectives, but in diversity perspectives and norm criticism at large. However, participants were split on if such training should be across-the-board or given to certain (relevant) individuals across the organisation. While the majority of participants wanted it for the whole organisation, they were unsure if it was practically possible to carry out, or saw it as up to the Executive and managerial departments to decide what would be best (but said it could not hurt if all got it). One participant argued that to not implement it organisation-wide carried the risk of skewing, putting the entire organisational responsibility onto that unit or individual. Others meant that not everyone within the organisation may be able to “see” the use of, nor be able to use, such training in their position, thus seeing it more fit to focus on specific individuals, for example those responsible for sustainability questions across all units and organisation.

Only a third of participants had heard of RFSL:s LGBTQI certification for organisations and establishments prior to the interview. While a unanimous welcome of training, the question of certification received more widespread, although overall positive, responses. The main expressed concern on certification was a potential to trigger a wave of certifications for *everything*, feared to lead to a large amount of mandatory training, taking away from participants' daily work. One participant was ambivalent, and did not feel a need for certification in their position as they were neither a civil representative nor had close contact with individuals (as in the likes

²⁶ ”Det är ju frågor som man behöver ha utbildning i, för om man inte har direkt access till den kulturen, så tror jag man behöver det. Helt enkelt för att förstå, och vara open-minded och fördomsfri.”

of healthcare). Other participants felt similarly, grounded in a difficulty to perceive personal benefit and application of such certification. Speaking about this issue, one participant said:

I could very well imagine that someone, some, having this in their CV in our work wouldn't be bad at all. Definitely. But what use I would have of it in my work with biological cultural heritage, that might be minimal, but... I know when I attended the first accessibility trainings, in the beginning it was so complicated. Now it's a reality, a given. So, with more knowledge, the bigger your toolbox becomes too.²⁷

4.2.2 Applying an LGBT perspective

We should take that perspective on and at least do a 'well, what does it mean?'. Do a survey, and then evaluate if it's possible, or appropriate, to identify environments that should be listed on such grounds. That would be interesting.²⁸

While the concept of a perspective was often used as a means to indicate an awareness, it was also used to analyse, and thus implement in practice, as done by the participant in the quote above. Specifically, the LGBT perspective's potential was seen as a means of adding to existing listing descriptions when possible. Applying an LGBT perspective was a useful and grateful tool for broadening the narratives of currently protected properties, widening the basis in evaluation processes. It was as such seen as part of the democratic work of broadening the definition of heritage thus allowing more people to partake in it. Additionally, the LGBT perspective was an important tool in the work to support groups who do not have the possibility or tools to argue for preservation or inclusion by themselves.

Only a minority of participants felt that they could apply LGBT perspectives in their current work position. The lack of working with LGBT and gender perspectives was in part attributed to the professional role, which was described to primarily dedicate itself to built technical and architectural values in surveys and descriptions. For example, one participant partly related the inexperience of applying gender perspectives to the perception of professional responsibility and tasks. With the primary responsibility to "preserve, care for and safeguard the *built* cultural heritage" (emphasis by author), the focus on technical and architectural values in heritage assessments and descriptions was perhaps a cause. When gender is seen as

²⁷ "Jag kan mycket väl tänka mig att det inte alls var fel att någon, några, har det med sig i sitt CV när vi jobbar, absolut. Sedan vad jag skulle ha för användning av det i mitt arbete med det biologiska kulturarvet, det är väl kanske minimalt, men... Jag vet ju när jag gick de här första utbildningarna i tillgänglighet. I början var det ju hur komplicerat som helst. Nu är det en realitet, en självklarhet. Så, [desto] mer kunskap, ju större verktygslåda har du ju också."

²⁸ "Det perspektivet borde vi ta in och åtminstone göra en, 'jamen vad betyder det då?'. Att göra en kartläggning, och sedan göra en utvärdering om det är möjligt, eller lämpligt, att hitta kulturmiljöer som borde bli byggnadsminnen på grund av det. Det skulle vara intressant."

intangible, falling outside context of the material fabric, no such interpretational approach will be common-sense or natural for the built heritage professional.

Another cited reason for the lack of implementation was the National Heritage Board's position. As an agency, their responsibility is to provide guidance and material for other actors. Apart from suggesting state-owned heritage listings to the government, they do not actively partake in selection and evaluation of heritage sites. Yet, one participant recognized the National Heritage Board's responsibility in raising awareness:

Because we work more with advice and guidance, [...] And I just want to like, when you asked about the National Heritage Board's responsibility. I feel like we can provide support for how to work with questions of diversity. But we're not the ones who put up a sign. [...] That has to like, you hope that knowledge will somehow trickle down, so a municipality sees that it exists, or that a museum features it in an exhibition about the built environment.²⁹

The initial survey showed that the professional understanding and awareness of LGBT heritage and perspectives was low. Participants had little prior knowledge and/or experience of working with the subject, and did not work with it. The frequent self-reported lack of knowledge and awareness was consequently connected to the importance of knowledge, which was found to be a key factor for implementation. The recurrent theme of self-reported awareness of lacking knowledge was followed by a wish for further education and expressed interest in learning, as shown in the here.

4.3 The importance of knowledge for LGBT heritage

To successfully apply LGBT perspectives and implement inclusion, an understanding of LGBT heritage was crucial. When cross-examining interview data, a correlation was found between participants' ability to discuss LGBT heritage and possible practical application with participation in presentations. Participants who attended presentations actively referred to their content, and the presentations thus served as a foundation for discussion with participants. Furthermore, these participants more easily related to the interview questions with examples in mind, such as specific events and buildings.

The introduction of a "specialist" and attendance of presentations appears to have had significant and notable impact on participants' awareness, understanding and application of the topic. This was not only perceived by the researcher, but by

²⁹ "För vi jobbar ju mer med kunskapsstöd, [...] Och det vill jag bara såhär, när du frågade om Riksantikvarieämbetets ansvar. Det känns som att vi kan tillhandahålla kunskapsstöd kring hur man kan jobba med mångfaldsfrågor. Men sedan är det ju inte vi som sätter upp en skylt. [...] utan det får ju på något sätt, man hoppas att den kunskapen sipprar ned, så att en kommun ser att det finns, eller ett museum lyfter upp det i en utställning om bebyggelsen."

several participants, who reported an enhanced understanding connected to the impact of presentations and presence. An example where both described behaviours are present within the same quote is the final quote in 4.2 (page 55). The indication of positive perceived change in not only participants', but also the unit's, awareness and knowledge during the observation is the most significant outcome of the study.

The study showed that while LGBT perspectives and LGBT heritage at large were not worked with, reserved for those within museums, the overall response to and interest of the thesis and its inquiry were very positive by participants as well as others in the organisation. For example, the study's presentations gathered attendance not only from the unit of Conservation Advice, but the entire Department for Conservation, including the conservation laboratory (Heritage Science unit). In addition, prior and post-interview, many participants and other employees engaged with me on-site, or through e-mails with links and things they had seen and connected to the thesis, earlier conversations or from the interviews. This behaviour was prevalent in all groups of participants, regardless of presentation attendance.

Thus far, this chapter has dealt with knowledge centred around awareness and perspectives. The use of LGBT perspectives was seen as a tool of addition (Grahn 2007, 2018; Laskar 2019), helpful for broadening the narratives of currently protected properties, and for widening the scope of interests and perspectives from prior value assessments. The professional gaze of participants was influenced by line of specialization and earlier work experience. Participants who had prior experience with interpretation, mainly within archaeology, appeared to have less difficulty to conceptualize how LGBT perspectives could be applied in their own work, both in their current position as well as outside of it. Yet, participants' views were characterized by a material-focused outlook. The interviews indicated that LGBT heritage in its essence was understood as intangible, and difficulties related to its connection to material and traditional aspects of conservation and practice were prominent in the data. Questions to *what LGBT heritage was* and *how it connected to places and buildings* elicited inconclusive and vague responses. The overall main function of LGBT heritage was to show the context of sexuality at large, and how it (possibly) manifested physically during a specific time period.

As the results have already partly shown, the presentations tangibly affected participants' understanding. Knowledge and use of specific examples of LGBT heritage were crucially connected to the participating professionals' ability to understand and see the worth of LGBT perspectives. In order to demonstrate this, I want to present the reader with a similar base of understanding as participants were given with the presentations. For the purpose of the thesis, the content of the presentations and blog posts have been composed into a timeline. Derived from archival material,

unprinted sources and consulted works, most of the information it consists of were used in the presentations. It has been supplemented with further information in order to provide a more comprehensive context and is presented for two primary reasons. The first is to illustrate the systematic nature of discrimination of LGBT communities, situating this history into a broader context to allow for an understanding. The second is to understand the history of the sites which may need protection and their importance to these communities.

4.3.1 An overview of Swedish LGBT history

- **1865** Same-sex “fornication against nature” is criminalized according to a new Penal Code. The law is gender neutral (Rydström 2003, pp. 3-4)
- **1944** Homosexuality is decriminalized but remains classified as a disorder.
- **1950** The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights (RFSL) is founded as a sub-division of the Danish group *Forbundet af 1948*.
- **1956** The lesbian community group Diana is founded in Stockholm (Carlsson 2004).
- **1969** *Jerry's damklubb (Jerry's ladies' club)* is founded in Stockholm, located on Folkungagatan (Carlsson 2004; Hultin 2019).
- **1970** *Scotch Club*, a club for men and women founded mid-60s, in Gothenburg is demolished (Lesbisk Makt 2016).
- **1971** On May 5, the first Gay Power demonstration in Sweden is held in Örebro (QRAB 2019).
- **1972** Gender transition in certain cases are legally allowed as the Legal Gender Recognition Act (SFS 1972:119) enters into force.
- **1978** The age of consent for same-sex sexual activity is lowered from 18 to 15 years, becoming the same as for heterosexuals.
Kvinnohuset (the Women's House) by Gamlestadstorg in Gothenburg, opens (Hallgren 2008).
- **1979** On May 31, the first program of Gay Radio in Stockholm is broadcasted from RFSL:s offices on Hornsgatan 62.

On August 21, a group of activists protesting WHO:s classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder occupy the staircase to the

National Board of Health and Welfare's office on Banérgatan 87 in Stockholm in connection to the Gay Liberation week (*Frigörelseveckan*). Director-general of the board, Barbro Westerholm, meets the protesters and it is decided that the board will cease its use of the classification. The change is officially implemented in October the same year.

In December, *the Women's House (Kvinnohuset)* on Snickarebacken 10, Stockholm opens.

- **1981** First Gay Liberation week in Gothenburg (QRAB 2019).
- **1983** On November 1, Gothenburg's first Women's café, *Violetta skymningar (Violet twilights)*, opens on Första Långgatan 27. The café shares its name with a poem by the Swedish-speaking Finnish poet Edith Södergran. Due to financial strain and lack of volunteers, the café closes the following year (QRAB Stina Line 1984/85).
- **1985** The National Board of Health and Welfare is occupied, activists aiming to obtain equal legal protection as heterosexual couples.
Kvinnofolkhögskolan (the Women's folk high school) in Gothenburg is founded and opens its space in Nordostpassagen. The school later moved to its current premises on Första Långgatan in 2004.
- **1987** On July 1, the law abolishing gay bathhouses and similar establishments (SFS 1987:375), known as *Bastuklubbslagen (The Gay Sauna Law)* is enforced. The law is repealed July 1, 2004, in connection to a revision of the Communicable Diseases Act.
Homosexual orientation (later sexuality) is included in provisions of the Penal Code, making discrimination on such grounds unlawful.
- **1988** The Homosexual Cohabitees Act (SFS 1987:813) is enforced, recognizing same-sex couples as cohabitees.
- **1989** The lesbian community group Golden Ladies is founded (Lesbisk Makt & Lesbiskt Arkiv 2015).
- **1994** The lesbian nightclub *Bitch Club* opens in Kolingsborg, Stockholm.

- **1995** The Registered Partnership Act (SFS 1994:1117) is passed, granting same-sex couples the right to registered partnership.

- **1999** The Prohibition of Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Sexual Orientation Act (SFS 1999:133) enters into force. HomO, the Ombudsman for Discrimination Based on Sexuality is founded.

- **2002** Bitch Club has its final party in Kolingsborg. Kolingsborg, the building that Bitch club was hosted in, is demolished in 2015. It was listed in Stockholm's City Museum's building register, deemed to have high cultural historic value, not connected to the club.

The Equal Treatment of Students at University Act (SFS 2001:1286), aiming to promote equal rights in higher education and discrimination connected to sexual orientation among others, is passed.

- **2003** *Lesbisk festival* (literally *Lesbian festival*) is arranged in Gothenburg. The festival was held until 2009/2010, when West Pride chose to host Pride the same dates (QRAB 2019).

The scope of crime for agitation against an ethnic or national group is extended to include hate speech on sexual orientation.

The new Prohibition of Discrimination Act (SFS 2003:307) forbids discrimination linked to sexual orientation (among others) in the areas of labour market policy, goods, services and housing. It is extended again in 2005 to include social services, social insurance system and healthcare.

- **2004** *The Women's House* on Blekingegatan in Stockholm closes down (Bromseth 2015).

- **2005** The Act on Insemination (SFS 1984:1140) and the Act on Reproduction Outside the Body (SFS 1988:711) are amended, granting lesbian couples' access to assisted insemination.

- **2006** The Act Prohibiting Discriminatory and other Degrading Treatment of Children and Pupils (SFS 2006:67), requires preschools, compulsory school and upper secondary school to have plans for equal treatment and prohibition of discrimination including sexual orientation.

- **2009** In May, same-sex marriage is legalized, and registered partnerships can no longer be entered.

Gay men are allowed to donate blood on the condition of remaining celibate for a minimum of one year.

A new Discrimination Act (SFS 2008:567), replaces former legislation. Gender nonconforming identity, transgender identity and expressions are included.

The National Board of Health and Welfare ceases its classification of transvestism as a disorder.

The Marriage Code and other statutes concerning spouses are made gender neutral. The Church of Sweden permits same-sex ceremonies shortly thereafter.

- **2011** Constitutional protection against discrimination includes grounds of sexual orientation.

- **2013** The Legal Gender Recognition Act (SFS 2013:405) is amended. Those wishing to change their legal gender no longer require Swedish citizenship or to be unmarried, but must be officially registered in the population register. Forced sterilization of transgender individuals is abolished as the mandatory sterilisation requirement in the Legal Gender recognition Act is removed. Sterilization was mandatory in order to change legal gender in personal documents.

- **2016** Members of the Parliament, Christina Örnebjär and Robert Hannah (representing the Liberals party) submit the motion 2016/17:1995 “*Svenskt hbtq-museum*”, which is rejected. (Hannah & Örnebjär 2016).

Occupation at the National Board of Health and Welfare (new office building) for transgender rights.

- **2017** Discrimination Act provisions are changed: employers and education providers are now required to take active measures to promote equal rights, including all grounds of discrimination, i.e. also transgender identity or expression and sexual orientation.

- **2018** A new law makes those affected by the earlier sterilization requirement able to apply for financial compensation from the government.

Extended and clarified protection under criminal law for transgender individuals, enforced July 1.

- **2019** The journalistic documentary series *Uppdrag Granskning* funded by public service airs *Tranståget* (translation: *The Trans Train*). The documentary was highly critical of transgender youth, and made use of non-scientific studies and anti-trans ideologies. A second part aired in 2020.

4.4 Preservation strategies for the heritage of LGBT communities

When asked how LGBT heritage could be preserved, responses showed a variety of suggestions, all not within the practice of conservation (*Fig. 2*). Suggested methods were either connected to LGBT heritage and history in general, or to specific examples such as the Visby Wall, Solbergadet or a city. Two comments need to be made about the suggestions featured in the figure. Most importantly, the recurring sense amongst the participants that they did not know enough about the topic caused some to feel unable to provide suggestions. However, they would then look to other perspectives' strategies for recognition, mainly in the fields of women's history. Further, the response rate for signs and plaques was affected by that the question was posed as an opening suggestion from my side. It should however be noted that the use of signs and plaques for exhibiting intangible heritage and archaeological sites is the most established and dominating tool within the sector (Högberg 2013).

Before tending to the approaches typically within own practice, I will address those outside. Reflecting previously established practices, the suggestions were found in external but related fields, rather than participants' own scope. These external strategies such as city walks, thematic exhibitions and tours (*Fig. 2*) were seen as the most suitable approach for representing LGBT heritage in history at large. As LGBT heritage was mainly understood as intangible, the primary concern for

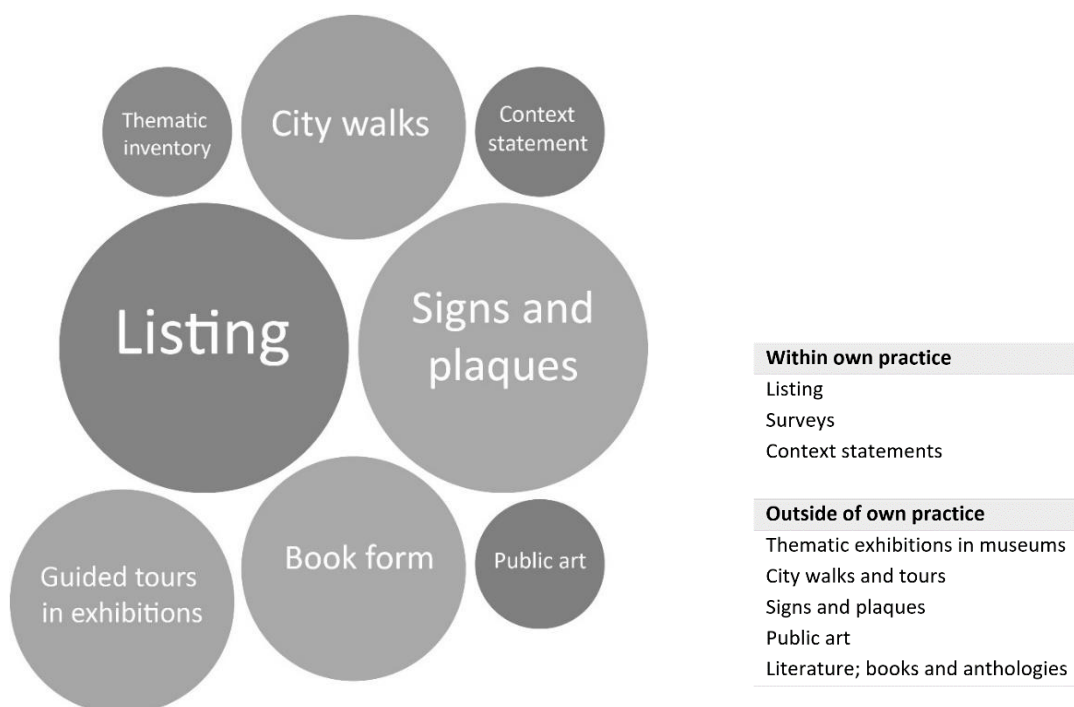


Figure 2 Suggestions of how to preserve LGBT heritage. Size of circle represents response frequency, ranging from 1-5 mentions.

preservation and protection were narratives and objects connected to these, not material remnants such as buildings.

The suggestion of literature, suggested by a third of participants, was grounded in two reasons. The most prominent was the wish for a “classical” LGBT cultural history book, connected to the lack of knowledge. The second reason was that participants believed that the act of simply describing LGBT heritage, although not constituting any legal protection per se, would help preserve. Further, several participants commented that what had not been included in listing descriptions (concerning sexuality), was oftentimes found in art history literature, passing on the narrative that manner. One participant suggested public art with the purpose to commemorate LGBT history and important events, as “not to forget”.

Traditional cultural heritage management approaches reflected upon consisted of thematic inventories, surveys and context statements (*kulturmiljöprofiler*). While neither participants nor the National Heritage Board partake in the selection and listing of heritage objects and sites, as this is the responsibility of local and regional authorities, other ways of working with LGBT perspectives or LGBT heritage were found. One suggestion was to include them in statements of opinion and reports. In addition, state-owned historic building listing was recognized as one of the few practical instances where the National Heritage Board could directly contribute to preservation of LGBT heritage by suggesting sites to the government.

4.4.1 Sites and buildings

When discussing the preservation of sites and buildings, two categories of sites were found: *places connected to social history, context and use* and *places associated with persons*. Examples and purposes connected to each category are found in *Figs. 3* and *4*. Reflecting similar mixed stances and arguments as the literature, participants were split regarding the approach of assigning, or *outing*, historic individuals. Participants stressed that focus was not to be on the individual’s sexuality specifically but rather an opportunity to showcase the context of how their sexuality was navigated within a larger society. One concern was the difficulty to remain critical of sources, not only due to the general lack of them. One participant thought about the use of oral sources, seeing risks of basing LGBT narratives on gossip.

The second category included responses such as suggestions of identifying places that had been of importance to the LGBT community. The example of the *Royal Vauxhall Tavern* in the UK, presented as an example during presentations, was one such “perfect case” of when listing was possible, specifically mentioned by several in instances where participants had attended. Participants listed that the property had both architectural values, integrity and lineage, making it possible to root the

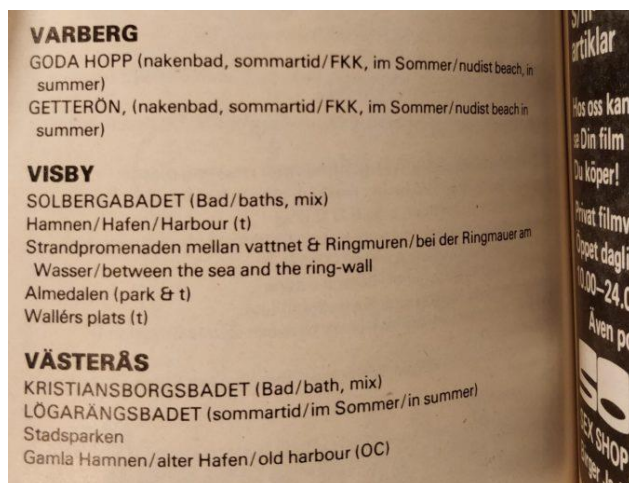
narrative on these values within preservation frameworks. Sites connected to discrimination, trauma or other oppressive structures also carried particular value to some participants, who saw a pedagogical value and opportunity of showing change in societal opinion. Similar to public art, commemorating or preserving this type of site also served as a reminder to not forget the past.



Places connected to persons

Purpose: show context of sexuality

*Examples: Karin Boye's cottage,
Selma Lagerlöf's mansion
Mårbacka*



Places connected to social history

Purpose: show context of sexuality, narrative of societal progression

- Sites of discrimination
- Places of importance and use by community

*Examples: The Royal Vauxhall
Tavern, the steps to the old office of
Health and Welfare*

Figure 4 The grave of Maj-Briht Bergström-Walan and her wife Helle Høpfner Nielsen, located in the world heritage site Skogskyrkogården. Photo by author.

Figure 4 Photo from Revolt Gay Guide 1979. Photo by author.

What sites to preserve was also seen as a matter of priority and selection: those with no sexual content, or with discriminatory association were preferred over sites with explicit sexual ties. Despite a wish to show the context of sexuality, a sense of conflict was found amongst participants concerning a fundamental aspect of it. Almost half of the participants expressed apprehension concerning the inclusion of sexual expressions and themes. In particular, participants felt unsure of the suitability and relevancy to preserve these on a national level. Talking about this issue, one participant said:

But that's regardless of if we're talking hetero or LGBT. So that's the question... probably not, then. And it should actually be unproblematic, in that perspective. At the same time as it's social history and like, so significant.³⁰

The topic of sex and sexuality were by several seen as a “loaded topic”, often described as “private matters”. Another participant mused why sexuality and sex were not mentioned in heritage and history:

Why don't we? It's a bit uncomfortable to talk about, or taboo, I don't know. That's what sexual education in school was like, most teachers felt it was a bit embarrassing, or the students first and foremost maybe. *laugh*³¹

When discussing the possibility of displaying the Visby city wall's earlier function in (homosexual) cruising culture, prominent in Gay traveling guides such as those published by REVOLT (featured in *Fig. 4*), one participant stated that they would personally “dodge the question” of including “snogging couples, straight and gay”³² in the form of a plaque or sign for the wall. Continuing, the participant saw the assignment of such places as specifically LGBT a risk of doing a “leap of thought”³³, as cruising and flirting in themselves were not exclusively homosexual phenomena. Rather, the relevant object with LGBT significance was *the guidebook* which the Wall was featured in. However, while sexual themes appeared problematic, when Åseda, a town in Jönköping's county was presented in the first presentation as the birthplace (and base) of one of the largest Northern European male gay pornographic magazines, REVOLT, participants who had attended expressed interest and curiosity in how and if this was acknowledged by the city.

LGBT heritage, often invisible, or deliberately discreet in the environment with no apparent recognizable architectural style, faced a difficulty in being recognized. Understanding that LGBT sites had often been hidden in the environment for safety

³⁰ ”Ja, men det är det ju oavsett om vi pratar, liksom, hetero eller hbtq. Så det är frågan det... förmodligen inte, då. Och det borde egentligen vara oproblemiskt, i det perspektivet. Samtidigt som det är socialhistoriskt och liksom så, oerhört betydelsefullt.”

³¹ ”Varför gör vi inte det? Man tycker att det är såhär litet jobbigt att prata om, eller tabu, jag vet inte. Så var det med sexualundervisningen i skolan, [det] tyckte ju de flesta lärare var litet pinsamt, eller eleverna framförallt kanske. *skratt*”

³² ”hänglande varesig hetero- eller homopar”

³³ ”tankemässig kullerbytta”

reasons, participants expressed that the lack of (discernible) architectural style or form complicated the possibility of listing. It was unlikely that only a tie to LGBT history were sufficient grounds for designation or protection at large. Statutory listing was therefore believed to be unfeasible.

Preservation frameworks which rely on and favour the material and architectural values as characterized by the AHD (Smith 2006), become problematic when confronted with heritage that cannot be recognized based on these. Commenting on this, one participant said:

As you've probably understood, that question of working with, not just physical environments, but working with intangible heritage at large – because I gather that LGBT, [so to speak], is a lot about immateriality. And that's still... a weak link for us, and our role in that [work]. And we don't really have any actual structure for the practical preservation of it. There's a lot of work left [to do].³⁴

This weak point was (as the participant above notes) especially visible in instances as these, where difficulties in application and implementation of preserving LGBT heritage surfaced mainly in relation to preservation frameworks. Several participants noted that current preservation frameworks, such as the Unnerbäck model, were not ideal for evaluating LGBT heritage, or intangible heritage at large. For some, such as the participant above, it was apparent that other frameworks and approaches were needed in order to meet these. For example, one participant suggested the creation of an ethnographic protection in order to preserve these narratives.

³⁴ ”Det har du väl också kanske förstått, att den frågan, över huvud taget kring, om vi pratar inte bara fysiska miljöer, utan att jobba med det immateriella kulturarvet – för jag kan tänka mig att just, tänker jag mig, [så att säga] att en hel del av vad HBTQ handlar [om] väldigt mycket om immaterialitet. Och det... är en svag gren fortfarande hos oss, och den roll som vi ska stå för där. Och den har vi ju, när det gäller det praktiska bevarandearbetet, egentligen ingen riktig struktur kring. Alltså, att där finns det fortfarande väldigt mycket att göra.”

4.5 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter has shown that the participants of the study related to LGBT heritage in two different ways: as a perspective and as a type of heritage. When talking about the topic, participants reported little prior knowledge and awareness, finding themselves largely unfamiliar with it. In addition, comments on the heritage sector pointed towards a general lack of knowledge within the field. A recurrent theme in the interviews was the feeling of not knowing enough, and several participants noted that they may have been in contact with LGBT heritage unknowingly. The participants identified knowledge as a throughout-going key factor for application of perspectives, recognition and more inclusionary (conservation) practice.

The key findings to emerge from the study may be summarized into several key points:

- Participants' understanding focused on material and traditional conservation values, current frameworks were identified as unsatisfactory for the preservation of LGBT heritage
- The presence and introduction of a specialist and presentations had notable impact on understanding and awareness
- The majority of implementation and strategies for preserving LGBT heritage were found outside participants' own tasks and field
- Participants indicated that sexuality and representations of sexual identity was complex to navigate regardless of orientation. However, sexual identity outside the (heterosexual) norm carried a unique issue of ethics

5. Discussion

This chapter begins by returning to the research questions. As stated in the Introduction, this research was conducted in order to gain insights into the professional understanding of LGBT heritage. The lack of literature raised questions to the heritage management field's level of knowledge of the topic, and the study therefore set out to investigate professionals' awareness and understanding of LGBT heritage. The first research question sought to investigate how heritage professionals understood heritage. The second question in this study then examined how this understanding translated into preservation practice. The research questions are discussed with consideration to the presented themes touched upon in the previous chapter. At the end of the chapter, I express some concluding comments and present suggestions for future research.

5.1 Professional understandings of LGBT heritage

On the question of how professionals understood the topic, this research found that LGBT perspectives and awareness of LGBT heritage appeared absent from practice at large. In this study, participants described predominantly material-focused understandings and practice. Analysis of interview data showed a pattern in meanings and implementations when discussing LGBT heritage. The different clusters could be broken into two groups, or ways, of thinking about LGBT heritage: as a perspective, and as a type of heritage. As noted in the introduction of the Results chapter, my inconsistent use of the term *perspective* may have interfered with participants' own language. While this possibility cannot be ruled out, the variation in use of the term is observed within much of the literature, particularly in Swedish research³⁵. Participants' use of the term *perspective*, often used to signal awareness rather than a lens applicable on heritage, reflects those described by the literature (Fernstål 2011; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015). This suggests that the inconsistency of the term could be attributed to language difference.

5.1.1 The gender perspective

In accordance with the literature, this research found that participants specifically associated sexuality and LGBT with a gender perspective (Fernstål 2011; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015). Gender was a central topic for participants throughout the discussion of LGBT heritage. Prior studies have noted the lack of awareness

³⁵ One such example would be Lendi's thesis (2014), where the original under-title is "En studie av kulturhistoriska museers *arbete med hbtq-perspektiv* i samlingar" while the translation is "A Study of How Cultural History Museums *Work to Include the Cultural Heritage of the LGBTQ Community* in Their Collections" (emphasis added by author).

and implementation of gender perspectives in heritage management (Colella 2018; Grahn 2009, 2011; Grahn & Wilson 2018; Magnus & Morger 1994; Smith 2008). While the findings account for an increased individual level of awareness, mainly demonstrated through the prevalence of comments concerning the particular absence of awareness within the sector, little progress appears to have taken place since the publication by Magnus and Morger (1994). A participant spoke of it as one of the “basic, like, pretty easily-understood perspectives that I think we’ve still not really come to terms with [...] in some way it’s still on a somewhat basic level”³⁶. The attempt to implement LGBT perspectives, or raise awareness of sexuality and LGBT issues, in the current situation of gender awareness was by one participant likened to “make people run before they can walk”. The level of gender awareness may therefore be a major factor for the absence of LGBT themes.

One of the issues that emerge from this finding relate specifically to the association with gender, as the finding suggests that the lack of gender perspectives and awareness and LGBT perspectives are related. By “reducing” the matter of sexuality and LGBT themes to be part of gender perspectives, they are easily lost when foundational knowledge is low (as shown). In such cases, the effectiveness of identifying traces of narratives related to sexuality and LGBT communities by examining it with questions of gender in mind is questionable. As the results have shown, prior knowledge is needed in order to identify and preserve LGBT heritage. While marginalized groups may have similar experiences of unrecognition and delegitimization, they are not the same and thus require specific knowledge of the group in question. Nevertheless, gender (and the absence of it) is a pressing research issue, and the results of this study provide support for further research, in particular within heritage management.

5.2 The practicalities of understanding: normative models and preservation frameworks

Part of the unfamiliarity with LGBT heritage and perspectives was demonstrated by the difficulty to relate the topic to the own sector and practice. LGBT heritage did not manifest in material expressions known to the participants. Instead, similarly to Scott (2004), who believes that LGBT sites are unified and defined by their cultural and historical associations and do not have a distinct architectural style, participants did not find any architectural values or aspects in relation to the materiality of LGBT heritage.

³⁶ ”[ett] grundläggande, liksom, ganska lättförståeligt och -fångat perspektiv som jag tror att vi ännu inte har kommit tillrätta med [...] på något sätt är det fortfarande på en ganska grundläggande nivå”

Participants indicated good intent and will to include the narratives and heritage of LGBT people. These results reflect those of Grahn (2011), Laskar (2019) and Högberg (2013), who found that these exclusions of specific narratives, such as women, indigenous peoples, children and sexuality, are not actively sought out. Rather, it is likely related to a reflection of oppressional structures in society (Grahn 2018) and consequently an authorized heritage discourse's sense of normalcy.

There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by participants in this study and those described by Lund (2015). For instance, the connection between a homogenous sector as cause for blind spots in practice. In this study where participants did not "carry these glasses", the blind spots became evident as participants reported gaps of knowledge in LGBT heritage and history. Knowledge was later described as an important factor for application, implementation and preservation. On the other hand, *if* a homogenous sector is part of the root cause for low awareness, this raises intriguing and uncomfortable questions as to why and how a field with high gender disparity, dominated by women (ibid. p. 20), still struggles to establish awareness of gender perspectives. Even so, blind spots may be caused by a homogeneity not only within the sector, but larger society. Combined with a homogenous sector and workplace, it is probable that this may be cause for limited foundational awareness of LGBT perspectives. As exclusions and normative models are naturalized, they are no longer noticed, which therefore can make us unable to see the necessity in reflecting upon them (Grahn 2007; Högberg 2013; Laskar 2019; Svensson 2006). Practitioners could not "see" the LGBT ties.

Additionally, "seeing" sexuality was further complicated, or as I would argue, impeded, by a professional discourse and gaze. *Solbergabadet*, a public bath in Visby built 1961, was brought up as an item for discussion during interviews. The building's architectural values are recognized in development plans and cultural heritage impact assessments (Gotlands Museum 2013; Region Gotland 2013). Although *Solbergabadet* is not currently included in the cultural heritage context statement created by the County Administrative Board of Gotland, it was relevant to discuss as it was featured in multiple REVOLT Gay Guides. Seeing as the Gay Sauna Law (SFS 1987:375) greatly impacted the physical spaces of same-sex sexual contact and the gay community, I asked a participant if it was possible to recognize a value and/or connection to LGBT heritage. They answered:

Since I'm an architect, I see it with a whole other [gaze]. Like, what I see is this fantastic 50s, all these well-elaborated details. I don't see the sexual, the sexuality in it.³⁷

³⁷ "Jag ser det ju ur en helt annan, eftersom jag är arkitekt. Jag ser ju liksom det här fantastiska 50-tals, alltså att det är så genomfört, alla detaljer. Jag tänker ju liksom inte på just det här sexuella, sexualiteten i det."

Participants' responses share several similarities with those of Lendi (2014), in particular concerning the difficulty to interpret LGBT heritage and objects due to an ambiguity of what makes such a connection. She found that the labelling of "neutral" objects as LGBT was not viable as her informants saw it as forced and hard to defend from a scientific standpoint (ibid. p. 65). Lendi showed that an LGBT perspective was often reduced to quantitative ways of understanding; such as what was visible and questions of representation. This differs from the findings presented here, where LGBT perspectives, while sometimes reduced to representativity measures, were also associated with interpersonal dimensions, such as being a good colleague and including workspace. While attitudes observed in this study are less negative than found in Lendi (2014), they are still broadly consistent with previous studies. The unsureness of relevancy to tag objects or sites as LGBT appears rooted in a material-focused perspective. Similar to how buildings and objects are seen "gender blindly" (Magnus & Morger 1994; Simonson 2009), the obscured human dimension (Grahm 2011) causes sexuality to be invisible if not explicitly apparent (Ferentinos 2015; Laskar 2019; Lendi 2014; Reed 1996; Vanegas 2002).

5.2.1 Preservation frameworks

Wishing to further explore how LGBT heritage may fit into heritage practice, it was discussed in connection to preservation frameworks. The Unnerbäck model (Unnerbäck & Lierud 2002) constituted a common frame of reference for the participants, who were asked to specify which values within it could be identified in LGBT heritage sites as grounds for designation. Participants listed aspects within the main value category of *historical values*. For LGBT heritage, this was linked to social history and person history. *Table 4* compares the interview data with the values of the Unnerbäck model, the LGBTQ interests specified in Historic England's guidelines (2016) and Scott's (2004) property types. From this table, it can be seen that the two categories of places which emerged from the analysis (*places connected to social history* and *persons*) not only align with these values, but also resemble those of Historic England. Additionally, we can see that the property types with historic interest from Historic England closely match those identified by Scott, whereof the first three are almost identical.

What is interesting about the data in the table is that Scott, unlike the others, does not include properties associated with specific historic persons. Unnerbäck's (2002) focus on the object's capability to outwards communicate cultural history based on its materiality is perhaps not ideal for capturing and recognizing social historic contexts and values identified by others. The issues that the sector has with preserving the immateriality of (intangible) heritage is, as mentioned earlier, not unique to the matter of LGBT heritage.

<i>Table 4 Comparison of values from the Unnerbäck model (2002), Historic England (2016), participants and Scott (2004)</i>			
Unnerbäck model	Historic England	Participants	Historic Context Statement of San Francisco (Scott, 2004)
Historical values	Historic interest		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building history • Patina • Building techniques • Architectural history • Societal history • Social historic value • Historic persons • Industrial or technical history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic persons <i>Example: Sissinghurst Castle; Vita Sackville-West</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic persons <i>Examples: Karin Boye, Selma Lagerlöf</i>	
	Property types		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sites of social interaction • Sites of political action • Sites of community organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places connected to social history. <i>Example: the steps to the old office of Health and Welfare</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sites of social interaction <i>Examples: bars, entertainment venues, bath houses, public festivals</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sites of political action and reaction • Institutional centres dedicated to community development
Experiential, social and aesthetically engaging values			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectonic value • Artistic value • Patina • Enhancement of setting • Identity value • Continuity • Tradition • Symbolic value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural value • Artistic interest <i>When LGBT individuals have made the sites, seen as artistic expression but with no clear reference to what this entails)</i>		
Other enhancing aspects			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality • Authenticity • Educational value, readability • Uniqueness, representativity 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational value <i>Places of discrimination in order to show progressive society</i>	

Table 4 Values in the Unnerbäck model (Unnerbäck & Lierud 2002) compared to the LGBTQ interest specified in Historic England's guidelines (2016) and Scott's (2004) property types.

The aspect of class and grand narratives found not only within the AHD but also connected to Oram's (2011) observation of tolerance to expressions of sexuality outside the norm, become seemingly particularly visible in these frameworks when dealing with persons. The subordinated position of human in comparison to other conservation values (which are heavily rooted in materiality), together with a connection between LGBT narratives as tied to individuals and not objects, may be a significant part in why participants experienced difficulty when discussing preservation of these themes.

An example of this was one participant who, when working in a regional setting was faced a potential LGBT narrative in a site, recalled a struggle when attempting to connect the narrative to the site and environment. Meanwhile, participants listed Karin Boye's cottage and Selma Lagerlöf's mansion as designation examples seemingly with ease. The contemporary significance and class status mitigates, or overshadows, the rest, which then serves as grounds for preservation. Karin Boye's and Selma Lagerlöf's sidesteps from norms are tolerated, absorbed and to a certain extent accepted (or rather, simply kept silent) due to their contemporary significance and artistic contribution, and are a part of the national treasure. The preservation framework simply does not recognize those without importance as individuals, and thus the framework becomes inapplicable when the LGBT heritage appears strongly associated with individuals and not overarching, general human activity or communities (such as with social history, showing these developments and movements in time). Instead the history of the LGBT community is recognized as niche group, similarly to how other marginalized groups, such as women, have and continue to be perceived.

A main issue identified in literature is the inapplicability of current preservation frameworks. These results support earlier reports concerning the difficulty of listing LGBT heritage, which has been widely acknowledged by researchers (Graves, Buckley & Dubrow 2018; Oram 2018). Participants themselves recognized the difficulty to acquire listing status for LGBT heritage buildings. This study does not explicitly address what LGBT heritage is, nor how it connects to buildings and sites. One such reason is that the LGBT community is not a monolith. There is rich variation in the heritage (as Byrne's 2005 detailed definition highlights, see page 28), and frameworks which attempts to divide it into categories, or fit into its categories, are largely unsuccessful.

Current preservation frameworks, which predominantly base values on material understandings of heritage, appear to at large be inapplicable when wishing to preserve LGBT heritage. This is in complete agreement with the findings of Ludwig (2016), who concluded that the planning framework did not have a "wholly satis-

factory (justifiable/defensible) means of safeguarding a building, structure, landscape (or any other aspect of the built and natural environment) unless it has some visible, physical quality (tangible heritage) and aligns with material-focussed expert interpretations of heritage” (Ludwig 2016, p. 824).

The suggested preservation strategies found earlier in *Fig. 2* help illuminate what participants perceived as LGBT heritage. It is interesting to note the prevalence and frequency of suggestions related to preservation of LGBT heritage not within their own practice. The prevalence and frequency of responses relating what could be done preservation-wise to the scope of museums and exhibition activity as well as city tours and other activities, is at large consistent with previous observations of main practice in not only Sweden, but internationally (Laskar 2019; Riksställningar 2015; Sandell, Lennon & Smith 2018; Steorn 2012; Winchester 2012).

The digital era and its tools have opened up for entirely new possibilities and challenges for both conservation and museums. Axelsson and Åkerö (2016) in particular discussed how LGBT communities make use of online platforms for socialization as well as archives. It is therefore interesting to note that few of the suggested methods were digital, or had the possibility to be digital. Except for the BeBR (*Data Base of Built Heritage*) and Sam Hultin’s *I’m Every Lesbian* which one participant expressed interest in, apps and QR codes were mentioned rarely by a few specific participants. Digital implementations may further serve as a useful tool which also engages the public, such as Historic England’s still active LGBT map (Historic England n.d.)³⁸. Further, as participants indicated that public outreach and access were important, similar implementations or projects may be especially suitable as 95% of people aged 16–85 years in Sweden have internet access at home (SCB 2019) and can therefore partake. However, the small impact that these applications have on official narratives has been noted (Adair 2010; Dubrow 2016), and it is necessary to look outside of these in the future.

5.2.2 Implementation and training

In this study, knowledge was identified as a core issue for both understanding and application. On the question of practice, this study found the lack of knowledge in LGBT perspectives and history to be a significant factor for (the lack of) implementation. One of the most interesting findings is that minor interventions such as presentations and the presence of a “specialist” were found to improve participants’ awareness and understanding of LGBT heritage. Based on the literature, which described a barren landscape, the considerable impact and engagement in presentations and the study itself was unanticipated. With these results, it appears that *even*

³⁸ The National Heritage Board had a similar site before, called Platser. It is however now defunct.

minor interventions such as presentations have notable impact on professional understanding. However, the impact of the study and presence of the specialist is debatable, especially in the longer run. The change in awareness may be situated on a superficial, making them temporary. Previous research (Ferentinos 2015, 2016; Fernstål 2011; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015) and the comment of the participant who noted the little sustained impact of previous initiatives (see page 52) indicate that this impact will not be integrated. To see if this understanding has been sustained, or if prior described patterns for similar projects have continued, it would be most relevant to carry out follow up interviews and observations with participants.

While this study concerns the heritage management field and buildings, it is fruitful to compare the attitudes and results to similar studies in the museum sector. This is particularly interesting as the participant responses frequently involved museums when discussing the preservation of LGBT heritage. When compared with the museum sector, the substantially less knowledge, prior training and guidelines stand out as a potential factor. It is therefore possible to hypothesize that an absence of work and understanding are less frequent in parts of the sector where more work has been carried out, as the increased awareness within the museum work over time as shown in literature (also demonstrated with the different focus areas for implementation by Jensen 2019).

Lendi (2014) identified museum practitioners' own attitudes and interest as the most crucial factor for implementation and application. The results of this study demonstrate that her findings to an extent may be transferable to heritage management. This study was by many participants embraced as a learning opportunity. In the quote below, a participant underlines the positive interest of taking on new topics:

That's why I found your proposal so exciting [when you contacted us], just to work with such a research topic. So I thought '*well this is one way for us to kind of try approaching a subject which we have no approach to at all, and maybe no understanding, really, of its particular conditions*'. No, but definitely. And it, again, I think that, with the focus we have, of everyone really making an effort to understand how we can work for the bigger picture. So there's no, I don't feel like there are any difficulties to... gain interest for it. *But it always rests on external initiative*. That's how it is. (Emphasis added)³⁹

³⁹ "Det är därför jag tyckte det var så spännande när du kom in med ditt förslag, bara att jobba med en sådan här forskningsuppgift. Så tänkte jag '*ja men det är ju ett sätt för oss att litet grann försöka närma oss en fråga som vi inte har något förhållningssätt till alls, och ingen förståelse riktigt, för kanske, vad den nu har för speciella förutsättningar*'. Så att, nämen absolut. Och det, återigen alltså, jag tror att med den inriktningen som vi har, att alla, att verkligen försöka förstå bättre hur vi kan verka för helheten. Så är det inga, känner jag, inga svårigheter att... få intresse för det. *Men det bygger hela tiden på ett externt initiativ*. Så är det."

Similar views were expressed by many of the participants. The importance of interest and attitudes as a factor cannot be stressed enough. However, what I want to call attention to is the final parts of the quote. The external premise may be understood as a symptom of the larger issue, where initiatives or perspectives have not been fully integrated.

Scholarly discussion has noted the importance of full engagement for successful implementation (Ferentinos 2015; Fernstål 2011; Grahn 2007; Grahn & Wilson 2018; Laskar 2019; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015; Smith & Goodwin 2012). Specific applied policies incite but cannot singlehandedly sustain change. Likewise, single individuals cannot change an institution's practice (Grahn 2007, p. 40). While working towards more heterogeneous representation in the sector, it should also not be assumed that this will improve the situation by default (Ferentinos 2015; Vanegas 2002). The failure to fully integrate LGBT perspectives was recognized by the Swedish Agency for Public Management when evaluating the LGBT strategy, recommending that the government within letters of appropriation assign all strategic agencies the task of integrating LGBT perspectives into daily practice, arguing that it would further legitimize its position (Statskontoret 2016). However, as earlier noted in 4.1 (page 54), this does not affect the National Heritage Board, as it is not one of the strategic LGBT agencies.

Moreover, the actual successfulness of implemented specific applied policies has been contested, not only by the literature, but also this research. Smith and Goodwin (2012) argue that while legal imperatives play a persuasive role in implementations for change in instances such as increasing accessibility, they are not enough for keeping change comprehensive and sustained in the face of an authorized discourse. On a governmental level, this is demonstrated in how agencies follow general preservation and conservation practice based on the Heritage Conservation Act is followed, with little reference to national goals (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2018, p. 6). Consistent with the literature, this research found that these implementations have limited effectiveness. Further, the combination of findings provides some support for the conceptual premise that diversity perspectives and ideas of representativity in institutional cultural heritage organisations to an extent are superficial.

Further, the absence of not only LGBT and gender perspectives, but diversity perspectives at large, may be related to the non-impact of diversity perspectives found in institutional heritage management (Holtorf 2006; Ludwig 2016). The findings in this study have a number of similarities with Högberg (2013). In his analysis of representation in signs, he concluded that the structures, what he calls the *cultural hegemony*, which the authorized heritage discourse has fostered “during its history of administration” makes absorption of new values, or as I would even argue

structural change, much slower (Högberg 2013, p. 161). It can thus be reasonably assumed that if this inflexibility is present at County Administrative Boards, the state representative which links inhabitants, municipal authorities, and the State (Swedish Parliament and central state authorities), the National Heritage Board, which may be understood as the very embodiment of the Swedish AHD, would absorb these shifts even slower. Based on such reasoning, the inflexibility to adapt as well as integrate may therefore then also be connected to the National Heritage Board's much more limited interaction with the public.

Pendlebury's (2013) argument that the AHD has been forced to reposition itself is here useful to revisit. It may be hypothesized that the regional position and responsibilities of County Administrative Boards, requires a much more active and direct interaction with its citizens and other actors. Moreover, the County Administrative Boards do not only work with heritage preservation. Having specialists in different fields and perspectives present, while also receiving continuous training and interaction between employees with different experiences, pushes County Administrative Boards to confront and adapt to shifts more easily. The self-referentiality which may then be observed at the National Heritage Board (and the AHD) also serve as a possible explanation for why several participants felt that County Administrative Boards had come farther in their work with and integration of diversity perspectives.

On a final note, comparing these findings with those pertaining to museum practitioners found in the literature, also highlights the discrepancy in understanding and perspectives in what is often perceived as one sector with a united, foundational understanding, approach and goal. What in particular sets this study apart is the governmental dimension. While ideas of appropriateness as well as ethics remain engaged topics of discussion in for LGBT heritage research, this study shines lights on the particular difficulties of navigating the topic on a governmental level. This contrasts similar and related research in the field, such as that of Rahmqvist (2017), which was situated on a local level.

5.3 Silences and silencing – to include or not to include

The long-standing challenge within the field is to address sex and sexuality in public spaces that do not explicitly identify as queer (Ferentinos 2015), was discussed earlier in this chapter. One of the most prominent aspects associated with LGBT heritage was sexual activity and sexual content. Undeniably, it is difficult to ignore. There was significant apprehension to sexual themes in heritage, and if these should be preserved on a national level, emphasized for both hetero- and homosexual activity. This apprehension may be observed in the following interview excerpt:

FREJDEL: What... should we... like, is it too... sex, is it too 'sticky'? Like I said, used–

PARTICIPANT: Used yesterday [in the lecture]. Well...

F: –like, specifically on a governmental level.

P: Right. It's the same with, how much politics should we include? So there's always this balancing, [...] of sensitive topics like sex, religion, politics, might be others too. We're still a public authority, so then again, maybe not. But still... not remove it if we talk about it or happen to come across it in some way.

FREJDEL: Vad... ska man... alltså, är det liksom... är sex, är det för 'kladigt'? Som jag ju sa, använde–

PARTICIPANT: Använde [i föreläsningen] i går. Alltså det...

F: –just på myndighetsnivå, liksom.

P: Amen precis. För det är ju likadant, hur mycket politik ska vi lägga ned? Så det blir ju hela tiden de här avvägningarna, [...] sex, religion, politik, [kan ju vara fler känsliga], alltså sådana. Vi är ju ändå en statlig myndighet. Så kanske inte, ändå. Men ändå... inte ta bort det om vi pratar om det eller kommer in på det på något sätt.

The stance of not removing LGBT narratives when (and if) encountered could be a satisfactory stance according to some. It is however not supported by previous research (Council of Europe 2011; Dubrow 2002; Orangias, Simms & French 2018; Riksställningar 2015; Sandell & Smith 2018; Vanegas 2002). Sandell and Smith (2018) in particular note how silence and silencing have different implications. The ethical consequences when cultural heritage is intrinsically connected to contemporary questions of representation are unavoidable. The issue was alluded to by a participant, who posed the critical question:

To highlight love between two people, it absolutely doesn't matter what gender they have. And then the question is, do we create a problem by bringing it up too much, or do we end up silencing something instead?⁴⁰

While Grahn (2011) discusses how the AHD dictates “good taste”, and Ferentinos (2015) urges practitioners to step out of their comfort zone and question their feelings of what is appropriate, as the participant carefully pinpoints, it is a most deli-

⁴⁰ ”Att kunna lyfta kärlek mellan två människor, det spelar absolut ingen roll vilket kön det är. Och då är frågan, skapar vi ett problem om man lyfter det för mycket, eller tystar vi någonting?”

cate matter, particularly in the hands of state-issued heritage actors. The elements and their issues which the authors address are certainly present in this study, but the burning issue Mills (2006) and Winchester (2012) call attention to, of finding ways to interpret objects queerly without simultaneously monumentalizing gay identity or perpetuating shallow stereotypes while engaging in questionable practice, remains pressing.

Furthermore, the particular silence concerning sexuality and LGBT perspectives in the field here raises yet another question. It is possible that the earlier discussed “blind spots” (Lund 2015) are cause for the identified silence. The silence then, is not only a matter of ethical implications or silencing based on ideas of appropriateness, but may also be understood as a product of the lack of knowledge and awareness of LGBT heritage (as shown in Rahmqvist 2017). If no relevant questions are asked, no answers will be received. As stated by a participant: “But you notice that when you come here, like, that these questions need to be asked, or someone needs to ask these questions”⁴¹. In these instances where there is little, if any foundational understanding and awareness of LGBT perspectives, simply mentioning heritage contexts for them seemingly provides openings and opportunities of considering and challenging norms set by authorized heritage discourses. When these are not questioned, the silence and current non-visibility and non-recognition are continued.⁴² The political implications of inclusion and representativity resonate stronger when situated on a governmental level. To discuss this, we may return to the very beginning of this thesis: Ola Wong.

5.4 Norm criticism and political correctness

The current preservation framework and its discourse lack efficient structural tools to accommodate heritage diversity (Ludwig 2016). In this study, diversity perspectives, inclusion and subsequently LGBT perspectives were by participants connected to norm criticism and political correctness. Upon discussion on how the National Trust were branded as victims of political correctness during their Prejudice and Pride programme 2017, a participant voiced their frustration with critics from both within and outside the sector in connection to inclusionary initiatives of marginalized narratives, drawing parallels to the 2016–2018 cultural heritage debate. Such initiatives unfailingly became source of such discussions, as if the sector could not uplift such narratives by own interest and free will: “It’s like some sort of ‘so,

⁴¹ ”Men det märker man ju när du kommer hit, liksom att man behöver ställa de här frågorna, eller någon som ställer de här frågorna.”

⁴² An example of what happens when the heritage institutions actually choose to engage in these silences is found in Oram’s (2018) account of how Historic England’s Pride of Place tangibly affected the sector, as well as organisations and volunteers.

whose line are you toeing this time?’ [...] I guess that’s as far as we’ve come, we haven’t gotten any further than that”⁴³. But application and inclusion of LGBT and other diversity perspectives were also problematized. A participant expressed critique of how LGBT and other perspectives were conditionally and superficially included in heritage practice, while recounting their experience of working in a regional context:

It [the discussion] often goes *’oh LGBTQ’s in fashion now’*. So then you should talk about it, because that makes you PC. *That’s* when it’s brought up. But then it’s more of a flashing light going *’think of this, think of this’*.⁴⁴

While participants did not share Wong’s (2016) observations of silence culture or repressive professional censorship, the existence of negative critical stances in the field, stemming from political critique to practical frustrations as the comment above, were regularly acknowledged. Moreover, the idea and/or feeling of norm criticism deeming everything previously established as *wrong* (or that prior to the implementation of that perspective, everything was done wrong) was brought up by several participants (see the excerpt on page 56). Traces of such ideas are present in Wong’s debates, and it was touched upon in a participant’s account of Agenda Kulturarv:

Agenda Kulturarv kind of foreboded some of what Ola Wong addresses, in my opinion. Because I remember, for example, at a seminar in Stockholm, when the conclusion was reached in these discussion groups we had, that we realized *’shit, museums don’t have any function in the future’* *laughs*. Because this is supposed to, in part it’s supposed to be broadened in all other operations in society, [...], you were foreshadowed with some kind of de-professionalization, and that’s part of the reasoning Ola Wong then latched on to. But at the same time, I think it has like, it *has* broadened the perspective. Maybe we’ve loosened up on some of the old views on what is and isn’t cultural heritage, which I don’t think you saw then. Back then it was more a bit like *’Hurgh! Where’s this going? This won’t do...’*. And now, I think we see that it’s about a broadening to a greater extent.⁴⁵

As the participant notes, change is happening, although not without complications. Participants identified university programmes as natural forums for more holistic

⁴³ ”Det är liksom någon sorts såhär *’jaha, vems ledband går man i nu, då?’* [...] det är väl så långt, vi har inte kommit längre än så.”

⁴⁴ ”Många gånger så blir det *’amen nu är hbtq på modet’*. Så då ska man prata om det, för då är man PK. *Då* tar man upp det. Men det blir mer det såhär, en flagga som kommer upp, *’tänk på det här, tänk på det här’*.”

⁴⁵ ”Agenda Kulturarv, förebådade liksom litet av det här som Ola Wong tar upp, kan jag tycka. För jag tänker t.ex. på något seminarium i Stockholm, när man i sammanhang kom fram till en av slutsatserna i de här diskussionsgrupperna vi hade, där kom fram *’fan, museerna har ju ingen uppgift framöver’* *skratt*. För det här ska liksom, dels så ska det breddas i alla olika andra verksamheter i samhället, [...], så man förebådades någon slags avprofessionalisering, och det är ju litet av det resonemanget som Ola Wong har hakat på sedan, då. Men samtidigt tror jag att det har liksom, dels breddat perspektivet. Man kanske har släppt litet det gamla spåret av vad som är kulturarv och inte, som jag inte tror att man såg då. Då var det liksom litet *’Hårgh! Vart är det här på väg någon stans? Nämen det här går ju faktiskt inte...’*. Och sedan nu, tror jag att man ser att det handlar om en breddning i större utsträckning.”

integration of these perspectives into the sector, and the findings indicate that universities have a key role in current development. This has already been observed with the prominence of research being carried out by students. University theses, essays and dissertations are, as repeatedly referred to in the thesis, a major (re)source in LGBT heritage and history knowledge production (Dubrow 2016).

It is important to note yet again that there have been multiple bottom-up initiatives for Swedish LGBT heritage. This research, a product of privileged knowledge as it is acknowledged by institutional power, does not negate these initiatives and their important role in the production and preservation of LGBT history and heritage. Rather, I argue that these initiatives and projects such as Sam Hultin's *I'm Every Lesbian* (and *Eva-Lisas Monument*), *UPSALA, DARLING* (a city tour created by artist and ethnologist Sofia Breimo in collaboration with Upplandsmuseet and Uppsala Art Museum in 2017), *Lesbisk Oddyssé* and QRAB are the foundation of the work we hopefully eventually undertake. They are completely essential, and without them, we fail to recognize not only the work that has been put into it, but also the ways a community has survived, lived and loved in our society.

State-level recognition and preservation of LGBT heritage currently relies on community, as a participant points to in the quote below:

[With] the examples you've brought up, I'm guessing there wasn't... an authority or anything like that, tending to that question from the start. It was probably grassroots that went '*hey, we want to preserve this!*'. It comes from somewhere [else], someone who shouts '*hey, we exist too!*'. And then there needs to be wise people who understand [to acknowledge it], and then it reaches a government level. And then it trickles down. That's how most change happens, I think. That grassroots manage to get heard and at the right time. Because that seems like an issue as well, that it needs to appear at the right time for someone to listen.⁴⁶

As requested by participants, a book about Swedish LGBT history should be written. Today, information is scattered across literature. Existing works are slightly dated and give a one-sided portrayal, often reduced to upper and middle-class white men (and in later years, women). The contents of such a book is another large question to discuss which is outside of this study. Nevertheless, if wishing to improve the current state of knowledge and involvement, it is necessary to make LGBT history more easily available for practitioners. In addition to the earlier mentioned projects, not explicitly directed to heritage practitioners, theme studies such as *LGBTQ*

46 "[i] de exempel du har tagit upp, där är det ju inte något typ... ämbete eller något som tagit den frågan från början, misstänker jag. Att det säkert är gräsrotter som bara '*hallå, det här vill vi bevara!*'. Det kommer ju någonstans ifrån, att någon måste ropa '*hallå, vi finns också!*'. Och att det sedan måste finnas kloka personer som förstår [att det lyfts upp], och sedan att det kommer på, egentligen, en regeringsnivå. Och att det sedan sipprar ned. Det är så de flesta förändringar sker, tänker jag. Att det, på någon slags gräsrot[snivå] som lyckas få gehör och att tiden är inne också. För det är väl ett sådant problem, att det måste ligga rätt i tiden för att någon ska lyssna."

America (Springate 2016a-c), surveys and LGBT historic context statements are examples of important tools which synthesize information, and aid the understanding of broad patterns of LGBT history (Graves, Buckley & Dubrow 2018; Graves & Watkin 2016; Scott 2004; Springate & de la Vega 2016). I argue that this study and its results demonstrate the absolute necessity of such tools, which Springate (2017) asserts are vital in order to evaluate the significance of historic LGBT sites.

It also cannot be ignored that there exists a debate within the LGBT community concerning the relative merits of assimilation vs. maintaining distinct and vibrant subcultures (Ferentinos 2015; Mills 2006; Winchester 2012). This set of issues exist parallel for heritage authorities, such as governmental agencies, County Administrative Boards and local organisations who must decide meaningful ways to interpret these narratives and heritages. Graves, Buckley and Dubrow (2018) concluded that preservation of LGBT heritage requires much creativity and a need to break out of current planning practice norms. As the results point to, this is difficult. It appears to be something that current frameworks may not allow room for (Ludwig 2016).

5.5 Concluding comments

This study finds itself in a uniquely dynamic position. The researcher was not just the instrument of data collection as per observational tradition (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011), but also an experimental variable which actively disseminated information to the participants through presentations and their presence. The previously discussed issue of external staffing (see 2.4.3) becomes an ironic one as I, the researcher, described by participants as a “central figure” for the topic, embody the examples of outside resources that the literature both recommends and deeply problematizes. It cannot be ignored that there was unintended bias in the interviews, due to human nature and interaction and the duration of the internship, which may have influenced positive results. This bias should therefore be taken into consideration when examining the results of the study.

It also becomes highly relevant to return to the discussion in the methodology chapter. As I commented there, I was hesitant to disclose my sexual orientation. This hesitance was in part due to my position as a researcher engaged in participant observation. However, I would argue that it also serves as an example of the harmful impact which the omission or masking of LGBT narratives have not only on visitors, but also staff, to mask their own relationships (Adair 2010; Lennon 2018).

This study set out to examine the professional understanding and awareness of LGBT heritage in the built heritage management field. The research was designed to investigate if the lack of data concerning LGBT heritage and built heritage was

reflected in the field. The results of this investigation confirm such hypotheses. The study's limitations and their potential influence on the obtained results were addressed not only in the Methods chapter, but throughout the chapters which succeeded. The small-scale investigation produced promising results, and I encourage further study with a larger sample size in order to assess further. It could be argued that the Department of Conservation and the unit of Conservation Advice, which the majority of participants were from, and which the case study is built upon, was not the most ideal unit to carry out the study on, compared to their colleagues at the Department for Cultural Environment. While the inclusion of two participants from other units and departments (the Department for Cultural Environment in Stockholm, and the Information and Communications Department in Visby) mitigated this, other responses may have been gathered from these. These findings are therefore somewhat limited by the scope of participants. However, the study concerns professionals' conceptualisation of LGBT heritage, and should not be transferable to an entire sector. Knowledge may however be assessed for applicability and be applied in other contexts.

Most importantly, the study demonstrates the importance and necessity of knowledge. The evidence of reported improved knowledge and understanding, together with earlier literature, strongly suggests that the research issue is rooted in knowledge, or lack thereof. With these results, it appears that even *minor interventions* such as presentations and the presence of a "specialist" have notable (if potentially short-term) impact on professional understanding and awareness.

The study confirms that the field continues to be focused on material and traditional conservation values. Despite its interdisciplinary claim (and actual... engagement), there is seemingly slow "bleed" of adjacent and related fields' theoretical frameworks, models and methods. The pilot study assessing the sector's needs and competences commissioned by the National Heritage Board (Jensen 2019), identified material and technique-focused knowledge for built heritage professionals, while museums requested interpretation perspectives, hinted that the focus on materiality at large remains. A shift towards inclusivity and diversity can be observed for museums. However, in line with Ludwig's findings concerning local planners (Ludwig 2016), it also highlights how the dominant heritage discourse remains focused on material aspects and values at large. This separation of museum and cultural heritage management and their "supposed" topics of practice should be noted, as this may further perpetuate the material/immaterial understanding and hinder the strides towards inclusivity within built heritage management.

As put forward by Ludwig (2016), the evidence found points to that built environment professionals remain uncomfortable with designating objects without obvious

physical values as heritage, and that current preservation frameworks are largely inapplicable. Moreover, Swedish preservation frameworks, due to an ingrained focus on material values characterized by authorized discourses, share similar difficulties in recognizing LGBT heritage as in the UK and US. While the context of Swedish heritage management differs from that of British⁴⁷ as well as American (described by Graves, Buckley & Dubrow 2018; Levy 2013; Oram 2018; Springate 2016a, 2017), the study demonstrates the usefulness of examining and looking towards their approaches and implementations, due to the AHD.

Despite the limited sample size, this work offers valuable insights into the professional understanding and motivation in the heritage management sector. It appears to be one of the first studies to examine the built heritage management's understanding and awareness of LGBT heritage in Sweden. With its exploratory nature, the study illuminates the understanding of LGBT and sexuality within built heritage preservation management and offers insights to the topic of LGBT heritage and national heritage institutions. The results of this study should be taken into account when considering how to preserve LGBT heritage and implementation of diversity training. Some of the findings relating to LGBT heritage are not exclusive to a national level of implementation, but to all authorities, including regional and local authorities, as these are not problems uniquely tied to the governmental level of preservation. Ensuring appropriate protection, services and support for LGBT heritage should be a priority for not only local and regional cultural heritage management actors, but most surely the central administrative agency which aids and guides them. The findings, showing how professionals think, may also be of interest not only for those within the profession and sector, but also the LGBT communities who may wish to engage with cultural heritage management.

In addition, this research lent itself to documenting parts of LGBT history and its built heritage, ground which is seldom covered by heritage institutions. The timeline in the Results chapter to some extent resulted in blog posts on the National Heritage Board's blog, serving as a contribution to uplift previously obscured knowledge, also reaching out beyond the academic sphere and into civic society. During the final period of writing this thesis, an artwork which the archival information was crystallized into was accepted to be exhibited by Frilagret in Gothenburg, as part of their participatory art project *Friplanket* in October 2020.

On a final note, if the matter is to be moved forward, the sector must develop a better understanding of LGBT heritage. The study first and foremost points to that

⁴⁷ For example, Mellander (2012) has discussed the difference between the National Trust's successful integration of public dialogue and the Swedish approach.

more research is critical. In the following section, I propose several possible ways forward, both for practice and research.

5.6 Going forward: suggestions for future research and practice

Continued efforts are needed in order to make the subject more accessible to heritage professionals. Although the results indicate a discouraging situation, they are promising. The study, as well as earlier research, shows that both short-term implementation and initiatives, as well as external consultants do not provide a sustainable approach for increasing awareness long-term. This study provides encouragement for new perspectives to the heritage management field and sector. Laskar (2019) notes that researchers and practitioners may have different goals, or conflicting theoretical frameworks while still working towards the same main aim. They focus on different things, and serve different purposes. In this case, the thesis shows that collaboration between researchers and practitioners, between academia and practice, opens up for increased understanding, for both partners. It also showcases that it is possible to study LGBT heritage without the use of queer (feminist) theory.

In terms of practice, the findings suggest several courses of action for practitioners and organisations. In this instance, where there is little concerning the topic, guides, recommendations and documents such as that of Laskar (2019) and Historic England (2016) constitute common institutional practice within heritage management. Surveys and theme studies are carried out with other topics, such as the pilot study by Jensen (2019) and Lund (2015). Thus, a possible way forward for the National Heritage Board and the unit of Conservation Advice (in cooperation with the unit of Cultural Environment) is to produce a similar document as Historic England's guide for local planners.

Most importantly, LGBT heritage demands practitioners to have knowledge. Practical, specific examples provide some theoretical ground to avoid the issue of often vague frameworks. Yet another possibility is to create a theme study, in the same vein as the NPS theme study (Springate 2017). Not only are these within the responsibility and practice of the National Heritage Board, they would, similarly to both the NPS theme study and the document by Historic England, provide knowledge not only on a national level for the National Heritage Board, but for regional and local planners as well as the public. This in turn, would provide guidance for regional and local heritage planners to create LGBT heritage context statements, should they wish to do so. Likewise, regional and local management offices may create theme studies and LGBT heritage context statements without a prior document from the National Heritage Board.

As this study appears to be one of the first of its kind, and had a limited sample size, further research should expand on this to the point where it would be possible to employ both quantitative and qualitative methods combined. There is abundant room for further progress and knowledge production within the field. This research has raised questions in need of further investigation, such as the relevancy of LGBT heritage in a broader national discourse, and the phenomenon of LGBT heritage sites in Sweden. I suggest that research be undertaken in these areas, but also that future investigations would strongly benefit to take regional planners into account. This could shed much light on the actual practical possibilities of implementation, which remain inconclusive. Further, it may illuminate how cultural heritage management planners deliberate upon choices during assessments and prioritization of cultural heritage in practice. I find the overall subject of the professional's perspective relatively untouched in research, and studies similar to Lund's (2015) are rare. With respect to this, I also want to suggest further ethnologic and sociologic studies be carried out, not only with her population, but focused on professionals specialized in built environment and heritage management. Her study, which I understand to be the first of its kind, was very extensive and thorough in its examination of practitioners. It thus deserves to be expanded upon five years later, particularly considering the evolving context and discussion of the field. Another natural progression of this work would be to analyse the current content of education for professionals.

Ultimately, as several scholars and research have underlined (Ferentinos 2015, Grahn 2007; Graves, Buckley & Dubrow 2018; Graves & Dubrow 2019; Laskar 2019; Lendi 2014; Riksställningar 2015), to develop and sustain awareness of LGBT perspectives within the cultural heritage management field requires structural change. This requires both the professional and academic sphere to undertake focused and continuous work within the topic rather than a select few initiatives and projects.

6. Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the relationship between cultural heritage management (*kulturmiljövården*) and the heritage belonging to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBT) community by investigating heritage management professionals' knowledge, attitudes and understandings of LGBT heritage and perspectives. The study further sought to investigate how this was reflected in practice. With these aims, the study was guided by the following two research questions: 1) *How do heritage professionals understand LGBT heritage?* and 2) *Based on this understanding, how is it applied in practice?*

To investigate the cultural heritage management field's current understanding, attitudes and practice concerning LGBT heritage and perspectives, nine qualitative, semi-structured interviews with nine individuals from the Swedish National Heritage Board's departments located in Visby. Participants represented three of the agency's departments, whereof the majority belonged to the Department for Conservation. Two participants from the Department for Information and Communications and Department for Cultural Heritage (located in Stockholm) respectively, were recruited in means to broaden the perspectives within data collected.

The empirical material of the study also builds upon participant observations made in the Department of Conservation's Unit of Conservation Advice, where data collection was combined with an internship from November 2019–February 2020. On site, information on the topic was disseminated through blog posts on the National Heritage Board's blog and two organized presentations. The blog posts and presentations were based on relevant literature together with archival material collected from *Queerrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek* (QRAB) in Gothenburg. The content focused on LGBT heritage and heritage sites in connection to cultural heritage management. As all participants did not participate in the presentations, the impact of the employed devices on the interview data was subsequently accounted for in the analysis.

The study's theoretical perspectives are based within the field of conservation and critical heritage studies. Laurajane Smith's (2006) concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) is central to the thesis. Here, a normative framework based on particular material qualities such as authenticity, architectural and monumental values, among others, governs not only the perception of what constitutes as heritage, but also its preservation. The heritage expert, appointed the "ability" to identify these values and safeguard them, holds a key role in the maintenance and upholding of the AHD. Other important theoretical themes consist of power and normativity, two foundational aspects in the creation of exclusions. Concepts such as

intersectionality and norm criticism here serve as analytical tools to illuminate the normative structures which the heritage expert often unconsciously reflects in their practice, experiences and thoughts. As the topic of LGBT heritage has received scant attention in the management and planning literature, the study also engages research pertaining to museums as well as gender studies.

This study appears to be one of the first to examine the relationship between LGBT heritage sites and the professional field tasked with their conservation. It shows a distinct absence of LGBT heritage dimensions and perspectives within the cultural heritage management field. Participants considered themselves to have insufficient knowledge in the topic, remarking on a general lack of knowledge within the field. The understanding of LGBT heritage took two different forms; either as a perspective or as a type of heritage. These two views seemingly had different points of departure, which were expressed through different practical implementations. To include the heritage of LGBT people was seen as part of the promotion of heritage diversity, but most strongly linked to a gender perspective. The majority of participants' suggested implementations and strategies for the preservation of LGBT heritage sites and history were found outside the participants' own field. Likewise, the work to exhibit, designate and preserve LGBT heritage was foremost attributed to museums. When comparing the data of this study with similar studies carried out in the museum sector, an image of discrepancy in understanding and perspectives within what is often perceived as a sector with a united, foundational intentions, similar languages, approach and goal appears.

The most striking finding to emerge from the data is that the participation in presentations as well as the presence of a "specialist" in the workplace had notable impact on participants' knowledge and practical application. Analysis of how participants made use of content of the presentations during interviews revealed noteworthy differences in the perception of how LGBT perspectives could be applied within cultural heritage management between those who had and had not participated in presentations. The most obvious result of the study is therefore that the base level of knowledge concerning the topic affects not only the perceived applicability but also the possibilities of implementation and inclusion.

The results of this study show that the general understanding of LGBT heritage and sites was grounded in material-focused and traditional heritage conceptualisations. Regarding the perception of LGBT heritage and sites, the participants' responses point towards a perception anchored in immaterial values and narratives. This subsequently caused difficulties in attempts to apply current preservation frameworks on LGBT heritage due to the predominant interest in material values and physical aspects of heritage.

In addition, participants' state-level governmental context not only gave rise to larger questions regarding the relevance of LGBT heritage in a national heritage discourse and history, but also ethical considerations in regards to silencing and designation of LGBT heritage. The identified ethical considerations and implications which emerged from participants' responses concerning inclusion and preservation of LGBT heritage and sites indicate that these questions demand particular attention and care, especially in national and institutional contexts.

The overall results of this research suggest that the lack of inclusion and implementation of LGBT perspectives to some extent are rooted in a knowledge deficiency. The participants themselves express a wish for further resources in order to raise the awareness of heritage professionals and the cultural heritage field at large. In identifying key issues and compiling practical application and implementation in the sector, this study has as such contributed to the ongoing process of filling the existing gap of knowledge. For example, the blog posts and presentations provided an opportunity to acknowledge identified sites with connection to LGBT history. They were also used in artistic projects which contributed to communicate research beyond the academic sphere and into civic society. The study concludes by underlining that it is the heritage professional's material-focused understanding combined with the lack of knowledge which render current preservation frameworks inapplicable in the light of LGBT people's heritage and sites.

7. Sammanfattning

Syftet med denna kvalitativa studie var att utforska kulturmiljövårdens relation till det kulturarv tillhörande minoritetsgruppen av homosexuella, bisexuella, transpersoner och personer med queera identiteter och uttryck (förkortat hbtq) genom att undersöka antikvariars kännedom, uppfattning och förståelse av hbtq-kulturarv och -perspektiv. Vidare undersöks även hur detta tar sig uttryck i praktiken. Med denna utgångspunkt formulerades två forskningsfrågor: 1) *Hur förstår antikvarier hbtq-kulturarv?* samt 2) *baserat på denna förståelse, hur appliceras detta i praktiken?*

För att undersöka kulturmiljövårdens aktuella förståelse, uppfattning och praxis kring hbtq-kulturarv och perspektiv genomfördes nio kvalitativa semi-strukturerade intervjuer med samma antal informanter från Riksantikvarieämbetets avdelningar i Visby. Informanterna representerar tre av myndighetens avdelningar, varav majoriteten från Kulturvårdsavdelningen. Två informanter från Informationsavdelningen respektive Kulturmiljöavdelningen (belägen i Stockholm) rekryterades för att bredda perspektivet. Studiens empiriska material bygger även på deltagarobservationer vid Kulturvårdsavdelningens enhet för kulturvårdsstöd i Visby, där materialinsamlingen kombinerades med praktik mellan november 2019 och februari 2020. På plats spreds information om ämnet via blogginlägg på Riksantikvarieämbetets blogg samt genom två anordnade presentationer. Blogginläggen och presentationerna baserades på relevant litteratur tillsammans med arkivmaterial från *Queerrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek (QRAB)*. Innehållet fokuserade på hbtq-kulturarv och -miljöer i relation till kulturmiljövården. Dessa två strategiers påverkan på det insamlade intervjumaterialet togs sedan i beaktning vid analysen, då samtliga informanter inte deltagit vid presentationerna.

Studiens teoretiska perspektiv tar avstamp i kulturvårdsfältet och kritiska kulturarvsstudier. Centralt är Laurajane Smiths (2006) koncept av den auktoriserade kulturarvsdiskursen, *Authorized Heritage Discourse*, där ett normativt ramverk baserat på särskilda materiella kvaliteter såsom autenticitet, arkitektoniska och monumentalvärden styr definitionen av kulturarv, dess utpekande och bevarande. Kulturvårdsexperten vars existens- och behovsberättigande grundas i diskursen, är både medskapare och upprätthållare av den. Vidare utgör makt och normer, två centrala aspekter i hur och vilka utslutningar som skapas, viktiga teoretiska beröringspunkter. Begrepp som intersektionalitet och normkritik används som analytiska verktyg för att belysa de normativa strukturer som ofta omedvetet färgar kulturvårdsexpertens förhållningssätt och tankar. Med bristen på litteratur inom kulturmiljövården tar studien således bland annat hjälp av forskning från museiområdet och genusvetenskapen.

Studien i fråga är till synes en av de första som undersöker förhållandet mellan hbtq-kulturarv (i synnerhet dess kulturmiljöer) och kulturmiljövården. I denna studie framkom en tydlig bild av frånvaro av hbtq-kulturarvets dimensioner och perspektiv inom kulturmiljövården. Informanterna ansåg sig själva ha bristande kunskaper om ämnet och anmärkte även på avsaknaden av det inom det egna fältet. Förståelsen och uppfattningen av hbtq-kulturarv föreställdes på två sätt, antingen som perspektiv eller som ett definierat kulturarv. Dessa två synsätt tycks ha olika utgångspunkter och tog sig olika uttryck i praktiken. Att inkludera hbtq-personers kulturarv ansågs vara del av mångfaldsarbetet, men tydligast ansågs det vara en aspekt i ett genusperspektiv. Majoriteten av de föreslagna strategier och implementationer för bevarandet av hbtq-kulturmiljöer och historia som föreslogs av informanter förekom utanför deras egna fält. Vidare associerades arbetet att framställa, utpeka och bevara hbtq-kulturarv främst till museiverksamheter. Genom att i viss mån jämföra informanternas svar med liknande studier gjorda på verksamma inom museiområdet framträdde en diskrepans i förståelsen och bruket av perspektiv inom en sektor som i många fall uppfattas ha ett enat språk med gemensamma tillvägagångssätt och mål.

Det tydligaste resultatet som framkom genom denna undersökning var att deltagandet i presentationer och närvaron av en ”expert” på arbetsplatsen hade märkbar påverkan på informanternas kunskap och appliceringsförmåga. Genom att i intervju-materialet undersöka hur informanter använde sig av presentationernas innehåll framkom väsentliga skillnader i uppfattningen kring hur hbtq-perspektiv kunde appliceras inom kulturmiljövården mellan de som hade deltagit i presentationerna och de som inte gjort det. Det mest uppenbara undersökningsresultatet var således att grundkunskapsnivån angående ämnet påverkar appliceringsförmågan och vidare möjligheterna för implementering och inkludering.

Resultaten av denna undersökning visar att den övergripande förståelsen av hbtq-kulturmiljöer grundade sig på en materialfokuserad och traditionell förståelse av kulturarv och -miljö. Angående synen på hbtq-kulturarv och -miljö pekar informanternas svar mot en uppfattning som till stor del förankras i immateriella värden och narrativ. Detta skapade svårigheter vid applicering av nuvarande ramverk för bevarande, som fokuserar på materiella värden och fysiska aspekter av kulturarv.

Härtill gav informanternas statliga kontext upphov till större frågor rörande hbtq-kulturarvets relevans i en nationell kulturarv diskurs och historia, men även etiska betänkanden rörande osynliggörande och utpekning av hbtq-kulturarv. De etiska överväganden och implikationer som framkom genom informanternas svar angående inkludering och bevarande av hbtq-kulturarv och dess kulturmiljöer pekar på

att dessa frågor kräver särskild uppmärksamhet och hänsyn, inte minst i en nationell och institutionell kontext.

Studiens resultat tyder på att bristen på inkludering och implementering av hbtq-perspektiv till viss del beror på kunskapsbrist. Informanterna uttrycker själva en önskan om mer kunskapsresurser för antikvarier och kulturvårdsfältet i stort för att öka medvetenheten. Denna studie har på så sätt bidragit till den pågående processen att fylla de kunskapsluckor som för nuvarande existerar. Bland annat bistod blogg-inläggen och presentationerna i viss mån med att lyfta fram och uppmärksamma insamlade platser med anknytning till hbtq-historia. Dessutom användes de i konstnärliga projekt som bidrar till att kommunicera forskningen och hbtq-historian utanför det akademiska fältet till civilsamhället. Emellertid pekar studien huvudsakligen på att det är antikvariens materialitetsfokuserade förståelse som tillsammans med en kunskapsbrist gör rådande bevaranderamverk otillämpbara för hbtq-personers kulturarv och -miljöer.

List of tables

Table 1 Grahn's grades of integration.	25
Table 2 Index of corresponding research questions.....	39
Table 3 Characteristics of participants.....	43
Table 4 Values in the Unnerbäck model (Unnerbäck & Lierud 2002) compared to the LGBTQ interest specified in Historic England's guidelines (2016) and Scott's (2004) property types.....	77

List of figures

Figure 1 Organisational chart of the Swedish National Heritage Board.	41
Figure 2 Suggestions of how to preserve LGBT heritage. Size of circle represents response frequency, ranging from 1-5 mentions.	67
Figure 3 The grave of Maj-Briht Bergström-Walan and her wife Helle Høpfner Nielsen, located in the world heritage site Skogskyrkogården. Photo by author. .	69
Figure 4 Photo from Revolt Gay Guide 1979. Photo by author.	69

References

Archival sources

Gothenburg

Queerrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek (QRAB)

Stina Line 1983–88: Lesbiska feministers tidskrift Julia, nr. 6 1984/85. Artikel 'Historien om Violetta', s. 17–20.

Non-printed sources

"Den outställda sexualiteten", Riksantikvarieämbetet, Visby, lecture 29 January 2020, Pia Laskar, senior researcher in Gender Studies and History of Ideas, Unstraight Museum.

"Pesthärd och parad – Göteborgs queera historia", Göteborgs stadsmuseum, Göteborg, lecture 2 October 2020, Queerrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, (QRAB).

Printed sources and literature

Adair, J. G. (2010). House Museum or Walk-In Closet? The (Non)Representation of Gay Men in the Museums They Called Home. In Levin, A. K. (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 264-278.

Aro, E. (2020). Flera genusforskare vågar inte uttala sig offentligt. *SVT Nyheter*. 19 January. <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/flera-genusforskare-vagar-inte-uttala-sig-offentligt> [Accessed 30 September 2020]

Aronsson, P. (2006). Demokratiskt kulturarv: nationella institutioner, universella värden, lokala praktiker. In Alzén, A. & Aronsson, P. (eds.) *Demokratiskt kulturarv?: nationella institutioner, universella värden, lokala praktiker*. Norrköping: Tema Kultur och samhälle, Campus Norrköping, Linköpings universitet, pp. 1-17.

Avrami, E. C., Mason, R. & De la Torre, M. (2000). *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Axelsson, B. & Ludvigsson, D. (2018). Johanna, Moa and I'm Every Lesbian: Gender, Sexuality and Class in Norrköping's Industrial Landscape. In Grahn, W. & Wilson, R. J. (eds.) *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*. 1 ed. London: Routledge, pp. 17-29.

Axelsson, B. & Åkerö, K.-E. (2016). LHBTQI-perspektiv och kulturarv: Aspekter på urval, överväganden och tillrättalägganden. *Nordisk Museologi*, (2), pp. 3-19.

Bell, J. (2005). *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science*. Open University Press.

Bernsand, N. & Narvselius, E. (2018). Cultural Heritage in Sweden in the 2000s. Contexts, debates, paradoxes. *Politeja*, 15, pp. 57-94.
doi:10.12797/Politeja.15.2018.52.04

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. & Tight, M. (2010). *How To Research*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Bonnevier, K. (2007). *Behind Straight Curtains: Towards a queer feminist theory of architecture*. Diss. Stockholm: KTH.

Bonnevier, K. (2012). Dress-code: gender performance and misbehavior in the manor. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 19(6), pp. 707-729.
doi:10.1080/0966369X.2012.674925

Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. (2018). *Doing Interviews*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Bromseth, J. (2015). Äldre lesbiska, bisexuella och trans-feministers berättelser om vänskap och lesbisk feministisk gemenskap över tid och rum. *lambda nordica*, 20(4), pp. 45-81.

Byrne, D. (2005). Excavating desire: queer heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region. *Sexualities, Genders and Rights in Asia: 1st International Conference of Asian Queer Studies*. Ambassador Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand 7-9 July.

Carlsson, M. (2004). Stockholmsklubben Diana 1956. *lambda nordica*, 10(3-4), pp. 7-25.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis. *Signs*, 38, pp. 785-810.
doi:10.1086/669608

Colella, S. (2018). «Not a mere tangential outbreak»: Gender, feminism and cultural heritage. *Capitale Culturale*, 2018(18), pp. 251-275. doi:10.13138/2039-2362/1897

Council of Europe (2005). *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (The Faro Convention)*.
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746> [Accessed 15 September 2020]

Council of Europe (2011). *Discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity in Europe*. 2nd Ed.
https://www.coe.int/t/Commissioner/Source/LGBT/LGBTStudy2011_en.pdf

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989.

- Curran, S. (2019). *Queer activism begins at home: situating LGBTQ voices in National Trust historic houses*. Diss. University College London.
<https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10072804>
- de los Reyes, P., Ericson, M., Holgersson, C., Martinsson, L. & Mulinari, D. (2017). Vi genusforskare hotas till tystnad. *Aftonbladet*, 18 November.
<https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/6nwnmL/vi-genusforskare-hotas-till-tystnad>
 [Accessed 30 September 2020]
- De los Reyes, P., Molina, I. & Mulinari, D. (2005). *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader: kön, klass & etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige: en festskrift till Wuokko Knocke*. Stockholm: Atlas.
- DeWalt, K. M. & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Blue Ridge Summit, United States: AltaMira Press.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uu/detail.action?docID=1021969>
- Dierschow, R. (2014). Faro and the LGBT Heritage Community. In Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. 1st ed. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 93-100.
- Dubrow, G. (2002). *Deviant History, Defiant Heritage*.
<http://www.friendsof1800.org/VIEWPOINT/dubrow.html> [Accessed 4 November 2019]
- Dubrow, G. (2016). The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage. In Springate, M. E. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Elbied Pettersson, G. (2018). Genusforskare får ta emot hot och hat. *Göteborgs-Posten*, 18 December.
<https://www.gp.se/nyheter/g%C3%B6teborg/genusforskare-f%C3%A5r-ta-emot-hot-och-hat-1.11890846> [Accessed 30 September 2020]
- Ericson, M. & Sveriges Genusforskarförbund (2019). Dags att skära halsen av genusforskning? *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap*, 40(1), pp. 113-114.
- Evans, J. (2019). The new war on gender studies. *The Conversation*, January 6.
<https://theconversation.com/the-new-war-on-gender-studies-109109> [Accessed 15 September 2020]
- Ferentinos, S. (2015). *Interpreting LGBT history at museums and historic sites*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Ferentinos, S. (2016). Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.

- Fernstål, L. (2011). *Genusperspektiv i museer - en omvärldsbevakning*. Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museer.
- Flick, U. (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. Flick, U. (ed.). London. doi:10.4135/9781526416070
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), pp. 219-245. doi:10.1177/1077800405284363
- Forsblad, M. (2011). KD står fast vid steriliseringskrav. *Ekot Sveriges Radio*, 30 June. <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=4581076> [Accessed 30 September 2020]
- Furumark, A. (2013). *Att störa homogenitet*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Génétay, C. & Lindberg, U. (2015). *Plattform Kulturhistorisk värdering och urval: grundläggande förhållningssätt för arbete med att definiera, värdera, prioritera och utveckla kulturarvet*. Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-3451>
- Génétay, C. & Lindberg, U. (2017). A contemporary approach to assessment and prioritisation of cultural heritage. In Rossipal, M. (ed.) *The 6th Baltic Sea Region Cultural Heritage Forum: From Postwar to Postmodern*. Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Giesecking, J. J. (2016). LGBTQ Spaces and Places. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Gorman-Murray, A. & McKinnon, S. (2018). 'Does it matter?': Relocating fragments of queer heritage in post-earthquake Christchurch. In Wilson, R., J. & Grahn, W. (eds.) *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp. 239-252.
- Gotlands Museum (2013). *ÖSTERCENTRUM: Kulturmiljö i planprogram. Konsekvensbeskrivning. Dnr 2013-499*. Visby: Gotlands Museum: avdelningen för kulturmiljövård. <https://www.gotland.se/75553> [Accessed 3 August 2020]
- Grahn, W. (2006). *"Känn dig själf": Genus, historiekonstruktion och kulturhistoriska museirepresentationer*. Diss. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-7271>
- Grahn, W. (2007). *Genuskonstruktioner och museer: handbok för genusintegrering*. 1 ed. Uppsala: Upplandsmuseet.
- Grahn, W. (2009). *Intersektionella konstruktioner och kulturminnesförvaltning (NIKU rapport 27)*. Oslo. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-115041>

- Grahn, W. (2011). Intersectionality and the Construction of Cultural Heritage Management. *Archaeologies*, 7(1), pp. 222-250. doi:10.1007/s11759-011-9164-x
- Grahn, W. (2018). The politics of heritage: how to achieve change. In Wera, G. & Ross, J. W. (eds.) *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp. 255-268.
- Grahn, W. & Wilson, R. J. (2018). *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*. Taylor & Francis.
- Graves, D., Buckley, J. & Dubrow, G. (2018). Emerging Strategies for Sustaining San Francisco's Diverse Heritage. *Change Over Time - An International Journal of Conservation and The Built Environment*, 8(2), pp. 164-185.
- Graves, D. & Dubrow, G. (2019). Taking intersectionality seriously: Learning from LGBTQ heritage initiatives for historic preservation. *Public Historian*, 41(2), pp. 290-316. doi:10.1525/tph.2019.41.2.290
- Graves, J. D. & Watkin, E. S. (2016). San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Hallgren, H. (2008). *När lesbiska blev kvinnor: lesbiskfeministiska kvinnors diskursproduktion rörande kön, sexualitet, kropp och identitet under 1970- och 1980-talen i Sverige*. Diss. Göteborg: Kabusa Böcker. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-17078>
- Handelsman-Nielsen, M. (2018). *Museer i skottgluggen: Om kulturarvsdebatten 2016 - 2017*. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:sh:diva-36949>
- Hannah, R. & Örnebjär, C. (2016). *Svenskt hbtq-museum. 2016/17:1995*. Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag. https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/motion/svenskt-hbtq-museum_H4021995 [Accessed 7 January 2020]
- Harding, T. (2012). Vilka är nationen? Om kulturarvet, staten, nationen och det civila samhället. In Fredengren, C., Jensen, O. W. & Wall, Å. (eds.) *I valet och kvalet - Grundläggande frågor kring värdering och urval av kulturarv*. Riksantikvarieämbetet, pp. 41-66.
- Heimlich, J. & Koke, J. (2008). Gay and Lesbian Visitors and Cultural Institutions: Do They Come? Do They Care? A Pilot Study. *Museums & Social Issues*, 3(1), pp. 93-104. doi:10.1179/msi.2008.3.1.93
- Historic England (2016). *Pride of Place: A Guide to Understanding and Protecting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage*. Historic England. <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/pride-of-place-guide-to-understanding-protecting-lgbtq-heritage/>

Holmberg, I. M. & Weijmer, M. (2012). *Utvärdering Kalejdoskop - sätt att se på kulturarv*. Göteborg.

Holtorf, C. (2006). Should heritage management be democratized? The Denkmalpflegediskussion in Germany. In Aronsson, P. & Alzén, A. (eds.) *Demokratiskt kulturarv?: Nationella institutioner, universella värden, lokala praktiker*. Linköping University, pp. 103-115.

Hylten-Cavallius, C. & Svanberg, F. (2016). *Älskade museum: svenska kulturhistoriska museer som kulturproducenter och samhällsbyggare*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Högberg, A. (2013). The Voice of the Authorized Heritage Discourse: A critical analysis of signs at ancient monuments in Skåne, southern Sweden. *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 20, pp. 131-167.

Hølleland, H. & Skrede, J. (2019). What's wrong with heritage experts? An interdisciplinary discussion of experts and expertise in heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25(8), pp. 825-836. doi:10.1080/13527258.2018.1552613

ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) (1964). *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*. ICOMOS. https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) (1994). *The Nara Document on Authenticity*. ICOMOS. <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>

Jensen, O. W. (2019). *Kompetenser med konsekvenser för kulturmiljö- och museisektorn: en förstudie*. Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-6017>

Karlsson, A. M. (2019). Kulturarvspolitik: kulturarv som samhällsresurs i svensk politik. *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidskrift*, 22(1), pp. 134-153.

Kawulich, B. B. (2005). Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research / Sozialforschung*, 6(2). doi:10.17169/fqs-6.2.466

Koskovich, G. (2014). Displaying the Queer Past: Purposes, Publics, and Possibilities at the GLBT History Museum. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, 1(2), pp. 61-78. doi:10.14321/qed.1.2.0061

Kumashiro, K. K. (2002). *Troubling education queer activism and anti-oppressive pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.

Kumashiro, K. K. (2004). *Against Common Sense: Teaching and Learning Toward Social Justice*. Psychology Press.

- Ladner, S. (2014). *Practical Ethnography: A Guide to Doing Ethnography in the Private Sector*. Left Coast Press.
- Laskar, P. (2003). L-ordet: Från murarverktyg till diskursivt tvång. *lambda nordica: Solsångaren*, (4).
- Laskar, P. (2019). *Den outställda sexualiteten: Liten praktika för museers förändringsarbete*. FoU rapport, Statens historiska museer 18. Stockholm. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-174289>
- Lendi, C. (2014). *Varför är det så svårt? - En studie av kulturhistoriska museers arbete med hbtq-perspektiv i samlingar*. Diss. Uppsala universitet. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-235538>
- Lennon, R. (2018). Forever, for everyone? In Sandell, R., Lennon, R. & Smith, M. (eds.) *Prejudice and Pride: LGBT Heritage and its contemporary implications*. The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, pp. 10-17.
- Levy, J. E. (2013). Gender, Feminism, and Heritage. In Biehl, P. F. & Prescott, C. (eds.) *Heritage in the Context of Globalization: Europe and the Americas*. New York, NY: Springer New York, pp. 85-91. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-6077-0_11
- Lindholm, M. & Nilsson, A. (2002). *En annan stad: kvinnligt och manligt homoliv 1950-1980*. Stockholm: Alfabet/Anamma.
- Ludwig, C. (2016). From bricks and mortar to social heritage: planning space for diversities in the AHD. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22(10), pp. 811-827. doi:10.1080/13527258.2016.1218909
- Lund, A. (2015). *Vem berättar? Vad vill man berätta om? Till vem vill man berätta? Med fokus på anställda inom musei- och kulturarvsområdet*. Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-3544>
- Lykke, N. (2011). Intersectional analysis: Black box or useful critical feminist thinking technology? In Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M. T. & Supik, L. (eds.) *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 207-220.
- Magnus, B. & Morger, K. (1994). *Kön och kulturarv*. Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Meinke, M. (2016). Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Mellander, C. (2012). Mot ett vidgat kulturarv: erfarenheter från English Heritage. *Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift*, 2011(62), pp. 62-77.

- Mills, R. (2006). Queer is Here? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Histories and Public Culture. *History Workshop Journal*, 62(1), pp. 253-263. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbl006>
- Mills, R. (2008). Theorizing the Queer Museum. *Museums & Social Issues*, 3(1), pp. 41-52. doi:10.1179/msi.2008.3.1.41
- Myrin, T. (2009). *Genusperspektiv på kulturmiljövård. En diskussion om genus i bebyggelseantikvarisk verksamhet*. Diss. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet. <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/21462>
- Nilsson, A. (1998). *Såna & riktiga karlar*. Göteborg: Anamma.
- Oram, A. (2001). Telling stories about the Ladies of Llangollen: the construction of lesbian and feminist histories. In Gallagher, A.-M., Lubelska, C. & Ryan, L. (eds.) *Re-presenting the Past: Women and History*. London: Routledge, pp. 44-62. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315838670>
- Oram, A. (2011). Going on an outing: the historic house and queer public history. *Rethinking History*, 15(2), pp. 189-207. doi:10.1080/13642529.2011.564816
- Oram, A. (2012). Sexuality in Heterotopia: time, space and love between women in the historic house. *Women's History Review*, 21(4), pp. 533-551. doi:10.1080/09612025.2012.658178
- Oram, A. (2018). Pride of Place: Valuing, Mapping and Curating Queer Heritage. In Sandell, R., Lennon, R. & Smith, M. (eds.) *Prejudice and Pride: LGBT heritage and its contemporary implications*. The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, pp. 58-63.
- Orangias, J., Simms, J. & French, S. (2018). The Cultural Functions and Social Potential of Queer Monuments: A Preliminary Inventory and Analysis. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 65(6), pp. 705-726. doi:10.1080/00918369.2017.1364106
- Pendlebury, J. (2013). Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(7), pp. 709-727. doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.700282
- Proposition 2012/13:96 *Kulturmiljöns mångfald* Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.
- Proposition 2016/17:116 *Kulturarvspolitik*. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.
- Rahmqvist, J. (2017). *Ett nödvändigt arv - De offentliga toaletterna som kulturarv och dess värde*. Diss. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet. <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/53493>
- Reed, C. (1996). Imminent Domain: Queer Space in the Built Environment. *Art Journal*, 55(4), pp. 64-70. doi:10.2307/777657

- Regeringskansliet (2014). *En strategi för lika rättigheter och möjligheter oavsett sexuell läggning, könsidentitet eller könsuttryck*. Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet (ed.). Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.
<https://www.regeringen.se/49baf9/contentassets/6aa547fb55c74d1d9f49121119792da9/en-strategi-for-lika-rattigheter-och-mojligheter-oavsett-sexuell-laggning-konsidentitet-eller-konsuttryck>
- Reinar, D. A. & Westerlind, A. M. (2009). *Kulturmiljöanalys: en vägledning för användning av DIVE*. Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Riksantikvarieämbetet (2004). *Kulturarv är mångfald!: Fördjupad omvärldsanalys för kulturmiljöområdet 2004*. Riksantikvarieämbetet.
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-3938>
- Riksantikvarieämbetet (2016). *Vision för kulturmiljöarbetet 2030: Redovisning av regeringsuppdrag om ett offensivt och angeläget kulturmiljöarbete*. Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016:15. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-3700>
- Riksantikvarieämbetet (2018). *Uppdrag att stödja tio myndigheters utarbetande av vägledande strategier för kulturmiljöfrågor: Delrapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet*. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-3870>
- Riksantikvarieämbetet (2019). *Öppet, men inte för alla :kulturmiljövårdsanslagets bidrag till öppna och tillgängliga kulturmiljöer*. Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm.
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:raa:diva-5396>
- Riksutställningar (2015). *Museerna och hbtq - En analys av hur museer och andra utställare kan belysa perspektiv rörande homosexuella, bisexuella, transpersoner och queera personer*. Visby.
- Rydström, J. (2003). *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden, 1880-1950*. University of Chicago Press.
- Region Gotland (2013). *Planprogram för ÖSTERCENTRUM M M, Visby*. Visby: Samhällsbyggnadsförvaltningen. <https://www.gotland.se/75553> [Accessed 3 August 2020]
- Sandell, R. (2017). *Museums, moralities and human rights*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sandell, R., Lennon, R. & Smith, M. (eds.) (2018). *Prejudice and Pride : LGBTQ heritage and its contemporary implications*. Leicester: The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester.
- Sandell, R. & Smith, M. (2018). Bringing Queer Home. In Sandell, R., Lennon, R. & Smith, M. (eds.) *Prejudice and Pride : LGBTQ heritage and its contemporary*

implications. Leicester: The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, pp. 38-49.

Statistiska Centralbyrån (SCB) (2019). *Tillgång till internet i hemmet (andel personer, procent) efter tillgång till internet, kön, redovisningsgrupp och år*. <http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/sq/92042>

Scott, D. (2004). *Sexing the City: The Social History of San Francisco's Sexual Subcultures, 1933-1980*. 1800, F. o. (ed.) *Draft Historic Context Statement*. http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf

SFS 1972:119 *Lag om fastställande av könstillhörighet i vissa fall*. Stockholm: Socialdepartementet.

SFS 1984:1140 *Lag om insemination*. Stockholm: Socialdepartementet.

SFS 1987:375 *Lag om förbud mot s.k. bastklubbar och andra liknande verksamheter*. Stockholm: Socialdepartementet.

SFS 1987:813 *Lag om homosexuella sambor*. Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet L2.

SFS 1988:711 *Lag om befruktning utanför kroppen*. Stockholm: Socialdepartementet.

SFS 1988:950 *Kulturmiljölag*. Stockholm: Kulturdepartementet.

SFS 1994:1117 *Lag om registrerat partnerskap*. Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet L2.

SFS 1999:133 *Lag om förbud mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund av sexuell läggning*. Stockholm: Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet DISK.

SFS 2001:1286 *Lag om likabehandling av studenter i högskolan*. Stockholm: Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet DISK.

SFS 2003:307 *Lag om förbud mot diskriminering*. Stockholm: Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet DISK.

SFS 2006:67 *Lag om förbud mot diskriminering och annan kränkande behandling av barn och elever*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.

SFS 2008:567 *Diskrimineringslag*. Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet MRB.

SFS 2013:405 *Lag om ändring i lagen (1972:119) om fastställande av könstillhörighet i vissa fall*. Stockholm: Socialdepartementet.

SFS 2017:563 *Museilag*. Stockholm: Kulturdepartementet.

- Simonson, Ö. (ed.) (2009). *Upplandsmuseets kunskaper om könsordningen : rapport från en extern granskning 2006*. Uppsala: Upplandsmuseet.
- Skrede, J. & Hølleland, H. (2018). Uses of Heritage and beyond: Heritage Studies viewed through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Realism. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 18(1), pp. 77-96. doi:10.1177/1469605317749290
- Smith, H. J. L., Ginley, B. & Goodwin, H. (2012). Beyond compliance? Museums, disability and the law. In Sandell, R. & Nightingale, E. (eds.) *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*. Routledge, pp. 60-71.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. Taylor & Francis.
- Smith, L. (2008). Heritage, Gender and Identity. In Graham, B. & Howard, P. (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 159-179. doi:10.4324/9781315613031.ch9
- Smith, L. & Campbell, G. (2017). The Tautology of “Intangible Values” and the Misrecognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage. *Heritage & Society*, 10(1), pp. 26-44. doi:10.1080/2159032X.2017.1423225
- Springate, M. E. (2016a). LGBTQ Civil Rights in America. In Springate, M. E. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Springate, M. E. (ed.) (2016b). *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Springate, M. E. (2016c). A Note About Intersectionality. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Springate, M. E. (2017). ‘Archaeology? How does that work?’ Incorporating archaeology into the National Park Service LGBTQ heritage initiative as community engagement. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4(3), pp. 173-185. doi:10.1080/20518196.2017.1330852
- Springate, M. E. & de la Vega, C. (2016). Nominating LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction. In Springate, E. M. (ed.) *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service.
- Statskontoret (2016). *Utvärdering av strategin för lika rättigheter och möjligheter oavsett sexuell läggning, könsidentitet eller könsuttryck*. <http://www.statskontoret.se/publicerat/publikationer/2016/utvardering-av-strategin-for-lika-rattigheter-och-mojligheter-oavsett-sexuell-lagging-konsidentitet-eller-konsuttryck/>

- Steorn, P. (2010). Queer in the museum: Methodological reflections on doing queer in museum collections. *lambda nordica*, 15(3-4), pp. 119-122.
- Steorn, P. (2012). Curating Queer Heritage: Queer Knowledge and Museum Practice. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 55(3), pp. 355-365. doi:10.1111/j.2151-6952.2012.00159.x
- Svensson, B. (2006). Identifiering och kategorisering: om det kulturella erkännandets möjligheter och begränsningar. In Alzén, A. & Aronsson, P. (eds.) *Demokratiskt kulturarv?: Nationella institutioner, universella värden, lokala praktiker*. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, pp. 175-189.
- Swedish Research Council (2017). *Good research practice*. Stockholm. <https://www.vr.se/english/analysis/reports/our-reports/2017-08-31-good-research-practice.html>
- The Combahee River Collective (1977). *The Combahee River Collective Statement*. <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/combahee-river-collective-statement-1977/>
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (2003). *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>
- Unnerbäck, A. & Lierud, P. (2002). *Kulturhistorisk värdering av bebyggelse*. Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Vanegas, A. (2002). Representing lesbians and gay men in British social history museums. In Sandell, R. (ed.) *Museums, Society, Inequality*. Routledge, pp. 98-109. doi:10.4324/9780203167380-14
- Vincent, J. (2014). *LGBT People and the UK Cultural Sector: The Response of Libraries, Museums, Archives and Heritage since 1950*. London: Routledge.
- Ware, A. M. (2017). Materializing humanity: memorial collecting after Pulse. *Museums & Social Issues*, 12(2), pp. 92-98. doi:10.1080/15596893.2017.1367218
- Waterton, E. & Smith, L. (2009). *Taking archaeology out of heritage*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publ.
- White, C. T. (2009). Ghosts of GLBT History and Web 2.0. *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, May-June. <https://glreview.org/article/article-530/>
- Wilson, R. J. (2018). The tyranny of the normal and the importance of being liminal. In Wilson, R. J. & Grahn, W. (eds.) *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*. 1st Ed. London: Routledge, pp. 3-14.

Winchester, O. (2012). A book with its pages always open? In Sandell, R. & Nightingale, E. (eds.) *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*. Routledge, pp. 142-155.

Wong, O. (2016). Bah Kuhnkes kulturpolitik hotar kulturarvet. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 28 September. <https://www.svd.se/bah-kuhnkes-kulturpolitik-hotar-kulturarvet>

Electronic sources

Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet (2020). *Polisen och BO får nya hbtq-uppdrag*. [press statement], 26 June. <https://www.regeringen.se/pressmeddelanden/2020/06/polisen-och-bo-far-nya-hbtq-uppdrag/> [Accessed 30 June 2020]

Grahn, W. (2016). Intersectionality and Change: Challenges of the Authorized Heritage Discourse. [conference paper], *Curatorial Challenges, Copenhagen, Denmark, 26-27 May 2016*.

Haar, F. (2019). HBTQ + kulturmiljövard = sant? *k-blogg.se* [Blog], 5 December. <http://www.k-blogg.se/2019/12/05/hbtq-kulturmiljovard-sant/> [Accessed 2 October 2020].

Haar, F. (2020a). Att öppna dörrar. *k-blogg.se* [Blog], 17 January. <http://www.k-blogg.se/2020/01/17/att-oppna-dorror/> [Accessed 2 October 2020].

Haar, F. (2020b). Vad tar vi för plats i historien? *k-blogg.se* [Blog], 11 February. <http://www.k-blogg.se/2020/02/11/vad-tar-vi-for-plats-i-historien/> [Accessed 2 October 2020].

Historic England (n.d.). *Pride of Place: England's LGBTQ Heritage*. <https://www.historypin.org/en/prideofplace/> [Accessed 20 November 2019]

Hultin, S. (2013 - 2016). *I'm Every Lesbian*. samhultin.com. <http://samhultin.com/IEL.html> [Accessed 12 February 2019]

Hultin, S. (2019). *Eva-Lisas Monument*. samhultin.com <http://www.samhultin.com/evalisasmonument.html>. [Accessed 2 October 2020]

Lesbisk Makt. (2016). Scotch Club, Göteborg 1970. *Arkivpodden*. <https://soundcloud.com/lesbisktarkiv/scotch-club-goteborg-1970?in=lesbisktarkiv/sets/arkivpodden> [Accessed 18 September 2019].

Lesbisk Makt & Lesbiskt Arkiv. 2015 (2015). Christina Hising. *Arkivpodden*. <https://lesbiskmakt.nu/arkivpodd-christina-hising> [Accessed 27 September 2019].

Obama White House [Director] (2016). *Announcing the Stonewall National Monument*. [Video file]. USA. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywtvJyXDWkk> [Accessed 24 June 2020]

RFSL (2020a). *Certifierade verksamheter*. <https://www.rfsl.se/certifiering-och-utbildning/certifierade-verksamheter/> [Accessed 30 July 2020]

RFSL (2020b). *LGBTQI certification*. <https://www.rfsl.se/en/certification-and-education/det-haer-aer-en-certifiering/> [Accessed 8 April 2020]

Uppsala Konstmuseum & Upplandsmuseet (2017). *UPSALA, DARLING - Om queera minnen och glömda rum*.

https://www.upplandsmuseet.se/globalassets/hogerspalter-pedagogerna/upsala_darling_2017_.pdf [Accessed 20 January 2020]

Appendix I – Background information and consent

HBQ + kulturmiljö(vård) = sant? Riksantikvarieämbetets relation till HBQ-kulturarv och dess perspektiv

Bakgrund

Riksantikvarieämbetet har bland annat i uppdrag att förvalta och värna om en mångfald av kulturarv och berättelser. Enligt verksamhetsstrategin skall myndigheten använda sig av mångfaldsperspektiv, där ett HBQ-perspektiv bland annat inkluderas.

Min masteruppsats undersöker relationen mellan lesbisk kulturmiljö och svenska kulturarvsinstitutioner på institutionell nivå, där Riksantikvarieämbetet utgör fallstudie. Framst fokuserar studien på hur olika policydokument, propositioner, yrkesverksamma och verksamheten övergripande förhåller sig till ett HBQ-perspektiv. Jag försöker även kartlägga potentiella platser som kan knytas till ett lesbiskt arv, bruk eller historia. Min praktik och observationer här ger mig fördjupad förståelse för hur myndighetens verksamheter arbetar med mina forskningsfrågor.

För att få djupare förståelse för hur yrkesverksamma förhåller sig till perspektivet, gör jag semistrukturerade intervjuer.

Praktisk information

Deltagandet är frivilligt, och ett intyg för samtycke skall skrivas under innan samtalet. Du behåller en kopia, och den andra behåller jag. För att kunna gå tillbaka och höra vad som sägs, och sedan analysera materialet, kommer samtalet att spelas in. Inspelningen och den transkribering som sedan görs är grundläggande för arbetet och är av stor vikt för genomförandet av analysen. Det är endast jag som har tillgång till transkriberingen, och den kommer inte att publiceras eller användas på annat sätt. Däremot kan dina svar eventuellt förekomma som citat i uppsatsen. Intervjun analyseras utifrån uppsatsens teoretiska ramverk. Innan analysen får du en transkribering och/eller sammanfattning av intervjun, för att kontrollera att det inte förekommit missförstånd eller feltolkning.

Eftersom jag undersöker yrkesverksammars syn på HBQ-perspektivet och inte personers enskilda åsikter, är namn inte relevanta för uppsatsen. Allt material kommer därför anonymiseras i sådan utsträckning som är möjlig inom ett litet yrkesfält. Som deltagare har du möjlighet att när som helst återkalla ditt samtycke under processen, förutsatt att uppsatsen inte skickats in till opponering. Opponeringen är planerad att ske innan sommaren 2020. När uppsatsen godkänts kommer den finnas tillgänglig via Göteborgs universitets publikationsdatabas GUPEA, där ni kan ta del av resultatet.

Kontakt

Frej Haar

Mail: frej.haar@gmail.com / frej.haar@raa.se

Handledare: Anneli Palmsköld, institutionen för kulturvård, Göteborgs universitet

**Skriftligt, informerat samtycke till medverkan i intervjustudie med arbetstiteln
”HBTQ + kulturmiljö = sant?”**

Jag har informerats om studiens syfte, om hur informationen samlas in, bearbetas och handhas. Jag har även informerats om att mitt deltagande är frivilligt och att jag, när jag vill, kan avbryta min medverkan i studien utan att ange orsak. Jag har informerats om att intervjun spelas in. Jag är medveten om att svar kan komma att citeras i arbetet.

Jag samtycker härmed till att medverka i denna intervjustudie som handlar om yrkesverk-sammans uppfattning och erfarenheter av HBTQ-perspektiv inom kulturmiljö.

Appendix II – Interview protocol

Introduktionsfrågor:

1. Vad heter du och kan du beskriva vad du arbetar med och vad dina ansvarsuppgifter är?
2. Deltaganden i temamöten?

JA / NEJ

2/12 2019

20/1 2020

Generella frågor rörande (mångfalds)perspektiv:

3. Vilka aspekter av mångfaldsperspektivet (kön, klass, etnicitet etc.) arbetar ni med på din enhet/institution?
 - Vilka aspekter anser du att just du arbetar med/kommer i direkt kontakt med i ditt arbete här?
 - Vilka av aspekterna känns mest relevanta utifrån ditt arbete?
 - Vilka av aspekterna känns mest irrelevanta utifrån ditt arbete?
 - På vilket sätt är det viktigt för din institution att lyfta upp mångfaldsperspektiv?
 - Har du uppfattat några diskussioner kring mångfaldsperspektivet inom organisationen? Hur har dessa låtit i så fall?
 - Har du uppfattat några diskussioner kring mångfaldsperspektivet utanför organisationen? Hur har dessa låtit i så fall?
4. Tag avstamp i (*Jobbade du med projekten? Om inte, vad har du för uppfattning om dem?*):

Agenda Kulturarv **DELTOG**

Kalejdoskop **DELTOG**

RAÄ Vision 2030 **DELTOG**

- Hur löd diskussionerna kring dessa satsningar, inom er organisation?
- Hur uppfattade du diskussionerna kring dessa satsningar, utanför organisationen? (både i fält, och i samhället)

Frågor rörande HBTQ i verksamheten:

5. På vilket sätt är det viktigt för din institution att lyfta upp HBTQ-perspektiv, enligt dig? (jämfört med andra institutioner och perspektiv)
 - Har sexualitet tagits upp i tidigare mångfaldsarbete?
 - Enligt dig, hör sexualitet hemma bland de aspekterna?
 - På vilket sätt är det viktigt för dig i ditt arbete att lyfta upp HBTQ-perspektiv?
 - Uppfattar du några svårigheter med att inkludera ett HBTQ-perspektiv i förhållande till andra aspekter inom mångfaldsperspektiv?
 - Av tidigare diskuterade projekt (Agenda Kulturarv, Kalejdoskop, RAÄ:s vision 2030), var det något som knöt an till HBTQ-perspektivet enligt dig?
6. Har du blivit erbjuden fortbildning för kunskap om HBTQ? Hur såg denna i så fall ut? Om inte, skulle du vilja ha det? (*HBTQ-certifiering*)
7. Hur berörs/förhåller sig din yrkesroll till HBTQ-perspektiv och frågor?
8. Har du i ditt arbete kommit i kontakt med HBTQ-kulturarv och kulturmiljö (*i koppling till byggnader/miljö*)?
 - Kan du beskriva den händelsen och dina tankar kring det?
 - Om inte, kan du berätta dina tankar kring det ändå?
9. Har du uppfattat några diskussioner om HBTQ-perspektiv, inom organisationen?

- Har du uppfattat några diskussioner om HBTQ-perspektiv, utanför organisationen? (fältet, samhället)

Frågor om HBTQ i särskild anknytning till kulturmiljö:

10. På vilket sätt kan det vara sexualitet relevant att belysa i kulturmiljö?

11. På vilket/vilka sätt kan en lyfta HBTQ-perspektiv för bebyggt kulturarv/arkitektur/kulturmiljö?

12. (*Varför/varför inte?*)

Jag har inga fler frågor. Finns det något du vill tillägga innan vi avslutar?