**My Heritage, Your Heritage:**

**The Danish Jewish Museum as a National Heritage Space**

# Introduction

The Danish Jewish Museum (DJM) in Copenhagen presents a complicated relationship with heritage, as a process of remembering while using that memory in order to shape a Danish imagined national community.[[1]](#endnote-1) Museums are good agents for such change. Tony Bennett refers to a museum as a “civic laboratory” that “brings objects together in new configurations, making new realities and relationships both thinkable and perceptible,” as spaces that can influence the reconstruction of society.[[2]](#endnote-2)

This article explores the DJM, as a text or as a treatise of a cultural agent in the discourse of Jewish-non-Jewish relationship between minority heritage and national heritage that aims to reconstruct national society in a way that will accept migration as a phenomenon that does not “hurt” the nation. Within this discourse I will focus on the question: How does the museum engage with a religious heritage in a diverse and post-secular Europe. I also aim to show that the museum in its present location can be understood as a national cultural institution that creates a physical embodiment of the Danish national community that incorporates the Jewish community, constructed as a migrant community. The article will thereby try to examine how the cultural heritage that is presented in the DJM and through its surroundings combines the effect of a national space and a Jewish memory realm. It will assess if it incorporates the Jewish experience, towards a multicultural perception of the national body or retains the Danish myth of national cohesion.

# The DJM - Description

The DJM is in the Old Royal library building and the Royal Boathouse which is part of that building. It is positioned opposite of the Danish National Archives not far off the National Museum of Denmark and nearby the Parliament. The entrance is through a courtyard with a door that is inconspicuous, even somewhat hidden and gives impression of a heavy metal door. There are no banners leading into the courtyard, nor any significant sign leading to the door which has the logo is the Hebrew word מצוה (*Mitzvah*) inscribed on it in Hebrew letters. The word, which literally means “(religious) commandment”, is not translated to Danish. The museum's walls are clad with Scandinavian wood and the floors are covered with oak plank. But are slightly slanted.

The DJM was designed by Daniel Libeskind, the world-renown architect, well known for the design of the Jewish Museum Berlin. Libeskind’s design of the logo also forms the layout of the corridors. Each space symbolizes a signpost in the Israelites’ biblical journey to redemption – from the *Exodus*, through the *Wilderness*, then the *Giving of the* *Law*, and finally reaching the *Promised Land*.[[3]](#endnote-3) The DJM interpreted each of these spaces in a symbolic manner as the road from immigration to integration in Denmark but used the third space for two different themes. [[4]](#endnote-4) *Exodus* is Arrivals – immigrations to Denmark, W*ilderness* is Standpoints – diversity in the community, and deals with immigrations, *Giving of the Law* is both Mitzvah – the rescue and Traditions – Jewish religion. Finally, *Promised Land* is Promised Lands which deals with the acceptance of the Jews in Denmark.

# A Jewish Heritage Commemorated and Challenged

Housing Jewish heritage within a Danish national heritage buildingand in the middle of its administrative heart is the crux of this museum, opening up a locality with obvious national meaning to include the story of a migrant community within it. Thus, it is a Danish space that is opened to encompass a migrant heritage. Hosts and migrants come together in this place to co-produce a new narrative of nationhood and belonging.[[5]](#endnote-5) But in the process, the migrants’ heritage also changes and adapts to the hegemonic culture.

The DJM sprung up from a Jewish initiative. The exhibitions “Kings and Citizens” (1982-3), “Danish Jewish Art”, and “You Must Tell Your Children” (1984), which celebrated the 300th anniversary of the Jewish community in Denmark were a great success in terms of a large number of visitors, and in travelling to NY.[[6]](#endnote-6) This response to Jewish heritage encouraged the Society for Danish Jewish History to appoint a planning committee and to start fundraising. Funding as well as finding a home for the museum took many years, until it came to fruition in 2004.[[7]](#endnote-7) Thus, the very idea of the Museum, and forerunner corresponds to the traditional, semi-religious Jewish wish of transmission to the children, “And thou shalt tell thy son” (Exodus, 13:8), the dictum on which the name of one of the 1984 exhibition was based.

The idea of the DJM as a space of Jewish religious heritage is enhanced by the Museum’s logo and layout based on the letters מצוה (*Mitzvah*) and on Jewish sacred history as the iconographic plan.[[8]](#endnote-8) The first space in the museum, “Arrivals,” represents the *Exodus.* The DJM’s brochure that presents this space, and the first label on the display in the museum present immigration as a central feature of Jewish history:

Jewish history is full of departures, migrations and new beginnings. Jews have left many countries to start a new life somewhere else after being driven away from their homes, but also in order to pursue better careers or business opportunities in other countries.[[9]](#endnote-9)

Instead of the biblical *Exodus,* it is about the various migrations of Jews to Denmark and their reception there. It portrays the voyage as a common Jewish experience, and immigration as a Jewish and European phenomenon with shared patterns.

The second space, “Standpoints*,*” which represents *Wilderness*, represents current and past differences within the Jewish community after its immigration and its main massage is that “[R]eligion is not the most important denominator for the Danish Jews.”[[10]](#endnote-10) Yet in stark contradiction to this, the most impressive space is the third, *The Giving of the Law* which is represented, by “Tradition,” presenting the Jewish “traditions” of the Jews of Denmark.[[11]](#endnote-11) “Tradition” is accorded the largest presentation space in the DJM. It presents various religious artefacts. Janne Laursen, former Museum director and its establisher, believed that Judaica (as representation of Jewish religion) should not considered the basis of Jewish homogeneity, but the Museum website shows religious tradition under the caption “Cohesion”. The fourth space presents the Jewish rescue by the Danes during World War II and the Holocaust experience of Danish Jews. The last space, “Promised Lands,” which represents the Israelites’ arrival to the Land of Canaan, is dedicated to the successful integration in Denmark.

Each of these spaces challenges Jewish traditions, and Jewish cohesion. Already, in the first space, *Arrivals,* it is clear from the Museum brochure that accompanies the exhibitions that immigration and immigrants were diverse: “some chose Denmark as their destination, others ended up here by chance”.[[12]](#endnote-12) This suggests and praises diversity in the Jewish community, not cohesion. In fact, it made one visitor wonder if it “does …really make sense to try to tell one common story about Jews?”[[13]](#endnote-13)

Furthermore, despite making immigration a central feature of Jewish history, Jewish diasporic character is challenged visually by cutting to minimum the exhibition of trans-national ties.[[14]](#endnote-14) This is particularly obviousin the last space, “Promised Lands”, where the United States and Israel are mentioned but not presented, nor is any other destination of emigration shown or mentioned. Indeed, the small museum brochure includes a short article on the difference between Bundism (socialist movement) and Zionism, but deals predominantly with the former, and has only two laconic sentences that mention support for Zionism among Danish Jews.[[15]](#endnote-15) In the various exhibits, any connection to the Land of Israel is downplayed and presented mostly as having religious or even anti-Zionist motives, alluding to the possibility that at least some of the Danish Jews are anti-Zionist. Even the blue collection boxes and tree-planting certificates from the Jewish National Fund represent, according to the museum, an “affinity” with Zionism, not support or affiliation. This way the *Danish* character of the community is enhanced.[[16]](#endnote-16) The visitor is expected to interpret this as the elimination of a “competitive” promised land which would compete for the immigrant’s allegiance leaving Denmark as the only possibility for redemption.

“Danishness” of the community also colors Denmark does not have and does not need a Holocaust museum, asserted the DJM’s former director. Since the “majority of the Jews escaped to Sweden in 1943,” the museum is not to be identified as a Holocaust museum.[[17]](#endnote-17) Danish Jews are expected to experience the Holocaust as a “local” phenomenon and the Holocaust trauma is determined by local numbers. In the permanent exhibition, neither deaths nor suffering are highlighted. Denmark's collaborationist policy is mentioned only in the context that it helped save the Danish Jews from the fate of the Jews in the rest of Europe.[[18]](#endnote-18) Acceptance is expressed by their evacuation form their homes having their lives saved by their Danish fellow citizens. Indeed, they were saved as *Danes*. Non-Danish Jews were not treated in quite the same way. [[19]](#endnote-19)

Jewish heritage is altogether presented as rather precarious. Its integration and even assimilation are hailed as its utmost success to the point where the museum’s brochure presents some Jews for whom their Jewish identity is less important than a professional choice as a Latin teacher. [[20]](#endnote-20) The visitor would be justified in wondering what Jewish tradition and identity mean, in such a case. This is the opening, perhaps the price, to integration into a Danish social environment where one has a “Christian ‘identity’ without personal belief or active participation”.[[21]](#endnote-21) This way Jewish tradition is commemorated but it is celebrated for its integration and acceptance.

# Opening-up Denmark: A Danish Museum with a Migrant Variation

Since integration and assimilation are so closely connected it is easier to understand how the DJM fulfils two ostensibly conflicting role: both as Jewish heritage preserver and as Danish national heritage point. The DJM’s name, its location in the national hub, and the source of its budget show it as a national museum. As such, it is part of a tradition dating back to the beginnings of the nation-state when a visit to the museum served as a kind of cultural ceremony legitimizing the state.[[22]](#endnote-22) Fittingly, the DJM was opened in 2004 in the presence of the Queen. In 2011 the museum was recognized by the Danish government and is supervised by the Heritage Agency of Denmark.[[23]](#endnote-23)

The location and the name of the DJM are the most immediate and most significant features that form the message of the DJM as a Danish national institution and as a space that accepts migrants. The old library building and Royal Boathouse within it are part of Danish heritage and part of the entire national hub. Proviantgården was built in 1603 on Slotsholmen, the island which is now Denmark's administrative center. It was built as part of Christian IV's Arsenal Dock and decommissioned in the 1860s. Proviantgården has been converted into offices for the Danish Parliament, from 1994 together with a reading room for the National Archives. Within the walls of this national building Libeskind designed the DJM. Through it, Jewish heritage is incorporated, suggesting a diversification of the national heritage, tying together the past of the minority with the past of the nation in one urban space widens the scope of Danish heritage.[[24]](#endnote-24)

The same convergence is expressed by the logo which ties *Mitzvah*,a Jewish (religious) concept to Danish-Jewish memory. Libeskind interpreted the concept as “the good deed” of “the rescue of the Danish Jews in 1943”, namely the evacuation of most of Denmark’s Jews to neighboring Sweden, in resistance to the order of their arrest and deportation.[[25]](#endnote-25)

This event is also celebrated by the DJM’s third space, *giving of the* *Law*. Thus, the Danes’ “good deed” is represented by the Jewish (religious) concept and is played out within Jewish sacred history of the biblical story about their way from Egypt to their promised land. The museum is a celebration of the Danes’ finest hour – the rescue of Danish Jews. The rescue is celebrated not only as an ethical deed, as Libeskind foresaw, but is meant to epitomize the acceptance and integration of the Jewish community in Denmark. It is supposed to illustrate just how far Danes were willing to go for *Danish* Jews. The DJM’s interior design, the Scandinavian wood covered and slanted floors, the visitor gets the impression of locality combined with migration.

The centrality of the rescue story embodies tension between assimilation and particularity. Entrance and architecture present the double message of Holocaust and salvation. Not only does the reminder of the Holocaust undermine feelings of safety, the hidden entrance door brings forth feelings of loss and a need to hide.[[26]](#endnote-26) The museum’s entrance reminded some visitors of an entrance to a bomb shelter. However, the architect actually meant it to be reminiscent of an entrance to a treasury. The treasury Libeskind had in mind was the unhindered continuous heritage of Danish Jews, preserving therein what was lost in the destruction of the Holocaust. This metaphor fits well the museum’s ensconced position as well as its aim for research and dissemination of Jewish history and culture. Its modest outside is in deep contrast to the national aura of its location and the celebratory mood of its internal architecture. The ante-room to the museum is a cinema where Libeskind propounds his idea of the museum and where he praises the outstanding behavior of the Danes who carried out the rescue. [[27]](#endnote-27) But, the emphasis on WWII experiences serves as a reminder of the threat of extermination that the Jews had faced as “others.” The resemblance of the slanted floor in the DJM with the Jewish Museum Berlin creates an association with the expulsion of the Jews.[[28]](#endnote-28)

The scenery resembles the deck of a boat, and the visit program is designed as a sea-voyage. It is the re-enactment of the rescue/evacuation of the Jews. But The DJM goes far beyond Libeskind’s vision about the celebration of the rescue and promises immigrants a new Home, and a new Promised Land. Therefore, the voyage of the visitor is also a re-enactment of the long road from immigration to full integration of Jews in Denmark. The museum celebrates immigration (and integration) as a European and Jewish phenomenon. [[29]](#endnote-29) The simulation of the sea voyage is a means of destabilization not only of the foothold, but also of identity. The visitor treads in the very footsteps of Jewish immigrants from their exodus from their original countries up to their/visitor’s arrival, redemption – as equal citizens in Denmark.[[30]](#endnote-30) Along the way the visitor absorbs the idea that the Danes have already successfully absorbed an immigrant group in the past as a “good deed”.

The DJM proclaims Denmark as providing “spaciousness” for the Jewish immigrants, and plays out Jewish integration, and thus challenges Danish self-proclaimed homogeneity and acts as a call for change. One of the visitors to the museum shows how well this challenge works. Libeskind showers on the Danes in a video in the entrance-hall, but aroused discomfort in a 38-year-old man because the high praise which is based on the 1943 rescue and he felt that it “jarred on the ear,” as he contrasted it with current-day intolerance. The reaction shows how well the DJM’s message is understood as an *ideal* and works as a call for action and not as feel-good celebration of the past.[[31]](#endnote-31)

# A Museum as a “Civic Laboratory”

The combination of the Danish location of national heritage national administration with Jewish heritage relieves the tension of the dilemma “whose heritage” is to be preserved.[[32]](#endnote-32) The interplay between the Jewish content, the various connections to the Jewish community, the Danish national environment and government support make this museum a space of negotiated heritages: Jewish heritage meets Danish self-conception. As we have seen, the DJM’s layout virtually conflates Danish and Jewish identities. The Danish good deed is played out by Jewish sacred history and Jewish sacred history is interpreted as the road from immigration to integration.

Beyond preservation it aims to challenge the visitor into accepting a new content into an ongoing heritage location. This is unusual for Danish museums that engage with the global to reassert the national by displaying national experience and preserving common memory. The national museum does not include minorities: the Germans, Greenlanders, Roma and Jews.[[33]](#endnote-33) The story of Jewish migration is enjoined to destabilize Danish Christian homogeneous identity making them more compliant towards immigrants and their cultures. But, the focus of the museum on the salvation of the Jews makes the Jewish visitor ready to see Denmark as the land of Redemption. But, as the DJM is based on the 1943 rescue it acts as justification and affirmation and might make acceptance of change easier. [[34]](#endnote-34)

The educational aim of the DJM visit is shown at the very beginning when it presents the Jews as a community of immigrants who have been successfully integrated. The museum wishes to educate towards a more positive attitude towards immigrants through the positive example of the Jewish experience.[[35]](#endnote-35) The four-year-plan views Jewish cultural history as providing “a comparative European perspective that enables us to illuminate both specific and general terms for coexistence between the minority and the surrounding community”.[[36]](#endnote-36) Janus Møller Jensen , the current director of the DJM, believes that: “you can change the museum guest. You do not become another human being, but if you leave here with a feeling of being surprised, then you have created something that can sprout. And something that can grow.”[[37]](#endnote-37)

The ethical call for accepting migrants positions Jewish migrants as an archetype. It carries the danger of relegating the Jewish community to the position of “the Jew” as a stranger.[[38]](#endnote-38) But it does not. It celebrates integration achieved by Danish acceptance and through the convergence of Jewish and Danish history, values and memory. In a recent activity in the museum the public was invited to watch the documentary “Flotel Europa” by Vladimir Tomic. The documentary is about his own experience as a refugee from Bosnia living on the big ship Europa, which housed refugees for two years. Although this experience is not Jewish, the picture illustrating the event on the museum’s website is of the hotel ship St. Lawrence that was docked at the Copenhagen Harbor, and housed hundreds of Jewish refugees in the late 1960s.[[39]](#endnote-39) The rescue acts as a reaffirmation of the past but also as a forceful encouragement for the future.

Indeed, most of the effort to achieve acceptance is presented on the community’s side, by making an effort to blend in. The external appearance of the DJM is symbolic. Its modest outside contrasts the national aura of its location. The modesty makes the entrance hard to detect, and unlike the other museums nearby, it does not boast of its existence with flying placards.[[40]](#endnote-40) This modesty speaks the entire message: migrants can be integrated in the body politic to such an extent that they are almost imperceptible. Likewise, the DJM is rather unusual among Jewish museums by emphasizing the diversity of the community and therby their diffusion in the society.

# Conclusion

Kevin Lynch warned that the major “danger in the preservation of [an historical] environment lies in its power to encapsulate some image of the past, an image that may in time prove to be mythical. . . .We should expect to see conflicting views of the past, based on conflicting views of the present.”[[41]](#endnote-41) A boathouse basement of the Royal Library constructed in the early seventeenth century by King Christian IV is a place of Danish heritage and Libeskind, a modern well-known Jewish architect, planned it as the shrine of the rescue myth. But while the outside is material heritage, the inside is not about the architecture and not entirely about the myth. It is about housing an intangible cultural heritage of what is depicted as an immigrant minority. Ostensibly, it is a house for Jewish history, culture and religion as it was manifested in Denmark, in reality it aims to fashion Danish heritage.[[42]](#endnote-42) As such it both re-enforces the myth of the past and challenges the present society in its present attitude towards its current immigrants.

The DJM celebrates integration yet emphasizes immigration of members of a community that was first established three centuries ago. The Museum presents a common heritage with the majority society beyond cultural difference. The story of the rescue is meant to construct a common memory of Jews and Danes. At first glance, the DJM is the glorification of the past – by celebrating unreservedly the rescue of 1943. But by casting the celebration of the Danish deed as a Jewish realm of memory it is objectified and turned into a challenge for the present society rather than as self-complacent commemoration.

While it challenges, it also holds out a promise. The Museum was initiated by the Jewish wish of transmission of its heritage to its children, but it belongs to the Danish national museum system. It sets out to illustrate a combined heritage that provides space for a minority’s heritage while posing no threat to its majority’s cohesiveness. By making visitors aware of the Jewish component – as both integrated and distinct, it aims to facilitate further acceptance of immigration.

1. Laurajane Smith, Uses of Heritage (London; Routledge2006), p. 44 [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. T. Bennett, ‘Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social’, *Cultural Studies* vol. 19 no. 5 (2005), pp. 525-526. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Daniel Libeskind, “Mitzvah: The Concept for the Danish Jewish Museum”, Daniel Libeskind. The Danish Jewish Museum, Henrik Sten Moeller (ed.), Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2004, p. 43. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Laursen, “The Danish Jewish Museum”, p. 16. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Buciek, Bærenholdt, and Juul, “Whose Heritage”, p. 195. Mads Daugbjerg, *Borders of Belonging: Experiencing History, War and Nation at a Danish Heritage Site* (Oxford: Berghahn books 2014), p. 180, see also the reconfiguration of Dybbøl as a national symbol imbued with cosmopolitan values, pp. 157-165. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Laursen, “The Danish Jewish Museum and Daniel Libeskind”, p. 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. A collection of art and religious artefacts was displayed for many years in NY Kongensgade in Copenhagen since 1952 until the 1970s when the collection was dispersed to smaller locations, Laursen, “The Danish Jewish Museum”, p. 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. *Arrivals* –– Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum 2004, p. 1 [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. *Standpoints* – Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum 2004, p. 1 [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Janne Laursen, “The Danish Museum: A New Museum Asserts Its Character”, *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, Katherine Goodnow and Haci Akman (eds.) (Oxford: Berghahn Books and the Museum of London, 2008), p. 46. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. *Arrivals* – Brochure, pp. 1, 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Jonas Wissing Larsen, “Religious Encounters at the Danish Jewish Museum”, Course Cultural Encounters and Differences 25.04.2018, <http://culturalencountersanddifferences.dk/religious-encounters-at-the-danish-jewish-museum/> [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Laursen, “A New Museum”, p. 42 [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Promised Lands* – Museum Brochure: Danish Jewish Museum 2004, pp. 4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *Promised Lands*, pdf, pp. 40-43 <http://jewmus.dk/en/education/> accessed 13.05.2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Laursen, “A New Museum”, p. 44. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. “Holocaust in Denmark”, <http://jewmus.dk/en/exhibition/the-five-dimensions/mitzvah/holocaust-in-denmark/> [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Kjørup, “Cultural Minorities”, p. 62. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. This obscure example is given in the brochure *Arrivals* – Brochure, pp. 1, 5. Buckser speaks of “Viking families”, Andrew Buckser, “Religious Practice and Cultural Politics in Jewish Copenhagen”, *American Ethnologist*, vol. 30, no. 1 (Feb., 2003), p. 104. No mention is made of the discouragement of the new immigrants after the Russian Revolution, by the police, Conrad Kisch, “The Jewish Community in Denmark: History and Present Status”, *Judaism*, vol. 47 no. 2 (1998), pp. 220-221. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Ingrid Storm, Bastiaan Rutjens & Frenk van Harreveld, “Personal experience or cultural tradition: the difference between Christian identity in the Netherlands and Denmark”, *Religion, Brain & Behavior*, (2019) p. 12 DOI: 10.1080/2153599X.2019.1628100. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Carol Duncan, and Alan Wallach, “The Universal Survey Museum”, *Art History*, vol. 3, (1980), p. 449. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Janne Laursen, “The Danish Museum: A New Museum Asserts Its Character”, *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, Katherine Goodnow and Haci Akman (eds.) (Oxford: Berghahn Books and the Museum of London, 2008), p. 42 [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Buciek, Bærenholdt, and Juul, “Whose Heritage”, pp. 185-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. The Museums brochure for visitors. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Søren Kjørup, “Cultural Minorities in Danish Museums: the Danish Jewish Museum”, *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, Katherine Goodnow and Haci Akman (eds.) (Oxford: Berghahn Books and the Museum of London, 2008), p. 56 ; Bechmann, "'Now We Should All Acknowledge”, p. 12 [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Bechmann, ibid. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Kjørup, “Cultural Minorities”, p. 58. Eirene, "A Place Called Space – The Danish Jewish Museum", Blog, 8.7.2013 <http://a-place-called-space.blogspot.co.il/2013/07/the-danish-jewish-museum.html> accessed 11.02.2015 [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Ulf Hedetoft, “Denmark versus Multiculturalism”, *Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, Steven Vertovec‏, Susanne Wessendorf (eds.) (London and New York: Routledge 2010), [pp. 111-129] pp.111, 118. Kent Martinussen, "Line of Fire", Daniel Libeskind. The Danish Jewish Museum, Henrik Sten Moeller (ed.) (Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2004), p. 29. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. J. Laursen, “The Danish Museum and Daniel Libeskind”, in Libeskind, *The Danish Jewish Museum*, p. 16. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Sune Bechmann, "'Now We Should All Acknowledge our Holocaust Guilt' Denmark and The Holocaust as European Identity", *CFE Working paper series* no. 37 (2008), p. 15. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. K. Buciek, J.O. Bærenholdt, and K. Juul, “Whose heritage?”, p. 186. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Peggy Levitt, “The Bog and the Beast: Museums, the Nation, and the Globe’, Ethnologia Scandinavica 42 (2012), p. 40. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Laurajane Smith, “‘We Are… We Are Everything’: The Politics of Recognition and Misrecognition at Immigration Museums”, *Museum & Society*, vol.15 no. 1 (2017), p. 86. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. And perhaps also by holding up the great example of 1943. Lack of homogeneity of the Jewish community is also designed to lessen fear of immigrants: Kjørup, “Cultural Minorities”, p. 64. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Museernes 4-Årige Arbejdsplaner, p. 2, “Planning”, Danish Jewish Museum – The Museum, <http://jewmus.dk/en/the-museum/planning/> accessed 9 Feb. 2015. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Michael Rachlin, "Museet Skal Have en Mere Aktiv Stemme” mosaiske.dk <https://mosaiske.dk/museet-skal-have-en-mere-aktiv-stemme/> accessed 09.11.2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Zygmunt Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence (Oxford: Polity Press 1991), p. 59. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. “What’s on? - The Invisible City - Copenhagen Architecture Festival”, <http://jewmus.dk/en/whats-on/news-detail/the-invisible-city-copenhagen-architecture-festival/> accessed 05.5.2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Kjørup, “Cultural Minorities”, p. 56 [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972), p. 53. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p. 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)