

Book Reviews

Objects in Flight

Mirja Arnshav & Anneli Karlsson, Föremål på flykt. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2022. 160 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89361-15-7.

■ In 2016, the Danish parliament enacted the infamous “jewellery law”, which allowed the Danish police to appropriate possessions of refugees for payment of the costs they caused the Danish state (for accommodation, health service etc.). The law included the right to seize jewellery from the refugees, which gave the law its popular name. The law was heavily criticized, both internationally and in Denmark. The supporters of the law defended it against the criticism; they described it as a purely rational economic solution: it only concerned importance of refugees being able to earn their own living, just like native Danes. But the arguments of the critics of the law – some of them refugees themselves or descendants of refugees – made it clear that they saw something which the politicians arguing rationally did not see: that belongings of refugees, often the very few things they are able to take with them from their home, are not just any objects. They are not primarily property with a specific economic value.

This is relevant to bear in mind when reading the book *Föremål på flykt* (“Objects in Flight”) by Mirja Arnshav (text) and Anneli Karlsson (pictures), about objects connected to refugees fleeing from the Baltic states to Sweden during World War II.

The book has an academic connection, albeit quite slight. In the “Epilogue”, the generalizing discussion of the work at the end, the authors refer to a present tendency in historical research to focus on physical *objects*. Within that research, objects are acknowledged both as parts of the historical course of events and as bearers of memories and experience. They constitute source material enabling the scholars to bring to the fore previously neglected or unnoticed stories. The authors also note that objects tend to affect people’s minds,

provoke thoughts and make the past present. They claim that the objects in the book “all have a story to tell”, and that they arouse images of the events close to the actual reality (pp. 147–148).

The book is not an academic work, however, even though it is published by Nordic Academic Press. There are no research questions, no arguments, and no scholarly conclusions. The book is entirely dominated by photographs, mainly pictures of individual objects. The text in the book does not serve the purpose of analysing or discussing the objects in an academic way. Instead, the main idea is obviously to let the objects speak for themselves as much as possible, with short pieces of text only as background for an understanding. Nevertheless, the texts accompanying the pictures, in all their brevity, often contribute considerably to our understanding of the objects – and thereby to the historical situation and the experience of the refugees.

Apart from the pictures of the objects, there are also full double-page pictures of the nature where the journey of the refugees across the sea took place. Those pictures are new, by Anneli Karlsson, and, in a contrastive way, they bear witness to the tragedy of the refugees through their mostly idyllic character. They demonstrate, without being over-explicit, that the tragedies of the book take place in the same reality that we see around us every day. These people lived in the same well-known reality as ordinary Swedes, Estonians, and Latvians today, and these pictures do indeed bring the reality of the refugees in the 1940s closer to us. The pictures show us beaches and coastlines on Saaremaa, in the Riga Gulf, the Stockholm Archipelago etc. The scenery is beautiful and friendly, as it must mostly have been in the 1940s, when it was the place of terrifying tragedies.

Thus, not all the pictures in the book represent physical objects. Another type of pictures consists of a number of large close-ups of still living individuals who experienced the journeys as refugees across the sea in the 1940s. Each picture is accompanied by a short quote, usually two or three sentences long, describing a memory from the

flight. An old woman remembers her embarrassment when she had to urinate in her pants on the boat during the journey. She was then four years old (pp. 108–109). An old man remembers how the biscuits which his mother had sent with him at his departure were polluted by oily water at sea and could not be eaten (pp. 100–101). These cases are typical of these individual memories. They might be described as remarkably trivial. These survivors do not remember themselves as parts of a large human tragedy or a historical event, and they do not even remember any agony of death, despite the extremely dangerous conditions. The memories are instead entirely individual and particular, focusing on trivial details which often underscore how young these refugees were, and precisely through their individual and trivial character, these memories make the larger human tragedy of the period intensely alive and close to us.

The main text in the chapters of the book is generally short and occupies only a small part of the space of the book in relation to the pictures.

The first two chapters (“The Great Flight” and “Time of Unrest”) give a general background to the flight, providing a historical survey of the events from the independence period of the Baltic states in the 1930s to the war and the Soviet and German occupation in the 1940s. While the description of the political history is somewhat superficial and the history of the flight itself only provides a very basic background, the part describing the non-political contacts between Sweden and Estonia in the 1930s is highly interesting and probably includes facts unknown to most readers today. It shows that there were intense contacts during the period, not least regarding tourism. Estonia became “Sweden’s first Majorca”, and there were daily flights between the countries as well as several boat lines from Sweden to Tallinn and Pärnu (p. 7). This paints a background to the refugee situation in the 1940s and also creates a total contrast to the Soviet era, when these highly developed contacts were almost completely broken. For the Estonians in Swedish exile, that situation was always seen as an anomaly, and they found

the general Swedish acceptance of the status quo difficult to understand. A look at the situation in the 1940s shows that they were right. The lack of close contacts between Sweden and Estonia in the Soviet era was indeed the exception, not the rule, in the history of the two countries.

Other chapters are more thematic in their focus: on their departure from the home (“Breaking Up and Taking Farewell”, pp. 37–56), the various kinds of luggage of the refugees (“Light and Heavy Baggage”, pp. 57–74), an individual case study (“One of a Thousand Boats”, pp. 75–90), the boat trip across the water (“Over the Sea”, pp. 91–116), the arrival in Sweden and the first period in the new country (“In Harbour”, pp. 117–146). The last chapter, “Epilogue”, summarizes the book and places its theme, as mentioned above, in a general discussion and scholarly tendency of focusing on objects (p. 147–149).

However, the dominant feature of the book is, as mentioned, the pictures of the objects. It must be mentioned that the pictures are of an excellent quality and have an artistic value in themselves. Here, however, I will focus on what they and their accompanying texts communicate.

Many of the objects on the pictures are accompanied by texts which briefly explain the background of the object in question and the significance it had for its owner. A considerable number of the objects belonged to children and helped to console and comfort them during the journey over the sea. A teddy-bear on p. 122 is said to have belonged to a seven-year-old girl, who had kept it close to her during the whole boat journey; on arrival in Sweden she was forced to hand it over for disinfection. The textile dog Tommi on p. 16 belonged to a boy who brought it with him to Sweden. It was named after a real dog in Tallinn; at the departure, the boy had to leave him and never saw him again, but he kept the textile Tommi. A guestbook on p. 45 was one of the very few things a Latvian family was able to bring with them when they fled; the short accompanying text describes the chaotic situation at their departure. A sewing machine on p. 42 has its own story, and again the text depicts the chaos of the flight sit-

uation and the particular circumstances in which the object on the picture was saved during the flight. A watch on p. 44 was a father's gift to his son at the departure of the latter. They never met again, but the watch was important for keeping the memory of the father alive; in a few lines the text follows up this story of a tragic separation by describing how his grandchildren much later were able to visit the family's farm in Estonia, but then the man left behind was long since dead. Such stories are individual, but they also shed light on the tragedy of the time in general.

A picture of silver spoons on p. 126 is accompanied by more general comments. Objects of this kind are among the very few ones with any economic value which the refugees were able to bring with them from their home. The text notes that the spoons in principle could have been used for payment in Sweden, but also that the owners nevertheless normally chose to keep them. In practice, these and other objects were primarily important for keeping the memory of the home alive. A photo album and some of its contents can be seen on pp. 132–137. The accompanying text comments on its importance for transmitting the family stories over the generations and also keeping the bright, pleasant memories of the home country alive (p. 132). A picture of a christening robe on p. 139 is accompanied by the comment that this and many other objects chosen to be brought on the journey might seem to be an irrational choice; but such objects were connected important moments in the family history and served as a link between the generations.

Some of the objects of the book more directly bear witness to the historical situation, albeit connected with individual memories. An Estonian school diploma from 1941 on p. 27 contains pictures of Lenin and Stalin, reminding of the period of the first Soviet occupation. A picture on pp. 22–23 of a couple of stamps and banknotes from one single wallet illustrates the turbulent changes in the political situation – German stamps with a portrait of Hitler, Soviet stamps with communist symbols, and Kroon banknotes from the pre-war Estonian independence are found together.

Föremål på flykt is a book combining artistic quality – the beauty of the pictures – with texts which are both informative and emotionally touching. It is precisely the interplay of pictures and texts that constitutes the overall success of the work. Pictures of often trivial and in themselves neutral objects are charged with both emotional meaning and a historical source value, especially with the help of individual stories. Through the particular and individual cases, the pictures shed light on a whole historical period and, although that is not explicitly mentioned by the authors, on the situation of refugees in general. Although the book cannot be described as academic, it certainly illustrates the relevance of the scholarly trend of studying physical objects as sources for the past and its humans.

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The Swedish Theory of Love

Henrik Berggren & Lars Trägårdh, *The Swedish Theory of Love. Individualism and Social Trust in Modern Sweden*. University of Washington Press 2022. 381 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-75055-2.

■ *The Swedish Theory of Love* is an English language version of a book first published in Swedish in 2006 [second edition in 2015] topped and tailed with a new Preface, Introduction and Coda. It examines the character, origins, and some consequences of 'the Swedish theory of love' and 'statist individualism' and considers their possible future. The Swedish theory of love is the name the book gives to the idea that true love is possible only when given freely between individuals who are not dependent on each other. It's one example of what the authors argue is Swedes' propensity to value personal freedom and believe that 'only autonomous subjects can meet as equals'. This raises what they call 'the Swedish paradox' – i.e. why people so keen on personal independence, constructed a modern state with the power to impinge on so many areas of their lives. The answer is 'statist individualism', a system in which the state delivers extensive and substan-

tially egalitarian welfare directly to individuals *as individuals*, thus freeing them from particularistic, dependence on specific others. Here the book's subtitle 'Individualism and Social Trust in Modern Sweden' becomes relevant, because the system's functioning requires people trust both each other and the state. The latter should be a non-corrupt and impartial deliverer of what its citizens want, not the servant of particular limited interest groups. And people must feel confident that everyone who can, is contributing and there is no free-riding. At one level, statist individualism must rest on a kind of national collective solidarity.

The authors briefly contrast the Swedish, German and American welfare systems. The latter, emphasizing freedom from the state, pushes people to rely on help from family and their local community when needed, or, if they can afford it, buy support in the market. Receipt of the residual-level state benefits is often stigmatized. Germany, meanwhile offers its citizens more extensive help, but typically delivered in relation to the individual's family or other intermediate group membership. At various points, reasons for differences between these three countries' systems are touched upon. [Interested readers might usefully compare Berggren and Trägårdh's analysis with Esping-Andersen's 1990 classic, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.]

Part One broadly sets up the theme of statist individualism, presenting it as a particular kind of response to the universal dilemma of relating the individual to society. Kant, Rousseau and Tocqueville are referenced here. These chapters provide information on pre-modern Sweden. They describe the distinctiveness of its independent peasantry, free from feudal obligations to a landed aristocracy, politically represented in its own estate and [as depicted again in Part Two] with a family system less restrictive than that in some other parts of Europe. The young had comparatively free choice of sexual partners and were expected to leave the parental home on marriage. A discussion, new to the second edition, of Lutheranism [and then of 19th century revival-

ism] at the end of Part Three, provides a different example of individualism in pre-modern Sweden. Established by Gustav Vasa as the state religion in the early 16th century, institutionally it balanced a centralizing tendency with the local freedom of parishioners to select their own clergy. Doctrinally, salvation was through faith alone, but dutiful hard work and probity in dealings with others encouraged. In line with the assumption that the faithful could directly connect to the deity without clerical mediation, the scriptures were made available in the vernacular, and literacy encouraged as facilitating independent access to the word of an all-powerful God before whom each individual essentially stood alone. However, Berggren and Trägårdh also suggest that 'the primacy accorded to reading, rested on the existence of a privileged text that, though open to private interpretations, was not allowed to give rise to public divisions that might affect the collective solidarity'. If it seems odd so much time is spent referencing the past in a book whose subtitle refers to 'Modern Sweden', the reader will soon recognize that its authors want to challenge the idea that contemporary Swedes' individualistic tendencies are the *outcome* of the 20th century social-democratic welfare regime. They aim to show this trait long predated and contributed to the establishment of statist individualism.

Parts Two, 'Sweden Imagined' and Three, 'Sweden Realized', are the book's main core. The former covers the period from the early 19th century to the 1930s when P. A. Hansson's Social Democratic party began to realize his vision of Sweden as a People's Home/*Folkhem*. Part Three first takes the story forward to the late 1960s and '70s, when some might claim social democratic welfarism achieved its fullest flowering. It then shows how this produced, in generally more uncertain times, challenges and possibly retreat. [Therborn has spoken of a 'socio-economic counter reformation'.] As the subtitles suggest, Part Two focuses mainly on *ideas* about the Swedish national character and desirable forms of social relations, subscribed to before statist individualism was achieved. 'Sweden Realized' provides

some indication of what was actually put in place, and to a limited extent, the *processes* by which this occurred, although also showing that debate about the connection between state policies and good social relations continued.

Part Two's chapters 4–6 focus on the views of Geijer, Almqvist and the slightly later Strindberg and Ellen Key and shows them all to be theorizing how individuals should relate to each other and the collectivity. To gloss over the many subtleties, it seems that late [but not early] Geijer and the others, conceptualized individuals as the prime building blocks of society. Geijer, and Almqvist accepted some limits to individual freedom, focusing on people's right to live life as they pleased, within the private realm, whilst respecting the overarching rule of law. Strindberg and Key, however, with Nietzschean undertones, tended to reject societal constraint, at least for particularly talented individuals [whom Strindberg, but not Key, thought were most likely to be men]. The former's literary works and Almqvist's novel *Sarah Videbeck* [whose plot is analyzed in some detail] show characters fighting to liberate themselves from what they perceive as suffocating bourgeois family norms, in order to realize their true selves and, in Sarah's case, experience freely given love.

That there were such bourgeois family forms to be fought, shows premodern peasant norms weren't seamlessly adopted by all sections of nineteenth century society. Berggren and Trägårdh speak of a reconfiguration of family relations inward, but also propose that the small size and late development of Sweden's urban middle-class meant it was more shallowly rooted and offered fewer mitigating attractions than some of its European counterparts. It was thus particularly vulnerable to attack by those who could contrast it with their image of the traditional freedom-loving peasant. The latter's resilience and self-sufficiency had earlier also been used by Geijer and Almqvist when seeking an emblematic, positive *national* characteristic, in the wake of the destabilizing effect on national self-conception of the recent loss of Finland to Sweden, introduction of

a new constitution and imported monarch in the wake of the Napoleonic wars.

By the end of the century, however, during another period of nationalistic concern in Europe and when Norway was seeking to separate from Sweden, right-wing theorists like Kjellén and Sundbärg described in chapter 7, elevated the collective above the individual, drawing their heroes from a past of aristocratic military commanders rather than peasants fighting to retain their freedoms. However, Berggren and Trägårdh present these nationalists as often disappointed with their country's citizens, criticizing them for insufficient social solidarity or attachment to their homeland, as evidenced by a propensity to emigrate elsewhere. Thus these theorists also recognized a solitary tendency in their countrymen, although they regretted rather than celebrated it.

Chapter eight shows how Hansson, on gaining the premiership in 1932, aimed for a particular kind of national solidarity, at odds with the assumptions of the Marxist-influenced radicals who identified with an *international* proletariat, saw socialism as inimical to the private ownership of capital, and the state as inevitably an instrument of the ruling class. Hansson by contrast saw the Swedish state, with its tradition of relatively non-corrupt administrative efficiency, as a potential impartial instrument to be used to create a more equal society, and deliver good living standards for all Swedes, especially the working class. The *Folkhem* was to replace unproductive opposition with a unifying national consensus which might even allow labour to reach a satisfactory accommodation with capital without expropriating the latter. This view of the state as a potential tool for mitigating economic problems wasn't unique to Sweden at the time – both Roosevelt and Hitler used public works programs to reduce the effects of the 1930s depression. The latter's fascist regime theorized the nation to which his policies were addressed, in racial terms. But the Swedish *Folkhem* project [which might also be described as a specifically national kind of socialism] mainly understood collective identity as based on a common history and culture rather than a distinc-

tive race. An early advert for the Social Democrat [Workers] Party, pictures a direct line of ‘succession’ through various ‘rebel’ figures including the early peasant leader Engelbrekt, to their first prime minister, Hjalmar Branting, although the retrospective legitimations later began to be replaced by representations of Sweden as a distinctly modern, forward-looking nation.

Berggren and Trägårdh see Geijer’s understanding of the historical continuity of Swedish culture, particularly the peasant-related belief in individual freedom and respect for rule-based law and order, as an influence on Hansson, via the standard history teaching texts in school. Besides his own poor working-class upbringing, they also point to his experience of the Co-operative social movement, which they present as combining aspirations for individual self-improvement with collective solidarity. It was just one of the *folkrörelser*/popular movements, that began to appear in the mid 19th century, which besides their ostensive aims of providing welfare support or education for their members, or promoting temperance and non-conformist religiosity, also offered opportunities for democratic self-organization in the years before universal franchise [for which they also fought]. By the time this was achieved [1921], around 25% of Swedes were connected to one or other popular movement, which the authors note offered a practical base for, and schooling in, collective action. However, the exact nature of connection between the *folkrörelser*, particularly the trade union movement and the Social Democratic political party is not spelled out. Maybe this is taken for granted by the Swedish reader.

Part Three’s initial chapters examine how relations between state, family and individuals were discussed from the 1930s onwards, cross-referencing this with the views of some of the theorists presented in Part Two. [Luther’s opinions on family relations are thrown into the mix in chapter 13.] We see that children, because of their inevitable dependence on others, pose a problem for those valuing individual autonomy, because they threaten to compromise the freedom of their carers – typically women. Berggren and Trägårdh

suggest that whilst Strindberg felt ‘a man’s right to seek self-realization at the price of his family was inviolable’, he would only countenance a mother abandoning her children if serving some greater collective good. Earlier, Geijer, though arguing for equal rights to self-realisation, nonetheless saw the mother’s role as so important that women would, or should not want to, relinquish it. Similarly, Key presented childrearing as a mode of self-realisation for women – one in which they could foster the next generation’s inner self-reliance. Later, social reformer Alva Myrdal, also accepted a gendered division of childcare, but not women’s total exclusion from work outside the home. She envisaged many of them sandwiching a period of primary childrearing between an earlier and later spell in the workforce. Worried about falling birth rates in the 1930s, she wanted the state, for the good not just of the child, but society as a whole, to take an increased interest in how the young were raised, proposing greater public supervision and support of children’s health and more nursery provisioning. Less attractively, she was also tempted by the idea that some were so unsuited to raise, or even bring children into the world, that they should be prevented from doing so.

But none of these moves really solved a problem that Almqvist had earlier recognised. That is that, even if the responsibility for childcare is freely accepted and socially valued, it can make those providing it dependent on their partners if it deprives them of independent access to economic resources. Berggren and Trägårdh show that in the years after the second world war, two partly related solutions to this were investigated by a plethora of governmental and other committees, advocated by a range of interest groups and variously actioned from the late 1960s onwards. The first possibility was to allow carers to escape unsatisfactory domestic situations, by offering direct state support to those bringing up children on their own. The second was to provide encouragement for women to earn their own income and the means by which, even as the prime child-carer in the household, they could do so. Both options

challenged what had become the typical family pattern of husband as wage-earner and woman as home-maker, but when labour was in short supply in the 1950s and '60s, could be presented as good for women and the national economy without threatening men's employment opportunities. Thus after considerable debate in the 1970s, the unit of taxation became the individual rather than the household, removing the possibility of a wife's wages pushing a couple's joint income into a higher tax bracket and discouraging her labour market entry. Meanwhile the possibility of taking up a job was facilitated by rapid growth in subsidized pre-school child care – sometimes presented as better quality than a family could provide. The presumed independence of individuals was also underlined by ending widow's pensions and decoupling student grants from family income.

However, there were limits to these trends, meaning that not everything reformers had hoped for was achieved. Eva Moberg failed to get the general reduction in the length of the working day, which she had advocated in the 1960s as a means of encouraging more men to help with childcare. This may have contributed to significant numbers of women now choosing to work part-time, often in less well paid 'caring' employment in the public sector, to better balance work and family life. And, in a significant deviation from targeting benefits at the individual, the later [1974] generous paid parental leave provision was allocated to parents as a unit, to divide as they saw fit, resulting in it mostly being taken up by mothers [subsequently modified to designate one, and in 2015, three months, specifically for fathers]. Berggren and Trägårdh acknowledge Sweden's high placing on international comparisons of gender equality, but nonetheless conclude, 'if there is any sense in which [Swedish males] have become demasculinized' by Sweden's statist individualist family policies 'it is primarily in that they have shaken off their role as family breadwinner, not in having relieved women of any of their childcare and other responsibilities.... Statist individualism', they suggest, 'has liberated men from their traditional role as head of the family, provider and

protector' without producing full gender equality in either the workplace or the home. They also show some critics of these state policies arguing these had positively harmed women by devaluing the home-making role and almost pushing once contented housewives into employment which often offered little intrinsic satisfaction. Meanwhile, they claimed, children were also suffering when forced to spend a high proportion of each day separated from their families in impersonal environments detrimental to their development. As the whole apparatus of publicly funded state support for childrearing increased, there were also concerns about how its financing could be sustained.

Chapter twelve moves on to examine the general debates emerging at the end of the 1960s about how Swedish society was developing. As the authors perhaps insufficiently bring out, the '60s and '70s were a period of radical and intercultural movements in many Western countries, with activists often influenced by what they saw happening outside their nation's borders. In Sweden the social democratic project might be described as moving towards its zenith. There was a rapid growth in the public sector, raised social insurance offerings – and the introduction of unprecedentedly high taxes. But this led to some from both sides of the political spectrum suggesting the state had become too powerful and bureaucratic, insufficiently responsive, with its large-scale approaches, to the differentiated needs of individuals. Some therefore advocated creating new, intermediate-level organizations in civil society to challenge or counterbalance excessive state power and wean citizens from an over-dependent passivity, by offering them alternative, more satisfying ways of meeting their needs. Others proposed breathing new life into the traditional popular movements, whose original educational and insurance functions had largely been usurped by the state. Fears were expressed however, that they had become too much a part of the status quo to remedy its defects. The limited, and often middle-class social base of most civil society groups could also make them seem less well suited than the state, to further the interests

of the poorest sections of society. New research in the 1990s possibly confirmed this anxiety, by revealing that though voluntary associations had far from disappeared, they were now not principally oriented towards providing welfare for their members or the needy, but had become simply a means by which leisure, sporting and intellectual hobby interests could be pursued.

Critical voices from the right also increased, not least as the ‘depressed state of the Swedish economy following the 1973 global oil crisis steadily eroded the basis for expansionist social policies.’ As Berggren and Trägårdh partly explain, this was also when the element of carefully managed social democratic consensus between capital and labour, as represented by the Swedish Employers Association/*Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen* (SAF) and the Swedish Trade Unions Confederation/*Landsorganisationen* (LO) was put under stress. The famous Saltsjöbaden Agreement, which from 1938 had centralized and regulated much of the bargaining between workers and employers began to break down. There were various moves, not noted by the authors, to increase workplace democracy and reduce employers’ ability to freely dispose of labour. But they do briefly mention the possibly more provocative wage earner funds/*löntagarfonderna*, designed to ‘gradually transfer full control of Sweden’s largest stock-market-listed companies to its trade unions’. The latter short-lived experiment ended when the Social Democrats were defeated in the 1976 election for the first time since 1932. In 1978, the Swedish Employers Association founded its own think tank *Timbro*, heavily influenced by neo-liberal ideas on the benefits of limiting state-provided welfare, low taxation and a workforce motivated by competitive individualism, that had already gained ground in the USA and elsewhere.

Nonetheless, towards the chapter’s conclusion, we are told that, despite the criticisms of statist individualism presented above, there is still much popular support for provision of high levels of welfare to individuals as of right. However, there have been certain neo-liberal-like changes in how

this is delivered. Some public service provision is now contracted out, including to profit-making bodies, who have a different kind of managerial culture to that of civil servants. Education offers a case in point; today pupils can choose to attend schools run independently of municipal authorities although publicly funded—contributing to the demise of a unifying, nation-wide curriculum. The following chapter on religion continues the de-homogenizing theme by citing not only the disestablishment of the Lutheran church in 2000, but also decreased state control of postal services and the broadcast media. Not discussed, however, in either chapter, are twenty-first century increases in wealth and income inequality linked to growing fragmentation of the occupational structure and also to changes in tax regime. The 90% top rate of income tax of the 1970s is long gone and inheritance tax abolished in 2004/5. Nor do the authors remark how residential segregation by income has also grown, potentially further undercutting a sense of national social solidarity.

Further evaluation of Sweden’s statist individualism and prognoses for its sustainability are offered in the rather convoluted Coda, which also more generally problematises the individual:collective relation in modern society via brief references to a large number of social theorists [I counted at least thirteen] from Toennies, Durkheim and Weber, to Foucault, Putnam, and Bourdieu. However, the chapter mainly focuses on the endogenous ‘paradoxes’ of statist individualism, seeming to imply that if these become too great there may be pressure for change. Globalisation’s exogenous impact is also touched upon. Thus the danger of the state being or becoming overpowerful is raised again, this time by reference to the lack of satisfactory institutional means [a bill of inalienable natural rights, or a Supreme Court for example] by which individuals can ultimately challenge its actions. The authors also mention historic examples of ‘the dark side of the state’ when individuals’ freedom has been abused, particularly in the field of health interventions. They contrast responses to the Aids and the recent Covid epidemics, suggesting these indicate

authorities shifting in a more libertarian direction. But one could argue that reaction to the recent crisis fits into a longstanding Swedish tradition, predating, though adopted by the social democratic state, of relying on the rational, expert-led assessment of the best solution to societal problems. If anything has recently changed, it may be that experts now assess the population as less ready than previously to limit their personal freedom for the common good.

Berggren and Trägårdh do in fact raise, as their second ‘paradox’, the possibility that excessive individualism can undercut the underlying solidarity on which social democratic welfarism depends. But they reassuringly point to studies which suggest increasing personal autonomy need not correlate with decreased trust in others. However, they don’t consider whether rising incomes and a revolution of rising expectations might make meeting needs via the market, rather than the state, seem more attractive to those who can afford this. Neo-liberals at least, might see the cost of providing services of sufficiently high standard to prevent defections from the collective project, as a potential drag on an economy already facing increased international competition. However, Berggren and Trägårdh do suggest that the state’s contribution to producing a well-educated workforce and to the possibilities of women easily entering the workforce, is an asset in a globalized world. This could also be claimed for the way state underpinning of unemployment insurance has facilitated internal labour-market flexibility. That globalization has also contributed to Sweden, along with other western nations, outsourcing some of its manufacturing to countries with far less developed welfare systems could also be worth noting.

Immigration is a further factor mentioned as potentially problematic for the traditional social democratic project. Today nearly 25% of the Sweden’s inhabitants are first or second-generation migrants. Swedes’ have sometimes had difficulty dealing with diversity. Berggren and Trägårdh don’t mention attempts made, well into the 20th century, to suppress the cultural distinctiveness

of its indigenous or long-standing ethnic minorities such as the Sámi, Roma and Tornedalians. But they do reference *Jantelagen*, the relatively benign social pressure to avoid publicly distinguishing oneself from others by advertising exceptional wealth or talent. Most importantly they suggest here and in the preceding chapter on religion, that the specific character of many of the recent migrants’ culture appears threatening to those who view it not just as different but specifically at odds with contemporary mainstream Swedish values of secularism and gender equality and with statist individualism’s core premises. Fears have been expressed that rather than support the impartial, universalistic allocation of state benefits, this new section of the population might seek to further the particular interests of their family, kin or ethnic group, or fail to abide by the essential tenet [so well-aligned with the Lutheran tradition] that those who can, will work, contribute and not draw benefits unnecessarily. It seems that they aren’t fully trusted by ‘mainstream’ Swedes. Berggren and Trägårdh don’t specifically investigate whether these negative presumptions are true, how far any differences of orientation link to experiences of discrimination as well as culture, nor consider whether such variations as do exist might be mitigated over time by longer exposure to Swedish norms. But they do mention the rise of the immigrant-unfriendly right-wing party, the Sweden Democrats/*Sverigedemokraterna*. It’s popularity and ability to draw support from traditionally Social Democratic voters has become even clearer since the book’s publication. They obtained the second highest number of votes in the 2022 general election [20.54% to the Social Democrats 30.33%], facilitating a coalition of right-oriented ‘bourgeois’/*borgerliga* parties under a prime minister from the liberal-conservative Moderate/*Moderata samlingspartiet* party gaining power.

I conclude that this is a work, whose complexity and range of detail makes it hard to summarize. On its back cover, commentators praise its ‘remarkably wide range of sources and richness of argumentation’, suggesting ‘it provides a nuanced and complex view of a topic often flattened

and distorted'. Undoubtedly my review, in its struggle to offer a coherent overall account, has steam-rolled over many subtleties. How satisfying Berggren and Trägård's text seems to other readers, particularly those with limited prior knowledge of Sweden, may depend on what they hope to get out of it. If they want an interesting delve into two century's worth of historians', philosophers', novelists', playwrights', and politician's ideas about the national character, and how the individual:society and individual:family relation should be characterized, they will have much to get their teeth into. They may also appreciate the sporadic cross-referencing of these Swedes' ideas to those of assorted American and European theorists. If they are hoping for a straightforward, easily accessible chronology of the development of the Swedish welfare regime and statist individualism, they might find it less than comprehensive and tricky to extract what they are looking for amid all the cross-referenced depiction of different theorists' and activists' positions and disputes. A time-line diagram of key events and dates would have been extremely helpful.

Those readers already aware that what was distinctive about the Swedish social democratic project was not just its welfare policies, but the way it organized capital/labour relations, may be disappointed that the latter are so briefly touched upon. Here Berggren and Trägårdh could riposte that they aimed to depict and account for statist individualism, not the totality of what's often called the Swedish 'model' or Swedish 'middle way'. However, the limited discussion of how social democracy also sought to deal with potential economic conflict, and increase workers' power, relates to the authors' general underplaying of the importance of economic factors in establishing statist individualism itself. Theirs is a largely idealist account of the latter as an outcome of a very long-established propensity to value individual freedom from direct dependence on particular others. Few would deny that cultural orientations, especially if deep-rooted, strongly and widely held, can influence how societies develop. But they are never causally sufficient. They affect what people

hope to achieve, and perhaps their understanding of how to achieve it. But whether goals are attained or not will also depend on a whole range of non-ideal factors, not least the character and distribution of economic and political power. Moreover, people's positioning within political and economic structures often contribute to shaping their ideas in the first place and to influencing who they do or do not ally with when trying to reach their goals. Berggren and Trägårdh don't completely ignore such factors but they tend to be mentioned in passing rather than systematically presented. By the end of the book even the alert reader is unlikely to feel they have a very firm grip on the character and development of the economy and polity over the time-frame that it covers. I'd like to know more, for example, about the significance of Sweden's industrial urbanization occurring late and swiftly and whether this had an impact on the character and strength of the popular movements and particularly the trade unions [who do not even get an index entry]. How long did the agricultural sector remain politically significant and how did it define its interests? Why, for example, did the Bondeförbundet/Peasants' Party support Hansson's 1932 bid for the premiership? Indeed, what was the configuration of political parties at key points in the establishment, change and development of statist individualism and who did they typically represent? How were the capitalist and non-capitalist classes internally structured when the Social Democrats were seeking and first gained power and did this subsequently alter as Sweden shifted from being a largely poor to an 'affluent society'. Were industries initially mainly large or small-scale, extractive or manufacturing, oriented to internal or external markets, comparatively low or high tech, requiring unskilled or specialized labour and has this changed over time? Is the economy today more post-industrial than industrial? How has all this affected the organizational capacities and power of the employed in both the private and state sector? In what way has it influenced employers' willingness to accept, or ability to oppose, the birth and maintenance of the social democratic 'middle way'?

The Swedish Theory of Love does unravel the conundrum of Swedes' simultaneous demand for personal autonomy and acceptance of a very high degree of state involvement in their lives. It also shows, if perhaps not emphatically enough, that a desire for independence has been compatible with a very high degree of collective organization to put statist individualism in place. The authors are right to suggest the latter is an 'historical product'. But it is the outcome of the complex interplay of cultural and *other* factors and I think the latter get insufficient systematic attention in Berggren and Trägårdh's account.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea University

Danish Ballads and Folk Songs

Kirsten Sass Bak, *Ballader, skæmt og skillingstryk. Fortællinger om dansk sanghistorie frem til 1900*. Videncenter for Sang, Sangens Hus, Herning 2022. 298 pp. Ill. Music examples. ISBN 978-87-971983-2-2.

■ Folk song has a long history that has interested practitioners and researchers alike. In the study reviewed here, the focus is on Danish folk song. The author seeks to paint an overall picture of the Danish tradition of solo singing of ballads, which she says is not as well known as the history of community singing (*fællessang*) in Denmark. The book covers 600 years of Danish ballad singing, from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century. It presents previous research findings and, for obvious reasons, it cannot be an exhaustive account; the aim instead is to survey the long lines of development in the field and to stimulate interest in further studies of folk ballads.

After a brief introduction on singing traditions before 1300, an extensive chapter (almost half of the book's nearly 300 pages) is devoted to the ballad, which the author views as synonymous with "the old folk song". A ballad is a solo song in which the singer tells a story to the listeners. The narrative element is central, and the most important function of the songs is to give listeners an experience and some entertainment.

Characteristic features are described, with verse and refrain and formulaic language as important constituents. The ballads have mainly been handed down by oral transmission. The source material is stated to come from three main areas: manuscripts belonging to the nobility, printed sources from the sixteenth century onwards, and collections from the early nineteenth century onwards. The three different types are presented with concrete examples and detailed discussion.

Two chapters in this section are by Lene Halskov Hansen. The first is about the age, provenance, and genesis of the ballads. Svend Grundtvig's collections and research from the mid-1850s are discussed and examined critically, for example when it comes to the dating of certain ballads, where Halskov Hansen, using source material and recent research, questions Grundtvig's datings. The second chapter addresses the question of the relationship between dance and ballads in the Middle Ages. Here the author starts by outlining the view that has prevailed since the 1960s and 1970s, namely, that people danced to the ballads in the Middle Ages. According to Halskov Hansen, this perception is based on several uncertain assumptions, which are examined in the chapter. Her conclusion is that the lack of sources makes it very difficult to say anything about whether people danced to the ballads in the Middle Ages, but that there is ample evidence of dancing in later centuries.

After these two short chapters, Sass Bak takes over again to give a comprehensive description of the collecting of folk songs during the nineteenth century. Important collectors are considered chronologically and their work is described in detail, with names such as Rasmus Nyerup, Peter Grønland, Evald Tang Kristensen, and Andreas Peter Berggren, and of course the central figure Svend Grundtvig, with the publication of his *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* in the 1850s, a milestone in the work of collecting folk songs. There is also a discussion of performance situations and what they can tell us about different versions and variants. A long section presents the well-known discussion of the age and origin of the tunes. A

central question here is the character of the tunes before the major/minor system began to dominate, and the author describes different ways of categorizing the songs based on the type of tune.

The following sections present the folk songs that are not termed ballads, but are categorized into one of the four textual groups that Grundtvig defined, namely heroic songs, magical songs, historical songs, and romances. Here the author seeks to cite examples of the different categories and also to add new songs. Although the lyrics are the basis for the categorization, the crucial factor for the author is the way they are transmitted through singing. The presentations are based on the words of one song in each genre, with an account of how many tunes have been used for the words. The number of tunes used is regarded as a possible indication of the popularity and spread of a song. Then the author considers the importance of the ballad in Danish cultural life in the nineteenth century, looking at connections between the ballads and works of art music from the mid-nineteenth century, such as *Elverhøj* by Kuhlau, which includes quotations from ballads.

Three concluding chapters deal in turn with jocular songs, younger songs, and Kingo songs, that is, the folk hymn singing of the early eighteenth century. The jocular songs are a genre that never made it into the nineteenth-century collections, since they were viewed as indecent or violent and therefore not suitable for inclusion in the editions. Younger songs comprise a large group of different songs whose common feature is that they are not ballads but have nevertheless been sung as solo songs. They have existed in oral and written tradition since the sixteenth century, often in different variants.

The book offers interesting reading through its way of following a genre over a long period of time. But this longitudinal section is also somewhat problematic due to the difficulty of obtaining knowledge about matters in older times. In many cases the statements are unsubstantiated and the history is painted with far too broad a brush. The aim of providing a survey of a long period of time also means that it becomes mainly descriptive,

with only occasional critical scrutiny or discussion. Since the book is based almost entirely on previous research, some of the material is also already well known, for example, the account of publishing activities during the nineteenth century.

The repertoire is highlighted through many examples of music and text, illustrating both the ballads and the repertoire that is designated “jocular songs” and “younger songs”. The examples give the reader a good understanding of the repertoire as a whole, which is commendable. The performance situation is emphasized as crucial in the book, but it is mostly mentioned in conjunction with certain examples. Here it would have been interesting to read a more extensive discussion of the contexts in which these songs appeared and what characterized the performances of ballads and other songs.

The word “ballad” is used in the book synonymously with “old folk song”. The refrain and formulaic character of both musical and textual motifs are highlighted as important features. However, there is no detailed discussion of the term “ballad”, which is a shame, as it can have different meanings in different Scandinavian traditions. The book distinguishes between older and younger folk songs, but the boundary is unclear as regards the time when the songs were created, the content of the texts, and the characteristic musical features of the songs, as the author herself states. In addition, older songs may have changed character through the way they have been performed over the years, the author argues, which makes the dividing line even more difficult to draw. Here, in my opinion, the reasoning is somewhat vague, and it would have been useful to have a more profound discussion of the typical features of the different songs, with everything from tune and tonality to form and text types; this could have provided new knowledge in the field. As it is, the description of the differences is brief, merely mentioning the existence of a refrain as an important difference, and possibly also that younger songs may have a more explicit major tonality than the older songs.

Another problem with the ballads is that a ballad is sometimes defined on the basis of the text,

sometimes on the basis of the music. In the section “The Breadth of the Ballads”, the ballads are divided according to the text, as scholars did in the mid-nineteenth century and later. After that, the author makes brief comments on the music. But it is still the content of the text that defines the criteria for the categorization. It would have been interesting if the author had elucidated this problematic relationship in research between viewing the ballads as texts or song tunes.

The book contains two comparatively short chapters by another author, Lene Halskov Hansen, whom readers must assume to be a specialist in the field. These two chapters are interesting, examining concrete questions that are discussed in relation to previous research on issues of performance practice. They thereby stand out from the rest of the book, which only in a few cases undertakes critical scrutiny in relation to relevant research. This makes the book somewhat uneven, and one may wonder about the intended readership. It may be supposed that it is primarily a presentation of a topic to interested practitioners and listeners, rather than academic researchers. As such, it ought to do the job well, not least thanks to the detailed description of the repertoire.

The bibliography, where most of the titles are in Danish, shows that songs and ballads are a vibrant field of research in Denmark. Folk song has often been linked throughout the ages with ideas of nationalism and national traditions. Today, however, we know that tunes and people have crossed borders, and the clear connection to a national tradition can be questioned. It would therefore have been interesting if the author had looked at the other Nordic countries for comparison. Only in a few cases are examples from other Nordic countries cited, such as the well-known debate between Grønland and Geijer-Afzelius in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Nor is research from other Nordic countries drawn on. An overview of the research situation from a Nordic perspective would be very interesting and could help to broaden the boundaries of research into the absorbing field that is folk song.

Karin Hallgren, Växjö

Learning from History

Anne Eriksen, *Livets Læremester*. Historiske kunnskapstradisjoner i Norge 1650–1840. Pax Forlag, Oslo 2020. 328 pp. ISBN 978-82-530-4184-1.

■ What a fine book Anne Eriksen has written! Instructive, packed with information, thorough. Matter-of-fact and orderly.

The subject is historiography, with all its complex diversity, traditions, methods, and models, as it developed before the professionalization of the discipline of history in the course of the nineteenth century. The well-substantiated thesis is that professionalization made the subject more constricted, so that older ways of approaching the past were reduced to either curiosities or sources. The development also entailed a change in what was regarded as the task of history – von Ranke’s famous *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* – and also its topics and its focus on the past as constituent elements of the university discipline and the teaching subject of history. Against this background, the book is about the things and the people that disappeared.

Inspired by both the conceptual historian Reinhart Koselleck and the historian of science Arnaldo Momigliano – along with a great many others – a distinction is made between historiography and antiquarianism as ways of doing research on history, the relationship between the two approaches, and what was gained or lost. The overarching idea – going all the way back to classical times – is the notion that history teaches us about life, as a collection of useful examples to guide people’s actions, viewed as a tradition in its own right. In a way, the subject of the book and the author’s approach concern the predecessors of the modern discipline of history, subjected to an ethnological analysis that displays an understanding, an empathy, and a not inconsiderable degree of solidarity with the object of study. Throughout the book, this is accomplished with clarity and distinction.

The study is structured with an introduction and an epilogue, but the main part of work brings together examinations of eleven examples of earlier knowledge traditions in the study of his-

tory. Apart from a few, such as Ludvig Holberg, Gerhard Schøning, and Ove Malling, the authors considered – or the works by them – have mostly fallen into oblivion or else been reduced to a secondary place in the eyes of academic historical researchers. Yet Eriksen illuminates both their significance in their own time and their links to a roughly thousand-year tradition of European historiography; she demonstrates how these writers were particularly fond of models in the Roman and medieval tradition.

The selection seems comprehensive – there are accounts of whole countries, large stories with either theological or secular explanations, local topography, antiquarian works in the proper sense, and composite history textbooks, such as Ludvig Holberg’s – but it also appears, as Eriksen herself hints, to include authors or texts that are her special favourites, just as a certain pride in the Norwegian past cannot be denied. But this does not matter, partly because the selection is so comprehensive, partly because it goes so well with the subject and the analysis in the book itself, which can probably be summed up in a view of history as “learned literary work rather than research in the modern sense” (p. 310), and which could also be pursued in a rectory far away from Bergen, Trondheim, or Oslo.

As the author notes at many points in the book, a characteristic part of the older approach was either to write and copy books with an emphasis on the aesthetic expression, or to have them printed on good-quality paper, complete with engravings and illustrations and bound in leather. It is therefore a pity that the preface to the book is marred by two careless errors – particularly glaring is that the list of supporting foundations in the preface is left uncompleted by the publisher, although it is correct in the colophon; it is easier to forgive the regrettable typographical error that Ove Malling has acquired an ‘r’ in his first name. But they are the only errors, and the author should not be blamed. But while on the subject of printing quality and appearance, it is a shame, to say the least, that that the book has been published as *pay-per-print*, which means that it is a paltry

paperback that reaches the reader, if one does not just settle for downloading an open-access PDF file. How I wish that such a solid work as this, and on this particular topic, could have been published as a proper book on good paper and with a worthy finish. The text deserves nothing less, a study that, apart from everything else, bears the stamp of Anne Eriksen’s many years of work on the theme, which enables her to master it with assured insight.

The book can be warmly recommended to students and experienced scholars alike.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

Methodologies in Cultural Studies

Kulttuurien tutkimuksen menetelmät. Outi Fingeroos, Konsta Kajander & Tiina-Riitta Lappi (eds.). SKS Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Tietolipas 274. Helsinki 2022. 429 pp. ISBN 978-951-858-571-5.

■ This collection of article dealing with qualitative research methods is positioned in the fields of cultural studies in humanities in Finland. According to editors, cultural studies includes disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology, folklore, heritage studies and religious studies. Archaeology and cultural history are excluded from the list, perhaps because of their somewhat different methodologies. Furthermore, cultural studies in this volume does not refer to the research field developed in 1950s England, in which culture was and is understood as cultural products and practices and is viewed in relation to power and society. Thus, cultural studies in this volume refers to humanistic cultural research with strong emphasis on ethnography. The importance of defining cultural studies in a Finnish context has to do with the current university policies that require developing larger study programmes. Cultural studies in different universities in Finland has slightly different combinations of disciplines and emphasis. This might affect the toolkits that students are taught to use in method studies.

The book is organized in five different sections, beginning with articles dealing with episte-

mological starting points and paradigmatic changes. These are closely connected to ethnographic fieldwork and the development of that method. The first section also includes two very necessary and helpful articles dealing with ethical questions. In the first one the authors go through new EU regulations and other laws and codes of conduct that impact research ethics. The second focuses on the specific ethical questions one must address when research has to do with people in vulnerable positions. The authors in both articles show how dealing with ethical issues is at the core of professional toolkit and expertise of the cultural researcher. On the one hand there are laws and regulations one must be aware of, and on the other hand there are specific ethical questions that change from one study to another and often arise only during the actual fieldwork.

The second section of the book deals with the predominant research fields in cultural studies. The third section moves on to analysing methods. In the fourth section the book turns to articles dealing with particular skills such as ethnographic writing and how to form a research problem and questions. It is an interesting choice to end the book with something that usually comes first in the research process: forming a research plan. However, it makes sense because often in empirical studies it is very common to think over, or at least a tweak a little bit, the aims and questions in the final phase of the research. However, I think the article is placed in the final part because writing a research plan is a particular skill that one can practise to become better at it. It is a skill just as much as writing. Both can be taught and practised. Academic texts in their final form have their particular conditions, such as correct referencing and a specific structure. However, the ethnographic research process also requires writing in different phases and producing different kinds of texts. Ethnographic writing also gives scope to write creatively, because the ethnographer wants to convey the feelings, sensory experiences and situations in the field so that they are relatable and understandable to the reader. The authors of an article dealing with ethnographic writing give

detailed and useful advice about what to consider when writing different texts during the research process, but also how to work with the text to arrive at the final form. The article also offers very useful guidance on situations when writing is difficult.

Interestingly I have been reading at the same time a new Swedish methodological book called *Etnologiskt fältarbete: Nya fält och former* (2022, eds. Kim Silow Kallenberg, Elin von Unge, Lisa Wiklund Moreira), which has quite a similar structure (with four sections instead of five) and also relies on ethnography. A comparison of the two article collections shows that both have ethnography as the overarching method and approach, with observations and interviews as a foundation. Both emphasize the role of writing as part of thinking and analysing in the research process. Both consider participant research and ethics and both have included digital ethnography and autoethnography in the methodological toolkit. The main differences are that the Finnish version has articles about audiovisual methods, using photos in interviews, and sensory ethnography. Especially embodied ways of doing fieldwork have increased in popularity in Finland, partly because of the need to understand different ways of knowing.

Furthermore, the Finnish version has an article about materiality and a museum collection in the section about the fields where research can be done. The qualities and functions of objects have been in the focus of ethnological and heritage studies for a long time. Nowadays the interest has moved to the intangible meaning of materiality and how objects are intertwined in our everyday life and cultural meanings. The Swedish version mentions new fields of study such as institutional ethnography, co-productive ethnography, and research done beyond the borders of Sweden. Materiality and sensory ethnography are only briefly mentioned in relation to observations.

The difference in the emphasis might reflect some national dissimilarities in the current fields and ways of doing cultural research and ethnology. However, I think this reflects more the increas-

ing diversification and specification of methodological choices that are difficult to capture in one book. In each research project the methodological questions need to be rethought and adapted to make them best suited to provide an answer to the research question. Combining and overlapping of methods, an embodied and emotional way of transmitting experiences, and questions concerning on whose terms and for whom we do research are affecting and diversifying the methodologies of cultural studies.

The book ends with a section about theoretical approaches to analysis. It covers, for example, narrative and discourse analysis. This section could and should be much wider. However, to include all the ways in which theoretical analysis can be applied in cultural studies would have made the book even bigger than it is. Perhaps theoretical approaches applied in cultural studies should be the topic of a new book.

Finally, I think the book is a welcome and necessary addition to methodological literature in cultural studies in Finland. It is instructively written with its highlighted boxes that summarize the concrete advice. It will serve very well for students, teachers and researchers alike.

Jenni Rinne, Turku

The Untold Story of Men's Fashion

Men's Fashion. An Untold Story (Manligt mode. En okänd historia). Ingrid Giertz-Mårtenson (ed.). Bokförlaget Langenskiöld, Stockholm 2022. 256 pp., ill. ISBN 978-91-987441-0-8.

■ This book begins with an account by the publisher's director of how it has become possible to show new perspectives on male fashion here thanks to the Erling Persson Foundation, which made a generous donation to the project now accomplished by the initiator Ingrid Giertz-Mårtenson. She has many years' experience of working in and with the fashion world, and both she and the Foundation played a crucial role in creating the subject of fashion studies at Stockholm University.

In a detailed foreword, Giertz-Mårtenson discusses why so little has been written about the history of men's fashion. One of the answers she gives is that so few male garments have been preserved in museum collections. Perhaps it was because they were of such high quality that they could be reused over and over again, which she believes clearly links this to what the fashion sector is striving for today: sustainability and reuse. She also discusses the difference between clothes and fashion.

The book has an international perspective but also seeks to highlight the men's fashion that can be found in Swedish museums. The purpose is both to convey new knowledge about the history of men's fashion and to start a discussion of how male fashion and masculinity have developed and changed. A world of new knowledge about the cultural history of men's fashion is opened up in no fewer than eighteen essays, which means that only some of the texts can be treated here. The design is elegant, but with a restraint that manages to avoid this becoming just a coffee-table book to flick through. The many exquisite illustrations play an important part, but it is more rewarding to find the deeper knowledge provided by the fascinating texts. Even the captions are packed with detail and insight. And the images certainly require special comment, as it is unusual to see such a breadth of illustrations. There are not only pictures from museums, archives, and fashion companies, but also special photographs, such as the one of a painting by a French artist who, in his fondness for vintage denim, communicates both corporate history and aesthetics. A detailed bibliography and a list of images complete the book.

I have chosen to discuss the ten texts that I found most interesting. The first is written by the curator at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, Claire Wilcox, who recently was responsible for a major exhibition on fashion and masculinity at the V&A. She begins by continuing the discussion about why so little male clothing has been preserved in museums. The garment she focuses on is the frock coat, which was common during most of the nineteenth century. She won-

ders if the lack of this type of men's garment in the collections can be attributed to the fact that they were made of wool and not of elegant silk as in the eighteenth century. For a long time, the material was the important factor when garments were acquired by the museum. She then shows how these men's coats made of wool survived for a long time, reused right up to our time as sought-after second-hand garments.

The dress historian Lena Rangström, who previously worked at the Royal Armoury in Stockholm, uses the collections there to describe how the sixteenth-century Vasa dynasty adopted a style of dress that was a shared European fashion. She describes how men's bodies at the royal courts were adorned with heavy, precious fabrics of velvet and silk with thick embroidery, sumptuous jewels, and delicate lace. The seventeenth century saw the introduction of several new fashion items which she believes gave men a more balanced look, which later also became much stricter, perhaps mainly as a contrast to the bizarre baroque dandy.

The Bishop of Västerås, Mikael Mogren, writes about the power of liturgical vestments. These signal the rank and function of the wearer, but they can also constitute an unusually beautiful textile treasury, as he demonstrates in the bishop's cope from 1751 that is preserved in Västerås Cathedral. It is woven in gold brocade and was made in Paris for the coronation of Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika, but has since been worn by the bishops of Västerås well into the twentieth century. There is tenacious continuity in this particular fashion, and Mogren concludes that today's clergy still dress like the state officials of late antiquity.

The longest and most interesting article in the book is by Johan Hakelius, political editor-in-chief of *Fokus*. It can scarcely be called an essay like the others. He discusses how the dandy is always out of touch with the times yet still timeless. Dandyism is a matter of external elegance and dress, but also, and perhaps above all, an attitude. Hakelius believes that above all, the dandy must be irreverent. Starting from Beau Brummell, who appeared around 1800 and has been called

the original dandy, he shows how important he has been for male fashion ever since. Brummell was reported to spend five hours a day dressing. He even rivalled the Prince Regent aesthetically, and eventually he was forced into exile, pursued by his creditors. Hakelius asks who the dandy is and answers that he is a paradox, interested in clothes but also an orderly opponent on the fringes of society. Contradictions are his very nature. Most important in this context, however, is that the dandy has left both broad and deep traces in the history of men's fashion. He has been credited with the birth of the lounge suit, and even the tailcoat and the tuxedo, according to Hakelius, were born out of what he calls the dandy's challenging innovations. In our time, he would see the dandy as fighting against a male fashion characterized by trainers, shorts, and gym clothes. He also has an interesting discussion of today's need for the subversive dandy, although he is struggling against difficulties. How can Andy Warhol serve as a figurehead for contemporary dandyism? How can you be unique in a mass society? Can the dandy preserve his chosen status in popular culture?

Ingrid Giertz-Mårtenson writes in a short essay about the French dandy Count Robert de Montesquiou, who at the beginning of the 1900s shaped the lifestyle of intellectuals in Paris through his fastidious elegance, with subtle details such as the white shirt collar and a silk cravat tied with apparent nonchalance. Giertz-Mårtenson's picture of the dandy differs slightly from that painted by Hakelius. Here he is not only elegant and snobbish, but also explicitly homosexual and decadent.

The director of the Zorn Collections, Johan Cederlund, describes how Anders Zorn was transformed from a provincial son of Dalarna into a fashion lion. When Zorn began to earn enough money he designed clothes for himself and his wife Emma, which were then sewn by famous tailors. His exquisite and elegant attire was often described in the contemporary press, where he could be compared to a Russian Grand Duke. The attire of the people whose portraits he painted was carefully prepared, and he even managed to

get King Oscar II to change his clothes for a portrait. Zorn's red sports suit and wolfskin fur have become particularly famous as they appear in the artist's well-known self-portraits.

The art historian and Strindberg scholar Göran Söderström highlights August Strindberg's interest in clothes under the telling heading "Role Play with Clothing". In his novels and plays, Strindberg depicts the main characters' clothes in detail. But clothing was also an important part of his own self-presentation, especially during times when he could afford to pay attention to his dress. Even when his income was meagre, however, he was able to follow the fashion. He is depicted here, for example, in a sports jacket of Norfolk type, in which he has been described as an aristocrat. Elisabeth Wilson describes this jacket as a men's garment developed during the nineteenth century to cater to the growing interest in sport.

Elisabeth Wilson, emeritus professor at London Metropolitan University, writes about how tennis has influenced fashion. For a long time it was a leisure pursuit among the upper classes in Britain. It later became an international sport, and by the early twentieth century its centre had moved to France. The white colour signalled upper-class exclusivity. Here too, the dandy appears in the form of Fred Perry, the tennis star who created a clothing empire based on a short-sleeved cotton shirt. The French tennis star René Lacoste likewise created a successful sports brand. Since tennis involves only two players and not an entire team, Wilson notes that their attire has become much more important than in team sports. Today tennis clothes are no longer white but colourful and patterned, yet still with a strong connection to the fashion world.

The director of National Museums Scotland, Christopher Breward, explains why the suit has become the perfect garment. The description is highly personal and concerns both what he has in his drawers and how the seventeen suits he has in his wardrobe depict his physical development. He has obviously attached great importance to his suits. I remember myself how, during a conference at Nordiska Museet, he changed his suit no

less than three times. Breward also mentions the importance of dandyism for the new life in a suit in the big cities in the 1840s. He does not believe the talk about the imminent demise of the suit. It will live on.

The presenter of the Swedish radio programme *Stil i P1*, Susanne Ljung, has written an essay showing how rap music created a new fashion of sneakers. She begins by asking why so many men today have come to regard sneakers as fashionable. Her answer is: hip-hop. Musicians have often captured the trends of the time when it comes to fashion. We see here how Jimi Hendrix created a new fashion in the 1960s by wearing second-hand clothes, women's blouses, and gaudy colours, or how Bob Marley started wearing Adidas shoes as part of an agreement for the company to sponsor his football team in Jamaica.

In addition to the texts that I have singled out for specific comment, a great deal of interesting knowledge is conveyed in the other essays, such as how American university campuses have created a special style that has lived on and changed, or how jeans have shaped and defined male identity.

There is certainly a tremendous breadth in what we learn about the history of men's fashion from this book. This is not about how ordinary people have dressed in different times, but about how the male elite have expressed their identity. The men whose clothes we are shown here are individuals who have dictated or followed what fashion has created. They are royals, court nobles, writers, artists, jazz legends, movie stars, and fashion icons. It is only when we come to the age of jeans and sneakers that we find out what fashion might have looked like in the broader strata of society. Jeans were originally workwear and sneakers have their roots in the world of sports. Yet here too the presentation focuses on heroes like John Wayne, Elvis Presley, and James Dean. They were the role models whose clothing style was adopted by men all over the world.

In the bibliography I miss many of the young historians, ethnologists, and fashion scholars who have written about fashion, including men's fashion, in recent years. Perhaps the reason for this

is that several of the authors are art historians and design historians or belong to the elite of the museum world in this field. In any case, this is a learned book that presents new knowledge about both fashion and masculinity. It will occupy an important place in further discussions of the history of fashion.

Birgitta Svensson, Lund/Stockholm

Cultural Heritage in Change

Kulturarv i förändring. Lizette Gradén & Tom O'Dell (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2020. 223 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-13845-9.

■ Through a series of examples, this book on “Cultural Heritage in Change” gives good insight into how cultural heritage, far from being static, is always a process. Cultural heritage is created, recreated, and constantly changing through time. It is thus people and cultural institutions that shape what these same people and institutions designate as cultural heritage. This is a view of cultural heritage that has existed for a long time in the field of cultural heritage research, which describes itself as *Critical Heritage Studies*, and where researchers such as Laurajane Smith and Rodney Harrison have long set the research agenda for the field.

This collection of essays makes that point through six example studies, most of which are based on the cultural heritage practices of museums in North America and the Nordic countries. The six essays are written by researchers with backgrounds in ethnology, folkloristics, and Scandinavian studies. The book is primarily aimed at students and people who work professionally with cultural heritage management and who are therefore interested in learning more about how others have worked with cultural heritage over time and how attitudes and perceptions of the past can change, either as a result of a strategic intention or simply to keep in step with other changes in society.

One obvious strength of the book is that it provides insight into concrete examples and uses detailed descriptions to convey an understanding

of the complexity of changes in cultural heritage. The ambition to demonstrate, through ethnographic descriptions, how cultural heritage is created is achieved in the six chapters.

The introduction sets the framework for understanding critical heritage studies, which is the academic field to which the editors of the volume profess to belong. Here the reader is introduced to the reinterpretation of the concept of cultural heritage which has taken place since the end of the nineteenth century, through the twentieth century and down to the present day. The professor of cultural history at Stockholm University College, Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), is credited with being first to use the Swedish term *kulturarv* to describe how norms, values, and traditions are shaped by cultural processes. Furthermore, we learn that the focus on “inheriting” culture, which underlies the concept of cultural heritage, coincided with the spread of the museum as an idea in the late nineteenth century. The development of modern society, with industrialization and urbanization, engendered the romantic idea of preserving the past, the remnants of the vanishing peasant society that modernity was leaving behind in its zeal for progress. In the Nordic countries, the past was thus given its place in the Sweden’s Nordic Museum and Skansen, in the Norwegian Folk Museum, and in Denmark’s Open-Air Museum and Danish Folk Museum, which since 1920 has been an integral part of the National Museum of Denmark.

Today, the interest in cultural heritage can still be understood in relation to a yearning for the past as an element of identity creation. But an interest in the commercial potential of cultural heritage is also typical of the present. In this way, cultural heritage has proved to have an economic potential for activities such as museums, tourism, and local development. According to the editors of this volume, this raises the question of how it affects the view of cultural heritage when cultural heritage is also to be regarded as a commodity that can be marketed and used as a strategic tool for growth and development.

Of the six studies that make up the book’s

chapters, the first three deal with the Norwegian-American cultural heritage. The first essay is by Thomas A. Dubois, professor of Scandinavian studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It deals with the Norwegian stave church in Orkdal, which was exhibited as part of the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 and was later moved to an open-air museum, Little Norway, in the state of Wisconsin, only to be moved back later to the centre of Orkdal in Norway.

The second chapter by Anna Rue, a Scandinavianist, is a study of the Vesterheim Museum in Decorah, Iowa. The museum was founded in 1877 and hosted Norwegian-American folk music festivals from the late 1960s until the 1990s. Through its events the aim has been to get locals actively involved in the work of the museum.

The third chapter is by Marcus Cederström, a Scandinavianist at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It is about the Ulen Museum in Minnesota, which when founded in 1965 was called the Ulen Historical Museum. In 2007 the museum changed its name to the Viking Sword Museum and ten years later, in 2017, it was renamed the Ulen Museum. These changes of name bear witness to a changing view of the museum's purpose. From the beginning the idea was to communicate the history of the Norwegian immigrants. Then it sought to inform about the connection of the place to the Viking Age, based on the a spectacular find of a sword which was initially believed to date from the Viking Age, the period 800–1050, but later turned out to be a nineteenth-century replica of a Viking sword. Finally, the museum's purpose today is to serve as a meeting place for locals, where the multifaceted history of the place is commemorated, from the Norwegian immigrant stories of the nineteenth century to the history of the contemporary local population.

All three chapters and their examples show that cultural heritage is constantly negotiable and that its meaning is created through practice, that is, in relation to the present time when the negotiations take place.

Chapter 4 returns to Sweden, where the ethnologist Britta Zetterström Geschwind takes the reader on an archaeological excavation of the Lovö refugee camp outside Stockholm, which operated from 1944 to 1946, a period when Sweden received approximately 200,000 refugees fleeing from Europe as a result of the ravages of the Second World War. The Lovö camp housed Estonian and Romanian refugees. The refugee camp is an example of how historical events can disappear but can also be unearthed to become a cultural memory for people today, if its sources are materialized in archives and museum collections, as in the case of the Lovö camp. But not everything is made into cultural heritage and not everything can take the necessary materialized form to be elevated to the status of cultural heritage. This circumstance reflects the political field within which cultural heritage moves. Cultural heritage requires a will that it should exist; it takes someone to piece together its sources into a meaningful whole.

In Chapter 5, the reader is taken back to the United States, more specifically to Seattle and the Nordic Heritage Museum. In 2018 the museum acquired a new building and with it also new demands to attract more visitors, from all over the Seattle area (America's fastest-growing city), in order to secure the long-term financing of this cultural institution. Until recently the museum was primarily aimed at local people. Whereas the cultural heritage managed by the museum used to be all about communicating the past, it is argued in the chapter that the modernization of the Nordic Heritage Museum has assigned a different purpose to the cultural heritage. With the new museum and its larger target group, the cultural heritage has to be presented as something "hip". Cultural heritage has to be filtered through a hip factor, in the hope that it will be more relevant to the larger new target group. For the museum this has meant that the focus of its communication is so-called hip topics such as Vikings, new Nordic food culture, Nordic fashion, and the like, with exhibitions replacing each other at short intervals in order to keep the audience's attention and

encourage them to visit the museum repeatedly because there are always new things to see. The more traditional understanding of the importance of cultural heritage for creating and maintaining local communities seems to have evaporated in favour of the museum positioning itself as a competitive attraction in a market with many players that can compete, like the modernized museum, by having a fancy café and a lifestyle store.

In the last chapter of the book, the reader is back in Sweden, where the topic is the role of nature, what the authors call a “memorial arena”, in the field of cultural heritage. More specifically, it is about how lupins can evoke different memories of Swedish cultural heritage, depending on time, place, and social environment. The authors Mattias Frihammar, Lars Kaijser, and Maja Lagerqvist begin by presenting the eye-catching example of the Japanese town of Sweden Hills, where Swedish wooden architecture with houses painted red and white, surrounded by fields of wild lupins, create an image of Sweden in a foreign setting. The example is exotic, and it is even stranger when we are told that lupins, after many years of being appreciated as an expression of Swedishness, are now considered to be an invasive species that threatens local Swedish biodiversity and must therefore be combated as much as possible. In this way the chapter also demonstrates how cultural heritage and natural heritage are intertwined concepts, with a distinctive history that goes back to the nineteenth century and to the dichotomy of viewing nature as something essentially different from culture, while each one actually presupposes the other.

This volume takes the reader far and wide in the field of cultural heritage. The examples show how cultural heritage is a phenomenon created through practice, always subject to negotiation and discussion, and thus never fixed. Cultural heritage changes because it moves with the times and serves changing purposes for us as historically conscious beings. The book diagnoses the latest changes in cultural heritage and is therefore eminently suitable for use in teaching the subject to university students who can contemplate working

with cultural heritage management and development in the long term.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

House Dreams in Gothenburg

Kerstin Gunnemark, Villaliv i Ekebäck. Om generationsskiften och gentrifiering. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2022. 123 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-390-6.

■ Old wooden houses in many cities and towns across the Nordic countries have drawn attention for decades and centuries while existing as a form of urban living. Today, old preserved wooden houses are considered attractive, also as cultural heritage.

In the period of modernization before and after the world wars, wooden houses were considered an obstacle to the development of the modern city, whereas today, old wooden houses are considered valuable and prestigious, adding diversity to the urban structure and its living environments. In many cases, the attraction of old wooden houses is about realizing house dreams, as Professor Kerstin Gunnemark writes in her new book *Villaliv i Ekebäck: Om generationsskiften och gentrifiering* (“Villa Life in Ekebäck: On Generation Shifts and Gentrification”, 2022).

The aim of Gunnemark’s book is to shed light on a piece of residential history with a focus on the development of houses built at the beginning of the twentieth century. Starting from the present, Gunnemark explores the use of history by today’s residents when they engage in making their homes in old wooden houses. This in turn implies a form of contemporary study in which the emphasis is on aspects of cultural heritage. Gunnemark argues that from a critical cultural heritage perspective, it is surprising that the voices of the wooden-house owners are so scarcely documented. Gunnemark reminds us, rightly so, that a democratic cultural heritage perspective takes into account everyone’s right to be represented, as in museums and archives, regardless of social background, gender, ethnicity and age. This way we can ensure that

future generations can also take part in the multifaceted and rich knowledge of urban spaces and neighbourhoods.

Realizing house dreams through the purchase of old villas has become increasingly trendy in Sweden during the 2000s. Ekeböck in Gothenburg is an example of a popular residential area with a century-old history. In *Villaliv i Ekeböck*, new villa owners share their renovation and interior design ideas. What did they know about the neighbourhood before they moved there? Why did they want to live there?

Kerstin Gunnemark started her journey into these house dreams by strolling around in Ekeböck. Before going on these journeys, Gunnemark had received a phone call back in the 1980s from a lady who had suggested that the ethnologists at the University of Gothenburg could study the Ekeböck area, which for Gunnemark, as for many other inhabitants of Gothenburg, was unknown back then. Gunnemark never forgot that phone call, and even though it took almost forty years, she finally had the chance to get to know this somewhat mysterious but fascinating neighbourhood, where generations of inhabitants have made their own imprint on the houses and gardens of the once very rugged environment constructed on a stony hill.

The phone call generated a well-deserved and much-needed piece of research that contributes to neighbourhood studies and to the discussion of cultural heritage, built environments and city development as well as gentrification aspirations. As Gunnemark writes, not many studies have been conducted that shed light on old living environments like Ekeböck, and still they are like laboratories for studies of all kinds of dimensions. By looking closely, by zooming in and zooming out, many interesting things can be highlighted.

One of Gunnemark's many interesting observations and findings is related to generations of residents. Generational shifts are clear markers of changes over time. New households with meagre living conditions in the early twentieth century were followed in the 1960s by young artists and left-wing sympathizers, who had low demands as

regards comfort and cherished the small-scale environment. Among today's home owners, there is an interest in recycling and a sustainable lifestyle.

Nowadays it is obvious that Ekeböck, like many other old working-class areas in Sweden, has undergone a total make-over – in the sense of the appearance of the environment and the condition of the houses, as well as in the mindsets of people and their relation to these environments. Old wooden houses and their surroundings have gone through a process of gentrification that has shaped the social and material appearance of the environments and also the attitudes to the areas where they exist. Other investigations in this field concern areas with multi-family houses, but Gunnemark's study of Ekeböck is unique as it draws attention to the transformation of a residential area over a hundred-year period.

Gentrification is the transformation of a city neighbourhood from low value to high value. Gentrification is also viewed as a process of urban development in which a residential area develops rapidly in a short period of time, often as a result of urban renewal programmes. Gentrification is derived from the word "gentry", which historically referred to people of an elevated social status. In the United Kingdom, the term "gentry" originally described landowners who could live off of the rental incomes from their properties. The term was first popularized by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 and has since become one of the most frequently studied forms of urban development.

Numerous cities around the world experience the phenomenon of gentrification, which can have a direct impact on their housing market dynamics. The same trend is seen in Gothenburg and the Ekeböck area. Gentrification is a complex social issue with both benefits and drawbacks. In previous decades, young families welcomed the opportunity to buy reasonably priced homes like the ones in Ekeböck. Nowadays, and because of gentrification, the residential area of Ekeböck is no longer available for just anyone who wants to move in. Gentrification has made the area more popular than ever before, causing housing prices

to skyrocket. The ones with enough financing capability can purchase a house in today's Ekeböck. This fascination with old houses is vividly described in Gunnemark's book.

Step by step, chapter by chapter, we get the hang of it – the fascination for the old and the possibilities of today and the future. In chapter I, "Dream Houses with Historical Layers", Gunnemark takes us on a journey to Ekeböck. She strolls around the area observing the materiality of the neighbourhood and taking photographs. What kinds of signs can be spotted in the environment of former and present residents? How are changes visible in the houses and the gardens? When ethnologists dismount in environments like Ekeböck, our focus is drawn to details – both visible and unseen – and to the people who have inhabited and those who now inhabit the neighbourhood. Gunnemark's journey in Ekeböck is built on layers of visits, explorations and findings, making her book very compelling and exciting.

In chapter II, Gunnemark deepens our knowledge of Ekeböck by setting foot in the area through present residents. Many of the people living there today had no previous knowledge of the neighbourhood before they started looking for a house to buy. What they wanted was to live in an old house. For these residents the age of the neighbourhood and the vintage feel were the key factors, as well as the location just a mile outside the city centre. Also the materiality of the nature and the view towards Vinga – the lighthouse and the sea – are among the defining factors.

The transformation of the houses is described in chapter III. Many if not all of the houses in Ekeböck have gone through phases of renewal, upgrading and preservation. The debates about how to preserve and how to renew are ongoing, as wooden houses are organic and under constant change. These more than hundred-year-old houses have lived through times when many original parts have been removed because of upgraded insulation and other renovations intended to make the housing standards more up to date. On the other hand, old elements in the houses have also been recreated by using old or old-time wallpaper

and installing old furniture. These transformations have followed trends in time, allowing greater or lesser changes to be made.

In the current trend, interiors are becoming whiter, as Gunnemark has noticed, making many interiors look alike. In the whitening of the interiors, little attention is given to the period from which the house originates. Instead, a certain feeling and sense of place seems to be the driving force. It is not unproblematic, as it makes all interiors look and feel the same. While the inhabitants express their reluctance to live in a museum, many choices they make actually bring them closer to a museum when their houses are designed to look like interiors rather than homes. In these white homes, inhabitants often want to surround themselves with old furniture and objects. Nostalgia is therefore combined with the age of the objects, not necessarily with the ownership of the objects.

The natives of Ekeböck are the topic of chapters IV and V. In contrast to the elegantly furnished homes of today, the houses as used by the people who once settled in and built them seem very modest. For the settlers the environment near the harbour was probably chosen for practical and financial reasons. In Ekeböck, workers of all kinds could live in larger houses instead of living in small apartments in the town. Houses also enabled them to have subtenants, who helped with daily chores and paid for their living. Who these people were we can get a hint of by looking at the street names like Maskinistgatan, Montörsgatan, Åkaregatan, referring to titles of occupations in industry. The old photos Gunnemark has found in archives and among the residents tell of an environment that was especially built for families.

It is tangible how gentrification sets the tone for the future development and draws a clear line between the old Ekeböck and the new Ekeböck. In chapter VI, Gunnemark describes how new generations move in. These generations of newcomers, the gentrifiers of the creative class, might not have any attachment to the neighbourhood before. It is true, as Gunnemark points out, that the time of the transformation is a key factor as generations of house owners are affected by the time and the

trends in which they live. The materialization of the houses is given an accentuated importance compared to previous generations. With gentrification, the neighbourhood has risen in status and become an attractive living environment for people who have money to buy into it. Therefore, many inhabitants of Gothenburg do not have access to the area today.

Chapter VII, which also serves as summarization of the contents of the book, opens up for interesting reflections. As in many previous chapters, quotations from interviews add a personal touch to the book as a whole and remind us of all the voices through which we are able to soak in the rich descriptions of Ekeböck. Gunnemark's personality and her voice can also be followed throughout the book. This is a very nice touch, as it carries readers from one chapter and theme to the next. Besides of being a residential area with a very interesting and multi-layered history, the stories told about Ekeböck also touch upon the unevenness of gentrification. Gunnemark could have problematized this unevenness even more than she does, but I can also understand that this was not the key purpose of her book. Therefore, the book can be recommended to a broad spectrum of readers interested in the transformation of a residential neighbourhood and how it shifts in meaning over time, both as a neighbourhood in a city and most of all in the minds and actions of its residents.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Åbo

The Consequences of Different Covid Strategies

Anders Gustavsson, Covid 19 pandemins konsekvenser utmed den norsk-svenska riksgrensens södra del. Strömstad akademi, Strömstad 2022. 68 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89331-56-3.

■ In this study, the ethnologist Anders Gustavsson analyses how everyday life changed for Norwegians and Swedes living along the national border, specifically, in the Strömstad area, from the beginning of the corona pandemic and

the following two years. The research material is gathered from the newspaper *Strömstads tidning*, which published a large number of Covid-19 articles and readers' posts during the pandemic years.

In the Strömstad area, there are normally lots of contact between neighbours on both sides of the border, as both commuters and tourists. However, this was not the first time the border has been closed between the two countries: it was also closed during the alcohol prohibition period (1916–1927), and during the Nazi occupation of Norway (1940–1945).

There has been extensive border trade in this area for decades, where Norwegians have descended on shopping malls on the Swedish side of the border to buy cheap alcohol, meat and other goods. Norwegian tourists have also crossed the border in large numbers: some stay in hotels or on campsites, while others own holiday homes in Sweden. From Sweden to Norway, there has been a steady flow of commuters, working primarily in the building industry, in hotels and restaurants, and as health workers.

Gustavsson's comparison is interesting because the authorities in the two countries chose different corona strategies. The different phases in the development of the pandemic in the two countries are carefully explained. Norway had by far the strictest corona measures. The borders closed a few days after the pandemic was a fact, and the restrictions lasted much longer than the Swedish corona measures. Long quarantine periods were implemented upon entry to Norway; Norwegian police and soldiers tested arrivals at the border; and heavy fines were imposed on those who did not comply with the rules. This was a challenge, especially for commuters. Several reported that they felt discriminated against by the new corona measures, and were also subjected to rumour mongering and scapegoated as spreaders of infection. The constant introduction of new measures, closing and opening of the borders, differing test regimes, changing the levels of fines etc., made everyday life difficult on both sides of the border, and the measures led to the formerly good and dynamic neighbourliness being considerably soured.

This study of everyday life highlights important events in the corona pandemic in a border area and also serves as an important contribution to the debate about the intentional and unintentional consequences of corona measures.

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, University of Bergen

Sleeping – A Cultural History

Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, Søvn. Ei Kulturhistorie. Skald, Leikanger 2022. 384 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-79959-233-4.

■ Taking his point of departure in Christian Krogh's painting from 1883 of a mother taking a nap while sitting by her child's cradle, Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, ethnologist and head conservator at the Norwegian Folk Museum, emphasizes how sleep is much more than a biological phenomenon. The right and possibility to sleep has always been unevenly distributed according to class, gender, and age – however first and foremost sleep is culturally organized. We never sleep in a cultural vacuum, but our sleep must be adapted to the culture we are part of. However, even though sleeping takes up one third of our lives, the quotidian nightly practices of sleeping have been treated in a stepmotherly fashion in the disciplines of history. This has now been remedied by this new book, or at least countered regarding Norway, with its empirical wealth richness of stories, accounts, customs, folklore, and illustrations on nearly every page (paintings, sketches, archival photos, photos from museums).

The book is structured in 11 chapters. In the introductory and concluding chapters the question of having a "heart for sleeping" (*et godt sove-hjerte*), that is to say, a natural disposition for sleeping is problematized. Instead, the cultural dimensions of sleeping practices are highlighted and the topic and themes of the book presented, and also how the book is deeply anchored in the author's work at cultural history museums and with open-air museums and textiles especially. Following the open-air museums and the early tradition of the ethnological discipline Hol Haugen draws

attention to patterns of cultural differences according to place rather than time or chronology. Furthermore, the author stresses that the rhythmic and repetitive nature of sleeping involves cyclic temporalities rather than linear and chronological time, and when it comes to religious holidays and life-cycle events (such as birth, wedding, and death), rituals, superstition, then sacred time also comes into play. Even if examples are drawn from the Viking Age and Middle Ages as well as modern city life, the overall empirical focus is on rural Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The source materials are primarily presented as archival folklife material and museum collections, and the museums where Hol Haugen has worked intensely with textiles for bedding in particular.

The following four chapters – on rooms for sleeping, beds and bedding, social differences in bedding (from silk to straw), and clothes for sleep – zoom in on the material dimensions facilitating sleep. In these chapters social differences are emphasized, but also how the custom of communal sleeping, often with more than two in the same bed, was the norm across the middle and lower classes, from peasants and merchants to loggers and vagabonds. Practices of co-sleeping were a necessity in times when space, heat, and covers were sparse resources, and the living room was the place for all kinds of daily and nightly activities: eating, working, and resting. Co-sleeping was not restricted to family members, and bedfellows cut across age, social status, and gender. Also, bedfellows could involve strangers traveling, thus underscoring the necessity of sharing rules of conduct and micro-practices of sleep. Privacy was in short supply, but sleeping also involved non-human bedfellows from the invited and warming dogs and cats to ferrets, mice, and lice, to which a full chapter is devoted.

Sleeping and resting often took place during the daytime and outside the bed, and in the next four chapters Hol Haugen describes how the daily routines were carefully organized to allow time for resting after the fixed meals; however, resting often took place outside beds and was unevenly

distributed according to gender and social status and gradually disappeared as industrial and standardized work time came to pervade everyday life. The folklore of sleep, such as taking omens from dreams or performing rituals around sleep, is also treated through many examples, and a chapter on “sleepless nights” discusses the sexual activities we nowadays attribute to practices of the bed, including pre- or extra-marital sex and the social custom and regulation of “night courtship” (*nattefrieri*).

Even if co-sleeping was socially regulated, it gave rise to illegitimate children, infanticide, and young women sentenced to death, and it was also one of the drivers of the emergent research into ordinary people’s bed practices, as in the famous studies by Eilert Sundt, who is often referred to throughout the book. However, topics such as masturbation and homosexuality – which Sundt refrained from mentioning – are also treated in the book, as well as a few stories about open or fluid gender identification.

For a trained ethnologist, the topics of the book may overall appear primarily as classic themes and well-known features and relationships between Scandinavian regions, forms of housing, the materiality of beds and bedding, and the gradually changing everyday practices and distributions of sleep and rest according to social status, age, and gender. However, this is not so much a book presenting new research in a very systematic way or as an academic genre. Rather, it embodies a well-presented synthesis of ethnological insights across scholarly generations. And with its empirical richness and generous use of examples, quotations, and illustrations, this book is a good read.

In 2009 the Danish ethnologist Mikkel Venborg Pedersen published a similar book covering the cultural patterns of sleep among the peasantry in Denmark. Even if the general insights offered by the two books are more or less identical, the examples and museal anchorage make them different. They both appear as products of methodological nationalism, but also can be read with relevance and interest across Scandinavia.

In the case of Hol Haugen’s book a newer trend in cultural history is occurring, the transparent and personal curatorship of museums and exhibitions. Thus, the author is clearly present in the text and occasionally with personal memories and sensory experiences of textiles and bedding. Overall, the book offers a grand tour of the cultural history of sleeping and bed practices in pre-industrial Norway – laid out as one big and textual open-air museum, where one can visit the different regional customs and social classes. As the story-telling tour guide, Hol Haugen performs as a profoundly knowledgeable museum professional as well as a reflecting ethnologist in ongoing discussions with earlier and recent research on the matter of sleeping.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Smugglers of Denmark

Nils Valdersdorf Jensen, Smuglerlandet Danmark. Mennesker, sprut og cigaretter. Gads forlag, Copenhagen 2022. 288 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-12-06871-6.

■ In this book about “Denmark as a Land of Smugglers: People, Booze, and Cigarettes”, Nils Valdersdorf Jensen, historian and head of department at Svendborg Museum, presents the cultural history of Danish smuggling. The book covers the period from 1750 to 2000, with an emphasis on the South Funen Archipelago. The book is published in collaboration with Svendborg Museum and the Maritime Museum of Denmark.

During the period under consideration, Danish society underwent radical change as a result of industrialization, urbanization, democratization, globalization, and demographic change. To this we can add war and occupation. Of course, the changes affected the Danish state: the country was gradually reduced in area and the national borders have constantly changed. With smuggling as a lens, the author captures important changes in society while showing that smuggling is influenced by political, economic, social transformations. In the book, the author considers the different goods smuggled in different periods, such as silk, cig-

arettes, sugar, whisky, and narcotics. Valdersdorf Jensen also highlights the many different, often creative, methods used by the smugglers, such as secret compartments, hiding places, and bodily tactics, with the smugglers' clothes functioning as a secret borderland. He also shows that smuggling networks often extended across class and gender boundaries, and of course national borders. A great variety of sources are used, with everything from written documents of sundry kinds to oral history – the author has interviewed twenty former smugglers.

This book is said to be the first concerted narrative of an illegal activity that has often been viewed among broad strata of the population as a natural, at times necessary, activity, which the state has desperately tried to prevent, often in vain. At times it makes for entertaining reading, indirectly capturing the strange dynamic between state border regimes and popular border work in the form of smuggling. The book also reveals how local networks included local customs personnel, further reminding the reader that the moral economies of smuggling are not always in agreement with the central government's idea of order. To varying extents, the author also shows how smuggling and smugglers have been portrayed in literature and popular culture.

Finally, the publisher must be commended for the excellent work of producing this volume. Nils Valdersdorf Jensen's *Smuglerlandet Danmark* is a beautiful book on a subject that never ceases to fascinate.

Fredrik Nilsson, Åbo

New Fields and Forms of Ethnological Fieldwork

Etnologiskt fältarbete. Nya fält och former. Kim Silow Kallenberg, Elin von Unge & Lisa Wiklund Moreira (eds). Studentlitteratur, Lund 337 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-15326-1.

■ This book, entitled “Ethnological Fieldwork: New Fields and Forms” and edited by Kim Silow Kallenberg, Elin von Unge, and Lisa Wiklund

Moreira, is a new book where fieldwork and methods are in the centre. The title immediately arouses associations with another book from 2011 called simply *Etnologiskt fältarbete* (“Ethnological fieldwork”) edited by Lars Kaijser and Magnus Öhlander, and clearly the two books are related to each other. Many of the chapters deal with the same themes and some of the authors have made contributions to both publications. The period of ten years between the books, is, however, noticeable. This is far from being a new edition of the first book. New and current methods and fieldwork are added, and most importantly, the new book has, apart from the introduction, four sections that chronologically follow the process of academic writing: “Getting Started”, “In the Field”, “Methods”, and “Interpreting, Writing and Analysing”. This indicates progress and must be regarded as a pedagogical device, as the book is mainly aimed at students with or without much experience of carrying out research projects.

The first section of the book has two chapters. Jenny Gunnarsson Payne and Magnus Öhlander focus on why we conduct research, how we do it, and not least what characterizes ethnological research. They stress how theories, methods, and empirical questions create a constant pendulum movement. To start writing and doing research is not a straightforward process!

Starting out a writing process also requires an understanding of the relation between the researcher and research persons involved. In the chapter “Ethical and Qualitative Methods”, Ida Hughes Tidlund and Elin von Unge elaborate on this theme. Keywords are reflexivity, situation, and transparency. The ethical problems concerning digital materials are also discussed in detail.

All in all, the first part of the book may curb anxiety and reduce the difficult period between thinking thoughts and writing words.

The next section, “The Field”, introduces three different fieldwork projects related to different methods. Maria Björklund and Kim Silow Kallenberg write about doing fieldwork in institutions. By introducing the term “institutional ethnology”, they point out that this is a field with its

own problems, such as how to get access, how to gain insight into dominant rules and norms, and how to elucidate and analyse their own research questions and perspectives.

Christine Bylund and Kristina Sehlin MacNeil present two research projects. Bylund is working among indigenous people, and Sehlin MacNeil has written a thesis about physical deviation. In her work Bylund uses the method called *yarning*, which is a term that underlines the close contact between researcher and the indigenous people made possible by social conversation and interaction. Sehlin MacNeil uses what is called the *cropped method*. She focuses on “normality”, which again results in new perspectives in studies of deviation. The title of the chapter, “Researching With, Not On: Two Forms of Critical Method”, points to the author’s ideal research strategies. Different groups in society are given possibilities to become active participants in the creation of the research work. The fieldwork and methods are interesting, but the text is rather compressed, and a question which may be raised is whether this chapter is accessible for students with little methodological and theoretical experience.

The last chapter in the field section presents a field without borders: “transnational everyday reality”. The researchers, Aida Jobarteh and Lisa Wiklund Moreira, are studying the lives of Japanese emigrants in New York and Gambian refugees in Italy respectively. The authors shed light on the different backgrounds and encounters with a new world. In the emigrant’s new life, the authors emphasize the importance of the new digital meeting places that both create and maintain contacts. Here geographical and national boundaries are set in parentheses.

In this section of the book, the choices of fieldwork are not specified, yet they are highly topical and may also give rise to new ideas for other and different projects.

In the next part of the book, still presenting different fieldwork projects, the focus is now, as the title indicates, on “Methods”. Charlotte Hagström and Susanne Nylund Skog are responsible for the opening chapter on the topic of interviews. This

represents a method that never loses its relevance, but the authors keep the method updated by highlighting new potentials made possible by digital equipment. “Walk-along interviews” are also recommended. Strolling together with informants opens for new knowledge, feelings, memories, and sensory experiences.

The chapter “Autography”, authored by Evelina Liliequist and Kim Silow Kallenberg, is an introduction to a less well-known method where the interviewer and the informant are one and the same person. The emphasis is on personal experiences and self-reflection, interpreted in the light of societal and cultural structures. Autography may also take on different writing forms, such as essays, short stories, and poems. This may not be something everyone can succeed at, but it shows some of the depth and breadth of the method.

Observation is a mandatory method in a book like this. Here Andrea Dankić and Elin Lundquist make the chapter stand out by using theories of materiality such as the ANT model to demonstrate how observation may influence our lives. Further they demonstrate the “follow-the-object” strategy whereby transformations of research objects may be observed. Sound pictures and atmosphere are qualities that may come forth in observation methods. Today these aspects are made even more distinct through digital media.

Today digital methods also are an obligatory chapter in a context like this. This topic is presented by Coppélie Cocq and Evelina Liliequist. They point out how digital techniques offer new possibilities in the process of collecting material as well as knowledge enhancement. The chapter is informative but at the same time rather general and summary. This may appear so when digital possibilities are highlighted in almost every chapter in the book.

Britta Geschwind and Hanna Jansson have composed an inspiring chapter, which deals with “Sources Others Have Written and Collected”. Different archival materials are exemplified, everything from minutes and collections of letters to digital sources and images. Even the appear-

ance and traces of use are underlined as important. The groups of sources are numerous, but the authors point out that they are not to be regarded as isolated categories; they may be part of material triangulations. It would not be difficult to let some of that method mentioned constitute a chapter of its own. Taken together, however, this has become a text which inspires both further reading and research.

The method section has chapters with different degrees of reflection, and this part of the book captures a range of methods, and how to use them. Leaving methods behind, the focus is moved to interpretation, writing and analysis.

Jenny Ingridsson and Kim Silow Kallenberg open the section with a chapter on “Ethnographic Writing as Method”. They concentrate on the start of the writing process, the genres of academic texts, and also how it is possible to break the given norms. Most emphasis is given to ethnographic writing, and hence Geertz and thick description is essential. They underline how writing is thinking, how reading includes fiction which addresses feeling and understanding. In this extension, creative writing also is recommended. This chapter addresses many points that have already been highlighted in previous chapters, but the advantage is that different chapters in the book are tied together. Ethnography is a keyword throughout the book. One may ask why this term is only explained in the last section of a book addressed to students.

In the next chapter, “Method Questions Where, When and How”, Maria Bäckman and Kim Silow Kallenberg problematize the concept of method. Their main goal is to show how concepts, theories, analyses, and writing all have built-in methods and as such set the text in motion. Method is not a self-evident or unambiguous term but can be used at different levels and have consequences for different texts. Methods are not synonymous with material.

“Analyses” is the last chapter of this section. The authors, Lars Kaijser and Susanne Nylund Skog, both underline the complexity and comprehensiveness of the term analysis. Thus, it is

difficult to describe straightforward procedures for analyses and writing of academic texts. What they do is to exemplify the process through their own research project. Susanne Nylund Skog writes about her study of narrative experiences and cultural heritage, while Lars Kaijser writes about his research project “Staged Nature: Public Aquariums as Institutions of Knowledge”. Both presentations make for interesting reading, but Lars Kaijser manages in an instructive way to show how a research process involves constant switching between writing and the use of theory and methods. He also demonstrates how the working process includes both failures and new starts. Undoubtedly, this must be relevant reading for anyone struggling to find structure and combine the different levels in their research projects.

The three chapters in the last section may be seen as texts which sum up both different aspects of doing a research project and the different chapters in the book. This includes writing, fieldwork, methods, theories, and how to make it all fit together. This is not easy, but the book gives a helping hand to hard-working students.

The final chapter of the book is a résumé of the Swedish history of ethnology, which is easily recognizable in neighbouring countries. The attention is directed towards different fieldwork and different methods. From being a discipline with strict boundaries concerning how to research and what to research, today’s ethnology may be characterized through reflexivity, creativity, and flexibility. On the other hand, fieldwork and empirical methods have been continuous key components from the start until the present day.

To sum up, this handbook demonstrates a wide range of methods and how to use them in a range of different fieldwork. It also gives insight into changes both in the choices of fieldwork and in the methods, depending on the time and the world we are living in.

Sometimes there may be some uncertainty concerning who the book is addressed to, the inexperienced student or someone starting a PhD project. Yet the book is exemplary in the way the different chapters give references to each

other and how the chapters are procedurally tied to each other. The biography also provides hints for further reading, which gives the book a contextual autonomy. There should be no doubt that *Etnologiskt fältarbete: Nya fält och former* will find its way into many classrooms and reading lists.

Eva Reme, Bergen

Pop, Rock, and the Sixties

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Ropet från gårdagen. Popen, rocken och sextiotalet. Scriptum, Vasa 2021. 296 pp. ISBN 078-952-7005-84-2.

■ This book examines how pop and rock music changed during the 1960s and how these changes can be understood in today's light. It is framed in a personal way. As a teenager in 1965, the author published an article in the youth column of the local newspaper *Vasabladet*, in which he argued that pop music should be studied from new perspectives. Until then, it had been perceived as a lightweight and insignificant form of entertainment, but in the article Klinkmann claimed that there were qualities in pop that were worth taking seriously. What was the shift that he had identified, and what has it meant for his understanding of pop and rock? That is the main thematic track of the book. Another, equally important, starting point for the book is the question whether Klinkmann himself belongs to the so-called rock generation, as a friend told him that he did. The assertion raised concerns about participation and exclusion. Did Klinkmann really belong to the rock generation? Pop and rock were important during the sixties, and is it really possible to live outside one's own time?

At the same time – it may be important to point out – this is not an autobiography. Although the premises and the questions in the book are personally grounded, the answer is given in the form of cultural analysis. It is an attempt to understand what happened to popular music in the mid-sixties which meant that it could be perceived as important. The question whether the author was part

of a rock generation opens up an analytical track where, by reasoning about what he has listened to through his life, he problematizes his musical interests and his belonging. This also leads to a discussion about genre boundaries, the social climate, and the writing of history.

The structure of the book is chronological. The author tells about some of the changes that took place in popular music from the late fifties into the seventies. It is not an attempt at an all-encompassing history, instead following Klinkmann's own musical interests and what has appealed to him during different periods of his life. It is tied to, but not limited to, the author's own listening. This means that the choices are selective, but they nevertheless reflect changes in the musical landscape. The personal selection ties the history to what he listened to and it neatly problematizes the relationship between a more objective history of music and a more subjective interest in music. The history of the music is showcased through brief presentations of artists, songwriters, producers, records, and songs. This is music that has been significant to the author, but also – as he writes – to others.

The book comprises twelve chapters which can almost be characterized as essays. As mentioned, the account is partly chronological, but each chapter considers a separate problem and they can to some extent be read independently. The text is associative in nature. The chapter headings serve as starting points for the discussion, which can follow slightly different paths. The two questions that frame the book – the one about the significance of the changes that took place in rock and pop during the sixties, and the one about the author's participation in this context – serve as a backdrop for the analysis, although the questions themselves are not always articulated. Often it is like attending a lecture where the author has a script to follow, but where he also allows himself certain digressions along the way. Klinkmann is far from being the first to tackle the history of rock and pop. He refers to scholars of music and popular culture such as Antoine Hennion and Simon Frith, but he does so in an independent way, re-

flecting not only on his own position but also on those who in different ways have formulated the history of popular music.

For those interested in popular music, it is often easy to follow the author as he brings up songs, albums, and artists. Although it is mainly music from the late 1950s and into the 1970s that is in focus, there are frequent looks both backwards and forwards in time. At the same time, it can happen that the many references sometimes make the author's train of thought more difficult to follow – at least if the reader is interested in what it actually sounded like. Here, the easy accessibility of Spotify facilitates the reading when the artists or works mentioned are unfamiliar. Without reducing the author's survey of the music, it can be said to be represented by the Brill Building, Holland/Dozier/Holland, Motown, the Supremes, the Temptations, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, Mary Wells, Tammi Terrell, girl groups, the Crystals, Phil Spector, the Ronettes, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Who, the Kinks, the Animals, the British invasion, Bob Dylan, the Beach Boys, Woodstock, The Band, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Van Morrison, Curtis Mayfield, Bobby Womack, Sly and the Family Stone, and Steely Dan. This list illustrates the path taken by the author's listening. It also shows how his involvement in rock music is related to a broader interest in music. Some of the listed artists can be categorized as rock, but not all. I will come back to that.

The author's treatment of the topic is rooted in a geographical place. The starting point is growing up in Vasa in Österbotten, a Swedish-speaking part of Finland. This meant that he was excluded from most contexts where pop and rock were created, although there was a local music scene in Vasa. Popular music was available in the local record shop, but it was mainly heard on radio, often Swedish Radio. This is an example of an experience of popular music shared by most people in the Western world, at least for those who did not live in a big Anglo-American music metropolis. Klinkmann can also be counted among the generation – so-called baby boomers born from the

mid-forties until the early sixties – that grew up in harmony with the social conditions that shaped rock and pop.

An important question in the book is how popular music is produced and consumed in a time whose zeitgeist it expresses. It has been a seismograph that has sensed contemporary moods, while at the same time being able to communicate them. In this way, it carries the experience of living in a new age. The technology of the time dictated the conditions for listening to music. Transistors and car radios, together with travel gramophones, made listening more mobile and freer at the beginning of the sixties. Initially, the single was the medium of pop music. It was a format that suited the charts. With the rise of rock, the LP became important. It had previously been used mainly for classical music, but now it was found to serve the more serious ambitions of rock music, with albums such as Bob Dylan's *Highway 61 Revisited*, the Beatles' *Revolver*, and the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds*. Pop and rock emerged at a time that generated a new relationship with the surrounding world, when motor cars and charter tourism gave broader social groups an opportunity to travel in a more relaxed form, and this also shaped the music. To capture the changing social climate of the sixties, the author also highlights the popular films of the time, which in many ways expressed a similar zeitgeist to that which can be detected in the music.

An important, perhaps the most important, thread in the book is a running discussion of the dividing line between pop and rock, the affinity and the difference. Rock and pop are not limited to specific sounds, harmonies, or musical expressions. It is mainly about emotional registers, ideas, and fictionalizations. The author is looking for the gestures, attitudes, and movements that are present in the works or in the relationship between the works and the listeners. The author cites scholars such as Antoine Hennion who have sought an understanding of popular music in the desires and passions of the audience. Popular music cannot be separated from the context in which it is attributed importance. It is elusive, precisely

because it is also part of social contexts where it is continuously assessed and where the foundations of these judgements are constantly in motion.

There are no watertight bulkheads between pop and rock, but the author identifies a set of characteristics that are often attributed to each genre. The premise is that popular music as a category denotes all the styles and genres. By the mid-sixties, pop was the name given to what would later be called rock. However, rock soon acquired a more specific meaning, distinguishing itself by being something other than pop. The designations have thus shifted and at different times have been filled with different meanings. Of course, it is not so simple that artists can easily be divided into pop or rock. It is rather the case that the individual artists can act in both fields and at the same time derive inspiration from blues, folk, country, or soul. Here the Beatles are an example that drew nourishment from all these musical expressions.

The idea of pop is to be popular. The music is in the present, albeit fabricated. It has a driving rhythm and sweet tunes. A pop song is made to be catchy, both musically and emotionally. It is music for the charts and for consumption. It is music that fosters romanticism and escapism. It is the music of dreams, of teenage crushes, rife with insecurity, longing, and desire. At the same time, the dreams can also be linked to a changed world and an opportunity to wish oneself away to other places. For the listener, pop can be banal, but also sublime, conveying hope and confidence. Pop as a genre is described as lacking history; it is not concerned with the music that came before. It is music that is fully aware that it is a commodity produced to be consumed today, not to change society.

Unlike pop, rock does not want to be ephemeral, commercial, or indifferent to the audience. It wants to be taken seriously and is well aware of its history. It is based on a relationship between music, critics, and fans. It is a self-conscious genre, in that it both formulates a canon and relates to it. Rock can be perceived as orthodox, a genre that, through its self-affirmation, excludes music listeners who are felt to lack the right knowledge

and relationship to music history. (For those who remember, Nick Hornby's book *High Fidelity* from 1995, filmed in 2000, is a fine example of musical interests and exclusion.) At the same time, the idea of a canon is counter to rock music's self-image. A canon is based on an idea from literature and classical music in which continuity and stability are important. Rock, for its part, includes a narrative of change and freedom, characterized by breaking with the past, with parents and authorities. It wants to see itself as independent and rebellious while being clearly rooted in a capitalist economy. In other words, there is a demand for authenticity in rock music that does not gel with the context in which it is created.

According to the author, the different categorizations of pop and rock lead to a dichotomization in which rock is perceived as hard, dirty, heavy, authentic, masculine, profound. In contrast to this, pop is soft, transitory, inauthentic, feminine, and superficial. Well aware that the dividing line between pop and rock is not as static and stereotyped as it may seem in the descriptions, Klinkmann employs an interesting symbolism to identify the differences. Rock is compared to a Ferris wheel, while pop is a carousel. In pop, everything goes around, around, and around. It is an experience of the moment which does not change any positions, although the experience itself can be quite intoxicating. The Ferris wheel is different, with fame and canonization going up and down. While the dichotomy of the carousel and the Ferris wheel should not be scrutinized too sharply, it can be read as a way to understand the different movements in pop and rock. But it places the music in an amusement park, separate from the everyday reality in which it is embedded. This is a shame, as Klinkmann otherwise shows how pop and rock are integrated into people's everyday lives.

Klinkmann also highlights how the historiography of popular music is shaped by the zeitgeist. He emphasizes the role of the music critic in defining and drawing the boundaries. Initially, the historicization of popular music took place in music magazines and newspaper review pages. This was where rock and its myths were defined

and communicated. This was where influential reviewers wrote music history, while also acting as arbiters of taste. This is a history of music where judgements of music have been clearly rooted in the music reviewers' own taste register and where other musical tastes have been stigmatized. An important characteristic of popular music criticism is that it has not been so much about the musical expressions. A heading in the section on music criticism reads "Musicological Illiterates", which somewhat pointedly emphasizes how music is covered from the point of view of journalism, cultural analysis, and sociology. In this respect, rock has not been so much a genre as a fiction, an idea, and a discursive project.

This is one of Klinkmann's important contributions. The recurring dissection of the difference between rock and pop is not primarily a question of where the boundary really runs. The aim is rather to unravel the canons and the hierarchies in order to understand what happened in popular music during the sixties and thus also to understand why the author as a teenager felt that pop needed more serious coverage. One conclusion here is that the conditions that once created the music no longer apply and the self-image that once held up rock as a demarcated type of popular musical expression has changed. Klinkmann emphasizes the importance of a critical view of history. This applies both to one's own history and memories of it and to historiography in general. He cites Walter Benjamin's idea that it is in today's reflections on the past that development and change are driven. My interpretation here is that change is, among other things, about shifts in the view of rock music and its relevance. This does not mean that the rock music of the sixties loses its meaning as an expression of its time. But the self-image that rock music has lived with can be problematized. For those who listen to the music, it can also be a way to move back and relive the feeling of a time that has vanished.

An example of how history can be understood and reinterpreted comes in a discussion of the longing for freedom that rock has been considered to express. Rock emerged in a time of social

change. There is a collective narrative of freedom attached to alternative culture, youth revolt, and the ongoing Vietnam War. It was a quest for freedom rooted in a social class in a certain time. In its creative situation, rock was in many ways tied to a political context. The hippie ideal that once set its stamp on San Francisco would fade in the 1970s, to be transposed instead to the nearby Silicon Valley, where there was another idea of freedom embedded in a commercial logic. The author notes that the home computer is perhaps the real legacy of the aspirations to freedom in the 1960s.

Klinkmann also shows that the concept of freedom that has distinguished the historiography of the 1960s has been able to hide other concepts of freedom. Whereas rock primarily cultivated an idea of a collective freedom, there was a parallel, and perhaps somewhat overshadowed, concept that advocated a different view of individual freedom. Here Klinkmann mentions the ultraliberal writer Ayn Rand and her works, which framed freedom in a different way. Here, the ideals of freedom nourished by young conservatives focused on egoism, a self-centred ideal that gained importance in the eighties. With these changes, the freedom that the rock music of the sixties aspired to came to be perceived as outdated.

It is fascinating to read the author's analyses and interpretations. As a reader, I was not always clear about where the text was headed, but now, having reached the end and all the parts of the book have fallen into place, the whole thing seems pretty clear. It is a book for people with an interest in music who want to reflect on how popular music can be interpreted and how this can be done on the basis of an individual listener's biography. This is also a book for those who are interested in contemporary history and how the understanding of this can take new forms as conditions and perspectives change.

So, does the author belong to the rock generation? Klinkmann shows how, in different phases of life, he has become hooked on different types of music which can be described to different degrees as rock. Sociologically and culturally, he belonged to the rock generation. But not subcul-

turally, as a special culture that he belonged to, because he did not smoke or let his hair grow, as rock adolescents tended to do. His interest in rock music also cooled slightly when, in his early twenties, he began to study and then started working. His interest in music, as he writes, was not so much an identity project as an existential matter. Here I am struck by the author's descriptions and musings about Van Morrison and his musical quest in the early seventies. This account also captures Klinkmann's relationship to rock and the ambivalence about being categorized as part of the rock generation. The artist Van Morrison started in rock but moved towards a wider range of styles. He is described as an artist in the borderland between different genres, rooted in everyday life and with a desire to understand his time, the world, and life. My impression is that the author identifies with this position. An interest in popular music and its importance is a gateway to understanding society, history, and the place of individuals in these contexts, and how these positions can change over time. Maybe it was not exactly this that made the young Klinkmann, in his text in the mid-sixties, wish that pop music could be taken more seriously. But this is where the older Klinkmann's more serious view of popular music finally ended up.

Lars Kaijser, Stockholm

Feasts: Celebration, Intoxication, and Rituals

Fest. Fejring, rus og ritualer. Ditlev L. Mahler & Elisabeth Colding (eds.). Gads Forlag, København 2022. 299 pp. ISBN 978-87-12-06513-5.

■ What is a celebration? This is a key question in a collection of essays written by researchers from the Danish National Museum. As the subtitle indicates, Celebration, Intoxication, and Rituals are at the core of this volume, which takes the reader on a journey through time and space with partying, drinking, and dancing. Sixteen authors have contributed to this volume, archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists and historians, coming

from different research traditions and disciplines, which makes it a multidisciplinary project. The editors of this work are the archaeologist Ditlev L. Mahler and the ethnologist Elisabeth Colding. Mahler states in the introduction that the idea was born already in 2018. In view of the last couple of years marked by the Covid-19 pandemic, restrictions and social emptiness, this volume seems almost nostalgic in its quest for partying.

The book is arranged in six themes. Celebrations connected to different seasons come first, with a text about the summer solstice and bonfires in different contexts, centuries, and countries that signal the human relationship to the ritual year marked by the sun. The author includes modern Druidic traditions as well as pagan rituals, Swedish Midsummer, Danish bonfires, and German firewheels, to name just a few practices connected to the sun and fire – important elements in human life. The second chapter focuses on changes in celebrations. The custom of dressing up and wearing masks is presented in a temporal perspective. Next, masked parties from the eighteenth century are presented. The following text takes the reader to ancient Rome and the feast of Saturnalia. Here we are given a reminder of the change and adaptation that can be seen in a ritual year, as we are reminded that the birth of Jesus Christ is now celebrated on 25 December, which was the time of Saturnalia, and the two traditions overlapped for some time.

The volume continues as a spatio-temporal smorgasbord of partying. There is a section on mythological feasts, with texts about the symposium of Socrates, Dionysian celebrations, and feasts in Norse mythology. Ritual celebrations are exemplified by Celtic, Incan and Mexican feasts, the latest referring to death (the famous feast of El Día de los Muertos), the playful and intriguing use of skeletons. The authors refer to historical or archaeological sources, but also bring us up to modern times, showing connections, change, traditions that hang on despite social upheavals. It is a colourful and engaging read, providing a light version of research for anyone interested in history or archaeology.

These are followed by sections on political celebrations. A chapter on Stone Age places of celebration is especially engaging. Examples from Australia, Turkey, France, Ireland, and Denmark make a mosaic of hunter-gatherer societies with traces of feasts. The following chapter brings us to contemporary Indonesia, although with a strong historical background, providing an example of a tradition in constant change. Feasts with social and ethnic markers are covered in the next chapter, exemplified by Danish Renaissance parties and Powwow, a Native American celebration.

The final section, in my opinion, is the strongest part of the book – a chapter about Noma, the (already) legendary restaurant in Denmark, written by Elisabeth Colding. Noma is a focal point in discussing Nordic cuisine and modern food celebrations. There are intriguing quotations from people who have dined at Noma, and a discussion of the political element in a food culture. Incidentally, only a couple of days ago (January 2023), Noma announced that it will close and become a laboratory. Thus, the text has just gained an interesting historical dimension. Last comes a chapter on feasts at Lille Mølle, a private (yet historic) property in Copenhagen where parties and celebrations took place in the first half of the twentieth century. It is a captivating ethnographic glance at the owners, the Flach-Bundegaard couple, their social life, and the types of celebrations that were held there. Focused on just one place, it paints a broad picture of Copenhagen party life.

Robust, broad in its field of study, and rich in beautiful illustrations, this could be described as vanity project, created by researchers who know their fields inside out and are able to eloquently present complex study objects to the broader public. On a critical note, it would be nice to have a bit more information about the writers. Short biographies included at the end sometimes only say “senior researcher” without stating a discipline. Introducing the authors in two to three sentences would help to frame their chapters. The weakest point in the book is at the beginning. Somehow the opening chapters try to cover too much too quickly, listing more than engaging with the phenom-

enon. I would actually say that the more specific the object of study, the better it works for an academic audience. Furthermore, the contributions are uneven, some very short and ending abruptly. The jumps between different cultural and ethnic contexts are sudden at times, and they could have been better connected. Yet, these are minor academic points, and this publication is more popular than academic and should be viewed as such.

At its core, the message is this: celebrations are integral to human existence. They have always existed and they will exist in the future. They mark birth, death, joy, and sorrow. There is no end to what can be a celebration and there is no limit to what can be celebrated. This is a good book to be enjoyed with a cup of coffee.

Katarzyna Herd, Lund

A Rich History of Danish Fashion

MODEN i Danmark gennem 400 år. Bind 1. 1660–1900. *Status – Luksus – Velklædt.* 255 pp. Ill. Mikkel Venborg Pedersen. Bind 2. 1900–2020. *Chik – Smart – Moderne.* 245 pp. Ill. Marie Riegels Melchior. Gads forlag, København 2022. ISBN 978-87-06109-0.

■ This is a comprehensive work that requires a comprehensive review. It consists of two parts. The first was written by Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, senior researcher at the National Museum, while part 2 is by Marie Riegels Melchior, who works at the University of Copenhagen.

The first part begins with a joint preface and an introduction to the two volumes, with an emphasis on how the two authors’ research rests on a foundation of cultural history, a field in which several ethnologists before them have written about fashion, dress, and everyday life in Denmark. There is also a presentation of the chronological division of the two parts and the source material from the National Museum on which the entire work is based. The purpose is not only to show the research that has taken place on Danish fashion, but above all to reach out to a wider readership. What the two parts have in common is that, in addition

to the history of style and culture, they also discuss such matters as identity, environment, and consumption.

The author of part 1, Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, has published a number of books on cultural history and fashion, including one about the perfect gentleman. The author's previous experience is evident in this work, where the development of fashion during the first 300 years is described in the broader context of cultural history.

The presentation covers the time from the magnificence of the baroque period in the seventeenth century up to the end of the nineteenth century, when new shops made it possible for more people to be well dressed at the same time as the elite tried to maintain their status with tailored clothes.

In the very first pages the author presents the many folk costumes in museum collections to show that they will be treated in this work as fashion, which has not hitherto been a common practice. Then we are led into baroque ceremonial costumes for men, including the wigs. The garments are described as pompous and airy, which is underlined by the fact that they were made of velvet and silk. Paris was already setting the tone at this time. To illustrate how the common people dressed, Venborg Pedersen uses paintings from the time. Their dress probably did not follow the vicissitudes of fashion but remained stable for a long time. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, tried to keep up, but with simpler fabrics than those used by the aristocracy. If nobles wore silk, the burghers wore wool, he writes. This chapter contains a great deal that is worth delving into. To take just one example: the basic types of elite women's costume changed during the 1680s towards a one-piece gown, often pattern-woven and adorned with embroidery. The pictures of gowns here are exquisite and so well rendered that it is possible to study all the details.

Young nobles went to Paris to acquire the latest fashions, and there they could buy ready-made items such as shoes and boots. The eighteenth century was dominated by wide dresses and tricorne hats. The hair was combed back and powdered white. Autocracy persisted but the bourgeois-

sie was growing, not least because of the many new trading houses that were founded. Venborg Pedersen discusses whether the rococo is a style of its own or the long death throes of the baroque. In either case it is distinguished by more refined elements such as florid embroidery and finery in both men's and women's clothes. He describes the rococo as feminine and the baroque as masculine. Men's breeches now reached down over the knees and their legs were clad with white silk stockings. Shoes became narrower and pointier. Among the nobility and in the salons of the bourgeoisie, beautiful dresses of silk brocade with beautiful floral motifs now caught on. For the initiated, there is plenty of detailed information here about fashion and the art of dressmaking.

It is incredible to see how many fine dresses have been so well preserved in the collections of the National Museum. Outstanding work has been done to produce the splendid photographs in this book. Of course, it is the beautiful clothes of the elite that attract the reader's attention, but there is also plenty of information about how peasants and burghers were dressed. However, this is not shown by illustrations of the objects themselves, but in paintings from the time.

The revolutionary period at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century had a decisive impact on fashion, which became simpler. The Enlightenment had led to new ways of thinking about bourgeois reason and the social duties of the elite, which is reflected in costume through a rejection of courtly culture and instead an emphasis on bourgeois self-determination, the author notes. Imports from the east led to the Empire style, with thin cotton dresses that required cashmere shawls to keep the wearer warm. From the early nineteenth century, several simple cotton dresses are preserved in the National Museum, which is described as being rather unique as they have rarely survived to this day. Outer garments still consisted of a coat, now edged and lined with fur and accompanied by a muff.

For a long time, children were dressed like small adults, but as the Enlightenment focused on

children, it also influenced fashion so that special children's clothing was created. Boys' clothes became roomy and easy to move around in, while girls' clothes changed more slowly, but the dresses of the Empire style were also suitable for children and so could simply be made in smaller versions. Children's clothes, incidentally, were the first that could be bought ready-made, apart from things like underwear and stockings. Purchased girls' dresses were often in the colourful cotton fabrics of the time.

Well into the nineteenth century, the Empire style also reached the countryside. When the peasants became freeholding farmers and had more money to spend, the womenfolk could wear dresses with purchased fabrics and the home-woven cloth died out, according to Venborg Pedersen. He also notes that women's fashion among the common people changed more rapidly than men's.

The Biedermeier style, which developed out of English Victorianism, also made itself felt in fashion, and an expressive image from the mid-nineteenth century shows an airy summer dress in thin white cotton fabric. It was once worn by the wife of a wine merchant. The corset has now returned to squeeze the female body into the shape of an hourglass. Three major changes can now be discerned in women's fashion: the waist was moved to its real position, the blouse was invented and since then has always been part of a woman's wardrobe, and a stiff skirt was revived in what is called neo-rococo. Crinolines peaked in the 1860s, as illustrated here by a beautiful green silk ball gown.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the bourgeois man set the style for men in the higher social classes, and his attire was now dark and solemn, but also well-made and of high quality. Soon, however, brighter summer clothes came along too. Ordinary people in the countryside at this time wore long trousers of homespun and their everyday footwear consisted of clogs.

Closer to the turn of the century in 1900, historicism also made itself felt in Danish fashion, and even Renaissance dresses could be revived. But women simultaneously criticized the corset,

which led to the "reform dress", based on rational ideals of health and freedom. It was created and sold at the *Magasin du Nord* in Copenhagen. Reform dresses resembled the airy cut of the Empire style that did not require a corset. Men wore top hats and sported a moustache.

For scholars who want to immerse themselves in bygone fashions, this book is a treasure chest filled with rich expressions of French fashion, how it was used and how it changed. And in the same way, interested readers can learn about underwear, shoes, gown details, hats, fabrics, tailors, and patterns.

Part 2 is the work of Marie Riegels Melchior. For many years, at least since 2008 when she defended her dissertation on design, identity, and history in the Danish fashion industry, she has investigated and described the history of Danish fashion in different ways in several books. It is therefore with a solid background in the subject that she sets out here to summarize how fashion has developed in Denmark in the last 120 years. The focus is primarily on how fashion has changed through history, but there are also many interesting discussions of what fashion really is and how it can be viewed as a social movement where a number of social activities lead to its development and change.

The book is arranged as a chronological tour of the twentieth century in six short chapters, each of which covers a period of about fifteen years. This is followed by a chapter ranging from the late 1980s into the present century. The last chapter, which is perhaps the most interesting, discusses fashion and politics in the last fifteen years. The external societal context sets the framework for the division into chapters.

In Riegels Melchior's first chapter, we meet a cultured person who likes to buy fashions from one of the big department stores. Copenhagen's female elite attended fashion shows while the less well-off followed fashions by altering their clothes or making new ones from patterns in fashion magazines. The turn-of-the-century reform dress initiated a change in both underwear and dresses. The silhouette became long and slim. Sportswear for

riding, tennis, and sailing became common among the elite in both men's and women's wardrobes.

Under a fine chapter heading about emancipation and seduction, with new dreams of the future, the author describes what the great upheavals in the world, chiefly in the 1920s, when the car had its breakthrough in society, meant for Danish fashion. Ford introduced its cars to the Danish public in 1924 with advertisements which also presented the new fashions in the form of a woman wearing a typical twenties dress. The decade was marked by optimism, and fashion reflected both American and French influence. Both hair and skirts became shorter when the economy was good, and became longer again when the national economy darkened.

The little black dress, introduced by Chanel in 1926, has since proved to have a long life in ever-new variants. The clothing industry developed with serially produced garments. Menswear came first, then working clothes, and for the women the first mass-produced items were long stockings made of artificial silk.

Development during the 1930s and 1940s is described by the author first as a dream world and then, during the war, there was a switch to escapism and common sense. The limited import of textiles during the war led people to reuse and alter the clothes they had. But it was still the case that a well-dressed person was regarded as civilized. Housewives could now read fashion magazines to learn how to act in order to look proper and well-dressed. During this time fashions for both women and men began to resemble uniforms. But the men that Riegels Melchior describes as the three B's in Danish fashion – Holger Blom, Preben Birck, and Uffe Brydegaard – were all still active. In this chapter there is an interesting section about how Germany during the Nazi era tried to move the haute couture industry from Paris to Berlin. There is also a description of a fashion show of German and Austrian models in Copenhagen. But this period also saw the first youth culture in Denmark, including the distinctive fashion of the swing fans.

With the post-war period a new fashion made itself felt, not least through the many new arti-

cial fabrics created when the usual fabrics were in short supply. Men wore terylene trousers and nylon shirts, which did not need ironing. Fashion was still dictated from Paris and Christian Dior launched the New Look with narrow waist and soft hips. The woman's suit, the shirtdress, and the cocktail dress become role models, clearly gendered as feminine garments. A fashionable woman of the 1950s had to be beautiful and practically dressed. The importance of leisure was reflected particularly in men's clothes, for example in ready-made sports jackets.

In her interesting summary, Riegels Melchior in this section looks both backwards to Holger Blom's dresses and forwards in time to the research on Blom and how Danes in general learned about the fashion icons of the time through television programmes in the first decade of the present century. During this time a new fashion was also created for teenagers, for example the jeans that came from the world of cinema.

The author says that Danes in the 1960s were well-dressed when they entered the growing welfare state. Popular culture now directed young people's fashion interest towards London and New York. The decade was also characterized by anti-fashion and self-fulfilment. Here it is especially clear how changes in society can lead to changes in fashion. Fashion became a reflection of society.

The energy crisis of the 1970s left its mark on the fashion trade. As a result, reuse and home-made clothing dominated. The big department stores experienced a crisis. Eventually, however, new low-cost chains of clothes shops appeared on the market. Ordinary people were better off and the female yuppie could wear a masculine "power suit" to manifest her ambitions. Men once again wore jackets, trousers with press folds, well-ironed shirts, and a good-quality tie.

The last two chapters of the book bring the reader from the late twentieth century into the twenty-first. Denmark is now part of a globalized world where people buy into a lifestyle with the associated fashion, Riegels Melchior writes. Here we find, for example, hip-hop streetwear alongside elaborate lingerie fashions. Now it became

possible to display underwear on large advertising posters. Vintage has become fashionable, but the luxury fashion of supermodels is also manifested in advertising and reportage. There is also a place for the fashions espoused by minorities.

In recent years, the author notes, fashion is back again thanks to increasingly rapid production in what is called fast fashion, although this has been countered by an increased awareness of sustainability and environmental issues, which are now the subject of growing discussion in the fashion industry. Side by side with this development, one can also see how fashion is exhibited in museums and studied in academic research, and books about fashion are becoming more common.

The two volumes of this work are beautifully designed and lavishly illustrated. The rich pictorial material not only serves to illustrate the text but to a large extent speaks for itself. Both textiles and period styles can be clearly followed through all the illustrations, which have really been allowed to overflow the pages.

The many in-depth sections on things that were particularly characteristic of each period are marked with a different colour, which gives the reader the opportunity to dwell on them for a while, or they can be read separately by anyone with special interests. These sections are particularly absorbing in Part 2.

Extensive notes not only give the books a solid scholarly foundation but also furnish the reader with hints on further reading about different aspects of clothing, whether it be stockings or the historical origins of fashion.

An index of persons provides guidance on fashion icons as well as famous wearers of fashion such as royalty, actors, and politicians. There is also an index of place names. For anywhere outside Copenhagen it refers simply to places, but inside Copenhagen it includes street names. This index seems somewhat confusing as it also contains, for example, museums and shops.

In a very interesting epilogue to part 2 of the work, Riegels Melchior and Venborg Pedersen together discuss, among other things, how interdisciplinary fashion research gained momentum

during the 1990s. Changes in norms and identity markers have been particularly characteristic of fashion since then. Research on fashion is pursued not only in universities but also in design schools and museums. The authors find that the different forms of research ensure great breadth, and they single out four different positions: object-based, culturalistic, practice-based, and production-based. Finally, these two ethnologists present their own research as something in between practice analysis with an eye for objects, grounded in older costume research, and the culturalistically oriented research inspired by material cultural studies and economic movements.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about these two books is that together they provide such a broad overview of the development of fashion in Denmark. In addition, comparisons with other countries also make the reader aware of the development of fashion outside Denmark. It is a work with a wide scope and always with a firm footing in the prevailing zeitgeist, and with a broad social spread. Here we can enjoy a queen's yellow dream dress in the fashion of the 1890s and dream back to our own 1970s, when we in Sweden did Danish *hønsstrik* knitting and long-haired people were influenced by all the new fads of Danish fashion, with everything from flared trousers to clogs and leg warmers.

Birgitta Svensson, Lund/Stockholm

Food Heritage

Matarv. Berättelser om mat som kulturarv. Anita Synnestvedt & Monica Gustafsson (eds.) Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2021. 253 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-8906-502-4.

■ Since 2013, there has been a project underway at the University of Gothenburg called the *Kulturvetarakademien* with the aim of bringing together students around current issues of cultural heritage, where conferences have been organized, networks built between the university and institutions dealing with cultural heritage, primarily in Western Götaland.

One of these networks between several institutions was around food heritage or food as cultural heritage with the aim of producing an exhibition entitled “*Food in Need and Lust.*”

The corona epidemic unfortunately led to the exhibition almost having to be closed before it started. However, a book *Matarv. Berättelser om mat som kulturarv* or *Food heritage. Reports on food as a cultural heritage* was also published in connection with the exhibition.

After an excellent reflexive introduction by Richard Tellström about the problem of heritage that one accepts and heritage that one renounces, the presentation is divided into main themes that include both the material and immaterial, as well as the social aspects of the food heritage. Within each theme there are from two to four contributions – a buffet of 18 articles in total.

Food heritage from Rome to Bohuslän begins with a presentation of the daily bread – panis quotidianis in ancient Rome (Lena Larsen Lovén), where bakeries emerged early on to supply the population with bread of various kinds. The next contribution (Jenny Högström) is about the significance of *honungskaka* – the honeybread as a known cultural marker for the Herrnhut Christiansfeld. A special regional dish in Bohuslän (Jenny Högström Berntson), egg cheese has to date become a local identity marker, where the designs of the cheese shapes are almost as important as the cheese itself.

In the section *Food heritage in collections and archives*, the starting point is collected records about food, which begins with an orchestration of the content in the actual exhibition itself, of which the book is a part. The next contribution (Lisa Sputnes Mouwitz) is about patients’ good and less good memories of food served in hospitals over a long period. The section ends with a presentation (Annika Sjöberg) of a knowledge bank with old recipes, which is also related to the intangible value of food.

In a section on *Swedish food heritage*, there is a contribution (Annika Sjöberg), about the special Swedish phenomenon of *att fika*, which is drinking coffee with others in forms that are quite

well defined in Swedish culture. In the next contribution (Susanne Rolfsdotter Eliasson), foreign students with limited experience are asked in essays to report on what they consider to be significant in Swedish food culture, where *fika*, together with the special Swedish way of eating crayfish, scores highly.

The section *Food heritage in change* begins with a description (Carina Carlson) of how people in pre-industrial societies preserved food and stored it to keep it as fresh as possible for as long as possible, until electric refrigeration and freezing technology revolutionized the field and where today, the supermarkets are the daily stockroom supplemented by a fridge and freezer at home. The next contribution (Henrik Alexandersen) is an impact on older food culture in Bohuslän, where the old fishing community has largely ceased, but where they still try to preserve some of the older fish dishes, as a local food marker in a modern world. The last contribution (Maria Bodin) in the section is about how various seaweed growths from having been used as fertilizer in ancient times, in modern society under international influence have become an ingredient in more fine dining.

In the section on *Food inheritance for good and bad*, the initial contribution (Elisabet Punzi) is about the more traumatic aspects of food and food inheritance, from personal eating disorders and how famines have affected people temporarily, but also in their later relationship with food rationing and food crises (Maria Person) could lead to previously unnoticed potential food items coming to replace the deficiencies in the normal diet. The authorities’ guidance on choosing a survival diet, as well as the prepper phenomenon, are also mentioned.

A relatively new phenomenon that has arisen in Korea, *mukbang* (Jenny Högström). Where cooking and eating, in their similar facets, is a digitally based community, gained particular importance during the Corona epidemic, where the participants could also get a certain digital organoleptic satisfaction. The contribution of a *fika* break – coffee break – in the forest pleads for

many more or less romantic and positive experiences of an existential nature.

The last section of the book is about *Food heritage and memories*, which are especially associated with the school meals (Cecilia Magnusson Sporre & Hillevi Prell), which have been available in Sweden since 1946. The financial framework also limited the culinary possibilities. The pupils' homes were also different. For the poor pupils, the memories of the school meals were usually good, the food was often better than the food they had at home. The school meals have become nutritionally better over time and also more politically correct. The last contribution in this section is about the Swedish *köttbullar*, meatballs, part of the Swedish food terroir, which has become a special offer at the furniture chain IKEA, which is everywhere launched as an imaginary part of the Swedish.

Finally, in the book's last contribution (Monica Gustafsson & Anita Synnestvedt) the threads are drawn back to the problem surrounding the phenomenon of food heritage, partly as a shared Swedish tradition, family traditions, but also as a phenomenon that has significance for the individual.

Each individual contribution is provided with one or more recipes that the reader can try in their own kitchen. The contributions are without references but end with suggestions or reading tips for further reading.

The authors have managed to touch on many aspects of what is launched as food heritage, both tangible and intangible, and often in a wider social context. Several of the contributions are parts of ongoing research. Although each of the contributions are small, the prospects for further work are great.

Jóan Pauli Joensen, Tórshavn

Swedish Belief Tradition in a Nutshell

Tora Wall, *Folktrons väsen*. Encyklopedi. Bokförlaget Stolpe, Stockholm 2021. 255 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-8906-975-6.

■ Tora Wall's *Folktrons väsen* is a reader-friendly

overview of Swedish folklore concerning supernatural beings. It is properly research-based and provides an accurate view of the preindustrial Swedish belief tradition. But it starts from the basics and can be recommended to readers who have no previous knowledge about belief tradition.

The book is titled an encyclopaedia but it represents that genre only in its broadest sense. Instead of listing beings in Swedish belief tradition separately in alphabetical order, it includes broader thematic chapters. The book starts with a compact but comprehensive introduction describing the concepts of belief tradition and folklore, as well as the relevant genres and sources. Furthermore, it explains magical thinking and what kind of significance and meanings the supernatural beings once had in the communities. Wall introduces the reader to the world view of preindustrial belief tradition, with the idea of the limited good and the significance of boundaries and exceptions and the difference between black and white magic.

As any scholar of belief tradition knows, national collections of folk belief teem with local fairies, goblins and ghosts with a myriad of names but only slight differences. Wall handles the mess by presenting the creatures in larger groups by type. The chapters are thus about general categories such as trolls, guardian spirits, underground people or death beings. Each chapter first gives information about the category and then describes the variety. This is a justified decision which saves us from a lot of repetition, helps to focus on the important features and gives a better understanding of the beings' relations to each other than mere cross-referencing. Yet even the main groups overlap slightly: trolls, for example, share motifs with the underground people. This is an essential feature of belief tradition, and a research-based representation like this is correct in not trying to hide or deny the fuzziness.

Chapters on the beings also give contextual information and discuss related beliefs and various themes of belief narratives. For example, in the chapter about trolls, we learn why certain people were more prone to be taken into the mountain or hill by the trolls, what liminality had to do with it,

and how to prevent such danger. Furthermore, the chapter includes a subsection about changelings, because in folk legends it is quite often trolls that steal a small baby from the cradle and replace it with their own baby or grandfather. Essentially, Wall's work is not only about the beings. It is actually a general view of the whole belief tradition, just organized according to the beings.

In any survey of belief tradition, a crucial point is how the topics and motifs are selected and how they are organized. The distinction between various groups of beings is relatively unambiguous, and Wall applies almost the same pattern as in Bengt af Klintberg's index *The Types of the Swedish Folk Legend*. The only difference is that Wall distinguishes trolls from fairies while af Klintberg handles them together. Another question of choice is ontological. Belief tradition includes beings which only exist in the popular imagination, but there are also beliefs which concern real entities, for example conceptions about magical skills or properties of certain people or animals. The distinction between these is not always clear. For example, magical snakes range from dragons and giant serpents to popular beliefs concerning unusually big, yet ordinary snakes. But perhaps sometimes it would be more suitable to note the difference; especially when the question is about people. Here, as in many other books too, the supernatural beings include people who allegedly had special supernatural abilities – people like sorcerers, healers, priests, smiths and even folk musicians. These agents have not been labelled supernatural per se, but I wonder whether it is justified to present them as beings of belief tradition. A similar case is the chapter on trees, including information about sacred groves as well as rituals and healing connected to trees. Yet trees as such are natural entities. These examples illustrate the fact that the book begins with beings, but towards the end, the being-ness of the topics breaks up. This critique does not change the fact that ritual specialists are a central theme of belief tradition. Trees may not be equally central, but perhaps trees and forests serve the interests of contemporary readership.

Wall has chosen to include figures from Norse mythology in the gallery of preindustrial belief tradition. This requires an excursion to ancient pre-Christian religion and the medieval sources which shed light on the ancient gods and the Æsir cult. Since mythology is not in the focus of this book, characteristics of the gods as they were known in the *Edda* and other ancient poetry are only described briefly. The emphasis is on the fragmentary representations of Thor, Odin and other figures' in legends and incantations in nineteenth-century folklore. These materials look like scarce survivals, and thus the old Norse gods appear in the world of preindustrial belief tradition like special guests who actually belong to some other sphere. The role of Norse gods in this book may be justified on grounds of popularization and the aim of showing their relationship to later belief tradition. The excursion to the *Edda* and its remains demonstrates the temporal depth and layered characteristics of belief tradition.

The twenty-first-century readership and their expectations are considered in all the chapters. For example, contemporary readers probably only know werewolves from popular culture and thus expect the full moon to be involved. Therefore, it is explicitly noted that this was not the case in Swedish vernacular tradition. Likewise, the chapter on death beings begins by explaining how modern society and esoteric movements have shaped our ideas of the dead. In order to understand the preindustrial folklore about death beings, we need to know an older view of death and the dead. The chapter on guardian spirits, in turn, includes a subsection on the development of Swedish Christmas gnomes and Santa Claus. After all, the Swedish word for the guardian spirit – *tomten* – has later been used predominantly in those senses.

Folktrons väsen combines folkloristic accuracy with a popular style which serves the needs of contemporary readers. It guides the beginner to the world of belief tradition and gives enough background information to help understand the point of preindustrial belief legends. For those who are inspired to know more, the book briefly

summarizes the work of relevant researchers and offers tips for further reading. As an object, the book is well designed. The rich illustrations in the book include artwork from six centuries, starting from late medieval church paintings and peaking

in the variety of legend-based illustrations and paintings by Nordic artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The pictures display artistic interpretations of the beings and also the landscapes and environments in which they lurked.

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