



Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME 52 • 2022

Ethnologia Scandinavica

A JOURNAL FOR NORDIC ETHNOLOGY

ISSN 0348-9698

Published by

THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Editorial office: Division of Ethnology, Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University, Box 192, SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden.

www.kgaa.nu/tidskrifter.php

Editor: Lars-Eric Jönsson, Lund

E-mail: lars-eric.jonsson@kultur.lu.se

Assistant editor: Margareta Tellenbach, Bjärred

E-mail: margareta.tellenbach@kultur.lu.se

Editorial board: Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen, jcd470@hum.ku.dk

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm, birgitta.svensson@etnologi.su.se

Pia Olsson, Helsinki, pia.olsson@helsinki.fi

Tove Fjell, Bergen, tove.fjell@ahkr.uib.no

Valdimar Hafstein, Reykjavik, vth@hi.is

© 2022 The authors and The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for
Swedish Folk Culture

Photo: The gate from the military era has been saved as a material marking of exclusivity and social demarcation. However, to the left there is open access to the Bungenäs area.

Photo: M. Frihammar.

Ethnologia Scandinavica publishes peer reviewed papers in English based on all branches of material and social culture, and in reviews, biographical notes and reports reflect ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries. One volume of Ethnologia Scandinavica comprises approx 250 pages, published in one issue yearly. Subscription price for volume 2022 is SEK 350:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to www.eddy.se

Contents

Papers

- 3 Editorial. By *Lars-Eric Jönsson*
- 6 Networks in Trade. The Arhippainen Family as Peddlers, Shopkeepers, and Bridge-builders in Russia and Finland, 1850–1940. By *Anna Sundelin & Johanna Wassholm*
- 25 Pidgin, Chaos and Cultural Communication. A Case of Sport-based Exchange between Finland and Sweden at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. By *Katarzyna Herd*
- 43 “[E]ndnu lever en stor medicinsk erfaringskundskap”. Early Twentieth-Century Knowledge Production on Folk Medicine. By *Greta Karoline Heien & Line Esborg*
- 62 The Life and Moods of a Danish Nineteenth-Century Lady of the Manor. Cultural and Emotional Practices between Ideals of Femininity, Domestic Virtues and Household Management. By *Signe Boeskov*
- 90 From Nazi Concentration Camp to Detention in Sweden 1945. Female Survivors, Sexuality, and Respectability. By *Britta Zetterström Geschwind*
- 115 Let’s Stick Together – Notes and Thoughts from Fieldwork. An Autoethnographic Account of Method, Shame, and Laughter. By *Maria Bäckman*
- 132 “Once Upon a Time”. Fairytales and the Translation of Mindfulness in *Wherever You Go, There You Are*. By *Åmund Resløkken, Gina Fraas Henriksen, John Ødemark*
- 145 Learning from MACA Alumni. Insights into Current Practices and Discussions in Applied Cultural Analysis. By *Meghan Cortner, Jessica Jørnæs, Adam Kusknær & Mark Vacher*
- 163 Downscaling Climate Change through Local Sustainability. Everyday Climate Activism in a Suburban Neighbourhood in Bergen, Norway. By *Lone Ree Milker*
- 183 Breaking the Seal, Keeping it Real. On Authenticity and Masculinity in Engaging with Bunkers. By *Mattias Frihammar & Fredrik Krohn Andersson*
- 202 “This is Home”. Vaccination Hesitancy and the Meaning of Place. By *Mia-Marie Hammarlin*

Biographical Notes

- 221 Simon Ekström, Professor in Stockholm. By *Hans Jakob Ågotnes*
- 222 Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, Professor in Stockholm. By *Alf Arvidsson*
- 223 Markus Idvall, Professor in Stockholm. By *Tove Ingebjørg Fjell*
- 225 Ingun Grimstad Klepp, Professor at OsloMet. By *Birgitta Svensson*

Reviews

New Dissertations

- 227 A Multifaceted Analysis of Urban Consumption – *Devrim Umut Asla*, Praxitopia. How Shopping Makes a Street Vibrant. Rev. by *Anna Sundelin*
- 228 Culture Planning and Inclusion – *Pia Hovi*, Kyl maar tääl kaikenlaista kulttuuria on! Kulttuuri-suunnittelu kokonaisvaltaisena kulttuuri- ja taidelähtöisenä yhteiskehittämisen menetelmänä. (For sure we have all kinds of culture! Culture planning as a comprehensive culture and arts-based co-planning method.). Rev. by *Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti*
- 230 A French School in Finland – *Eeva Salo-Tammivuori*, Discipline and order. The French school as a field of intangible cultural heritage. Rev. by *Sanna Lillbroönda-Annala*
- 233 Life-modes and Sovereignty Processes in Greenland – *Gry Søbye*, Suverænitetsens umulighed og det glemte folk i Grønland. En livsformsanalyse af selvstyreprocessen med udgangspunkt i fangst- og fiskerisektoren. The Impossibility of Sovereignty and the Forgotten People in Greenland. A life-mode analysis of the transition process from home rule to self-government focusing on the fisheries sector. Rev. by *Astrid Jespersen*
- 235 Abildgaard’s Tableaux as a New View of History – *Ina Louise Stovner*, Historiske tablåer. En fortellende billedserie i Riddersalen på Christiansborg slott 1778–1791. Rev. by *Per Widén*
- 237 The Åland Islands – *Ida Hughes Tidlund*, Autonomous Åland: A Hundred Years of Borderwork in the Baltic Sea. Rev. by *Hilary Stanworth*

Book Reviews

- 243 Hygiene as Ideal and Practice – *Med tvål, vatten och flit. Hälsöfrämjande renlighet som ideal och praktik ca 1870–1930*. Johanna Annola, Annelie Drakman & Marie Ulväng (eds.). Rev. by *Line Jandoria Jørgensen*
- 244 Collecting Scrap Cars – *Anders Björklund*, Skrotbilar – om hängivna samlare och deras fordon. Rev. by *Eddy Nehls*
- 245 Norwegian Studies of Broadside Ballads – *Skillingsvisene i Norge 1550–1950. Studier i en forsømt kulturarv*. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Karin Strand (eds.). – *Arven fra skillingsvisene. Fra en sal på hospitalet til en sofa fra IKEA*. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Bjarne Markussen (eds.). Rev. by *Karin Hallgren*
- 248 Robots and Future Working Life – *AI, robotar och föreställningar om morgondagens arbetsliv*. Daniel Bodén & Michael Godhe (eds.). Rev. by *Göran Sjögård*

- 252 The History of the Future? – *Henrik Brissman*, Framtidens historia. Rev. by *Sven-Erik Klinkmann*
- 254 Fashion's Photographic Market – *Fashioned in the North. Nordic Histories, Agents, and Images of Fashion Photography*. Anna Dahlgren (ed.). Rev. by *Cecilia Fredriksson*
- 257 Exhibiting Death at Sea – *Simon Ekström*, Spektakulär materialitet från havet. Rev. by *Daniel Sävborg*
- 260 Animals: Touching Encounters and Cultural Pain Points – *Djur. Berörande möten och kulturella smärtpunkter*. *Simon Ekström & Lars Kaijser* (eds.). Rev. by *Signe Mellemegaard*
- 262 Viewpoints on the Use of Alcohol – *Anders Gustavsson*, Improper Use, Moderation or Total Abstinence of Alcohol. Use of and Opinion on Alcohol Especially in the Western Swedish Countryside and Coastal Regions during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Rev. by *Ulrika Wolf-Knuts*
- 263 Ambulatory Schoolteachers and Literacy in Norway – *Gry Heggli*, Omgångsskoleläreren i allmoe-skolen. Leseopplæring mellom tekster og talemål. Rev. by *Kristina Gustafsson*
- 264 With Camera and Suitcase – *Med kamera och koffert. Resefotografier före masssturismen*. Sanna Jylhä & Marika Rosenström (eds.). Rev. by *Birgitta Svensson*
- 266 Mournable Lives – *Kim Silow Kallenberg*, Sörjbara liv. Rev. by *Tove Ingebjørg Fjell*
- 267 Analysing Father's Tomfooleries – *Barbro Klein*, I tosaforornas värld. Gustav berättar. Rev. by *Sofie Strandén-Backa*
- 268 History as a Tourist Attraction – *Wiebke Kolbe*, Geschichtstourismus. Theorie – Praxis – Berufsfelder. Rev. by *Anders Gustavsson*
- 270 Predators and Humans in Historical-Ethnological Light – *Teppo Korhonen*, Karhuverkosta susipantaan. Karhun ja suden pyynti keskiajalta 2000-luvulle. (From bear net to wolf collar.) Rev. by *Bo Lönnqvist*
- 272 Cultural Heritage Management in Wartime – *Mattias Legnér*, Värden att värna. Kulturminnesvård som statsintresse i Norden vid tiden för andra världskriget. Rev. by *Mattias Frihammar*
- 275 Fifty Shades of Class – *Britta Lundgren, Hildur Kalman, Ann Öhman & Annelie Bränström-Öhman*, Möjligheter och mellanrum. Berättelser om genus och akademiska livslopp. Rev. by *Line Grönstad*
- 277 A Hundred Years of Nordic Ethnology at Åbo Akademi, Finland – *Nordisk etnologi 1921–2021. Ett ämne i rörelse*. *Fredrik Nilsson & Anna-Maria Åström* (eds.). Rev. by *Anders Gustavsson*
- 279 Interior Decoration Culture in Hälsingland – *Hälsinglands inredningskultur*. *Ingalill Nyström, Anneli Palmköld & Johan Knutsson* (eds.). Rev. by *Mette E. Havsteen-Mikkelsen*
- 282 Collaboration in Arctic Research – *Collaborative Research Methods in the Arctic. Experiences from Greenland*. *Anne Merrild Hansen and Carina Ren* (eds.). Rev. by *Marie Riegels Melchior*
- 283 Settlers of the Swedish Wilderness – *Eero Sappinen*, Värmlannin metsäsuomalaiset. Asutushistoriasta, agraarista kulttuurista ja muutoksesta. Rev. by *Pirjo Korkiakangas*
- 286 Perspectives on Fashion – *Modevetenskap. Perspektiv på mode, stil och estetik*. *Emma Severinsson & Philip Warkander* (eds.). Rev. by *Mikkel Venborg Pedersen*
- 287 The Legacy of Ernst Manker – *Eva Silvén*, Friktion. Ernst Manker, Nordiska museet och det samiska kulturarvet. Rev. by *Trude Fonneland*
- 288 Everyday Superstition – *Fredrik Skott*, Vardagskrock. Från abrakadabra till önskebrunn. Rev. by *Ulrika Wolf-Knuts*
- 290 The Paris of the North – *Susanna Strömquist*, Nordens Paris. NK:s Franska damskrädderi 1902–1966. Rev. by *Marie Riegels Melchior*
- 293 Animals in the City – *Liv Emma Thorsen*, Dyrenes by: Hover, klover og klør i Kristiania 1859–1925. Rev. by *Ingvar Svanberg*
- 294 When the Tide Turns – *Charlotte Ulmert*, När vinden vänder. Adèle Sylvan och Charlotte Rosenkrantz – adelskvinnorna som gick sin egen väg. Rev. by *Signe Boeskov*

Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

Finally, 2022, after one year of waiting, it was possible for Nordic ethnologists and folklorists to meet in Reykjavík. For *Ethnologia Scandinavica* it was a special conference since the journal was to celebrate its half-century anniversary. Now it was one year late but all the more long-awaited. Last year we had a special volume with four articles commenting on the fifty-year history of the journal in particular and ethnology in general. At the conference we followed this up with a successful session on the same theme.

The anniversary was timely. For a few years we have been in the middle of a process where journals in general are growing in importance. This also applies to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. One sign of this is the increasing number of manuscript proposals. This, of course, has its explanation in the changing landscape and practice of academic publishing. As a young scholar you are more dependent on the journals in order to build a competitive CV compared to older scholars who, to a higher degree, were expected to write and publish monographs.

In addition, we have seen a growing interest in compilation theses. As far as I can see, this genre has not really found its form in our field of scholarship. The discussions are ongoing and if the tendency continues, we will soon reach a consensus as to what a compilation may and should be in our disciplines. However, it is not only the end result that requires consideration. The process of writing a compilation thesis is quite different from a monograph project. Fieldwork and/or archive studies, writing and publishing describe a different sequence depending on what kind of thesis you choose. And as a journal editor your assessments and your way of working with

the manuscripts differ if they are intended as parts of a thesis or not. It is obvious that a PhD student is more dependent on a fixed time frame than others. It is also clear that he or she can use more help in constructing an acceptable manuscript. Too often I, as an editor, lack an active and visible supervisor. Too often I find myself doing the work that normally would be the responsibility of the supervisor. I am not moaning. I like to work with PhD students and their manuscripts. But generally, I get the impression that not all supervisors realize what is required to take a manuscript all the way to the finishing line. At the end of the day, we have the same scholarly requirements of an article written by a PhD student as one written by a senior researcher.

To conclude, I think we all still have a distance to go to find a common ground concerning compilation theses, what they should be and the process to get there. With this I would just like to invite all supervisors and PhD students to establish a dialogue that not only solves the individual projects but also contributes to the disciplinary understanding of what a thesis could and ought to be.

The content of this volume starts with Anna Sundelin's and Johanna Wassholm's investigation of the social and economic networks developed around a family of peddlers in Finland between 1850 and 1940. It is a story of itinerant tradesmen who became stationary and established shop owners. But it also gives perspectives on the consequences of political developments, not least of Finland's relations to Russia, where Karelia played a central part and where networks continuously changed.

The following article takes a step west and the Swedish-speaking community in

Finland and its relation to Finland through sports. Katarzyna Herd's article has its starting point in pidginization as a process of cultural communication. She specifically studies Swedish-speaking football clubs in the turn of the twentieth century. In the sports sources she observes the meaning of sports in society, the complex relationships between Finland and Sweden, how identities were constructed and consolidated through sports.

A questionnaire entitled "Norwegian Folk Medicine" (Norsk Folkemedicin), distributed in 1911, is the starting point for Line Esborg's and Greta Karoline Heian's article. It deals with how vernacular folk-medical knowledge was transformed into an object of folklore. But they also note how it was an early example of an interdisciplinary knowledge project. Additionally, Esborg and Heian provide a concise history of the questionnaire. Signe Boeskov's article follows, taking the diaries of Molly Tang, the lady of a Danish nineteenth-century manor, as the starting point for an investigation of everyday life and emotional labour. Boeskov shows how normative and ideal expectations of the housewife role were combined in both practical and emotional work.

Britta Zetterström Geschwind's investigation deals with female refugees who came to Sweden after the Second World War. Many of these women came from German camps and were once again incarcerated, but now in Swedish camps. Zetterström Geschwind's example is taken from a small institution in southern Sweden. She traces a couple of detainees and the institutional perspectives that were applied to them and their attempts to meet requirements with both respectability and

resistance. Maria Bäckman follows with an article on experiences of visual impairment. Belonging to the norm means passing under the radar, being invisible. Bäckman writes from her own experiences of being visually impaired, using a white stick. It does help her, giving her extra space in her everyday life but it also makes her shrink as a person, ashamed of being a person that others have to make room for.

John Ødemark, Åmund Resløyken, and Gina Fraas Henrichsen have found interesting connections between fairytales and the concept and practice of mindfulness. They show how fairytales are used for including Buddhism in therapeutic practices of mindfulness. The investigation shows how fairytales are used as universal and psychological "roadmaps". But not only that. In the context of mindfulness they also serve as a model for living. In terms of the applicability of folkloristic knowledge this is a vertiginous insight. If this may be considered a theme, it is developed in a slightly more expected way by Meghan Cortner, Jessica Jørnæs, Adam Kuskner, and Mark Vacher. They investigate the concept and practice of applied cultural analysis as it is expressed in two related master programmes of Copenhagen University and Lund University. What does it mean to enter a context outside academia? The authors show how applicability is shaped in relation to and in negotiation with clients.

The article section ends with three obviously timely pieces. Lone Milkær investigates how ideas of a sustainable society may be practised. Through an example in Norway she shows how everyday climate activism can take shape through downscaling the climate activist movement, situating and domesticating it to a local

practice and concern. Mattias Frihammar and Fredrik Krohn Andersson write about how built remnants such as bunkers from the Cold War become heritage and bricks and stones to construct and perform masculinity. This bunker engagement obviously acquired added meanings in the spring of 2022 when the Swedish military defence left the post-Cold War downsizing for an upscaling supposed to meet a new security situation in the north-east of Europe. In a situation that is, in a sense less threatening but nonetheless contemporary, Mia-Marie Hammarlin seeks an understanding of vaccination-critical expressions in everyday life. The situation is of course the Covid-19 pandemic 2020–2022. The meaning of

place – or with Hammarlin’s cleverly invented concept “vaccilocus” – is at the centre for these vaccine-reluctant individuals and expressed in a sense of belonging to nature and like-minded neighbours and friends. At the same time it reflects a general reluctance and resistance to national, distanced, and central perspectives and requirements in the welfare state.

As usual, the articles summarized above constitute approximately half of the volume. The other half is as important with its biographical notes and reviews. Together they cover both the need of news and, above all, an ongoing critical dialogue between writers and readers.

Networks in Trade

The Arhippainen Family as Peddlers, Shopkeepers, and Bridge-builders in Russia and Finland, 1850–1940

By Anna Sundelin & Johanna Wassholm

In the 1920s and 1930s, three brothers from White Sea Karelia in north-western Russia – V(asili) J(ohannes), Juho, and Simo Arhippainen¹ – kept shops in Karjaa, a small town in a predominantly Swedish-speaking region of south-western Finland. Like many other White Sea Karelian shopkeepers, they had begun their careers as peddlers in the late nineteenth century, at a time when Finland was a semi-autonomous grand duchy of the Russian Empire. Due to the geographic proximity and political connection, people from the multi-ethnic empire, such as ethnic Russians, Jews, and Tatars, played an important role in Finnish petty trade. The White Sea Karelian peddlers, commonly called “rucksack Russians” (*Laukkuryssä*) or “Arkangelites” – a reference to their homeland being situated in the Arkhangelsk Governorate – constituted the most numerous category. They had been a common sight in rural Finland for centuries, differing from their local customers by their clothing, language, and Orthodox faith (Storå 1989:34). Over time, many permanently settled in Finland as shopkeepers. Many also stayed in Finland after 1917, when the grand duchy transformed into an independent republic in the wake of the Russian Revolution.

In this article, we examine the functions of the various networks that the Arhippainen family was involved in and created. Networks were of great importance when family members were engaged in peddling, which was forbidden for non-Finnish citizens, when its members started to establish stationary shops and settled in Finland permanently, and when they engaged in organizations founded by White Sea Karelian traders in Finland.

Our theoretical point of departure, following international research, is that various types of economic and social networks have played a seminal role in petty trade (Fontaine 2014). This applies not least to groups from the “outside”, who have often been marginalized in foreign local communities and in new homelands in terms of economy, legislation, and culture. In such marginalized positions, formal and/or informal networks have been able to provide access to financial and material resources, in addition to creating group solidarity and upholding traditions and attitudes that have encouraged entrepreneurship (Light & Karageorgis 1994:659–660).

We examine the functions of the networks in three different contexts. In the first section, we ask how the Arhippainen family utilized networks to counter the challenges they met when conducting formally illicit peddling in the late nineteenth century. In the second, we analyse the connections that contributed to the family members being able to establish themselves as stationary shopkeepers in Finland from the early twentieth century. And in the third, we examine the family’s role in creating and maintaining networks between their former homeland and Finland, being members of the organizations that aimed to support the economic and cultural development of White Sea Karelia from 1906. By following a single family over two generations, we aim to illustrate how a variety of connections enabled traders from the outside to battle the challenges they encountered in a foreign environment, and over time to become established local merchants and social actors.

To address these areas, we analyse four types of sources that represent the

Arhippainen family's own perceptions of their path from peddlers to established shopkeepers. First, we use interviews conducted by the historian Maiju Keynäs in 1950–1955 with former Russian peddlers in Finland (Naakka-Korhonen 1988:6–7), including Juho and V.J. Arhippainen. Second, we study a privately owned notebook, primarily written by V.J. Arhippainen in the early twentieth century, which among other things contains notes about the family's origins, its history in Finland, and its contacts with the White Sea Karelian homeland. Third, we analyse periodicals published by organizations representing the interests of White Sea Karelian peddlers and shopkeepers in Finland, which were published from 1906 and to which members of the Arhippainen family contributed as authors: *Karjalaisten Pakinoita* (1906–1907), *Karjalan Kävijä* (1908–09), *Karjalaisten Sanomat* (1917–1920), *Toukomies* (1925–1935), *Viena-Aunus* (1935–1944), and *Karjalan Heimo* (1944–). Finally, we study early twentieth-century newspaper advertisements to investigate the Arhippainen family's networks in light of their business activities.

Due to its informal character and its marginal existence in a grey zone between the legal and illegal, petty trade in its various forms has left fragmented and few traces in written documents (Mikkola & Stark 2009:4–6; Wassholm & Östman 2021:17–19). In addition, sources such as administrative records, newspapers, and ethnographic questionnaires all tend to convey a one-sided and even distorted view of peddlers from the outside. Newspapers often contain pejorative rhetoric, including moral judgments about both the trade as such and the traders, as well as their customers. They usually reflect the attitudes

of the authorities, who perceived peddlers as a potential risk vis-à-vis their efforts to maintain order in the local community, or local merchants, who saw them as a threat to their own business. While ethnographic questionnaires can nuance this picture, they tend to represent the customers' viewpoint rather than the traders' (Wassholm & Sundelin 2018a:203). Considering this, access to sources that give a voice to the peddlers' own depictions of their contacts and networks is essential if we wish to illuminate the various relations that played a role for outsiders seeking to find a livelihood as peddlers, opening a shop and settling down permanently.

The White Sea Karelian peddlers in Finland have been studied by Pekka Nevalainen in his survey of their history, *Kulkukauppiaista kauppaneuvoksiin: Itäkarjalaisten liiketoiminta Suomessa* (2016), in Mervi Naakka-Korhonen's book *Halpa hinta, pitkä mitta* (1988), based on the interviews made by Keynäs, and in articles written by the ethnologist Nils Storå (1989; 1991). Members of the Arhippainen family are mentioned in passing in some of these works, as well as in texts on local history in Karjaa (Bergman 2014:44–49; Hummelin & Hummelin 1990–1993:184–185). While there are some studies of individual White Sea Karelian merchant families, such as Sofronoff (Ranta 1995), Mitro (Mitro 1936), Afanasjeff-Rinne (Leppänen 2009), and Andronoff (Vaara 2010), there is to date no extensive investigation of the Arhippainen family or the function of networks from the point of view of a single family of Russian peddlers in Finland.

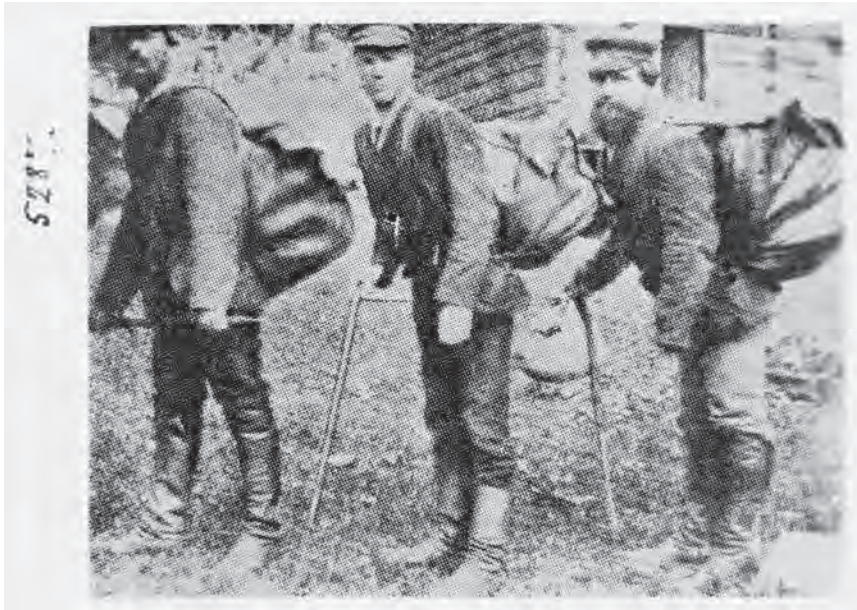
Peddlers on the Margins of Society

The Arhippainen family was one of nu-

merous White Sea Karelian families who peddled in Finland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. White Sea Karelia comprised the region between the Finnish-Russian border and the White Sea, where mobile trade had been an important livelihood since medieval times. Pekka Nevalainen estimates that 1,400–2,000 men from the region annually traded in Finland in the late nineteenth century. The barren soil could not support the population in the secluded and underdeveloped region all year round, which forced or attracted many to seek a more profitable livelihood in neighbouring Finland, which was economically more developed (Nevalainen 2016:28–33, 49–51). The homeland's barren soil is also the reason V.J. Arhippainen mentions for the men in the family hav-

ing become peddlers (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:28). The family originated from the village of Kiisjoki in Kiestinki in the northern part of White Sea Karelia, while their name was derived from their farm, which was called Arhippala (V.J. Arhippainen's notebook; Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:16–17).

The peddlers from Kiestinki primarily traded in the Swedish-speaking regions of south-western Finland and the Åland Islands (Nevalainen 2016:60). The first two members of the Arhippainen family to peddle in Finland were two brothers, Iivana and Jaakko. Iivana Arhippainen (Ivan Arhipoff, b. 1828), the father of V.J., Juho, and Simo, only peddled in the region for a couple of years but for decades conducted mobile trade in northern Finland



1. The families from Kiestinki traveled together and co-operated in so called trading companies in Finland. Members of the Arhippainen, Kusmin, and Minin families gathered regularly on the island Lohjansaari. Photo: Tilma Haimari, Finno-ugric picture lingen, Museiverket, Helsingfors.

and Sweden. His younger brother Jaakko (b. 1832), in turn, stayed in the region for the rest of his life (V.J. Arhippainen's notebook; Interviews with J. Arhippainen and V.J. Arhippainen).

The business success of the White Sea Karelian peddlers depended on networks that supported their mobile lifestyle, granted access to goods, and offered security. V.J. and Juho Arhippainen reflect the collective character of the trade, starting from depictions of how peddlers from Kiestinki departed for Finland together, usually in the late summer after harvesting was finished. The groups consisted of up to 25 men, who would cover a distance of more than 1,000 kilometres. Most would first head to the coastal town of Oulu on foot and by waterways, to continue south from there along the coast – or, after the railway to Oulu was completed in 1886 – by train. In an article published in 1927, Juho describes the solemn atmosphere at home as he was ready to depart for his first journey to Finland in 1894 at the age of 14, and how relatives of peddlers already residing in Finland sent wares along with him. Along the journey, which lasted two weeks, men parted from the group as they reached their respective trading areas. On the last stretch to Karjaa, Juho found himself the only one remaining of those who had left Kiestinki together (*Toukomiä* 5/1927:69–71; Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:23–24, 27).

Upon arrival in Karjaa, Juho was met by his uncle Jaakko and his older brother Miitrej, who were already working as peddlers in the region (*Toukomiä* 5/1927:69–71). It was common among peddling families for sons and nephews to accompany their older relatives on trade journeys, so that they could learn the practices of ped-

dling from a young age. However, it was important to carefully consider who in the next generation was best suited for the trade. Success in the business not only required social skills but also an ability to master different weight and length measures and convert currency from Russian roubles to Finnish marks. These were not skills that everyone had, as V.J. Arhippainen mentions that it was not uncommon for youngsters who were taken on the journeys to fail (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:13, 29).

In the predominantly Swedish-speaking Karjaa region, language posed an additional challenge. The peddlers' native language was Karelian, at the time considered a dialect of Finnish; therefore, communication was not an issue in Finnish-speaking areas. By contrast, peddlers who arrived in Swedish-speaking regions initially lacked a common language with their customers, and there is evidence to suggest that in some cases this may have evoked negative attitudes (*Karjalan Heimo* 5–6/1989:79). However, research has also shown that the lack of a shared language was rarely an insurmountable problem (Storå 1991:78–79; Nevalainen 2016:67; Naakka-Korhonen 1988:79). This is confirmed by Juho Arhippainen, who recounts that he initially did not even know the names of all his articles in Swedish but maintains that he quickly learned basic Swedish vocabulary and that language was no obstacle to trade exchanges (Interview with J. Arhippainen). His view is consistent with answers to ethnographic questionnaires in Swedish-speaking regions, which indicate that while communicative challenges did exist in the form of broken language, for example, most newly arrived peddlers quickly learned the necessary commer-

cial vocabulary and over time developed more advanced language skills (KIVA 9 M 677:2; M 2091:1).

The peddlers were organized in so-called trading companies, associations where several mobile traders participated in the acquisition of goods, shared the risk, and divided the local market among themselves (Storå 1989:81–82; Naakka-Korhonen 1988:151–156). Each company was established at a specific place – and as several companies tended to co-operate, certain locations, such as Perniö, Tenhola, and Lohjansaari between Karjaa and Lohja, became centres for Russian peddlers in the area. Of the five companies that gathered on the island of Lohjansaari, one was headed by Jaakko Arhippainen and another by the Loskin family, who also hailed from Kiisjoki and mainly peddled in the Lohja region (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:25–26; Interview with J. Arhippainen). According to Juho Arhippainen, Lohjansaari became a centre for peddlers due to its isolated location, far from the main roads. As the White Sea Karelian peddlers lacked citizenship rights in the Finnish grand duchy and were therefore prohibited by Finnish law from peddling, they preferred to gather in places that the local law enforcement rarely visited (Interview with J. Arhippainen).

The company's main function was to procure commodities for its members, a task handled by the most experienced and reliable among them. Thus, Jaakko Arhippainen was responsible for procuring goods for his company on Lohjansaari. One of the competitive advantages enjoyed by the White Sea Karelian peddlers was that they had access to established trade networks that extended all the way

to Moscow and other important trade centres in the Russian interior. While Jaakko Arhippainen provisioned commodities from both St Petersburg and Moscow, the other company members kept themselves busy selling the old stock, gathering again to divide the new goods among them when they arrived. The division was made according to ability, which meant that a more skilled peddler received more than a less skilled one. Those company members who lacked money of their own conducted sales as servants for other more affluent members (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:25–26; Interview with J. Arhippainen; *Karjalan Kävijä* 8/1908:11).

Transport and distribution of the goods over long distances to the remote Lohjansaari was a challenge, but transportation became more effective after a railway line connecting Hanko to Hyvinkää was completed in 1873 (*Karis fordom och nu* 1970:142–146). However, newspaper notices suggest that the commodities were partly delivered illegally, or at least there were suspicions of such offences. For example, in 1876, newspapers reported that the rural police in Karjaa seized a consignment of goods that had arrived by train at Mustio station, close to Lohjansaari; it was suspected that these were destined for the peddlers in the area (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 5.2.1876). Locally, the peddlers mainly moved on foot, although some had access to horses and carts. For this reason, peddlers preferred lightweight goods that were easy to carry on their back, either in leather bags or in large wooden boxes with small compartments where items could be sorted. Among the goods offered for sale were sewing accessories such as needles, thread, ribbon, and buttons, as well

as medicines, various prints, and sundry groceries. However, the main commodity was comprised of fabrics of various kinds, with ready-made clothes becoming more common from the beginning of the twentieth century (Naakka-Korhonen 1988:135; Nevalainen 2016:27).

In addition to providing the peddlers with goods, the company sites played an important role in terms of security. Peddlers, who often moved alone in remote places, were at risk of being robbed or even murdered (Nevalainen 2016:125–131; Diner 2015:127–130; Blom 1996:95–103). V.J. Arhippainen mentions that a peddler from Kiisjoki had allegedly been murdered in connection with an attempted robbery in Karjaa in the late nineteenth century (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:32). This is confirmed by a newspaper report stating that a local farmhand was convicted of murdering a peddler in the vicinity of Karjaa in 1895 (*Västra Nyland* 6.8.1895). The security issue underlines the importance of the companies, as they gathered regularly and could take action if a member did not show up at the agreed time (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:14).

Peddling was formally illegal according to Finnish law, and peddlers constantly ran the risk of being caught by the police. V.J. Arhippainen notes that some police officers were particularly zealous in this respect (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:42; see also Lindroos 1983:191). A recollection written by Iivana Arhippainen in 1908 claims that his brother Jaakko had his bags confiscated no less than 14 times during his 40 years as a peddler in the region (*Karjalan Kävijä* 8/1908:11). Examples of this are also found in the newspapers. For instance, in 1876, a local officer from

Karjaa in co-operation with his colleague confiscated three peddlers' well-packed, large leather bags in neighbouring Inkoo (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 5.2.1876). The stories also contain anecdotes of peddlers daring to defy law enforcement. V.J. Arhippainen recounts how a peddler from Kiestinki escaped from a police officer in Karjaa, refusing to come back even though the latter threatened to use his weapon (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:30–32).

However, it is well known that both customers and the authorities often ignored the fact that peddling was illicit and that customers tended to side with the peddlers in conflicts with the police (Wassholm 2020:16). V.J. Arhippainen mentions how a wealthy farmer near Karjaa vehemently defended a peddler from Kiisjoki when the police arrived and threatened to confiscate the goods that he was selling there. Even the courts occasionally sided with peddlers. In one such case, the local court ordered the police to return the fox and squirrel skins that they had confiscated from peddlers, after it was revealed in the trial that even members of law enforcement had sold skins and furs to the peddlers (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:30–32). Along with berries, birds, and braids of human hair, furs and skins were part of the barter that the peddlers practised on occasion (Wassholm & Sundelin 2018b:138).

V.J. Arhippainen maintains that the fact that peddling persisted, despite it being illegal, was proof of the popularity of Russian peddlers, as without that they would not have been able to operate. The reason behind the popularity, according to him, was the lack of permanent stores in the sparsely populated area, and that customers were attracted by the new goods that the peddlers

offered. In some cases, influential people in the local community also set an example. A peddler received several orders for furs after a local priest purchased one for his wife (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:30–32). The encounters between the peddlers and their customers took place in the private homes of their customers in the villages, where their visits were often perceived as a welcome break from a monotonous everyday life. In previous research, the success of peddling has been explained not only in terms of granting access to sought-after goods but also the excitement and entertainment that skilled peddlers offered in the form of lively bargaining and the demonstration of novelty goods (Rosander 1980:80; Fontaine 1996:81; Wassholm & Sundelin 2018b:139–142). This was a talent which, according to Nils Storå, also applied to the White Sea Karelians (Storå 1989:34; 1991:90–93).

However, friendly relations with the locals did not always guarantee protection. Attitudes towards peddlers became particularly negative in connection with the Finnish-Russian political conflict; this culminated in the issuing of the so-called February Manifesto in 1899, which many in Finland viewed as a coup d'état that stripped Finns of their political self-determination. The indignation it caused sparked a political propaganda campaign in the Finnish press, with Russian peddlers being accused of acting as agitators who, among other things, spread false rumours about land division among the landless population in order to cause unrest and split the Finnish nation (Tommila 1999:245–256). Juho Arhippainen mentions that the campaign turned many of the previously benevolent local customers

against the peddlers, forcing many to leave Finland temporarily. Someone even made the claim that it was right to kill peddlers (Interview with J. Arhippainen). At the same time, the pressure on the White Sea Karelians brought about a strengthening of their internal networks. They organized to deliver a petition to Governor General Nikolai Bobrikov, arguing that they were victims of a hate campaign and pleading with him to change the law in their favour. Iivana Arhippainen was among the signatories (*Karjalan Heimo* 3–4 / 2006:48–51). The petition was a success, as a Russian decree that made peddling in Finland legal for all Russian subjects was issued in July 1900 (Nevalainen 2016:106–107).

In the nineteenth century, many White Sea Karelians peddled seasonally, returning from Finland to their home region every few months or years. Over time, many remained in Finland for longer periods, eventually settling down permanently. The first generation of the Arhippainen family followed different paths in this respect. Iivana Arhippainen stopped peddling altogether in his older days, settling in Kiisjoki for the remainder of his life, compared to his brother Jaakko, who first arrived in Finland in 1850 at the age of 18 and lived in Karjaa until his death in 1913 (*Karjalan Kävijä* 8/1908:11). The second generation initially moved back and forth between Kiestinki and Karjaa, where they learned the trade while working for their uncle Jaakko. For instance, Juho Arhippainen first came to Karjaa in 1894, returning to Kiestinki after three years. In 1903, he went south for two more years, returned to Kiestinki, and finally moved to Finland permanently in 1907. Some years later, he brought along his family (Interview with J. Arhippainen;

Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:27). By the early 1920s, all three brothers were permanently residing in Finland.

The Second Generation as Shopkeepers

A respondent to an ethnographic questionnaire about itinerant Russian traders in Finland recalls that three brothers named Arhippainen had formerly peddled in the Karjaa region, having at some point abandoned their ambulatory livelihood to found cloth shops (KIVA 9 M 689:1). In this respect, the family followed a pattern typical of White Sea Karelian peddlers, many of whom over time became stationary shopkeepers in Finland (Nevalainen 2016:214; Storå 1989:94). The second generation, who all started out as peddlers, commuting between Kiestinki and Karjaa, permanently settled down in Karjaa in the first dec-

ades of the twentieth century (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:27).

Of the three brothers, V.J. Arhippainen (b. 1882) was the first to set up a shop in Karjaa. In 1908, after having seasonally peddled in the region for years, he took over the trading rights of a local merchant who had kept a shop in the village of Kasaby since the early 1870s (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:23; *Karis fordom och nu* 1970:91; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 18.6.1908). In retrospect, his transformation from peddler to shopkeeper is described as a huge effort for a man who was self-taught in writing and had only acquired a limited amount of basic education (*Viena-Aunus* 18.4.1942:6). With his business – and with that his lifestyle – becoming stationary, V.J. Arhippainen could also afford to bring his family from Kiestinki to Finland. His wife and children arrived in Karjaa a few days



2. The Arhippainen brothers became stationary shopkeepers in Karjaa in the 1920s. The photograph shows Juho (Janne) Arhippainen's shop på Kauppiaskatu 12. Photo: Local Archive Arresten, Karjaa.

before the official opening of the shop in February 1908. His younger brother Simo was also present, assisting V.J. in running the shop before opening his own business in the 1920s (V.J. Arhippainen's notebook).

Keeping a shop was a more advanced form of business and in most cases offered a more stable income than peddling and other forms of petty trade. At the same time, establishing a shop required more initial efforts and resources, for example, in terms of capital, with shopkeepers being dependent on credit networks and having a set customer base, to a greater extent than peddlers who gained their livelihood from itineracy (Boyd 2010:318–319). In the last decades of the nineteenth century, setting up shops became possible for more people in Finland due to a general liberalization of the economy. The Freedom of Trade Act, issued in 1879, made it easier to open shops throughout Finland, but non-Finnish citizens who wanted to do so were subject to certain requirements: they had to apply for a permit from the local governor, have a good reputation, and pay a guarantee (Nevalainen 2016:146–147).

Furthermore, a recommendation from the municipal assembly was at times a prerequisite to open a shop, a practice that seems to have become an obstacle for many potential shopkeepers with origins outside the local community (Alanen 1957:214–215). In Karjaa, too, the municipal assembly rejected several applications made by White Sea Karelian peddlers with the argument that applicants had previously been fined for illegal beer sales and Sabbath violations or because they were suspected of attracting local customers to bad and morally degrading businesses (*Karis fordomb och nu* 1970:91). Shopkeeping was not a simple

task, and many newly opened shops were closed soon after being established due to a lack of capital or other financial troubles. However, if a shop owner succeeded in his venture, the shop could quickly become an important local centre, not least in rural regions (Alanen 1957:311–312; Kaarniranta 2001:81–83). As there were many tasks associated with shopkeeping, wives were often involved in the running of daily errands (Diner 2015: 15), and this was also the case with the newly established shops in Karjaa.

Combined with the negative attitudes of the local authorities and merchants, the requirements made it both complicated and time-consuming for non-Finnish citizens to start a business under their own name. However, for those peddlers who had a long history of trading in the area and who were on friendly terms with the local inhabitants, there was one solution to the dilemma. V.J. Arhippainen maintains that the helpfulness that the residents showed towards the itinerant traders was a necessity if they wanted to settle down and venture into shopkeeping. According to him, it was common for locals to help traders by lending their name to support the business. Sometimes they did so in exchange for money but more often it was purely out of a willingness to help. Furthermore, he notes that he is not aware of any cases where the Finnish citizen demanded to also run the shop in the end (Interview with V.J. Arhippainen:12).

V.J. Arhippainen's two brothers, Juho (b. 1879) and Simo (b. 1887), who had previously peddled seasonally and worked for him as shop assistants, established their own shops selling fabrics and clothing in Karjaa only after Finland gained independence from Russia in 1917 (Vuoristo

1996:215). Both brothers opened their shops in 1919, selling textiles of various sorts (*Toukomies*, 1.10.1929; *Tiklas* 1.10.1937). Previous research has stressed that access to places where many people gathered, such as churches, taverns, or dairies, were of crucial importance for itinerant traders who sought to set up permanent businesses. Another key element was good communications, including functioning transport and proximity to main roads and railway lines (Baad Pedersen 1983:33–39). The location of Karjaa was favourable in this respect, as roads, waterways, and from 1873 the Hanko–Hyvinkää railway converged there. The opening of the railway line between Turku and Helsinki in the early twentieth century made Karjaa a junction, and due to its location it came to play a significant role for business and culture in the region (*Karis fordom och nu* 1970:142–146).

As stationary shopkeepers, the former itinerant traders continued to offer a wide range of goods, usually fabrics, to a degree that was not found in other rural stores at the time (Nevalainen 2016:214). In 1926, Juho Arhippainen advertised that he had 250 kinds of woollen fabrics suitable for dresses and 100 kinds of flannel for sale in his shop (*Västra Nyland* 4.12.1926). Newspaper advertising makes it possible to find more detailed information about the goods that were sold, compared to the informal peddling that has left few traces in written sources. Advertising also reflects the increased consumption in Finland over time. On average, from the late nineteenth century Finns acquired more money to spend on other things than food and housing, and inspiration for purchases came partly from the increased number of ad-

vertisements in the newspapers. In terms of consumption, newspapers played a key role as mediators of change (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001:25, 32; Kuusanmäki 1936:100–101).

In the early twentieth century, newspaper advertisements consisted mainly of short descriptions of the supply of goods in a specific store, without images or any mention of prices (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001:32). The number of goods and the variation in qualities mentioned in the advertisements offer insight into the supply of the shop. In 1919, Juho Arhippainen advertised in the local newspaper *Västra Nyland* that he had set up a shop called Karjaan Uusi Kangaskauppa in a house along the main street in Karjaa. He informs the potential customers that he has 22 years of experience selling fabrics, ready-made clothes, and mercery in the region (*Västra Nyland* 4.9.1919:3). Subsequent advertisements show that he also provided his customers with tailoring services, including making uniforms for railway workers (*Västra Nyland* 27.2.1934; *Västra Nyland* 10.11.1928; *Västra Nyland* 17.8.1929). In addition to selling goods for cash, Juho also practised barter, exchanging wool and rags for yarn, shawls, and blankets, as well as for other merchandise (*Västra Nyland* 23.2.1929; 16.9.1933). Thus, as a stationary shopkeeper he continued the barter that he had engaged in as a peddler.

Around the year 1930, Juho Arhippainen's business was described as the community's "oldest and largest specialty store in the fabric and clothing industry" (*Västra Nyland* 6.10.1931; Vuoristo 1996:215). In 1933, he went bankrupt, like many other shopkeepers during the economic depression (Nevalainen 2016:211). However, with the

aid of his brother Simo, the firm was resurrected as a limited company under the name Oy J. Arhippainen Ab (Vuoristo 1996:215; *Iltta-Sanomat* 22.4.1933; *Kauppalehtis protestilista* 11.9.1934).

In the late 1920s, V.J. Arhippainen opened a second store in Karjaa under the name Karjaan kangas- ja vaate-tusliike (“The cloth and clothes store of Karjaa”). This became his main shop, while he kept his original store in Kasaby as a side business; it was later taken over by his son Alexej, born in 1910 (*Västra Nyland* 23.4.1927; Vuoristo 1996:25; V.J. Arhippainen’s notebook). Thus, new generations became involved in the retail business, leveraging the networks that the previous generation had created. It was also typical for shopkeepers from a certain region to offer work to others from the same region (V.J. Arhippainen’s notebook).

Like the White Sea Karelian peddlers in general, the Arhippainen family also furthered their business by strengthening their networks with other White Sea Karelian peddlers, especially with those hailing from the same region. These networks continued the co-operation of the trading companies that they had previously formed as peddlers, leading, for instance, to frequent marriages between members of families with the same background. Many families of shopkeepers who settled in south-western Finland originated in Kiestinki (for instance, the Semenoff and Jakovleff families from the village of Valasjoki and the Karppanen and Loskin families from the village of Kiisjoki). The Arhippainen family had particularly strong ties with the Loskin family, who established several shops in the region of Lohja, east of Karjaa. For instance, Simo Arhippainen was

married to Katri Loskin (*Västra Nyland* 15.4.1930:1) and V.J. Arhippainen to Maria Karppanen (V.J. Arhippainen’s notebook). Three of their sisters – Mari, Iro, and Anni – were married to members of the Loskin family, and a fourth, Maria, to a member of the Salomaa family (Documentation of the Arhippainen family, Local Archive Aresti). The Salomaa (Semenoff in Russian) family, also originating in Kiestinki, were established shopkeepers in nearby Kemiö (Vuoristo 2006).

Various kinds of networks were of importance for the Arhippainen family when they permanently settled down as shopkeepers. On one hand, they could require bureaucratic assistance from local networks when applying for permits to open a shop, while the local customer networks that they had established as peddlers likely played a role as a primary customer base. On the other hand, they utilized the networks that they had established already as peddlers with other families from Kiestinki. These types of social networks were important in trade, not least for outside groups who may have been marginalized in their new homeland in terms of jurisdiction, political rights, and ethnic prejudice. In addition to providing access to financial and material resources, such networks contributed to group solidarity and offered a tradition that encouraged new generations to become traders (Light & Karageorgis 1994:659–660).

Owning a business in many cases also offers a path to social advancement. In this respect, members of the Arhippainen family followed a path that was typical for immigrants and ethnic minorities. As Boyd points out, shopkeeping has often been a means to gain a livelihood in a foreign environment for groups that have found

themselves marginalized due to lack of education, language skills, discriminatory legislation, or negative attitudes (Boyd 2010:318–319). While the first generation of the Arhippainen family started out as peddlers on the margins of society, becoming stationary opened possibilities for social advancement for the second generation. As shopkeepers and permanent residents, they could more easily become engaged in social and business life, both locally in south-western Finland and in organizations established to further the contacts between White Sea Karelians in general.

Building Networks between the Old and the New Homelands

Like many White Sea Karelian traders, members of the Arhippainen family in the early twentieth century belonged to Vienan Karjalaisten Liitto (VKL), an association founded in 1906 to advance White Sea Karelia's economic and cultural development. The need for such development in the disadvantaged region was urgent, a circumstance that the author and explorer A.V. Ervasti had stressed as early as 1880 in his famous travelogue *Muistelmia matkalta Venäjän Karjalassa kesällä 1879* ("Recollections from a Journey in Russian Karelia in the Summer of 1879") (Ervasti 1880). However, organized activity for this cause became possible only after the revolution of 1905, which enabled a citizen's society in the empire and temporarily ended the Russification measures in the grand duchy (Lincoln 1990:202–203).

In August 1906, Iivana Arhippainen was among the 40 participants at a meeting in Tampere who founded Vienan Karjalaisten Liitto. The event was a continuation of a meeting held in Vaasa in April 1906, where

twelve traders originating in White Sea Karelia, headed by A. Mitrofanoff, had prepared for the founding. One third of the participants in Tampere were Finns, primarily academics and intellectuals who were interested in the region as the cradle of Finnish culture. Among them was O.A. Hainari, a renowned Karelianist and teacher at Sordavala Seminary and the association's first president (*Viena-Aunus* 1–6/1936:37). The association's purpose was to improve material conditions and communications in White Sea Karelia and to offer education by publishing newspapers and establishing libraries, reading rooms, and an ambulatory school where children were to be taught basic skills in reading, writing, and mathematics (*Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 1/1906:7–8; 3/1907). Iivana Arhippainen became involved in the founding of the reading rooms and the ambulatory school, and responsible for distributing literature and teaching materials in Finnish and Karelian in the region (*Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 1/1906:7–8; 3/1907:8–9; Ranta 1997:11–19, 199–200).

V.J. Arhippainen was present in Tampere alongside his father, becoming a member of the association's board (1908–1911) and assisting in the establishment of reading rooms in the home region (*Karjalan Heimo* 3–4/1952:28–29). His brother Juho was also active at a grassroots level, engaging in municipal affairs and organizing religious education in Kiisjoki, distributing informational literature, and founding reading rooms. He also acted as ombudsman in White Sea Karelia for the periodical *Aamun Koitto*, whose background forces aimed to create an Orthodox identity based on the Finnish language in Russian Karelia (*Toukomiies* 10/1929:137; Laitila 2019:76–77).

It was no coincidence that individuals who had a background as mobile traders in Finland took leading roles in the association (see, for example, *Karjalaisten Pakinoita/Karjalan Joulu* II 12/1907:27; *Tidskrift utgiven av Pedagogiska föreningen i Finland* 2–3/1907:84–85). Being mobile, peddlers had acquired knowledge of national and linguistic conditions, as well as economic development in Finland, while at the same time becoming aware of the backwardness of their home region. In articles that V.J. Arhippainen authored for the association's periodicals, he urged his colleagues to take responsibility for spreading the knowledge that they had acquired in Finland to White Sea Karelia, in order to bring about a national revival there. The younger generation of peddlers was considered suitable for this task, as they were proficient in reading and writing in Finnish, the language that the Karelians should consider their mother tongue (*Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 0/1906:7; *Karjalaisten Pakinoita/Karjalan Joulu* II 12/1907:27). For example, Juho Arhippainen's competence in grassroot work is explained by his writing skills in both Finnish and Russian (*Toukomi* 10/1929:137).

The association also strove to improve the legal status of Karelian peddlers in Finland, an activity that V.J. Arhippainen was involved in. In April 1907, he chaired a regional meeting for traders from White Sea Karelia in Karjaa, summoning around 30 participants. The purpose was to submit a petition to the governor general of Finland, drawing his attention to the unclear legal status of Russian peddlers in the grand duchy. The participants were authorized to sign the petition for dozens of others who could not attend. By the end

of May, similar meetings were held in ten other locations around Finland, and in the summer of 1907 V.J. Arhippainen was appointed as a member of the delegation that was to hand over the petition to the governor general in Helsinki (*Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 8–9/1907:31; *Karjalan Heimo* 3–4/2006:51–52).

The background to the petition concerned the ambiguities surrounding the right of Russian subjects without Finnish citizenship to pursue peddling in the grand duchy. Since 1900, the Finnish Trade Act of 1879 had stood in conflict with the Russian decree of 1900, which allowed peddling for all Russian subjects in Finland. After the November Manifesto of 1905 abolished the Russification measures that had been imposed since 1899, the Governor General's Office received queries from local authorities who did not know how they should deal with Russian subjects. In his replies, the governor general maintained that the decree of 1900 should be followed until the Finnish Trade Act was amended (*Kotka Nyheter* 10.4.1906:3). The petitions aimed to secure the rights of Russian subjects without citizenship rights to pursue peddling in the grand duchy, in the same way as the petition submitted in 1900 had led to a change of the law. However, this time the petition was to no avail; despite lively debates on the matter (see, e.g., *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 8.2.1906:1; 13.6.1907:1; *Nya Pressen* 28.5.1907:5; *Wiborgs Nyheter* 27.5.1907:2), the conflicting Finnish and Russian interests and the repeated dissolutions of the Finnish Diet meant that the conflict remained unresolved (Nevalainen 2016:108).

Another question that engaged VKL was the reclaiming of Karelian surnames,

which through the Russian administrative apparatus had acquired Russian forms over time. In an article in *Karjalaisten Pakinoita*, Iivana Arhippainen in 1907 remarked that the Finns disapproved of the original Karelian names having been distorted into “foreign” forms. He himself had become aware of this fact in a conversation with O.A. Hainari, who while staying on Lohjansaari during summers in the 1890s collected information about White Sea Karelia from the peddlers residing there. When Hainari once asked for their names, with the aim of documenting them, Iivana stated his official name as he had been taught: Ivan Ivanovich Arhipoff. When asked if he was really known under the name Arhipoff in Kiestinki, he replied that he had been called Arhippainen there and that the Russian ending “-off” had been added in school. The Russian form of the name was copied onto the report card, and from there to passports and other official documents (*Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 1/1907:9–10; Ranta 1997:207).

Already the previous year, the Finnish author Ilmari Calamnius had called on the White Sea Karelians to get rid of Russian endings such as “-jeff”, “-joff”, and “-koff” in their names. He pointed out that the White Sea Karelians viewed themselves as members of the “Finnish tribe” and that their original names resembled Finnish ones, which many Russian Karelians residing close to the Finnish border had retained. Now the time had come to shed the Russian influence and the strange mixture of languages that had led, for example, to Remssunen being distorted into Remshujeff and Kieleväinen into Kieleväjeff (C[alamnius] 1/1906:13). Such changes must be seen in context of a paral-

lel process of Finns changing their Swedish names to Finnish ones, which culminated in 25,000 Finns changing their names in 1906, in commemoration of the centenary of J.V. Snellman’s birth (Paikkala 2004:514–522). Calamnius himself was among those who changed his name into Finnish – Kianto – the name he would later become known under as a celebrated author.

Among those who heeded the call was V.J. Arhippainen, who signed a poem published in *Karjalan Pakinoita* (2/1906:4): “V.I. Arhipoff, from now on Arhippainen”. Lists of dozens of other Karelians who changed their names were published in the periodical. However, in administrative records most names remained in the Russian form throughout the period that Finland was part of the Russian Empire. Already Calamnius (*Karjalan Pakinoita* 1/1906:13) had pointed out that if the Russian authorities would not allow a formal change of the name, at least the Karelian or Finnish form should be used in unofficial contexts. Thus, the name Arhipoff was still used in official documents. In the short notices that were published in Finnish newspapers in 1921, informing that V.J. and Simo Arhippainen had become Finnish citizens, their surname was written in the form “Arhippainen (Arhipoff)” (*Dagens Press* 8.10.1921:2; *Iltalehti* 8.10.1921:2).

After only a few years, Russian authorities and nationalist circles began to view the activities of the VKL as a form of “pan-Finnish propaganda”, a reflection of a sort of tug-of-war between Russian and Finnish interests in Russian Karelia. The Russians suspected that the association strove to tie White Sea Karelia closer to Finland by strengthening the region’s

economic relations westward, by offering education in Finnish, and, worst of all, by conducting Lutheran missions among the Orthodox Karelians. An association called the Karelian Brotherhood led by the priest and monk Kiprian was founded in 1907 to counteract this development through a strengthening of the Russian and Orthodox culture in the region (*Viena-Aunus* 1–6/1936:37; Vituhnovskaja 2004:382). This soon made the VKL's activities difficult: the association was prohibited from publishing its periodical, the ambulatory school was closed, and some of its active members in White Sea Karelia were even arrested. According to an article published in *Toukomiies* (10/1929:137), the growing pressure from the Russian side was a factor that forced Juho Arhippainen to migrate to Finland permanently.

The First World War considerably diminished the number of White Sea Karelians in Finland, as most male Russian under the age of 50 were conscripted into the Russian army. After the defeat of Russia and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Finland declared itself independent, which in turn resulted in a civil war between “Reds” and “Whites” in the spring of 1918. Meanwhile, the political and military situation in White Sea Karelia became extremely chaotic (Ranta 1997:201–202; Nevalainen 2016:149–151). Between 1918 and 1922, the region was drawn into the Russian civil war, as the Bolsheviks fought the Russian White Army, British and French allied troops, and Finnish military expeditions seeking to “liberate” White Sea Karelia and incorporate it into Finland. In this complex situation, V.J. Arhippainen was appointed representative of the White Sea Karelians in Finland, with the task of

furthering their interests in relation to the Finnish government (*Helsingin Sanomat* 25.4.1918). The situation only calmed in 1922, with the Bolsheviks taking control of the region and the founding of the Soviet Union.

As all three brothers decided to stay in the newly independent Finland, and as the founding of the Soviet Union closed the border, their contacts with the homeland were cut from the early 1920s. However, the Arhippainen brothers continued to be active in the White Sea Karelian association, which now operated solely within Finland under a new name, Karjalan Sivistysseura. Both V.J. and Juho acted as board members and V.J. set up a fund bearing his name in 1942, with the aim of supporting the education of White Sea Karelian students. Juho, in turn, donated a rucksack to the National Museum of Finland in 1938 with the aim of keeping the memory of the White Sea Karelian peddlers alive (*Viena-Aunus* 1–6/1936:40; *Karjalan Heimo* 3–4 /1952: 28–29; 3–4/2006: 47). For their decades-long commitment to the White Sea Karelian organizations, Karjalan Sivistysseura awarded Juho Arhippainen a medal of merit in the 1930s and V.J. Arhippainen was made an honorary member at the beginning of the 1940s (Vuoristo 1996:201–202).

Conclusion

In this article, we have examined the various functions that networks had for members of a single family from White Sea Karelia, who started out as peddlers in Finland in the mid-nineteenth century and became settled retailers and active members of White Sea Karelian organizations in the first half of the twentieth century.

As peddlers, members of the Arhippainen family relied on their family network and, in a broader sense, on the relationships that they had formed with other mobile families from their homeland in White Sea Karelia. These networks formed a structure in which the younger generations were introduced to a business tradition that encouraged peddling and granted access to diverse types of useful resources from an early age. The local and regional contacts with other White Sea Karelians were of seminal importance for the possibility to find a livelihood peddling in Finland, as the formally illicit ambulatory trade placed the peddlers on the margins of local society. In this environment, co-operation provided efficiency in terms of mobility over short and long distances, access to commodities, and a certain degree of security. These connections prevailed when the White Sea Karelian families started to move from the periphery of society towards a central and more established position as stationary shopkeepers. Even from the early 1920s, after the second generation of the Arhippainen family became Finnish citizens, the networks with other White Sea Karelian families prevailed. The close ties are illustrated, for example, by the marriages between White Sea Karelians, in the case of the Arhippainen not least with members of the Loskin family in nearby Lohja.

In addition to the contacts with other White Sea Karelians, functioning networks with people in the local society in south-western Finland played a vital role for the traders. The very fact that a demand for the peddlers' commodities was a prerequisite for their success meant that they needed to form positive personal relations with the locals. Especially in cases in which local law enforcement tried to detain the

peddlers for illicit trade, connections with locals who sided with them and protected them proved important. Support from the local society was also of value when setting up a stationary shop, as this was no easy task for persons without citizenship rights in Finland, especially since local merchants and the municipal board sometimes strove to counteract such ambitions.

Members of the Arhippainen family were also actively engaged in the organizations that White Sea Karelians in Finland established from 1906, which aimed to support the interests of White Sea Karelian traders in Finland and to strengthen the cultural and material development of the homeland. This organizational work continued to maintain the ties between the merchants of independent Finland, even after the establishment of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s closed the border between Finland and White Sea Karelia. While the border cut the trading families' contacts to their home region, the networks that had originally been formed there continued to function within Finland, supporting and maintaining a White Sea Karelian identity and culture outside its geographical borders.

This article highlights the ways in which networks were significant for the members of the Arhippainen family as peddlers and shopkeepers, and how they themselves were also active in creating them. By following a single family over two generations and in changing contexts, it becomes clear that various types of connections enabled peddlers from the outside to meet the challenges that they encountered in a foreign environment, and to move from the margins of society to become established merchants in their new environment. In

this regard, access to sources that reflect the family members' own views of their business activities, such as interviews, notebooks, and articles that they themselves and their peers authored, have been of central importance for this study. The sources not only highlight the relevance of connections for the Arhippainen family's business activities but also provide a more multifaceted picture of the business than other types of sources, such as newspapers and ethnographic questionnaires, which primarily reflect the perceptions and attitudes of the customers, authorities, and local merchants.

Anna Sundelin

Ph.D.

Dept. of Culture, History and Philosophy

Åbo Akademi

Domkyrkotorget 3

FIN-20500 Åbo

email: Anna.Sundelin@abo.fi

Johanna Wassholm

Ph.D.

Dept. of Culture, History and Philosophy

Åbo Akademi

Domkyrkotorget 3

FIN-20500 Åbo

email: Johanna.Wassholm@abo.fi

Notes

- 1 The names are not standardized and appear in Russian, Karelian, Swedish, and Finnish forms, depending on the function and the language of each source. For clarity and consistency, we use the Finnish names, which the family members themselves used when appearing as authors in the periodicals published by White Sea Karelian organizations.

References

Archives

Local Archive Aresti, Karjaa

Documentation of the Arhippainen family

Cultural studies archive Cultura at Åbo Akademi, Turku (KIVA)

Questionnaire 9: Kringvandrande ryska handelsmän [*Itinerant Russian Peddlers*], 1957

The library of Karjalan sivistysliitto, Helsinki

Maiju Keynäs's interviews with former Russian peddlers

V.J. Arhippainen

J. Arhippainen

Private archive

V.J. Arhippainen's notebook

Newspapers and periodicals

Dagens Press

Finlands Allmänna Tidning

Helsingin Sanomat

Hufvudstadsbladet

Iltalehti

Ilta-Sanomat

Karjalaisten Pakinoita

Karjalan Heimo

Karjalan Kävijä

Kauppaletis protestlista

Kotka Nyheter

Nya Pressen

Tidskrift utgiven av Pedagogiska föreningen i Finland

Tiklas

Toukemies

Viena-Aunus

Västra Nyland

Wiborgs Nyheter

Literature

Alanen, Aulis J. 1957: *Suomen maakaupan historia*. Jyväskylä: Kauppiaitten kustannus.

Baad Pedersen, Margit 1983: *Køpmænd og hoker på landet. En ny erhvervsgruppe og dens rolle – økonomisk, socialt og kulturelt 1850–1900*. Odense: Etnologisk Forum.

Bergman, Irja 2014: Itäkarjalaisuutta Raaseporissa.

Ta Plats 11:44–49.

- Blom, Arne 1996: Mordet på den judiske gårdfarihandlaren. In Jacqueline Stare (ed.), *Judiska gårdfarihandlare i Sverige*, pp. 95–103. Stockholm: Judiska museet.
- Boyd, Robert L. 2010: Ethnic Shopkeepers in U.S. Cities in the Late Nineteenth Century. *Sociological Spectrum* 30:317–337.
- C[alamnius], I[lmari] 1906: Pois ‘jeffit’, ‘offit’ y.m.s. nimistä. *Karjalaisten Pakinoita* 1(2):13.
- Diner, Hasia R. 2015: *Roads Taken. The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers who Forged the Way*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Ervasti, A.W. 1880: *Muistelmia matkalta Venäjän Karjalassa kesällä 1879*. Oulu: Oulun kirjapaino-osakeyhtiön kirjapainosta ja kustannuksella.
- Fontaine, Laurence 1996: *History of Pedlars in Europe*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fontaine, Laurence 2014: The Role of Peddling in Consumption in Modern Europe. *Field Actions Science Reports* 2014:12. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/factsreports/3638>.
- Heinonen, Visa & Hannu Konttinen 2001: *Nyt uutta Suomessa! Suomalaisen mainonnan historia*, Helsinki: Mainostajien liitto.
- Hummelin, Keijo & Ulla Hummelin 1990–1993: *Muistikuvia suomenkielistä Karjaalla. Suomenkielisten elämää vuosisataisesta näkökulmasta lähinnä 1860–1960 vaiheilta*. [Karjaa]: Karjaan suomenkielisen kansalaisopiston kotiseutuhistorian ryhmä.
- Kaarniranta, Kim 2001: “Elämää rahaa käärien ja velkoen”. *Pohjois-Karjalan maaseudun sekatarakauppiaat ja heidän velallisensa 1860- ja 1870-luvulla*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Karis *fordom och nu* 1970: Karis: Hembygdsnämnden i Karis.
- Kuusanmäki, Lauri 1936: Kulutustavarain leviäminen. In Gunnar Suolahti, Esko Aaltonen, Lauri Kuusanmäki, Eino Jutikkala, Väinö Voionmaa, Pentti Renvall & Heikki Waris (eds.), *Suomen kulttuurihistoria* IV. Helsinki: K.J. Gummerus Osakeyhtiö. 96–119.
- Laitila, Teuvo 2019: “Nyt sain kuulla Jumalan sanua juur’ kuin Jumalan suusta”. Suomalaisen ortodoksisen ja kansallisen identiteetin rakentaminen pappismunkki ja piispa Kiprianin kritiikin avulla 1905–1914. *Ortodoksia* 59:73–108. https://ortodoksia.fi/ojs_3.1/index.php/ortodoksia/article/view/148
- Leppänen, Kalevi 2009: *Kairasta kauppaeskukseen Rinteen kauppiassuvun historia*. Rovaniemi: Outoa Taikaa Oy.
- Light, Ivan & Stavros Karageorgis 2004: The ethnic economy. In N. Smelser & R. Swedberg (eds.), *Handbook of Economic Sociology*. New York: Russell Sage. 647–667.
- Lincoln, W. Bruce 1990: *The Great Reforms. Autocracy, Bureaucracy, and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia*. Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Lindroos, Ernst 1983: Arkangeliter i Kimitobygden. *Fångster i tidens ström*, pp. 189–202. Ekenäs.
- Mikkola, Kati & Laura Stark 2009: Himotut ja halveksitut kulutustarvikkeet. Uusien kulutustottumusten vaikutukset suomalaisiin maalaisyhteisöihin 1800-luvun loppupuolella ja 1900-luvun alussa. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 107(1):4–17.
- Mitro, A. 1936: *Mitro 1876–1936*. Jyväskylä.
- Naakka-Korhonen, Mervi 1988: *Halpa hinta, pitkä mitta. Vienankarjalainen laukkukauppa*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Nevalainen, Pekka 2016: *Kulkukauppiaista kauppaneuvoksiin. Itäkarjalaisten liiketoimintaa Suomessa*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Paikkala, Sirkka 2004: *Se tavallinen Virtanen. Suomalaisen sukunimikäytännön modernisointuminen 1850-luvulta vuoteen 1921*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Ranta, Raimo 1995: *Vienasta Suomeen. Sofronoff-suvun vaiheita 1920-luvulle*. Tampere.
- Ranta, Raimo 1997: *Vienan karjalaisten liitosta Karjalan sivistysseuraksi v. 1906–1922*. Tampere.
- Rosander, Göran 1980: *Gårdfarihandel i Norden. En översikt av en gammal handelsform*. Stockholm: LTs förlag.
- Storå, Nils 1989: Ostkarelische Wanderhändler als Kulturvermittler in Finnland. *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte* 32:34–43.

- Storå, Nils 1991: "Rucksack Russians" in Finland. Peddling and Culture Contact. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 21:74–96.
- Tommila, Päiviö 1999: *Suuri adressi*. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Vaara, Pekka 2010: *Uhtuan Andronoffit*. [Espoo]: Sumtsa.
- Vituhnovskaja, Marina 2004: Itä-Karjala Venäjän yleisvaltakunnallisessa politiikassa 1906–17. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 102(3):374–383.
- Vuoristo, Sakari 1996: *Suvulta suvulle II. Wienan Karjalaisten Liiton/Karjalan Sivistysseuran historiaa vv. 1906–1996*. [Helsinki]: [Karjalan sivistysseura].
- Vuoristo, Sakari 2006: Kemiön saari laukkukauppioiden suosiossa. *Karjalan Heimo* 2006(3–4):38–41.
- Wassholm, Johanna 2020: Tatar Pedlars in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the Late Nineteenth Century. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 8(2):8–24.
- Wassholm, Johanna & Anna Sundelin 2018a: Småskalig handel på glidande skalor. Försörjning och konsumtion i Finland 1800–1940. *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 103(2):191–204.
- Wassholm, Johanna & Anna Sundelin 2018b: Emotions, Trading Practices and Communication in Transnational Itinerant Trade. Encounters between "Rucksack Russians" and Their Customers in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Finland. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 66(2):132–152.
- Wassholm, Johanna & Ann-Catrin Östman 2021: Introduktion. Plats och praktiker i handelsmöten i Finland 1850–1950. In Johanna Wassholm and Ann-Catrin Östman (eds.), *Att mötas kring varor. Plats och praktiker i handelsmöten i Finland 1850–1950*. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Stockholm: Appell Förlag.

Pidgin, Chaos and Cultural Communication

A Case of Sport-based Exchange between Finland and Sweden at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

By Katarzyna Herd

The Swedish-speaking community in Finland and its cultural production has long been a focus of studies. The Finland-Swedes' cultural identity has been met with curiosity, awe, and even caution and has been placed against a specific spatio-temporal background. A large share of the processes that resulted in the character of modern-day Finland and Sweden took place in the nineteenth century.¹ After the Swedish-Russian war of 1809, Finland became a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. Despite not being part of Sweden in a political or geographical sense, parts of Finnish society stayed under strong influence from the Swedish cultural sphere, as developing mass media, newspapers and magazines, prints and books, could find their way to Finnish soil because of the familiarity with the Swedish language.

In this article, I focus on cultural communication between Finland and Sweden, exemplified by sport-related texts from Swedish newspapers and magazines at the turn of the twentieth century. At that particular point in time, the linguistic barrier between the two nations was relatively easy to breach (which will be problematized further). This enabled an exchange to take place, which helped to shape the cultural identities in both countries. This article explores the possibilities of applying the term “pidginization” as a process referring to cultural communication rather than focusing on linguistic issues that normally define the phenomenon (Hymes & Gumperz 1964). Additionally, sport has been a vital element in many (if not all) modern societies in its commodified and formalized form since the nineteenth century. Though attracting a lot of attention, sport is rarely considered as a resource for

the performance and display of beliefs, structures and processes in a given society (Bourdieu 1978; Brabazon 2006; Herd 2018). The end of the nineteenth century saw Finnish nationalism and language on the rise, though Swedish continued to enjoy a strong position, especially in the educated spheres of society.

I argue that cultural communication at the turn of the twentieth century could be at least partly understood as pidginized communication of a specific cultural exchange between two countries. To understand this process I employ chaos theory (Mosko 2005). Chaos theory has been linked to the linguistic phenomenon of creating a pidgin language (Hymes & Gumperz 1964; Zhao 2010; Knörr 2010; Foley 1997; Velupillai 2015). In other words, pidginization framed in the context of chaos theory helps in analysing the development of cultural exchanges between Sweden and Finland in a specific “pocket of time” (Kayser Nielsen 2000), exposing a form of cultural communication. The ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus engaged with the concept of cultural communication:

Cultural communication is *the study of the symbolic function of culture*. Symbols – as distinct from signals – are a specifically cultural expression. The study of communication teaches us that a thing is not just something, but that it also stands for something (Bringéus 1979:8).

Bringéus challenged ethnology to look for more aspects of culture, though praising its ability to engage with the past. I explore sport through a context somewhat absent from cultural sciences – as a way to transmit ideas and produce traditions. As Bringéus stated, it is not just something, but it also stands for something.

Various studies have examined sports in cultural-historical perspectives, providing insights into how physical identities help in discussing issues of belonging (Glaser 2017; Giulianotti 2004), gender in sport (Tolvhed 2015; Pfister & Pope 2018), urban space (Hellspong 2013; Bale & Gaffney 2004; Bale & Moen 1995), identity, nationality or class (Bourdieu 1978; Barthes 2007; Jönsson 2014; Nilsson 2014), football as heritage (Karlsson 2004), and cultural expressions through sports (Fundberg, Ramberg & Waldetoft 2005; Herd 2018, 2019). The cultural historian Michael Oriard studied the development and establishment of American football through its coverage in daily newspapers, as well as newsreels, radio programmes and early television (Oriard 1993, 2001). This article takes into consideration the form in which the information was spread (the press), its content (sport) and one of its preconditions (the possibility of communication between Sweden and Finland based on the Swedish language). This article contributes to research in cultural communication as well as the role and position sport can have in a society. Even though the nineteenth-century press has been studied, the magazine *Kamraten* has not attracted as much attention, especially in the context of Finland. Thus, it is also a contribution to studying links between Sweden and Finland at the turn of the twentieth century.

The cultural climate of the late nineteenth century made it possible to communicate through sports, contests, competitions and growing sport associations. This in turn facilitated cultural exchanges. The aim is to analyse communication processes through the concepts of *pidginization* and *chaos*. The questions are: what

kind of exchanges between Sweden and Finland could be facilitated through sports at the turn of the twentieth century and how could their rise, popularity and subsequent fall be understood through pidginization and chaos theory?

Material

This article is based on publications from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The material comes from the project about Swedish-speaking football clubs in Finland. The Swedish Literature Society in Finland (SLS) funded the project. The main sources are archived periodical publications: the magazine for Swedish (Nordic) youth *Kamraten* (“The Comrade”, published 1893–1911) and *Nordiskt Idrottslif* (“Nordic Sport Life”, published 1900–1920). Sidelights on other publications from the archives are also included. Although this article presents just a small fraction of the available material, I visited the Brage Press Archive, the SLS Archive, and Urheilumuseo/Sportmuseum (all in Helsinki, Finland). Further, I went through all issues of *Kamraten*, several volumes of *Nordiskt Idrottslif*, celebratory publications of sport clubs in both Sweden and Finland, and the Finnish digital press archive *Digitala Samlingar* (digi.kanslallisarkisto.fi).²

Kamraten was established by Frithiof Hellberg, who worked with different newspapers and magazines in Sweden starting in the 1880s, most famous for establishing a magazine for women called *Idun* in 1887 (Frostegren 1979:17). When founding *Kamraten* in 1893 together with Johan Nordling, he already had a long experience in the publishing world (Svensson 2018:150). The literature scholar Sonja

Svensson states that the magazine, like other productions aimed at young people, was focused on helping to produce better citizens, with plenty of interests, activities and general knowledge (Svensson 2018:154). Sports became key factors as gymnastics was seen as necessary to develop young bodies and minds. *Kamraten* is linked to the beginning of an established network of sport associations called IFK (Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna – The Comrades Sporting Society). IFK was established after a short note was sent by a student to *Kamraten* in 1895, asking young people with an interest in sport to come together. As the magazine was known among young people in Finland, especially in Swedish-speaking schools, Finland started to establish its own IFK associations in 1897.

Viktor Balck, a Swedish army officer and sport enthusiast, was responsible for promoting physical activities in schools and often published in *Kamraten*. He edited two sport magazines and wrote three volumes presenting different sports (1886–1888). Physical activities had national, even patriotic, undertones (Peterson 2001:331). Balck's works were known in Finland and IFK Helsingfors presented him as “the father of Swedish sports” (Björkman 1997:18). Balck also lobbied for the Finnish presence at the Olympic Games (Björkman 1997:18). *Kamraten* often had articles written by Balck and even published a presentation of his career and achievements. Both *Kamraten* and *Nordiskt Idrottslif* referred to different disciplines, and sports like football and cycling were visibly growing in popularity. *Nordiskt Idrottslif* was published by Count Clarence von Rosen and presented sport-

ing achievements, contests, cups and results from Sweden and Finland. Count von Rosen sponsored the competition for the von Rosen Trophy in football, which was advertised in *Kamraten*. Additionally, pictures of young men in IFK uniforms, some of them bearing the surname von Rosen, appeared in *Kamraten* (“Kamraternas sommarfest” August 1897, no. 15:231–233).³

Sports proved to be more than just sports. The magazines provided an entry to an interesting sphere created at the intersection of class, age, language and education. In an anniversary publication celebrating 50 years of Åbo IFK (Åbo, Finland), William Fock, who belonged to the group that started the club, recalled that the inspiration for starting an IFK association came from a Swedish magazine (*Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna i Åbo 50 år*, 1958:10). Sport became a curious anomaly that became normality, an ordering structure within education that gained entry to public schools in the nineteenth century.

Archives are open to interpretations (Blouin Jr. & Rosenberg 2011:3–4), as the researcher digs in the archive, asking questions, connecting different sources, being inspired by a theoretical input, and going back to the material again. Therefore, it can be described as “fieldwork in the past” (Gustavsson 2014:25). I focused on close-reading of the chaotic bricolage of information presented in *Kamraten*. The process of collection, interpretation and analysis is what the anthropologist Axel Tjora calls “the step-by-step inductive method”. The method Tjora describes as “inductively empirically driven, in no way rejects the importance of theory, but stands as a contrast to research that is evidence- or documentation-driven. [...] It has a critical rath-

er than dogmatic nature” (Tjora 2017:21). The disadvantage is that the material can appear chaotic. Yet it reflects how one constructs, maintains and communicates one’s identity and everyday life.

Theoretical Framework

My main theoretical concepts are pidginization and chaos. Pidginization is a process resulting, in linguistic terms, in a pidgin (Foley 1997; Velupillai 2015). The linguist David Decamp defined a pidgin language thus:

A pidgin is a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other’s native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features. This reduction has been often called simplification, but it is now considered debatable whether the less-redundant pidgin is simpler or more complex than the standard language (Decamp 1971:15).

There are several famous examples of pidgin, such as Hawaiian Pidgin English. Pidgin usually occurred in situations where large groups were displaced, creating a multilingual setting where members of different linguistic groups had to find a means of communication (Andersen 1983:3). Hence, pidginization has been connected to colonialism, having been observed in Central American or Asian communities created through colonial rule (Velupillai 2015). Pidgin has no native speakers. If used by a second generation, then it becomes their first language and thus a creole language (Velupillai 2015). This is rather common and as a result, very few pidgin languages

actually “exist”. They are a point in a temporal process of language development. I will utilize the terms “pidginization” and “pidgin” to analyse the cultural exchanges between sport-interested groups in Sweden in Finland. Thus, I treat “pidgin” in cultural terms only. It shall not refer to a language but to a communication process which is “pidginized”.

Chaos theory has been linked to the pidginization process (Zhao 2010). Chaos theory is a way of taking on complex systems that appear to be random but represent an ordered pattern (Mosko 2005; Zhao 2010; Wagner 2005). As the social anthropologist Mark Mosko put it, “Chaos theory has enabled mathematicians, physics, chemists, biologists, meteorologists, and others to identify new islands of pattern and order amidst what previously appeared to be seas of random, stochastic phenomena” (Mosko 2005:7). He stresses how social sciences utilized the characteristics of chaos theory that apply to societal patterns, belief systems, and ritualistic behaviour (Mosko 2005:16). By applying chaos theory I am able to focus on the pockets of order that appeared through the deluge of themes and topics that were printed in *Kamraten*.

Though pidginization applies first and foremost to linguistic processes, the folklorist and sociolinguist Allen Grimshaw presents it as “that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence, in the context of restriction in use” and a pidgin as “a result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm” (1971:84). I apply the concept to the actual exchange process, treating the Swedish language as a social variable that enabled an exchange

between Sweden and Finland. Tensions, discussions and controversies concerning Finland's Swedish-speaking population were discussed back and forth for many decades (Ståhlberg 1995; Wolf-Knuts 1995, 2013; Klinkmann, Henriksson & Häger 2017; Klinkmann 2017). I intend to treat the cultural pidginization as possible because of a shared language which thus enabled cultural exchanges.

Cultural pidginization can be conceptualized as a process over the course of which a culture and identity are developed in specific contexts of ethnic and cultural diversity. In contrast to creolization, this process does not involve ethnicization. No new ethnic group is formed, and original identities based on their heritages remain in existence (Knörr 2010:739). To simplify, Swedes were Swedes and Finns were Finns. Yet, because of a shared language on both sides of the Baltic Sea, an exchange developed that helped to shape cultures and build identities. This exchange resulted in pidgin-like elements as channels of communication, in this case sports, solidified for a brief moment in history. The rather short-spanned, early frenzy in sport commentary and mutual encouragement in exercise, competition and reports around them can be understood in terms of chaos theory and pidginization. Although this frenzy seems random, it stems from previous lines of development and manifests itself in perfect, even if brief, order (Mosko 2005:7). The material represents culture with a function. It was used, applied, made into a tool for forging connections. Quoting Nils-Arvid Bringéus, "only if we become clearly aware of culture as a function of society will we understand what culture is" (Bringéus 1979:13).

I will begin my analysis with an overview of my main sources, and proceed to discuss the material based on the IFK movement stemming from the magazine *Kamraten*. Finally, I will discuss sport as rebellion, continuation and tradition, and finish with the processes beyond pidginization.

Comrades in School Uniforms in Sweden and Former Sweden

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Finland was part of the Russian Empire, with limited autonomy. The Swedish-speaking population in Finland had their own channels of communication, such as newspapers and magazines, books, schools, art, literature and sports. The image of sport as linked to physical strength, the school system, military service, patriotism and health projects that would produce good, strong citizens, existed in both countries (cf. Andersson 2002). This image and connection depended on the language. Swedish publications in Finland were numerous and popular, and presupposed a market that could communicate in Swedish (Svensson 2018:71–90).

The position of the press in Finland in the 1800s and early 1900s was complicated due to the restrictions imposed by the Russian state apparatus. The Freedom of the Press Act did not come into force until Finland became an independent country in 1917 (Landgrén 2017:288). Newspapers circulating in Finland, in both Finnish and Swedish, tiptoed around the Russian censorship for decades. The press developed into an important player in society, especially in politics (Landgrén 2017:286). The daily press grew throughout the nineteenth century. Youth journals appeared through-

out that period, both in Sweden and in Finland (Svensson 2018:90–157; Tommila & Salokangas 2000:44–57).

Kamraten follows the patterns seen in similar publications for young people when it comes to its layout and content. It seems like an organized chaos, with topics ranging from excursions abroad, instructions on how to build a camera, instructions to build a bookshelf or a steam engine to regulate your indoor climate.⁴ There are fictional adventure stories about Indians in the US, reports from explorations of the Arctic, letters from schools describing lessons and teachers, bicycle rides, the introduction of new sports (some more obscure than others), poetry and a dose of enthusiastic, even naive, nationalism. It is a product of its time, similar to other youth journals of the time throughout Europe, and often referring to literary work from Britain and the US (Palme 1963:6–9, 31). There is a lot of praise of the Fatherland (Sweden), opinion pieces on how to be a good citizen, pictures of the royal family, in both formal and informal situations, including images of the young princes Gustaf Adolf and Sigvard playing in snow in 1911 (“Småprinsarnas vintersport”, February 1911, no. 4:83).⁵ The cultural communication swirls in spirals, seemingly innocent, youthful, playful and full of excitement, but it carries heavier elements of patriotism and good citizenship (Bringéus 1979:11).

Kamraten was meant for, and circulated among, schools and students. Educated, with access to various resources, they represented a class preparing to take on positions in society. As already mentioned, the magazine was supposed to help raise good citizens, which at first glance seems to mean patriotic, healthy, with knowledge

about upcoming technologies. There is nevertheless a fair bit of entertainment, such as adventure stories, poetry, and reports from various balls and celebrations throughout the year. The historian Sven Ulric Palme pointed out that Hellberg made a conscious choice to include sport as a way to attract subscriptions. Palme referred to the changing cover as skating and sailing appeared in the background pictures (Palme 1963:7).

Finland has a strong presence in *Kamraten* and *Nordiskt Idrottslif*. Reports, pictures and letters from Finland were published regularly. The flow of ideas is rather overwhelming for a modern reader. Published twice a month, *Kamraten* presents a large chunk of material that can be rather repetitive and monotonous, yet often surprises with its content. *Nordiskt Idrottslif* was more streamlined, even though it also displayed a plethora of information, from rather poetic descriptions of contests, trips, essays expressing different opinions to long columns of results and numbers. *Nordiskt Idrottslif* was first published by Count von Rosen in 1900 and, when read side by side, one can notice that reports on sports, especially in the IFK movement, gradually disappears from *Kamraten* after 1902.

The fourth issue of *Idrottslif* had a picture from a skating ring in Helsinki, with a description “Helsingfors’ skridskobana” (no. 4, 23 January 1900). Finland was present in *Nordiskt Idrottslif* from the beginning, with communication possible through a syntax of sport and sport interests. In the chaotic mix of small hobbies and exotic adventures, sports emerged as a common discourse. The communication through sports took off in *Kamraten* together with the newly established sport associations for young people

(IFK). It then developed into complex reporting in *Nordiskt Idrottslif*, slowly dwindling in *Kamraten* as the magazine changed looks, editors, content and ceased to exist in 1911. This process of creation, rapid growth and then extinction “illustrates in a comprehensive way how pockets of order typically appear in diverse complex dynamical systems – pockets of order that otherwise would be dismissed as ‘aberrations’ or ‘disorder’” (Mosko 2005:12).

IFK – Contests, Values, Balls and Parties

The Comrades Sport Association (Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna) was formed as a result of a spontaneous call in 1895. Louis Zettersten, who initiated the movement, was active for several years in organizing it. Soon all over Sweden the IFKs popped up like mushrooms. Hellberg, the editor of *Kamraten*, encouraged sport associations. IFK became a success example, moving from school yards to become a national organization that is still functioning (Palme 1963:8). The name was discussed and after due consideration of several alternatives (e.g. Svea, Friska Viljor, Sport, Bore) IFK was chosen (“Idrottsförening Kamraterna IFK” March 1895, no. 4:63). In subsequent issues, inquiries appeared asking whether someone would be willing, for example, to start an IFK in Norrköping, Malmö etc. (“IFK”, May 1895, no. 9:144). In 1897, *Kamraten* published a question as to whether one was allowed to establish an IFK association in Finland. The answer was enthusiastic, with the heading “To our Finnish comrades!” (“Till våra finska kamrater!” August 1897, no. 16:256).

The text affirms that the Finnish students are very welcome to start their own associ-

ations. It also mentions that it will be an additional way to strengthen the comradeship between Finns and Swedes that already existed. Finnish girls, described as “hurtiga och trefliga” (lively and lovely), were called to help with the movement as well. Often there were comments, regarding both Finnish and Swedish IFK groups, inviting women to join. It also seemed a point of pride to have mixed clubs. In a letter from Halmstad in 1899 a comrade described a bicycle trip on 27 August. It was a fun outing with “games and dancing”, and about twenty boys and girls came home happy. At this point the writer felt this should be stressed and a text in brackets reads: “för se, nu ha vi flickor i föreningen här också” – see, we have girls in the association now as well (“IFK hade utflykt på velocipede”, September 1899, no. 18:287).

As IFK, connected to the magazine, presupposed an educated audience representing middle/upper-class youths, it encouraged young women to join and participate, at least in some activities. There are norms guiding any communication, and cultural communication is receptive to inclusions and exclusions. The “grammatical system” of this pidginized exchange was not completely fixed and allowed for probing which elements could be omitted and which used. Gumperz (1964:151) refers to cultural and grammatical variables that shape communication and prompt social change. Seen through a chaos theory, the quickly developed language of communication in *Kamraten*, based on an interest in sport, stemmed from various unstable variables that created an ordered and accepted mode of cultural exchange.

The very first IFK in Finland, IFK Lappvik,⁶ was short-lived. Instead, Uleåborg

and Helsingfors, urban centres, became the forefront of the movement, followed by IFKs in other cities such as Åbo, Vasa and Viborg (e.g. “IFK Finska Filialförening Uleåborg”, October 1897, no. 19:303; “IFK Finland”, November 1897, no. 22:352). After just a couple of months, Finnish IFKs reported having about 40 members each, eagerly sent reports of competitions (usually running or skiing), official meetings, and various parties. IFK quickly realized that commemoration was a thing and yearbooks started appearing. In a yearbook from 1898, both Uleåborg and Helsingfors IFK are given proper introductions, with pictures of leading athletes, best results, and names of the young men who started the movement. IFK then became a form of pidginized communication. A pattern was established that allowed to the transfer of information between schools and countries.

When referring to Helsingfors, the name of Georg Doubitsky was mentioned, as he, together with other students, established IFK at Svenska Real-Lycéet in the capital (a Swedish-speaking secondary school). The “father-figure” of any movement is an appreciated token. Robert Carrick at Gefle IF, Isidor Behrens at AIK, or Eric Pärsson at Malmö FF are all mythical founders still existing in the collective memory of modern fans (Herd 2018:80–81). Georg Doubitsky was there in the beginning, but faded away. An interviewed person working for Helsingfors IFK said that there was an attempt to “resurrect” Doubitsky, for example by delivering flowers to his grave on the anniversary of his death, as one did in the 1950s. However, it did not work out because his grave was not easily recognizable (interview with Herbert, 7 February 2020).

Not every element survives the passing of time, but the structure, the pattern of trying to establish a lasting reference – a myth, is there. Using terminology from chaos theory, one can refer to the patterns as part of “fractal self-similarity”, “universality”, and “self-organization” (Mosko 2005:17). The image of young men with physical strength, able to organize young people, able to be leaders and build something lasting, illustrates the ability of a complex system to become orderly. This is “fractal-like” as the same things happen in different places spontaneously. Together with an idea of game, sport and play, additional elements are added: strength, leadership, stamina, and a way to express them. As Nils-Arvid Bringéus puts it, cultural communication, as a “system of actions, signals and symbols is the observable side of norms, values, and attitudes” (Bringéus 1979:11).

Doubitsky left IFK early on, but in 1898 he sent a notice to *Kamraten* where he described how the young association in Helsingfors was operating (“I.F.K. Helsingfors”, March 1898 no. 6:92–93). This short text begins with stating that it is an answer to a question about how they were doing posed by a writer with “a throat-breaking nickname”. Doubitsky wrote about initial difficulties establishing the association, though they reached a number of about forty members. He also stated that there was a lack of snow almost all winter, and only in February could they start with some winter sports. And since sports were not possible, “we, Helsingfors comrades, decided to have a little party to spice up our little association and make it known”. It was a success, with about a hundred attendees, a hall decorat-

ed in white and blue (the colours of IFK), speeches and a soprano concert accompanied by a piano. There were also gymnasts performing human pyramids lit up by pyrotechnics (a bit hard to imagine, as no pictures are provided). The evening continued with a recitation of a poem by Topelius and finally with a comedy act, performed by “a comrade from the Swedish secondary school, dressed up as a farmer, of course!” who told funny stories pretending to be a person living in the archipelago.⁷

The letter presented above was rather typical of what one could find in *Kamraten*. Other IFKs sent similar reports of pleasant events that they organized. Several elements made the exchange possible, including the education system, class and linguistic abilities. A certain level of comprehension is needed to put them into a context that is recognizable, special or unique yet readable enough to be understood. As Bringéus comments: “Reception of the message requires an intellectual activity, which is called cognition. It means familiarity with, recognition of, and understanding or comprehension of the signal or message” (Bringéus 1979:6). For example, a human pyramid lit with flares appears several times in descriptions of balls and parties.

Sport formed one of the grammatical skeletons of cultural communication, it prompted the pidginization process of the exchanges visible in *Kamraten*. For instance, students started sending letters describing balls and parties connected to the sport activities. Social life was narrated through *Kamraten* as a unifying element. Cultural pidginization, stimulated by the flow of information through magazines, allowed the receivers on both ends to form

an additional layer of identity that navigated between the familiar and the new. Young (mostly) men could now communicate through physical activities and be positioned based on their performance and engagement, mixed with other cultural elements. For example, one could consider the comedy performance at the party, the very existence of a party, opera singing and a dress code for that evening. Subtle information sips through, and it is possible because of cultural pidginization. The social anthropologist Jacqueline Knörr commented on the process:

Cultural pidginization, on the other hand, can be conceptualized as a process over the course of which a common culture and identity are developed in specific contexts of ethnic and cultural diversity as well, yet in contrast to creolization, this process does not involve ethnicization. No new ethnic group is formed, and original identities based on the heritages of their protagonists remain in existence (Knörr 2010:739).

The groups stayed independent. The different character of Finnish comrades was not questioned, but the very existence of sporting comrades makes up a pidginized communication. The introduction of different sports as a backdrop allowed for “pockets of order” to appear that were available for a certain group to explore.

Another example of exchange comes from a letter written by Uno Westerholm from IFK Helsingfors in 1899. He introduced himself as the new chairperson of the association. He stated that even though almost a year had elapsed since the organization began, there was a standstill. The rescue for membership numbers and activities came from some energetic young women who broke a trend of solely male

presence in IFK Helsingfors, thus invigorating the association. Westerholm then recalled their first outing, taking a boat out into the archipelago. Upon reaching an old angler's cabin, the party had coffee and "the association experienced some of its nicest moments". The letter finished with hope for the future together with new female members ("I.F.K.-Kretsen i Helsingfors", March 1899 no. 6:95).

The letter illustrates the difficulties of sustaining the creation of an IFK and the lack of straightforward development of the organization. It seems somewhat chaotic. Using a statement from the anthropologist Mark S. Mosko:

In the unpredictable operations of complex systems lie several of the central elements of chaos theory: extreme sensitivity to initial conditions, nonlinearity, and fractal geometry or self-similarity (Mosko 2005:8).

IFK in Helsingfors took off with determination, joy and parties, then it halted and stumbled. The board changed, a new person introduced himself as a leading figure, and saw the previous shortcomings in not having a female presence in the organization. Even though it is not exactly clear what women could or could not do (there are no explicit/written rules of conduct for different sexes in the communication), one can assume that the positions were not equal. There are no details of women taking part in any disciplines. Westerholm narrates chaos into order with the help of the pidgin communication. IFK was hibernating, one could hardly call it an operating association, and no sporting activities occurred. Yet an excursion, new female members and a nice coffee break ensured

the very existence of IFK and a new beginning. Women became an element in the narrative that marked a revival, an element added to the sporting activities that would make the club more attractive. Westerholm's message was intended for a special audience that could understand the difficulties of running IFK. "The message has reached its destination only when it has gone through de-coding and the original message has been fit into the new experiential world" (Bringéus 1979:7). It was constructed according to the rules of communication, hence it was comprehensible.

The cultural communication around IFKs was done in shortcuts, with very straightforward references. It served the purpose to talk about sports, but also upheld other social categories that could be packed into reports of physical activities. Parties and trips are referred to often and in colourful language. It shows a willingness for communication. The strength of cultural communication lies in its simplicity, the pidgin-like structure of readily available symbols and tokens that can be thrown together, shaken a bit, and produce ordered chaos. The ordering that generated the IFK movement is an example of how sport can produce lasting cultural communication. The process continued and even though the umbrella organization exists, it has a different shape and purpose nowadays, for IFKs in both Finland and Sweden.

Sport as Rebellion, Continuity and Tradition

Mosko suggested that chaos theory offers a possibility to explain "cross-cultural similarities observed so far as consequences of the inherent nonlinearity characteristic of complex systems" without the aid of group

psychology (Mosko 2005:17). The nonlinearity is a characteristic of communication discussed by Bringéus: “If one instead selects a spiral, as communication researchers have done, one can symbolize the connection to both past and present, and even future” (Bringéus 1979:12). Bringéus opts for a spiral as the best way of representing communication, as interaction is never linear or straightforward. This corresponds with chaos theory as presented by Mosko, as nonlinearity as “a characteristic of a complex system”. The sport-based interactions from the turn of the twentieth century present surprising, chaotic exchanges of images and ideas, but these are ordered and structured.

Nordiskt Idrottslif was focused on different sport disciplines and results, but together with it came other layers of communication. The magazine saw the light of day in 1900, and it included Finland from the start. In issue 15 a “Letter from Finland” (“Bref från Finland”, 1900, no. 15:123) was published. In the letter, Finnish IFK comrades from Uleåborg presented the results from their third gymnastics contest, a reoccurring gathering, that was somewhat smaller than intended, but still pleasant; there was a gymnastics show, prizes and songs. The comrades had an excursion, complete with a cross-country skiing race “of unknown distance, but about three kilometres”. Names and times were meticulously stated. The second part of the letter referred to a skiing contest in Kemi, a town in the north close to the Finnish-Swedish border. A skiing contest over 30 kilometres was recalled. As the weather was splendid, five of the contestants beat the previous records.

The letter from Finland was published between an article on a sporting event in

Stockholm and a short notice that boxing had been forbidden in the US. As already seen in the letters sent to *Kamraten*, physical activities are accompanied by social ones, and are dutifully reported. Participation in sports meant participation in group-making on various social levels. One needed to report them, to show the peers what one’s circles were doing. Finnish writers could recount their activities without unnecessary explanations about who they were or why their letter would even need to appear. It seemed commonly understood and taken for granted. A lot of the local context was omitted. Interaction, whether linguistic or social, was at its core:

... a process of decision making, in which speakers select from a range of possible expressions. The verbal repertoire then contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey (Gumperz 1964:138).

Gumperz relates in this quotation to the characteristics of a linguistic interaction. He refers to two communities wishing to communicate. Taken on the level of social interaction, it explains the pidginized character of the Swedish-Finnish interaction presented here. Skiing contests, parties and excursions were translatable. The communication through sports was possible because some elements crystalized and guided the exchange. Elements used in a social repertoire were accepted ways of formulating an exchange.

Among different factors that characterize chaotic phenomena, Mosko lists “complex, unstable relations among variables”

(Mosko 2005:7). The listings of names and results indicate such relations. It was not clear from the start what would be a lasting reference, but the structuring made the lists important by the sheer fact of them being the basics of communication. It is clear that the cultural exchanges surpassed the lists of results as letters published are given space to communicate other aspects of social engagements. Another letter, from IFK Vasa published in 1901, gives a bit more detail. The letter states that the then one-year-old association drew its members mostly from the Swedish high school, but (apart from other men interested in sports) there were also about 20 “ladies” (not school girls, even though they tried to invite them). The letter finishes with a sentence that there are about 70 members in IFK now, but the writer cannot say whether all of those are truly interested in sports (“IFK Vasa”, 1901, no. 12:xx). The dependence on initial conditions, unstable relations among different elements, “fractal or self-similar patterning on different scales”, dynamic transformations and self-organization, all features of chaotic systems, are visible through these letters that combine sport with social organization (Mosko 2005:7). The letters and the systems made structuring parts of society visible. Nonetheless, they are able to reshape society ever so slightly, as sport could mean female involvement in the otherwise male association. Following a pattern meant that one knew how to play with it.

Certain Finnish elements are also visible in use of references from Finland in the Swedish publications. *Nordiskt Idrottslif* had a special section about skiing, which was headed by a short quotation from the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. The quotation is accompanied by a drawing of a

Finnish man on skis. One becomes aware that the man is Finnish because of a specific hat. Known as *Väinämöisen lakki* or *väiski*, the hat appeared on national-romantic paintings depicting the *Kalevala* and a main character, Väinämöinen, wearing the hat.⁸ This heading evokes very strong connotations of Finland’s national elements, without naming the country.

The text under the picture comes from two separate verses of the *Kalevala*. The first verse praises skis; the fastest mode of transportation, asking if there is any animal in the forest on four legs that could not be caught with these particular skis. The second verse is a question asking if any of the new generation would be up to the task of donning those skis (*Kalevala*, the elk Hiisi, Runo XIII, p. 148). Part of this *Kalevala* text appeared in Victor Balck’s volume of sports, published in 1888. There, Balck referred to the Finnish national poem to stress the importance of winter sports, at the same time quoting a lengthy piece about the hero Lämminkäinen’s hunt for the elk Hiisi. Balck saw in the poem a proof that skiing is an ancient tradition (Balck 1888:5).

Both uses of the Finnish epic poem should be put in the context of the political realities of the late nineteenth century. Being a part of the Russian Empire, Finland’s freedom was dwindling towards the end of the century. Finnish national identity or traditions were not supported by the tsarist regime. In 1898, the Russian general Nikolai Bobrikov became Governor-General of Finland, and set about combating separatism and awakening nationalism⁹ (Polvinen 1995). The *Kalevala* inspired other branches of culture and quickly became an important reference point for Finnish cultural identity.

Because it was combined with sport, the message in using the *Kalevala* does not seem particularly nationalistic. The sport publications were aimed at an audience interested in all sorts of physical activities, but they were also educated, belonging to the upper strata of the society, and aware of the political realities. Yet a subtle patriotic undertone persisted. This exchange suggests that the cultural capital infused in the Finnish epic poem was useful in the Swedish publications, not only to signal something for the Finnish audience, but also for Swedish nationals. Not all references could travel in this way, but in the case of the *Kalevala*, references seem straightforward enough that one could use them in a sport magazine without further explanations, thus creating an extra layer of communication as it alluded to Finnish heritage and national elements. One can see it as a pidgin in that it functions as an additional exchange, not able to carry full communication, but rather as an “auxiliary language” (Decamp 1971:16) of the press, allowing the cultural communication, still based on sports.

The communication based on sport interests was possible because of the input from Finland and Sweden. The will to share and develop communication meant that sporting associations like IFK, or some sports (skiing, sailing, cycling and later on football) provided a background for sharing other information. Even though the exchanges seemed chaotic and random at first, the flow of ideas was steady and orderly and the culturally pidgin-like exchange continued. As Zhao puts it, “The uniqueness of the pidgins lies in how they cope with the new information” (Zhao 2010:91).

Sport-based publications developed a mode of cultural exchange. They were used to maintain contact between two countries that were once united. This was and is an ongoing, ever-developing process. The communication that flourished in *Kamraten* and *Nordiskt Idrottslif* took a different shape later, as the popularity of the magazines dwindled and other social factors diverged too much to uphold this communication:

Simply put, two communities which may have begun with only the slightest of differences in their cosmologies might well diverge as their respective histories unfold, a result as much of chaotic processes inherent in complex systems as of diffusion or differential experiences of external influence (Mosko 2005:22).

Drawing further on the linguistic terminology in culture, one can suggest that the pidgin here went through a process of creolization (Knörr 2010:733). As the pidgin-like communication flourished, it



1. A heading introducing a section on skiing sports in *Nordiskt Idrottslif*, no. 47, 1900:379.

also developed and helped to shape sport movements in both countries, but on different premises.

This communication simultaneously solidified and challenged identities; identity often happens “precisely through communication” (Bringéus 1979:11). Class and education seemed a stronger connection than political borders. A shared interest in new sports made gender differences fluid. Results from a Finnish skiing competition in Kemi seemed to matter as much as a sports day in Stockholm. The possibility to communicate one’s achievements and identities brought the periphery to the centre, or at least made it seem possible. At the same time, self-similarity (Mosko 2005:7) – uniformity of structure, hierarchy and roles – appears in the material. Order was challenged and upheld simultaneously.

Concluding Remarks

The last issue of *Kamraten* came out in 1911 and *Nordiskt Idrottslif* was published until 1920. By that time, Finland had become an independent country in 1917 and Europe went through the First World War. Nevertheless, the IFK associations in both Sweden and Finland persisted. Initial engagement and communication helped to establish IFK on Finnish soil, and prompted the appearance of a separate publication. IFK Helsingfors’ own magazine, based on the comradeship of the association, started publication in 1917. The very first sentence in the trial number from January 1917 stated: “It is undoubtedly bold to start a journal in these distressful times” (“Provnummer”, January 1917, HIFK archive). Later on, when published during the Second World War, the journal would list comrades from IFK who died on the Russian front. The

first issue of *Nordiskt Idrottslif* published after Finland proclaimed its independence on 6 December 1917 featured a reference to Finnish sport. A picture of two Swedish sportsmen, John Zander and Yngve Häckner, was accompanied by a poem about sport, “När skola väl folken mötas” (When would the people meet), written by Artur Eklund from *Finskt Idrottsblad – Finnish Sport Magazine* (December 1917, no. xx:73–74). The cultural exchange was morphing and taking different shape, still using sport and sporting organizations as platforms for further communication.

I have presented examples of communication based on sport. This can be conceptualized through pidginization, a process that later developed into “creolized” (Knörr 2010:739) elements in both Swedish and Finnish societies. By creolized I mean another stage of development that is characterized by a certain inability to communicate in the “mother tongues”. For example, some IFK clubs in Sweden grew bigger and stronger than the central organization, developing independent identities. In Finland, troubled as it was with military conflicts, developing national character took over the enthusiastic connection to Sweden. Differences and unique features became more important than similarities. The analysis highlights a moment in time when (fairly) unproblematic exchange between two groups was possible and fostered strings of communication. This communication re-established a bond between Finland and Sweden. It was possible because of a shared language and growing interest in sports. As presented in the text, the exchange happened in complex systems that behaved according to the models of chaos theory; going through se-

ries of changes and ordered-random developments that result in a different pattern, yet having a lasting effect.

There are several points that arise from the analysis: (1) The potent and fruitful role of sport in a society; (2) the complex relationships between Sweden and Finland are made visible in interest-based exchanges at the turn of the twentieth century; (3) the possibility to see the shaping, re-shaping and consolidation of identities based on sport; (4) the usefulness of chaos theory as its terminology can be applied in cultural sciences, opening up possibilities for further investigations. The cultural anthropologist Roy Wagner saw the application of chaos theory as a part of a reflection needed in cultural sciences:

So the “scientific” aspects of fractal modeling can be understood much more simply than the Chaos theorists would have us believe. We not only rationalize to determine the agency of cause-and-effect in the data, but actually rationalize the fact that we rationalize, hence overdetermine the effects of the modeling process by underdetermining our own agencies in doing so (Wagner 2005:207).

The material analysed here is of course selective, and it is a mere glimpse of the astounding amount of letters, essays, comments, poems, songs, excursions, medals and matches that provided a flow of information between these two countries.

The sport-based exchanges were not superimposed on Finland from Sweden. Rather, they were collectively shaped by groups with access to education, press and language. It was a conversation rather than a monologue. This conversation allowed both sides to apply certain elements that developed further, when pidginized sport exchange had lost its meaning in transmit-

ting thoughts, ideas and identities in this context.

This exchange also connects, as Bringéus suggests, the past, present and future on several levels. The hundred-year-old material has its own encapsulated past, present and future, but also connects us, present-day researchers, with those temporal realities. The flow of rather random information could seem chaotic, but also allowed for the creation of pockets of order that could work as a further catalyst in the process of cultural communication. As Bringéus remarks:

What we must strive for in an age when the mass of information is increasing at a breakneck pace is not more facts above all else, but assistance in orienting ourselves – theories, aspects and concepts which increase our understanding of the mechanisms or forces which build up and alter our world and which, in spite of everything, make it a cosmos instead of chaos (Bringéus 1979:16).

Katarzyna Herd
PhD in Ethnology
Dept. of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University
Box 192
SE-223 62 Lund
email: katarzyna.herd@kultur.lu.se

Notes

- 1 The nineteenth century saw an awakening national movement in Finland. Russian authorities looked positively at the development of Finnish language and literature, and saw it as weakening the ties with Sweden. Being associated with the rural population first, Finnish became the language of choice for the educated classes. The members of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, such as Johan Wilhelm Snellman, Elias Lönnrot and Johan Ludvig Runeberg had a profound influence on the “Fennomania” movement (promoting and

encouraging Finnish language and culture) and awakening nationalism in Finland. For an in-depth discussion of the political and linguistic issues see for example Barton 2008; Lindgren et al. 2011; Mäkinen 2015.

- 2 During the project, I interviewed several people currently working in different Swedish-speaking football clubs in Finland. In this article, I refer to only one informant regarding the commemoration of one of the “founding fathers” of Helsingfors IFK.
- 3 Count von Rosen was an important figure for the development of sports. He was interested in football, riding, and the new and coming automobile sports. He had personal connections with Victor Balck (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/mobil/Artikel/6864>). The von Rosen family became controversial as they expressed Nazi sympathies (see for example Carlsson 1942:63, 119–120, 133–134).
- 4 The instructions for the steam engine, “Att göra sig en ångmaskin”, appeared in September 1899, no.18:281. The explanation states that questions about it came often to the magazine.
- 5 In *Kamraten* from 1901, there is another picture of small children playing in snow, entitled “De små Bernadottarne i snöbollskrig” – The Small Bernadottes (members of the Swedish royal family) in snowball war (no. 3:41).
- 6 Lappvik, or Lappohja in Finnish, is a small town at the very south-west corner of Finland. The other places in this paragraph are written in their Swedish forms; the Finnish names are respectively Oulu, Helsinki, Turku, Vaasa, Viipuri.
- 7 The Finnish cities of Åbo and Helsingfors (Turku and Helsinki in Finnish respectively) are both surrounded by archipelagos, clusters of islands, important both economically and culturally.
- 8 See Axel Gallen Kallella’s *The Aino Myth or Joukahainen’s Revenge* (Okkonen 1948); Robert Wilhem Ekman’s *Väinämöinen Plays Kantele* (Ervamaa 1981:54–61).
- 9 He was later murdered for his efforts by Eugen Shauman in June 1904; see for example Jensen 2018.

References

Primary sources

Interview with Hubert, Helsingfors, 7 February 2020
Kamraten, Lund University Archive
Nordiskt Idrottslif, Lund University Archive

Literature

- Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna i Åbo 50 år 1958*:
 Lund: Lund University Library Archive.
- Andersson, Torbjörn 2002: *Kung Fotboll. Den svenska fotbollens kulturhistoria från 1800-talets slut till 1950*. Malmö: ARX Förlag.
- Balck, Viktor 1888: *Illustrerad idrottsbok. Handledning i olika grenar af idrott och lekar*, vol. III. Stockholm: Fritze.
- Bale, John & Olof Moen (eds.) 1995: *The Stadium and the City*. Keele: Keele University Press.
- Bale, John & Chris Gaffney 2004: Sensing the Stadium. In *Sites of Sport. Space, Place, Experience*, ed. Patricia Vertinsky & John Bale, pp. 25–40. London & New York: Routledge.
- Barthes, Roland 2007: *What is Sport?* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Barton, H. Arnold 2008: Scandinavism, Fenno-mania and the Crimean War. *Essays on Scandinavian History*, pp. 161–188. Southern Illinois University Press. <https://muse-jhu-edu.ludwig.lub.lu.se/chapter/895447>.
- Björkman, Ingmar 1997: *Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna r.f. 100 år för Finlands idrott*. Helsingfors: Helsingfors IFK. Sport Museum Archive (Urheilumuseo), Helsingfors.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1978: Sport and Social Class. *Social Science Information* 17(6):819–840.
- Brabazon, Tara 2006: *Playing on the Periphery. Sport, Identity and Memory*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bringéus, Nils-Arvid 1979: The Communicative Aspect in Ethnology and Folklore. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1979:5–17.
- Carlsson, Holger 1942: *Nazismen i Sverige. Ett varningsord*. Stockholm: Trots Allt.
- Decamp, David 1971: Introduction. The Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages. In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes. Cambridge University Press.

- Ervamaa, Jukka 1981: R.W. Ekmanin ja C.E. Sjöstrandin KALEVALA-AIHEINEN TAIDE. Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja.
- Foley, William A. 1997: *Anthropological Linguistics. An Introduction*. Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell.
- Frostegren, Margareta 1997: Damernas egen (Idun 1906). In *Veckopressen i Sverige: analyser och perspektiv*, ed. Anita Ahrens, pp. 11–46. Löderup: Mälarhusgården.
- Fundberg, Jesper, Klas Ramberg & Dan Waldetoft 2005: *Tankar från baslinjen. Humanister om idrott, kropp och hälsa*. Symposion: Höör.
- Giulianotti, Richard 2004: *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Glaser, Joakim 2017: *Fotboll från Mielke till Merkel. Kontinuitet, brott och förändring i supporterkultur i östra Tyskland*. Malmö: Arx Förlag.
- Grimshaw, Allen D. 1971: Some Social Forces and Some Social Functions of Pidgin and Creole Languages. In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes. Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, John J. 1964: Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities. In *American Anthropologist, special publication, The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. John J. Gumperz & Dell Hymes, 66(6):137–153. American Anthropologist Association, Washington.
- Gustavsson, Karin 2014: *Expeditioner i det förflutna. Etnologiska fältarbeten och försvinnande allmogekultur under 1900-talets början*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag.
- Hellspång, Mats 2013: *Stadion och Zinkensdamm. Stockholms idrottspublik under två sekler*. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag.
- Herd, Katarzyna 2018: “We Can Make New History Here”. *Rituals of Producing History in Swedish Football Clubs*. Lund: Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences.
- Herd, Katarzyna 2019: Our Foreign Hero. The Croatian Goalkeeper and his Swedish Death. In *Transnational Death. Ethnologia Fennica*, pp. 139–156.
- Hymes, Dell & John J. Gumperz (eds.) 1964: *American Anthropologist, special publication, The Ethnography of Communication*, 66(6). American Anthropologist Association, Washington.
- Jensen, Richard B. 2018: The 1904 Assassination of Governor General Bobrikov: Tyrannicide, Anarchism, and the Expanding Scope of “Terrorism”. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, 30 (5): 828–843. Routledge.
- Jönsson, Lars-Eric 2014: Äventyrscyklisten. *Gränslös: Cykelkulturer* 4:29–54.
- Karlsson, Håkan 2004: *Försummat kulturarv. Det närliggande förflutna och fotbollens platser*. Lindome: Bricoleur Press.
- Klinkmann, Sven-Erik, Blanka Henriksson & Andreas Häger 2017: *Föreställda finlandssvenskheter: Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland*. Helsingfors: SLS.
- Klinkmann, Sven-Erik 2017: Om finlandssvenska identiteter, intersektioner och hanteringsstrategier”. In *Föreställda finlandssvenskheter: Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland*, ed. Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Blanka Henriksson & Andreas Häger, pp. 29–56. Helsingfors: SLS.
- Knörr, Jacqueline 2010: Contemporary Creoleness; or, The World in Pidginization? *Current Anthropology* 51(6):731–759. University of Chicago Press.
- Landgrén, Lars-Folke 2017: Den finländska tidningspressen som samhällsspegel under 1900-talet. *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 102(2):286–294.
- Lindgren, Anna-Riitta, Klaus Lindgren & Mirja Sari 2011: From Swedish to Finnish in the 19th Century. A Historical Case of Emancipatory Language Shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 209:17–34.
- Mäkinen, Ilkka 2015: From Literacy to Love of Reading. The Fennomanian Ideology of Reading in the 19th-century Finland. *Journal of Social History* 49(2):287–299.
- Mosko, Mark S. 2005: Introduction: A (Re)turn to Chaos. Chaos Theory, the Sciences, and Social Anthropological Theory. In *On the Order of Chaos. Social Anthropology and the Science of Chaos*. ed. Mark S. Mosko & Fredrick

- H. Damon, pp.1–46. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Nielsen, Niels Kayser 1995: The Stadium in the City: A Modern Story. In *The Stadium and the City*, ed. John Bale & Olof Moen, pp. 21–44. Keele University Press.
- Nilsson, Fredrik 2014: “På Velociped Öfver Öresund!” In *Gränslös. Cykelkulturer*, pp. 12–28.
- Okkonen, Onni 1948: *Axel Gallen-Kallela. Ett bildverk*. Stockholm: A.-B. Lindqvists Förlag.
- Oriard, Michael 1993: *Reading Football. How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Oriard, Michael 2001: *King Football. Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Palme, Sven Ulric 1963: *Några anteckningar ur de svenska barntidningarnas historia*. Stockholm: Åhlén & Åkerlund.
- Peterson, Birgit 2001: Tidningar som industri och parti (1880–1897). In *Den svenska pressens historia II. Åren då allting hände (1830–1897)*, Karl Erik Gustafsson, Per Rydén, pp. 236–342. Stockholm: Ekerlids förlag.
- Pfister, Gertrud & Stacey Pope 2018: *Female Football Players and Fans Intruding into a Man's World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Polvinen, Tuomo 1995: *Imperial Borderland. Bobrikov and the Attempted Russification of Finland 1898–1904*. London: Hurst.
- Ståhlberg, Krister 1995: Den finlandssvenska identitetens variationer. In *Forskningsprojektet “Finlandssvenska kulturindikatorer”*, ed. Krister Ståhlberg, pp. 25–76. Rapport 5. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.
- Svensson, Sonja 2018: *Barnvänner och skolkamrater: Svenska barn- och ungdomstidningar 1766–1900 sedda mot en internationell bakgrund*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Tjora, Axel 2017: *Kvalitative forskningsmetoder i praxis*. 3rd. edition. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.
- Tolvhed, Helena 2015: *På Damsida. Femininitet, motstånd och makt i svensk idrott 1920–1900*. Göteborg/Stockholm: Makadam Förlag.
- Tommila Päivö & Raimo Salokangas 2000: *Tidningar för alla. Det finländska pressens historia*. Göteborg: Nordikom Göteborgs Universitet.
- Velupillai, Viveka 2015: *Pidgins, Creoles and Mixed Languages*. John Benjamin's Publishing Company: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Wagner, Roy 2005: Afterword. Order is What Happens When Chaos Loses Its Temper. In *On the Order of Chaos. Social Anthropology and the Science of Chaos*, ed. Mark S. Mosko & Fredrick H. Damon, pp. 206–247. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika 1995: Den mångbottnade identiteten. In *Finlandssvensk identitet och kultur*, ed. Krister Ståhlberg, pp. 1–24. Forskningsprojektet ”Finlandssvenska kulturindikatorer” Rapport 5. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.
- Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika 2013: “Coping Mechanisms among the Finland-Swedes”. *Folklore* 124(1):15–27.
- Zhao, Guodong 2010: An Understanding of Language Development Models—Pidginization from the Perspective of Chaos Theory. *English Language Teaching* 3(2):88–93.

“[E]ndnu lever en stor medicinsk erfaringskundskap”¹

Early Twentieth-Century Knowledge Production on Folk Medicine

By Greta Karoline Heien & Line Esborg

In February 1911, a questionnaire entitled *Norsk Folkemedicin (Norwegian Folk Medicine)* by Dr. med. Fredrik Georg Gade (1855–1933) and the medical historian Dr. med. Andreas Fredrik Grøn (1871–1947) went public. They set out to conduct a large-scale collection of vernacular medical knowledge about diseases and cures, as research material from across the nation. The request was sent out through their network of peers and printed in the conservative journal *Norsk Skoletidende*, a periodical for teachers and higher education. Gade and Grøn were especially interested in submissions from teachers. Thus, it was highly intentional that they put a notice of their project in *Norsk Skoletidende*. In their call for responses, Gade and Grøn write that they assume teachers might have an interest in participating in a meaningful cause. They also note that, through their profession as teachers, they are especially suited for the task, seeing as they encountered “the different strata of the people, and thus are able to gain whatever knowledge there is left to find on the topic”² (*Norsk Skoletidende* nr 10, 1911:152, our translation). This was seemingly in reference to the common practice of itinerant teachers who provided mandatory schooling around the countryside (Thuen 2017; Heggli 2021). In March the same year, they sent their request as an attachment and wrote a solicitation and a reminder of their project in the next issue of the periodical.

Very meritorious work has been done to gather and preserve our folk traditions; but in the area in question [folk medicine], little has been done. And yet there is certainly a lot of value here, which it is important to obtain before it disappears (*Norsk Skoletidende* 1911, no. 10:152, our translation³).

Several years before, in August 1906, Fredrik Grøn travelled to the valley district of Setesdalen in southern Norway to collect vernacular medicinal knowledge. His fieldwork resulted in the article “Folkemedicin i Setesdalen” (Folk Medicine in Setesdalen), published in the journal *Maal og Minne* in 1909. In this article, Grøn lists what he was mostly concerned with, namely, local disease names, their believed aetiologies and treatment methods. He compares a selection of disease names with assistance from both his main informant – a local “wise” healer in Setesdalen – and secondary philological sources, mainly Ivar Aasen and Hans Ross (Grøn 1909:67). He also makes the following remark and distinction:

There is often a strange confusion between the two concepts of folk medicine and quackery. This also takes place among doctors. However, these are two very different things, although there are points of contact and transitions between the two. Folk medicine is almost to be defined as the epitome of the medical conceptualizations of diseases, their characteristics, causations, means of treatment etc., which are inherited from generation to generation through many stages [...] So far, very sparse material has been published from this area. And yet there is undoubtedly still a great deal of experience-based medical knowledge among the people in Setesdalen. Here, one does not suffer from an abundance of doctors (Grøn 1909:66–67).⁴

Note that Grøn in this excerpt defines folk medicine as *medical knowledge*; an “experience-based medical knowledge”. And it is this medical knowledge he sets out to document and explore with the abovementioned questionnaire two years later.

This article will shed light on this long-forgotten questionnaire. Our aim is to demonstrate how vernacular categories

of medical knowledge were collected, conveyed, and transformed, using the questionnaire on medical terminology and vernacular medical traditions as our example. The reason for choosing the *Norwegian Folk Medicine* questionnaire is threefold: First, this questionnaire has received little scholarly attention. It has remained a rather unknown source for scholars interested in medical history or folk medicine more generally, or in conjunction with questionnaires located in folklore archives specifically. Second, one of the distinctive features of the questionnaire is that it is a product of different knowledge categories. Thus, it serves as a highly relevant study object considering the overarching topic we are exploring in this article. Lastly, and on a related note, we argue that the questionnaire is an early example of an interdisciplinary knowledge project, which in turn influenced later collections. But how was it constructed? And what kind of knowledges is produced with this questionnaire?

The analytical approach in this article springs out of the ongoing conversations related to the “history of knowledge”. This has made its entrance into several historical disciplines, including cultural history. Overall, general history is experiencing a “knowledge turn”, a “turn” we might gradually come to equate with the “linguistic turn” and “cultural turn” that gained a foothold in the 1970s and 1980s (Jordheim & Shaw 2020:3–5). Östling and Heidenblad note that cultural history is already emerging as a dominant discipline from which many scholars in the history of knowledge hail. Peter Burke is an influential figure in this regard, developing the field of history of knowledge itself with publications that have already become standards in the field (Burke

2000; Burke 2012). This appeal is seemingly especially true in the Nordic region, evidenced for example in the now institutionalized network of history of knowledge scholars at the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge (LUCK) at Lund University (Östling & Heidenblad 2017:1–2). We will draw on what historians of knowledge argue are some of the key strengths of a burgeoning discipline. Reflecting on the role of knowledge in society is one of the main *raison d’être* of the history of knowledge (Östling & Heidenblad 2017:2). Many publications in this field over the past decade also emphasize the study of “knowledges” in the plural (Burke 2016; Östling et al. 2020; Sarasin 2020; Andersson 2020). In a sense, democratizing knowledge and placing different types of knowledges, as well as the people associated with them, on a more even keel (Östling & Heidenblad 2017:2). Gade and Grøn’s *Norwegian Folk Medicine* questionnaire brings more insight into how medical knowledge in early twentieth-century Norway was produced and negotiated. One of the features of the new history of knowledge is studies which expand on traditions of historical inquiry, for example by approaching familiar and exploring newer “knowledge phenomena” (Östling et al. 2020:17).⁵ Looking through this analytical lens, we see these themes reflected in Gade and Grøn’s work with their questionnaire and other publications, which points to pursuits to save an entire category of knowledge that, as the quote above also illustrates, is framed as understudied and devaluated knowledge. Hopefully, this will illustrate the mutually beneficial relationship between cultural history and history of knowledge perspectives on the familiar topic “folk medicine”.

Our methodology is a close reading of the questionnaire *Norwegian Folk Medicine*, “taking seriously what goes on in the text.” The aim of a close reading of a text is “not primarily to detect the intentions of the authors or the influence of their historical contexts, but to study the text as a historical reality carrying meaning in itself” (Eriksen 2013:518). By analysing the choice of words and concepts the researchers use to characterize their analytical objects, how they linguistically approach their field of interest and their audience, this paper’s main focus is the production of knowledge on medicine in the early twentieth century. This is thematically structured around three key concepts relating to knowledge production: collecting, conveying, and transforming. In other words, rather than concentrating on the informants’ world view, the principal focus will be the scientific framework and text production of the researchers/collectors. The first concept, collecting, operates in a twofold manner. The questionnaire is itself part of a larger collection in the Norwegian Folklore Archive, and it is at the same time the product of a specific *genre* of knowledge collecting, a topic we will return to in the following section. The second concept, conveying, explores how the questionnaire – and by extension its makers/authors – construct their tools for knowledge gathering. In this sense, we are not focusing on the content per se, but rather on how the questionnaire is structured and, consequently, guides and informs the resulting content (i.e., the replies to the questionnaire). Thirdly, knowledge transformation lends itself to an analytical gaze that includes a closer look at the content of the material. Here we will take a close-

er look at a selection of questions asked. This concept helps us to reflect on the question of what happens to the knowledge in the questionnaire. Thus, transformation here relates to processes of production of (medical) knowledge and the subsequent negotiation between different knowledge categories; that is, the contrast between the academically informed questionnaire and the vernacular/folk knowledge it produces/collects (Jordanova 1995:363; Eriksen 2013:517).

Collecting: The Questionnaire as Genre

The history of the questionnaire as a methodological genre for knowledge gathering is centuries old and a topic for research in and of itself. However, the aim of this section is to provide a brief review of this history to contextualize where, in this far-reaching history of printed questionnaires, *Norwegian Folk Medicine* fits in. We find one of the earliest examples of printed questionnaires as a systematic tool for knowledge gathering towards the mid-to-late sixteenth century. Commonly referred to as “queries”, administrators of empire collected and systematized features about newly acquired lands, and other sovereign nations conducted internal investigations to build a “long and honourable history” (Burke 2000:126; Lilja 1996:22).

By the seventeenth century, printed questionnaires (or “inquiries”) started in earnest to move closer to the realm of scholarly endeavours. For example, topographical researchers were influenced by Francis Bacon’s natural philosophy and systematization of “queries”, namely the careful formulation and structuring of topics, which in turn was used to collect and investigate

“useful knowledge” (Fox 2010:594–595). This tool and overall approach to structured investigation of the natural world furnished the idea that research was a collaborative effort. In a Nordic context, a systematized gathering and dissemination of knowledge was also a central feature in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. In Sweden, a well-known example of this blend is Carl von Linné (1707–1778), who also collected information about natural resources for the benefit of the Swedish government while he was doing his groundbreaking work on taxonomy (Burke 2000:128). In Norway, examples are the founding of *The Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters* (1761–) and the journal *Topographisk Journal* (1792–1808). The latter publication was guided by the ruling royal interests of the Denmark-Norway union. The overall aim was to gather and control information about the land’s history, resources, current affairs, and natural history. In a sense, collating different categories of knowledge.

By the eighteenth century, questionnaires had taken on a more academic nature in earnest. One of the developments in this was the formation and founding of knowledge institutions devoted to research. At around this point in time, the increasing use of terms such as research and investigation reflected a growing attention to the need for knowledge gathering to be systematic and cooperative, the latter of which was already a key aspect of the dissemination of questionnaires (Burke 2000:45–46; Kjus 2013:41).

The nineteenth century is a watershed period when it comes to questionnaires and its further distancing from its origin as a government tool of power and control

towards an academic methodological tool. An influential figure in this development was the folklorist Wilhelm Mannhardt, who famously applied questionnaires to investigate beliefs and customs related to agriculture in Germany. He has been credited as a considerable influence on Nordic folkloristics (Lid 1931; Tillhagen 1999; Kjus 2013). The development was further guided by the era’s more romanticist approach to collecting people’s traditions, culture and, as Agneta Lilja puts it, “everyday reality” (Lilja 1996:22). Questionnaires have since become a staple methodological tool for tradition archives, with a peak in the 1930s (Lilja 1996:115; Nilsson et al. 2003:92). Folk medicine was a familiar topic of tradition, though in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, folk medicine came to be regarded as its own distinct field within the discipline of folklore research (Alver 2013:399), albeit placed within a given framework of scientific medicine from the start (Alver & Selberg 1987:59). It is in this context we arrive at the historical placement of the *Norwegian Folk Medicine* questionnaire.

The study of folk medicine and disease has its own long history. The term itself mirrors the long and deeply intertwined relationship between, e.g., folkloristics and medicine. However, since the 1970s, “applied folkloristics” and “medical history from below” have resulted in an avenue for research where folk medicine bridges the gap between (bio)medicine and culture, rather than entrenching it (Porter 1985:182; Hufford 1998:295; Briggs 2012:319). The topic was present throughout all the centuries discussed above. As Bente Alver points out, in the early years of twentieth-century Norway, folk med-

icine came to be regarded as a topic that could stand on its own feet, as opposed to limited accounts within general and sweeping topographical and natural historical descriptions. Collecting and documenting people’s memories and knowledge was increasingly viewed as a valuable source of insight into (past folks’) cultural imagination about disease and health (Porter 2003; Alver 2013:402). In addition to the historical interest in the study of this topic, the overwhelming foothold of modernity and the subsequent rescue mission trope must also be included in the historical context of *Norwegian Folk Medicine*, meaning the rescuing of old and threatened knowledge. According to Lilja, this implied a societal criticism of the effect modernization had on cultural heritage, while at the same time positioning collectors as “unselfish cultural heroes,” apt for the task of securing knowledge deemed “valuable” and “legitimate” (Lilja 1996:253).

Among different categories of questionnaires, *Norwegian Folk Medicine* arguably falls in between two of these general types: questionnaires that seek to locate information and questionnaires that seek to collect information (Reishtein 1968:45). Though Fredrik Georg Gade and Fredrik Grøn sought to gather folk knowledge limited to the general sphere of folk medicine, they were nevertheless interested in specific topics. This is a feature of the questionnaire method that was both a substantial benefit and a limitation. On the one hand, the questionnaire method was quite effective, in terms of both cost and time. Topics and questions were already neatly structured, so when the answers were returned, the work of archiving was not that time-consuming (Kverndokk 2018). On the other hand, this

method simultaneously operated as a “reality model”, with a normative function that defined, by way of the structured topics, valuable and legitimate knowledge (Lilja 1996:115). Similarly, as Lässig reminds us: “‘Raw’ collections of data and information thus clearly reflect the history of the individuals who conceived and arranged for them, who evaluated them and imposed a measure of order on them – and who perhaps in the end shaped them as socially relevant knowledge” (Lässig 2016:40). Gade and Grøn had a predetermined idea of what kind of knowledge they wanted to collect, witnessed in the structure of questions organized according to overall themes and subcategories. This way of, in one sense, guiding the information to which the respondents were to supply is a common trait in the making of questionnaire materials in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the implication here is that in close reading the structuring and content of questionnaires, we are given an opportunity to ascertain the underlying intentions and purpose of a given questionnaire in and of itself, as well as connecting these assumptions to the historical context in which it was created (Resløkken 2018:11).

Conveying: Constructing Tools for Knowledge Gathering

Introductory texts potentially play a key contextual role in the questionnaire genre. Through a close reading, this section will look at what the questionnaire’s introduction text and constituent elements convey. The introduction to *Norwegian Folk Medicine* establishes the aim and purpose of the material and provides a succinct guide for the respondents, as well as a choice of methods for filling in the

questionnaire. Furthermore, the introduction frames the questionnaire as an ambitious scientific venture. It was supported and thus authorized by way of signatures from high-standing representatives of the Norwegian academic, medical, and political sphere.

The first page contains the title “Norwegian Folk Medicine” in the upper left side of the page, leaving the introductory text at its centre. It begins as follows:

The undersigned have received contributions from The Nansen Foundation in order to collect materials to research Norwegian traditional medicine, and for that reason to request your support by replying to these particular questions. During the zealous work in several cultural nations to collect the living traditions still among the people, it has been proven that the traditional art of medicine holds much useful information and is of great cultural-historical interest. Likewise, surveys in our country have proven this in the case of Norwegian traditional medicine. Concurrently one has to be reminded that folklore quickly gets lost in our time and in our younger generations, and we must save it from oblivion. Thus, we are asking you to reply thoroughly to our questions and send a completed form to the address provided. Should you not find an opportunity to do this yourself, you are most kindly requested to hand over the form to someone in your circle whom you may deem fit and willing to do so. We ask you to provide the sender’s name and address, and if possible, for the reply to be submitted by the end of April 1911.⁶

The most important feature of the introductory text is the immediate reference to the significant new institution The Nansen Foundation (established in 1897), working for the advancement of science in the young sovereign nation state of Norway. The grant⁷ was provided to the two applicants as a contribution to “collect materials

to research Norwegian traditional medicine.”⁸ The name and the institution thus firmly authorized their scientific endeavour.

Gade and Grøn make two significant rhetorical choices in the introduction. They argue with reference to the inherent historical value of the material and secondly, they stress the urgency of the task. Modernity created a sense of urgency in relation to collecting “tradition” (Eriksen 1993; Lilja 1996), making “the rescue” a familiar trope in justifying the scientific importance of folklore collection in the nineteenth and twentieth century:

During the zealous work in several cultural nations to collect *the living traditions still among the people*, it has been proven that *the traditional art of medicine* holds much useful information and is of great cultural-historical interest. Concurrently one has to be reminded that *folklore quickly gets lost in our time* among our younger generations, and we must *save it from oblivion*. (Emphasis added).



1. Introduction text with signatures at the top of the questionnaire’s first page.

In 1911, we are still in the middle of a national romantic movement that wanted to document and thus save a rural culture in response to increasing modernization and urbanization (Gunnell 2010). The notion of a “rescue mission” has by this time become a familiar trope in folklore collecting (Lilja 1996:237). By paying close attention to the introduction to *Norwegian Folk Medicine*, we see this trope play out here as well. “[...] we must save it from oblivion. Thus, we are asking you to thoroughly reply to our questions.” The trope not only justifies their own scientific mission, but also that of the possible respondents which they address. The questionnaire is signed by Gade and Grøn themselves, with their full academic titles. The abbreviation *Dr.med.* signifies the higher doctoral degree in medicine, which they both were awarded from the university.⁹ The questionnaires are pre-addressed in Gade’s name. Fredrik Georg Gade was one of the first microbiologists and cancer researchers in the country and must have been a merited partner. Fredrik Grøn, on the other hand, already had a thorough and extensive body of work to refer to, especially on folk medicine (Bolstad Skjelbred 1983:IV). Grøn belonged to the first generation of researchers working on the history of medicine on a scientific basis, with textual source studies as the most important method. The works, concentrated mainly on Norwegian folk medicine and disease, were partly published in Norwegian and Nordic journals and partly in the daily press. This fact is not mentioned in the questionnaire. Instead, a cabinet member, a medical director, and a professor at the historical-philosophical faculty at the University of Kristiania authorize the questionnaire by signing the dispatch with their warm recommendations. Just Knud

Qvigstad (1853–1957) was a philologist, ethnographer, headmaster, and folklore collector with responsibility for the Sami research field when The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture was founded in 1922. However, at the time when the dispatch of the questionnaire was underway, Qvigstad was working as Minister of Church and Education in Wollert Konow’s cabinet between 1910 and 1912. Therefore, he was a particularly significant authority. Mikael Holmboe (1852–1918), a medical director and doctor, produced a large body of scientific work and was an important member of a variety of public committees, such as Det Medicinske Selskab (The Medical Society) in Kristiania. Professor Moltke Ingebret Moe (1859–1913) completed the triumvirate as the representative of the University of Kristiania, as the first professor in the new academic field of folklore studies.

The explicit acknowledgement of authoritative institutions and the individuals associated with these must be seen in conjunction with what immediately follows the opening sentence with the reference to The Nansen Foundation and the purpose of *Norwegian Folk Medicine*, namely, the abovementioned “rescue mission” trope, which arguably is the main rhetorical device in the questionnaire’s introduction text. Gade and Grøn illustrate this by speaking directly to this cause, and they used this as a major argument to incentivize informants.

... folklore quickly gets lost in our time and in our younger generations (Gade & Grøn 1911).

Of course, nowadays these traditions from an older time are rapidly disappearing in the younger generation, here as elsewhere (Grøn 1909:66).

This permeated nineteenth-century folklore collection in general, and clearly informed the folk-medicine branch of these ventures at the start of the new century. The theme is a constituent element in the construction of the questionnaire’s introduction. First, Gade and Grøn refer to similar collection projects in other “cultural nations” (*kulturlande*). With this, they situate their method internationally by comparison and establish *Norwegian Folk Medicine* as one out of several of its kind that will collect the “living traditions” that still exist among people, which in turn hold a great deal of cultural-historical value. Scattered surveys within Norway’s regions, they add, have also shown this to be the case for Norwegian traditional medicine, with Grøn’s own study from Setesdalen in 1906 being a prime example. Second, Gade and Grøn construct a stark juxtaposition to the traditions that are still alive across this and other nations. They go on to say that with each passing generation, more and more folklore is lost. In his article from Setesdalen, Grøn defined the passing of knowledge over time from generation to generation as one of the foundational aspects of folk medicine. Here, that same feature was one of the main reasons why it needed to be “rescued from oblivion” (Gade & Grøn 1911).

The sentence calling for a rescue from oblivion functions as a segue into the instruction section of the introductory text. In the short guide Gade and Grøn offered in the introduction to the questionnaire, they explicitly ask that, in cases where informants for some reason cannot provide satisfactory answers, or any answers at all, that they pass the questions on to someone in their community they deem to be fit for the

task. Based on explicit references to this request by several informants, we can safely assume that in some cases the informants collected information from their local community in order to provide answers to all or some of the questions. There are not so many replies where informants provide more detailed accounts of how they have answered the questions, though we have a few examples where the informants explicitly state that they answered the questions based on their own experience and memory.

The questionnaire consists of four pages in folio with the return address printed on the back, so it could easily be folded and submitted to the collectors. The responses are primarily depictions of local beliefs concerning the medical and magical properties of disease. The last page of the questionnaire asks for the informants’ name, profession, the place they reported from, as well as the date (and year) in which the questionnaire was submitted. The replies – 152 in total – were seemingly numbered in chronological order as they came in from the first in February 1911 to the last in December 1912. Based on this biographical and geographical information, we know both the geographical dispersal of the informants and their professions. Out of the 152 respondents, most of the informants were doctors (including pharmacists and the odd midwife) and teachers, who numbered 58 and 56, respectively. The remaining category of 38 replies came from a mix of people, including parish priest and farmers. Geographically, responses originate from all over the country and are distributed evenly across counties. What sets this questionnaire apart is that Gade and Grøn are primarily addressing their peers.

However, a common feature is that the submitted questionnaires are the result of communication. The submitters do not respond as individuals but are all rather a collective of intermediaries who respond on behalf of a local community.

The Norwegian Folklore Archive and the University of Kristiania¹⁰ are referenced on the front page as authoritative academic institutions. In addition, there are informative assurances (on the last page of the questionnaire), that the information provided would only be used for scientific purposes. Furthermore, it is also assured that the information will be ethically handled and archived as part of the folklore archive at the university. Interestingly, the new Norwegian Folklore Archive had not yet been established at this point, although the idea of one was put forward at a Nordic meeting in Kristiania in 1907 (Esborg & Johansen 2014). Professor Moltke Moe would have played the part as guarantor on the first page of the questionnaire. As research material, the answers to the questionnaire were thus from the very beginning destined for a life in the folklore archives, transforming the content on vernacular knowledge/folk medicine into a folklore object, a cultural category.

Transforming: Negotiating Knowledge Categories

The previous section demonstrates what “new medical history” stresses about socially created medical knowledge, namely, that a wide range of actors take part in its production (Eriksen 2016:7–8; Mellempgaard 2001:40f). In Norway, as elsewhere, as pointed out by Bente Alver, folk medicine was naturally not a new topic of interest per se, though in previous

centuries we find it blended in with other “agendas and overarching contexts”, e.g., cultural-historical, topographical, medical, and clergy reports (Alver 2013:399–400). *Norwegian Folk Medicine* is thus, by the very nature of its inception, firmly situated in an overarching context of the pioneering age of academic folk medicinal research in Norway.

Transforming relates to the processes of production of (medical) knowledge and the subsequent negotiation between different knowledge categories. That is, the contrast between the academically informed questionnaire, the vernacular knowledge it collects, and the folklore object it produces. As the folklorists Bonnie B. O’Connor and David J. Hufford (2001) have pointed out, folk medicine is an example of a (medical) knowledge category that was created, sometime towards the late nineteenth century, arguably by actors who represent a diametrically opposite knowledge category:

Both the term “folk medicine” and the conceptual category to which it refers are academic constructs that identify a particular subset of healing and health care practice. The most common interpretation of folk medicine in both popular and professional thought is that it represents a body of belief and practice isolated in various forms from the social and cultural “mainstream” and intriguingly unaffected by “modern” knowledge, with which it is frequently compared on the apparent presumption that “folk” and “modern” are mutually exclusive classifications (O’Connor & Hufford 2001:13).

Similar to concepts such as traditional sectarianism, popular belief and superstition (see Amundsen 1999; Selberg 2011), various medical terms are – to paraphrase Torunn Selberg on religiosity – “used to delimit and categorize different – and di-

vergent forms of medicine, which in certain contexts can be perceived as derogatory” (Selberg 2011:14). Unlike superstition embedded in a theological discourse about “true” religion during the 1700s and 1800s, the medical science acts here as a counterargument and as a measuring scale to evaluate the practical medicine of traditional cultures. Terms such as traditional medicine and alternative medicine are concepts that exist within a *hierarchical space* of medicine and of medical practitioners, and that present themselves in dichotomies such as secular/scientific, rational/irrational, scholarly/popular, official/unofficial (O’Connor & Hufford 2001:13–14).

Time *transforms* knowledge from one domain to another: from “living traditions” in the context of folk knowledge about medicine and health and transforms *into* an object of folklore. From something that is a fundamental component of a knowledge culture and into another domain, placing the former into the past as something belonging to the past.

With *Norwegian Folk Medicine*, Gade and Grøn sought to preserve knowledge before it was wholly reduced or transformed, into inaccessible memories which would fade further away with each passing generation. This was a process that had been underway for some time, as they made sure to remind their readers/informants of. We see here clear rhetorical juxtapositions of the dangers folk medicinal knowledge were up against, in the form of loss, living, oblivion, indeed time itself.

Gade and Grøn requested detailed responses where the naming practices – vernacular and scientific – are a common pivot point. The questions are organized in four thematically defined categories. First it asks

about the vernacular form of disease names, followed by questions on medication, advice, and treatment methods; cures based on superstition and their implementation, and lastly, the names and details of the respective practitioners. The first two main categories (A-B) take up the first three of the four pages of the questionnaire and are therefore considered more important. Each category is carefully divided into subcategories:

A. Disease name and vernacular designation (If possible, add the corresponding scientific name on the side.)

Aa) epidemic diseases

Ab) internal diseases (the listed names are just examples; add separate names for other than these)

Ac) skin, hair and nail diseases, e.g. scabies

Ad) other morbid conditions (e.g. nightmares, night terrors (pavor nocturnus)? – gangrene? – tumours? – haemorrhoids (“tags”)? – humpbacked? – boils and finger inflammation?)

B. Medicines, medical advice and treatment methods with addition of which diseases they were used for.

Ba) Cures from the animal kingdom (animals and animal parts, animal-based substances, such as beaver glands, animal fat, (different kinds of fat?), animal intestines and secretion (spit, bile, urine, excrement, etc.), fish liver oil, spider web etc.?)

Bb) Cures from the plant kingdom (medicinal plants, their names and special usage? (e.g. thistle, lichen, corpse rash, bloodroot [...]) What are the corresponding botanical names?)

Bc) Cures from the mineral kingdom (soil, e.g. for insect bites, different kinds of stones, such as cattle stone, spell stones, other metallic substances, such as heirloom silver?)

Bd) Surgical treatment methods and hygienic measures, e.g. for maternity bed, childbirth, child care, deaths (e.g. child’s navel, breastfeeding and its duration etc. – Death signs? – Bleeding and cupping? – Wound treatment? – Joint dislocation (luxations)? – Bone fractures?)

A. Sygdommens navn og betegnelser i folkesproget. (Det tilsvarende videnskabelige navn fødes, om muligt, tilføjet ved siden af.)

a) epidemiske sygdomme

tyfus (nervefeber, fektefeber)	kikkhøst
difteri (Thorsdijenskt halseskyt)	kusma
cropp	rosen
kopper (vandropper? brandkopper?)	syfilis
meslinger	de andre kjønssygdomme
skurlegrenfeber	spedalskhet (forskjellige navne for den gamle og den kvælede form?)
røde hunde	blodgang (lysentet)

2. The first section of the questionnaire asks about corresponding vernacular disease names for the listed epidemic diseases.

First note that the questionnaire asks for scientific terms as well as the vernacular names, in the very first category (name of disease) with the request “If possible, add the corresponding scientific name on the side.” The same kind of request is repeated in subcategory Bb (name of cure) with the direct question “What are the corresponding botanical names?” In the latter it seems to be the name of species, presumably in Latin, that is requested. Under each section they provide the respondent with examples, in both Norwegian and Latin, adding that the listed names for each category are just examples and that the respondent could add separate names for other than these. By giving examples they define the meaning of each question, and perhaps point to possible answers.

Medicine and cure are divided into cures and ingredients from the animal, plant, and mineral kingdom.

The last page of the questionnaire is devoted to what they call superstitious cures and people playing a role as healers (C-D). For instance, the use of amulets, sacred sources, or charms, and information about

people viewed as “natural doctors, quacks, wise women and healers” in their community.

Both directly on the questionnaire pages and in attached letters, some of the informants add extra bits of information relating to either the questions or the process of collecting the answers. The following was written on the bottom of the first page of a questionnaire submission. It is a reply from Nordland in northern Norway, and the informant, a teacher, wrote a short comment below the list of epidemic disease names, thus outside the formal structure. The teacher wrote: “According to the information given to me by people in my district, there are not many specific names for different diseases. Almost every disease was called ‘sott’, and if one died, the disease of which he died was called ‘whole sott’” (NFS Gade and Grøn 99).¹¹

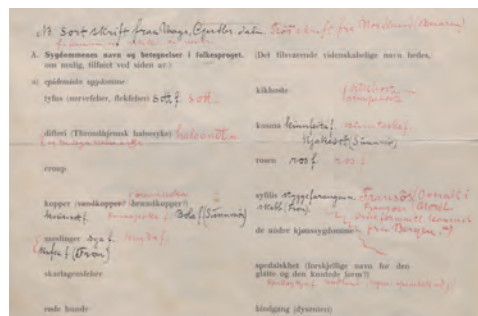
This is a two-sentence answer to an entire section of the questionnaire. However, there are still two interesting points to note here. First, the informant demonstrates the intention Gade and Grøn had in relation to *who* would be answering the questionnaires. Though they were after the knowledge of the “people”, they were not necessarily interested in recording first-hand knowledge. If this were the case, they would probably not have included questions that asked for scientific names in addition to local vernacular terminology. Furthermore, Gade and Grøn made it a point to say that, if their peers could not answer their questions themselves, they should pass it on to other *suitable* informants (*hjemmelsmenn*), who could reply on behalf of the village or district. This was the norm in comparable collection projects elsewhere in Europe (Reslækken 2018:10–11; Jurić 2020). In

contrast, however, as we have seen, Gade and Grøn did not include a comprehensive collection guide for their informants. This might be one part of the reason why there is a broad range of answers in the questionnaires. Both the instructions and the questions posed are quite open for interpretation. Furthermore, the example above is representative of another common feature in the replies, which in turn points to the negotiation between knowledges produced in the questionnaire. Many of the informants reply without paying attention to the structured categories listed by Gade and Grøn. Their tripartite categorization of diseases is a prime example, and the replies in these sections often illustrate a significant challenge in translating between two categories of (medical) knowledge. Consequently, many of the answers that represent a vernacular knowledge system do not adhere to the knowledge system that the fixed categories of questions represent. The section on disease names reveals this negotiation between different systems of knowledge, especially considering the inherent elusiveness of (historical) disease concepts (Campbell et al. 1979; Andersen 2021).

The other aspect of note in the teacher’s remark is the content, namely, the all-encompassing disease name. Etymologically, *sott* has historically been used to denote deadly and contagious diseases, and thus it surely fits in the section asking for epidemic disease names. This reply illustrates a contrast between two different (medical) categories of knowledge, and in this specific example, knowledge relating to disease concepts. This example also points to a challenge that is still relevant today, for one of the pitfalls in writing the history of

disease concepts is precisely when there is a lack of attention to different categories of knowledge: “The history of medical practice is often written without reference to the disease-categories by which past practitioners apprehended the illnesses of their patients” (Wilson 2000:271). Today we have names for every possible ailment, and we have largely agreed to distinguish between “disease” and “illness” in order to account for the difference between biological and socio-cultural factors of perceived states of sickness (Kleinman 1988:3; Hays 2007:33; Alver 1995:5). The difference between the two concepts in the teacher’s reply, however, is merely a distinction in the severity of a disease. The name is specified only depending on whether the patient lived or died.

This further illustrates what Grøn wrote about in his article from Setesdalen in 1909, on the topic of understanding vernacular disease names, namely, that they are rarely specific, etymologically speaking. As Grøn’s own survey shows, one single disease name can have numerous meanings attached to it. Depending on the



3. Replies to the section on epidemic disease names. The informant has also included details about whether the vernacular disease names are feminine, masculine, or neutral.

source, its meaning could either have originated based on how or where the illness manifested on a person (symptom), what kind of person carried the disease (cause) or what animal part was used as a treatment method (Grøn 1909:75). Figure 3 demonstrates some of these patterns.¹²

It is not coincidental that the main part of the questionnaire relates to three categories of disease names – a distinction Grøn also made in his above-mentioned article. The aim of the questionnaire was to produce a large body of literature on aspects of folk medicine including vernacular disease names. In this vein, Grøn’s article arguably provides some insight into how Gade and Grøn went about constructing a whole section of the questionnaire in an effort to gather as much information as possible about the often ambiguous linguistic remnants of folk medicinal knowledge.

In the introduction to the 1921 questionnaire *Innsamling av norsk folkemedisin (Collection of Norwegian Folk Medicine)*, Ingvald Reichborn-Kjennerud, Nils Lid, and Hjalmar Falk pay particular attention to collecting folk medicinal disease names. It is, to our knowledge, the first comprehensive questionnaire on folk medicine since Gade and Grøn sent out *Norwegian Folk Medicine* in 1911. In 1921, the collectors underscore the collaborative scholarly commitment they engage with through their collection efforts. In the first pages of the introductory text, the three collectors address the necessity of their project in a context of earlier – and to a degree similar – work concerned with collecting (vernacular) language. They argue that lexicographers needed help, especially when it came to technical terms and vocabulary: “It is no wonder that the linguists have not

been able to do this alone... The collection of folk medicine that we are seeking to bring about here is only one part of this work. The rest should come afterwards, subject by subject” (Reichborn-Kjennerud et al. 1921:2).¹³ One of the few hints of what happened with the *Norwegian Folk Medicine* replies is also found in this 1921 introduction text. Towards the end, it is stated that the first questionnaire of this kind, i.e., on folk medicine, was sent out in 1911 and garnered around 150 replies. It is also stated that their questionnaire has been utilized and will continue to be so. Unfortunately, this is the extent to which the result of Gade and Grøn’s work is elaborated on. However, one possibility is that the questions, and more so the replies, were a point of departure for the questionnaire that succeeded it a decade later. Perhaps influenced by some of the more detailed replies Gade and Grøn received, such as the example above (fig. 3), the 1921 questionnaire instructions include a request that informants should state the grammatical gender of each disease name. This attention to detail, according to Reichborn-Kjennerud, Lid and Falk, has a real practical value in everyday society, and gathering medical terminology is essential:

[N]ot only for the practising doctor, to whom it often is important to be acquainted with what specific meaning a vernacular disease name has within his district. But most of all for the historical and real information that is so often found hidden in the name: behind every name, so to speak, lies a piece of cultural and medical history (Reichborn-Kjennerud et al. 1921:2–3).

Conclusions

The questionnaire that we have presented in this article has for well over a century

largely remained, quite literally, in a dark corner (or rather an archive drawer in the Norwegian Folklore Archives).

Using history of knowledge as our analytical point of departure, we have discussed how vernacular categories of medical knowledge were collected, conveyed, and transformed. Where arguably a more traditional cultural-historical outlook on a questionnaire would focus on the informant aspect, our aim here has been to highlight the genre’s interdisciplinary character. By doing so, we have also shed light on the collectors’ text production and the scientific framework of the questionnaire. To operationalize this analytical approach, our method has been a close reading of different components of the questionnaire. Here, a history of knowledge approach has functioned as an analytical tool which centres and foregrounds the idea of how categories of knowledges (plural) coexist at the same time. In our study, we have looked at the production of knowledges on folk medicine.

Folk medicine exists in a hierarchical (medical) space in which it is defined or seen in relation to what is considered “correct” or “true” knowledge. Gade and Grøn, both medical practitioners themselves, operated within this hierarchy, witnessed for example in their conceptual apparatus rooted in medical terminology. At the same time, however, Gade and Grøn are exceedingly preoccupied with the folkloristic and linguistic components of folk medicine, which in turn implies that the questionnaire itself is a product of different knowledge traditions, making the questionnaire an interdisciplinary project and knowledge as something socially created. The result is highly polyphonic: “The folklore archival

records have to be regarded as items of traditional knowledge co-produced in an intersection between the archive, the collectors and the tradition bearers. In this sense, the texts are highly polyphonic” (Kverndokk 2018:108). We have aimed to show how a wide range of different actors and agents take part in the co-production of *Norwegian Folk Medicine*. Historiographies of the academic field of folk medicine in Norway often take their point of departure in the influential work of the doctor and prolific medical historian Ingjald Reichborn-Kjennerud (Alver & Selberg 1992; Alver 2013). A significant reason is that he situated himself in relation to different research traditions, namely folkloristics, medicine, and philology (Alver & Selberg 1992:14). This is an apt description of Grøn’s scholarship, and he is credited as an influential figure, likely a main influence in Reichborn-Kjennerud’s turn to research on folk medicine later in his career.¹⁴ Moreover, the two went on to collaborate on several projects, including some of which are still considered classics in the field of medical history. For instance, he chose to publish his article on fieldwork and folk medicine in Setesdalen in *Maal of Minne*, a journal for topics on folklore and philology.¹⁵ In the article’s introductory paragraphs, Grøn refers to earlier research from the area, including topographical, archaeological, and folkloristic studies (Grøn 1909:65). Grøn was not only interested in the topics and research perspectives folklorists and philologists concerned themselves with. Through his work he displayed a deep insight into these aspects as well.

Grøn continues to be a relevant figure in cultural and medical history, both for

his influence on later scholars and through *Norwegian Folk Medicine*. The questionnaire laid the groundwork, and to some degree template, for later folk medicinal collections in Norway. One of the most well-known examples of the latter is Reichborn-Kjennerud, Nils Lid and Hjalmar Falk's questionnaire *Collection of Norwegian Folk Medicine* (1921), where Gade and Grøn's original questionnaire is referenced as an influence (Reichborn-Kjennerud et al. 1921:2). The 1921 questionnaire was, like Gade and Grøn's, also especially focused on folk-medicine terminology, with sections structured according to Gade and Grøn's original format. Note that the 1921 introduction contains the same language about the state of peril in which folk-medicinal knowledge finds itself, underscoring the ever-present threat posed by modernity in its various forms:

It is a matter of obtaining [folk medicine] before it is *swept away by the new currents of time*. A large part of the folk medicinal tradition now only exists only as legends and in old people's memories of days gone by. ... Not everyone understands that these are cultural values that are worth *saving from doom*" (Reichborn-Kjennerud et al. 1921:1, emphasis added).

Grøn's early preoccupation with crossing disciplinary borders reverberates up to our present time. One of the few studies that have used *Norwegian Folk Medicine* as a primary source is not based in the humanities, but rather the natural sciences (Alm 2006). In this ethnobotanical study, Alm made use of the questionnaire's section on medicinal plant remedies. This is a small, albeit significant indication of the interdisciplinary potential of the knowledge material Gade and Grøn produced.

Furthermore, this in turn mirrors the questionnaire's own long history and potential future: the questionnaire operating as a gathering tool across different types of knowledges, as an object of study across disciplines. This is perhaps especially salient and worthy of further exploration, especially considering today's academic focus on convergence and cross-disciplinary research.

Line Esborg

Associate Professor
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo
P.O. Box 1010 Blindern
N-0315 Oslo
email: line.esborg@ikos.uio.no

Greta Karoline Heien

Doctoral Research Fellow
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo
P.O. Box 1010 Blindern
N-0315 Oslo
email: g.k.heien@ikos.uio.no

Notes

- 1 The quotation in the title comes from Grøn 1906:67.
- 2 "Naar hendvendelse om bistand ved denne indsamling rettes til lærerne, da er det visstnok baade fordi at man hos disse gjør regning paa almindelig interesse overfor en saadan sak, og tillike fordi de i sin virksomhet kommer i forbindelse med de forskjellige lag av folket og saaledes kan faa kjendskap til hvad der endnu er at finde paa dette omraade."
- 3 Henceforth, all English translations are our own.
- 4 "Der gjør sig ofte gjældende en besynderlig forveksling av de to begreper 'folkemedicin' og 'kvaksalveri'. Dette finder ogsaa sted blandt læger. Imidlertid er dette to vidt forskjellige ting, om der end er berøringspunkter og over-

gange mellem begge. Folkemedicin er nærmest at definere som indbegrepet av de medicinske forestillinger om sykdomme, baade deres kjen-detegn, aarsaksforhold og midler derimot m. m., som gaar i arv fra slegt til slegt gjennom mange led [...] Men i det hele tatt er det hittil offentliggjorte materiale paa dette omraade meget sparsomt. Og dog er det utvilsomt, at der endnu lever en stor medicinsk erfaringskundskap hos folket i Setesdalen. Her lider man nemlig ikke under overflod av læger” (Grøn 1909:66–67). This point was repeated in several of his publications, among other *Farsotter og lægekunst gjennom tiderne* 1910:19.

- 5 See for example “My grandmother’s recipe book and the history of knowledge” (Peter K. Andersson) and “‘Is there no one moderating Wikipedia????’” (Maria Karlsson) in *Forms of Knowledge: Developing the History of Knowledge* (Östling et al. 2020).
- 6 “Undertegnede har faat bidrag av Nansenfondet for at iverksætte en indsamling av materiale til undersøkelse av den norske folkemedicin og tillater sig i den anledning at anmode om Deres støtte hertil ved besvarelse av omstaaende spørsmaal. Under det ivrige arbeide i flere kulturlande med at indsamle de endnu blant folket levende traditioner har det vist sig, at den folkelige lægekunst rummer meget stof av stor kulturhistorisk interesse, og spredte undersøkelser i vort land har ogsaa tilfulde bevist dette for den norske folkemedicins vedkommende. Da det samtidig maa erindres, at folkeminderne i vore dage mangesteds hurtig gaar tapt blant den yngre slegt, gjælder det itide at redde dem fra glemselen. Vi ber Dem derfor om saa fuldstændig som mulig at besvare vore spørsmaal og indsende dette skema i utfylt stand efter den paaskrevne adresse. Skulle De ikke selv finde anledning til at utføre dette, anmodes De velvilligst om at overgi skemaet til en eller anden i Deres kreds, som De maate anse skicket og villig dertil. Avsenderens navn og adresse bedes altid paaført og svaret indsendt, om mulig, inden utgangen av april 1911.”
- 7 The grant was provided the two applicants as a contribution to collect research materials for the publishing of a large body of work on Norwegian folk medicine. However, they were never to publish together. Fredrik Grøn would go on to publish several popular and academic articles and books on the subject. See e.g. *Farsotter og lægekunst gjennom tiderne* (1910), *Dagliglivets sykdomme* (1912), *Medisins historie i Norge* (1936, with I. Reichborn-Kjennerud & I. Kopro).
- 8 As announced in the newspaper *Morgenbladet* 30 April 1910:1, Dr. med. Gade and Grøn were granted 400 Norwegian Kroner.
- 9 Gade was awarded his degree in 1900, with *Om patologisk-anatomiske forandringer i vævene af neutrof. Om patologisk-anatomiske forandringer i vævene af neurotrofisk oprindelse*. Grøn received his doctorate in 1908, with *Altnordische Heilkunde*.
- 10 Kristiania/Christiania was the former name of the capital of Norway from 1624–1925. Oslo 1925–c.d.
- 11 “Efter de oplysninger jeg har faat av folk i mit distrikt, har man ikke her hat mange særskilte navn paa de forskjellige sykdomme. Næsten alle sykdomme blev kalt ’sott,’ og hvis en døde, kaldtes den sykdom, hvorav han døde ’helsott’”.
- 12 This submission was sent in from Vaage [Vågå] in Gudbrandsdalen in eastern Norway, by the teacher and parish priest Leonhard Næss (1855–1940). Næss was born in Beiarn in northern Norway, and he includes answers for both his current parish and his childhood region. He makes sure to distinguish his answers by using different colours for the two geographical locations, also adding a clear explanation of this above the questionnaire section. Furthermore, likely because Næss was an avid linguist, he adds a feature and a level of detail to his replies which are not so common to this section of the questionnaire. For every vernacular name, Næss indicate whether informants used the name in the masculine, feminine, or the neural. Næss’s interest beyond his profession is a representative feature of

- many of the informants. For more on Næss, see Opplandsarkivet (<https://www.opam.no/arkiver-samlinger/leonhard-naess>).
- 13 ”Det er ikke å undres over at sprogmenne ikke alene har kunnet makte dette. Her må der et samarbeide til mellom flere. Den innsamling av folkemedisin som vi her søker å få i stand, er bare et enkelt ledd i dette arbeide. Resten bør komme etterpå, fag for fag...”
 - 14 For example *Medicinens historie i Norge* (History of Medicine in Norway), first published in 1936.
 - 15 In 1896 the invitation to the Nordic Academic Meeting in Kristiania was printed in the newspaper *Morgenbladet*. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of increased interaction. One of the 24 men who signed the invitation was stud.med. Fredrik Grøn. Another name on the list is the philologist Hjalmar Falk (1859–1928), who shared Grøn’s interest in folk medicine (*Morgenbladet* 27 March 1896:1).
- ## References
- Archives*
- Gade, Fredrik & Fredrik Grøn 1911. Norsk Folkemedisin. Spørreliste NFS Gade og Grøn. Norsk Folkeminnesamling, UiO (Norwegian Folklore Archives).
- Morgenbladet* 27 March 1896:1. Nasjonalbiblioteket.
- Morgenbladet* 30 April 1910:1 *Nansensfondets beretning for 1909–1910*. Nasjonalbiblioteket.
- Norsk Skoletidende* 1911 no. 10: 152. National Library of Norway. <https://www.nb.no/items/2febb301c7dd36fd1c80a6d50b498f5e?page=161> 30 January 2022.
- Literature*
- Alm, Torbjørn 2006: Ethnobotany of *Linnaea borealis* (Linnaeaceae) in Norway. *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society* 151:437–452.
- Amundsen, Arne B. 1999: Med overtroen gjennom historien. Noen linjer i folkloristisk faghistorie 1730–1930. In *Hinsides. Folkloristiske perspektiver på det overnaturlige*, ed. Siv Bente Grongstad, pp. 13–49. Oslo: Spartacus.
- Andersen, Michael 2021: Medical Ethnology. Health and Disease, Hygiene and Cleanliness, Childbirth and Sexuality, Medicine and Care in *Ethnologica Scandinavica*. *Ethnologica Scandinavica* 51:34–41.
- Andersson, Peter K. 2020: My Grandmother’s Recipe Book and the History of Knowledge. In *Forms of Knowledge. Developing the History of Knowledge*, ed. Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad & Anna Nilsson Hammar, pp. 59–71. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Alver, Bente G. 1995: The Bearing of Folk Belief on Cure and Healing. *Journal of Folklore Research* 32(1):21–33.
- Alver Bente G. 2013: Folkemedisins pionertid i Norge. In *Etnologi og folkloristikk. En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie*, ed. Bjarne Rogan & Anne Eriksen, pp. 399–424. Oslo: Novus forlag.
- Alver, Bente G. & Torunn Selberg 1987: Trends in Research on Folk Medicine. *Ethnologica Scandinavica* 16:55–70.
- Alver, Bente G. & Torunn Selberg 1992: ‘Det er mer mellom himmel og jord.’ *Folks forståelse av virkeligheten ut fra sykdom og behandling*. Bergen: Etno-folkloristisk institutt, Universitetet i Bergen.
- Bolstad Skjelbred, Ann Helene 1983: *Bibliografi over alternativ medisin og behandling i Norge til og med 1980*. UBO Skrifter 13. Universitetsbiblioteket.
- Briggs, Charles L. 2012: Toward a New Folkloristics of Health. *Journal of Folklore Research* 49(3):319–345.
- Burke, Peter 2000: *A Social History of Knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Burke, Peter 2012: *A Social History of Knowledge. From the Encyclopédie to Wikipedia*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Burke, Peter 2016: *What is the History of Knowledge?* Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Burke, Peter 2020: “Response” *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 1(1):1–7.
- Campbell, E. J. M., J. G. Scadding & R. S. Roberts 1979: The Concept of Disease. *The British Medical Journal* 2(6193):757–762.

- Daston, Lorraine 2017: The History of Science and the History of Knowledge. *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1:131–154.
- Eriksen, Anne 1993: Den nasjonale kulturarven – en del av det moderne. *Kulturella perspektiv* 1:16–26.
- Eriksen, Anne 2013: Cure or Protection? The Meaning of Smallpox Inoculation, ca 1750–1775. *Medical History* 57(4):516–536.
- Eriksen, Anne 2016: Editorial. The Cultural History of Medicine. *ARV: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 72:7–9.
- Esborg, Line & Dirk Johannsen 2014: “En vild endevending av al virkelighet”. *Norsk Folke-minnesamling i hundre år*. Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Fox, Adam 2010: Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles, 1650–1800. *The Historical Journal* 53(3):593–621.
- Grøn, Fredrik 1909: Folkemedisin i Setesdalen. *Maal og Minne*. Kristiania: Bymaals-Lagets Forlag.
- Gunnell, Terry 2010: Daisies Rise to Become Oaks. The Politics of Early Folktale Collection in Northern Europe. *Folklore* 121(1):12–37.
- Hays, Jo N. 2007: Historians and Epidemics. Simple Questions, Complex Answers. In *Plague and the End of Antiquity. The Pandemic of 541–750*, ed. Lester K. Little, pp. 33–56. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Heggli, Gry 2021: *Omgangsskolelæreren i allmueskolen. Leseopplæring mellom tekster og talemål*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press.
- Hufford, David 1998: Folklore Studies Applied to Health. *Journal of Folklore Research* 35(3):295–313.
- Jordanova, Ludmila 1995: The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge. *Social History of Medicine* 07/03:361–381.
- Jordheim, Helge & David Gary Shaw 2020: Opening Doors. A Turn to Knowledge. *History and Theory, Theme Issue* 58:3–18.
- Jurić, Dorian 2020: “Josip Tomec, Collector”. Class and Folklore Collection in Nineteenth-Century Croatia. *Journal of American Folklore* 133(527):27–52.
- Karlsson, Maria 2020: Is There No One Moderating Wikipedia??? In *Forms of Knowledge. Developing the History of Knowledge*, ed. Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad & Anna Nilsson Hammar, pp. 59–71. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Kjus, Audun 2013: Hvorfor spørre? Norsk etnologisk gransking og spørrelistas fremtid. *Tidsskrift for kulturforskning* 12(1):41–56.
- Kleinman, Arthur 1988: *The Illness Narratives. Suffering, Healing, and the Human Condition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kverndokk, Kyrre 2018: Disciplining the Polyphony of the Herbarium. The Order of Folklore in the Norwegian Folklore Archives. In *Oral Tradition and Book Culture*, ed. Pertti Anttonen, Cecilia af Forselles & Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, pp. 92–110. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Lässig, Simone 2016: The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda. *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59:29–58.
- Lid, Nils 1931: *Wilhelm Mannhardt og hans Samling av norske Folkeminne*. Oslo: Norsk Folkeminnelag, NFL 24.
- Lilja, Agneta 1996: *Föreställningen om den ideala uppteckningen. En studie av idé och praktik vid traditionssamlade arkiv – ett exempel från Uppsala 1914–1945*. Skrifter utgivna genom dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, Serie B:22.
- Mellemgaard, Signe 2001: *Kroppens natur. Sundhedsoplysning og naturidealer i 250 år*. København: Museum Tusulanum Forlag.
- Nilsson, Bo G., Dan Waldetoft & Christina Westergren (eds.) 2003: *Frågelist och berättarglädje. Om frågelistor som forskningsmetod och folklig genre*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag.
- O’Connor, Bonnie B. & David J. Hufford 2001: Understanding Folk Medicine. In *Healing Logics. Culture and Medicine in Modern Health Belief Systems*, ed. Erika Brady, pp. 13–35. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Östling, Johan, David Larsson Heidenblad & Anna Nilsson Hammar (eds.) 2020: *Forms*

- of Knowledge. Developing the History of Knowledge.* Lund: Lund University Press.
- Östling, Johan & David Larsson Heidenblad 2017: From Cultural History to the History of Knowledge. *History of Knowledge*. <https://historyofknowledge.net/2017/06/08/from-cultural-history-to-the-history-of-knowledge/> 12 January 2022.
- Porter, Roy 1985: The Patient’s View. Doing Medical History from Below. *Theory and Society* 14(2):175–198.
- Porter, Roy (ed.) 2003: *Patients and Practitioners. Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reichborn-Kjennerud, Ingjald, Nils Lid & Hjalmar Falk 1921: Innsamling av norsk folkemedisin. Rettledning og ordlister. In *Bidrag til Norsk Folkemedisin 1*. Særtrykk av *Maal og minne* 1921:73–89. Kristiania: Bymaalslagets Forlag. I Kommissjon hos H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Reishtein, Eleanor Fein 1968: Bibliography on Questionnaires as a Folklife Fieldwork Technique. Part One. *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 13(1):45–69.
- Resløkken, Åmund Norum 2018: ‘Ein Lut Av Det Nære Levande Livet’. Tradisjon, Tradisjons-elementer og Tradisjonsforskere. En studie av spørrelisteserien *Ord Og Sed* 1934–1947. Oslo: Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo.
- Rørbye, Birgitte 2002: *Mellem sundhed og sygdom. Om fortid, fremskridt og virkelige læger. En narrativ kulturanalyse*. København: Museum Tusulanum Forlag.
- Sarasin, Philip 2020: More Than Just Another Specialty. On the Prospects for the History of Knowledge. *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 1(1):1–5.
- Selberg, Torunn 2011: *Folkelig religiøsitet. Et kulturvitenskapelig perspektiv*. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press.
- Thuen, Harald 2017: *Den norske skolen. Utdannings-systemets historie*. Oslo: Abstrakt Forlag.
- Tillhagen, Carl-Herman 1999: *Våra folkminnen: en “dagbok” över ett folks liv*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Wilson, Adrian 2000: On the History of Disease Concepts. The Case of Pleurisy. *History of Science* 38(3):271–319.

The Life and Moods of a Danish Nineteenth-Century Lady of the Manor

Cultural and Emotional Practices between Ideals of Femininity, Domestic Virtues and Household Management
By Signe Boeskov

Molly Tang, the lady of the manor in the mid-nineteenth century at *Nørre Vosborg*, a manor near the west coast of Denmark, kept a highly detailed diary.¹ Every single day, she recorded her chores, her pleasures, her activities, and her interaction with other people. As a child of the early nineteenth century, an era of emotion and romanticism, she also wrote about moods, both her own and those of others, on a regular basis. Consequently, as a source, her diaries provide an unusually detailed insight, not only into everyday life in a medium-sized Danish manor house, but also into an emotional practice, both of them presented from the perspective of an individual. The main objective of this article is to use this special source material to shed light on Molly Tang's multifaceted role as the wife of an estate owner, both in a practical sense and as an examination of her self-reflection and emotional practice in the light of the ideals and cultural milieu of the era in Scandinavia.

Arrival – to Nørre Vosborg in 1838 and to the Study of Manorial Life

On a beautiful spring day on 14 April 1838, the 31-year-old Marie Elisa Tang (1807–1885) – known since her childhood as Molly – arrived after an exhausting week-long journey from Copenhagen across Denmark at Nørre Vosborg in Western Jutland. Her arrival marked the start of her new role as the lady of the house. She was accompanied by her husband, the estate owner Andreas Evald Meinert Tang (1803–1868), to whom she had been married a few months earlier in the district of Christianshavn in the heart of Copenhagen, where she had spent her childhood and youth.

“I was very emotional,”² wrote Molly in her diary that evening in her exquisite description of the day's events. As the day drew to a close, the couple arrived at the manor house, where the tower and picket fence had been painted for the occasion and the flag hoisted on the rampart. The couple were affectionately welcomed by Tang's mother, the dowager Marie Cathrine Meinert (1776–1855), who also resided at Nørre Vosborg. There was a romantic and emotional moment on the threshold of the manor house as the landowner took his wife by the hand, looked into her tearful eyes and wished her God's blessing for her future life there. Though everything seemed to be going wonderfully, she still had qualms. “Yet,” wrote the young wife, “what was this? Perhaps merely my old caprices, eclipsing my Heaven?”³ (The diary of Marie Elisa Tang: Saturday 14 April 1838. Henceforth referred to simply as *Diary: date*.)⁴

The issue of being “very emotional” and sometimes having an inappropriate mixture of feelings is a significant theme in Molly Tang's diaries. Alongside the run-of-the-mill descriptions of the routine events and chores of everyday life, her diary is rich in accounts of relationships and moods – both her own and those of the people around her. She kept a diary for most of her life, and the diaries she wrote from 1829 until her death in 1885 have been preserved virtually intact. For the purpose of this article, the initial focus is on the entries from 1829, which provide an introduction to her youth and formative years in Copenhagen, and thereafter mainly the entries recording Molly Tang's early days at Nørre Vosborg in 1838. This was a life-changing year, during which she took on the roles of lady

of the manor, wife and mother. The article then compares these entries to those written in 1861 by the middle-aged lady of the manor who now had extensive experience in her various roles and of the manorial milieu. By their very nature, the diaries do not represent an objective description, but reflect Molly Tang's own presentation and understanding of her reality, and it is principally these matters that this article examines in the source material.

From 1849 to 1861, with significant intervals, Molly Tang also wrote her memoirs of her upbringing and youth. This article also uses these accounts as background for its examination of Molly Tang's self-presentation. Of course, whenever we

read memoirs, we must be aware that the writer is depicting things in retrospect, with all that this entails in terms of erroneous recollections and hindsight, selectivity, and an ambition to narrate within a particular genre. Tang's memoirs are a good example of this. Her narrative is detailed, featuring countless observations in her attempt to convey specific information about places and people. The fact that they are dedicated to her children indicates that her memoirs are also an account of their family and the things that shaped their mother's origins. However, they also have a literary ambition: they are interpretive and based on meaningful narratives (Marie Elisa Tang's memoirs 1849–61: *To My Children*



1. The Danish manor Nørre Vosborg is located close to the west coast of Denmark. Following land reforms in the late 1700s, many manors in West Jutland were closed. This was not, however, the case for Nørre Vosborg, a manor house that despite financial challenges became a focal point for new initiatives, development and not least festivity in the 1800s. The manor was then, as now, famous for its historic ambiance. It was the home of Molly Tang (1807–1838) from 1838 to her death in 1885. *Prospect: F. Richardt, circa 1865.*

(hereafter referred to as *Memoirs: Page*)). The memoirs were thus not only written for Molly Tang's own use but for the purpose of being shared with at least the daughters, while the diaries to a greater extent were kept private. It was however not uncommon during the period, as described for example by Rebecca Steinitz, that even primarily private diaries were sometimes shared (Steinitz 2011:77ff). Although the diary first and foremost seems to be a personal tool for Molly Tang, the same is true in her case. For instance, she says that she has read passages from the diary covering the early years in Copenhagen aloud to her adult daughters many years later (*Memoirs:53*).

The era in which Molly Tang lived was philosophically, artistically, and idealistically coloured by the golden age of Romanticism. It was a time when the acknowledgement and expression of emotions was key, accompanied by a fascination with, and recognition of, the uniqueness of the individual. The age was absorbed by the urge to understand the profound forces that impact a person's life: whether the driving force was positive and creative, ending in harmony; or destructive and restless, culminating in irresolution. "Profound emotional introspection" was a theme in the art and literature of the age (Berlin 1999:7; see also Busk-Jensen 2009; Baunvig 2018). Both diaries and memoirs must be understood in this context as a personal practice and as a genre. The nineteenth century has, not without reason, been described as the century of diaries, partly because the practice of keeping diaries and journals was so widespread in the middle and upper classes (in the homes of literacy) as individual forms of expression, partly because they also, especially towards the end of the cen-

tury, became popular as a printed literary genre in both a biographical and a fictional context (Steinitz 2011). In several ways, they were thus included as a tool both in the individual's self-examination and in a more collective development and processing of cultural forms and ideologies of the period (Steinitz 2011:6).

The early nineteenth century was also a time when family ideals were rooted in a modern understanding of the sequestered nuclear family as the natural centre of existence and society. In turn, the nuclear family encompassed various elements, including a division of male and female roles and spheres, within which the individual could achieve meaningful self-realization (Busk-Jensen 2009:85ff). These notions of emotion and family are often described as the ideals of bourgeois and intellectual upper- and middle-class urban environments. In recent years, however, manorial research in Scandinavia has, as described below, begun the description of how, during the nineteenth century, these ideals also made their way into manorial environments in the Scandinavian countries, albeit in other contexts and in forms that could be integrated into these environments. In general, Danish society was characterized by fundamental social changes during the nineteenth century, which also had an impact on Denmark's manor houses and the world of the owner families. Industry began to offer a reliable alternative to manorial life as a basis for wealth and prestige, and new kinds of elite, first and foremost the urban bourgeois elite, played an increasingly important role and influenced the ideals of the time (Rasmussen 2006).

Studies have thus examined the possible distinctions emerging in the period's man-

or environments, viewed in relation to the changes of the time in general but also to the period's mixed landscape of noble and bourgeois owner families (e.g. Andersen 2005; Boeskov 2013; 2017; Lyngby 2015; Sumner 2004). It is thus described in several contexts how owner families of both noble and bourgeois origin made use of expressions, for instance in their material surroundings, that communicated ideals identified by research as "middle class". However, it is important to point out that the same families also used expressions that research has identified as traditionally aristocratic (Boeskov 2017), and that perhaps precisely the union of these different characteristics in various combinations and degrees can be seen as a distinctive feature of manor environments of the time.

Molly Tang's diary provides insight into an individual story, which in practice consolidates urban life, manorial life and a reflection of contemporary forms of family. The diaries also express continuous self-reflection and an awareness of emotional life and its significance for the path through life of Molly Tang as an individual. The purpose of this article is, therefore, two-fold. Firstly, based on her own selection, it sets out to shed light on her concrete role and life. Research-wise, in recent decades the manorial milieus of the eighteenth and 19th centuries, manorial life and even the ladies of the manor have gained a certain amount of attention. However, it is striking that this attention has primarily been directed at certain types of manorial, or even castle environments: chiefly large manors, well-established milieus and long-standing noble families (e.g. Dyrmann 2021; Ilmakunnas 2012; Laursen 2009; 2017; Lyngby 2015; Rosenblad 2005; Rundquist

1989; Steinrud 2008; Venborg Pedersen 2005). Consequently, the research has quite often focused on examples of women from the aristocratic elite, and their cultural practices and characteristics.

In terms of representation, this reflects an imbalance, given that in Denmark, as in Scandinavia in general, the period naturally featured many medium-sized and small manorial environments too (<https://www.danskeherregaarde.dk/1900>; Ulväng 2019; Åström 1993). What is more, a number of manorial families were of bourgeois origin, and a number of these families' members, including Molly Tang at Nørre Vosborg, were even total novices in their role and formed by other milieus. Thus, one of the aims of this article is to put into perspective the role and function of a lady of a manor: in this case, as a practical leader of, and participant in the household and work processes, alongside her social duties as a hostess of a medium-sized manor far from the centre of power and the aristocratic networks.

Although several studies of ladies in manor environments involve the individual's perspective and personal observations, for instance, through extensive letter studies (e.g. Rundquist 1989; Steinrud 2008; Dyrmann 2021) precisely the perspective of emotional practice is not often at the centre. As the following analysis will hopefully illustrate, this perspective can however provide an insight into identity formation associated not just with individual circumstances but also probably in relation to ideals and different cultural environments of the time. The second aim of the article is therefore to create insight into Molly Tang's own perception of manorial life and her part in it, based on an examination of

the many emotional and reflective observations of which the diary is also full. These observations were prompted by interaction with others or challenges in relationships. They were prompted by her efforts to cope with and handle the tasks and roles of her life as a wife, mother and housewife. They were also prompted by her encounter with what might be referred to as inappropriate emotions: in other words, when, according to her diary entries, Molly Tang apparently experienced feelings inappropriate to a particular situation or context – for example (as previously mentioned), upon arrival at the manor, when happy, romantic feelings were clouded by unwelcome dark feelings, which she dismissed as “caprices”. The article will thus link the two aspects – her practical role and her identity-related role – in a comprehensive examination of her life as an estate owner’s wife and lady of the manor.

Consequently, the article is interested in the nineteenth-century ideal female role which has been identified as middle-class or bourgeois, and it seeks to answer the question of how such ideals, on an individual level, were integrated in a manor environment. And, secondly, whether some of the almost contradictory qualities associated with this role could be manifested in the meeting with the manorial environment?

Female Ideals of the Nineteenth Century

Although different focus areas and main interests such as material surroundings, consumption, movements in public and private spheres, and patterns in everyday lives have been chosen for the different studies mentioned above of aristocratic manor environments and the women in them, be-

tween them they identify some characteristic practices and ideals. Central features are the roots of the noble communities in an ideal paternalistic understanding of society, affecting relations to, for instance, servants or the population of the local area; an active lifestyle in a distinguished public sphere; a strong awareness of lineage and historical roots; the identification with the family properties and houses; and the importance of connection with equal families and not least with court and royalty. For the study of practices and ideals of aristocratic women, all the above applies, but in a variant where the female descent and ability to produce the next generation and keep the lineage intact is emphasized (e.g. Trumbach 1978; Venborg Pedersen 2005; Rundquist 1989). In addition to this, a well-developed set of manners through upbringing that ensured the appropriate and specialized behaviour suitable for activities such as entertaining (e.g. Dyrmann 2021), combined with detailed knowledge of how to run a large household with authority (e.g. Rundquist 1989; Steinrud 2008). As mentioned, however, these characteristics are increasingly portrayed in integration with certain ideals of family and femininity often understood as bourgeois.

These ideals as a phenomenon and their connection with the development of the bourgeoisie and general society, of public and private spheres, open and closed households, are well described in research (e.g. Frykman & Löfgren 1979; Davidoff & Hall 1987; Poovey 1988; Gillis 1996; Hougaard 2008; Busk-Jensen 2009; Lyngby 2015; Baunvig 2018). For instance, the social and cultural historians Leonore Davidoff and Cathrine Hall’s studies of English middle-class homes of the early nineteenth

century shed light on the role of gender in general and ideals of femininity associated with domestic virtues in this period. They argue that such ideals were central to the shaping of the cultural characteristics and strategies of middle-class milieus and in some respects different from traditional ideals of the aristocracy (Davidoff & Hall 1987:19ff; Trumbach 1978).

The bourgeois female role is thus described in a number of studies as key to the notion of family at the time: as the loving mother with an instinct for maternal love and an understanding of children; as the housewife and the ever-present, governing figure in the home; and as the active force vis-à-vis the maintenance of loving feelings between family members, for instance by reinforcing the loving relationship between fathers and children (e.g. Busk-Jensen 2009; Davidoff & Hall 1987:329ff). This reflected to a great extent the age's expectations of romantic marriage founded on love, which created another task mainly for the housewife, namely, to pave the way for the young family members to fall in love with appropriate partners (Gay 1986). The American historian John R. Gillis refers to these emotionally-related areas of responsibility, which were principally the domain of the female head of the family, as "the labors of love" (Gillis 1996:144ff).

While the responsibilities were many for the housewives and mothers of the period, it was at the same time considered a female virtue to show gentleness and a certain personal self-annihilation in sacrifice for the family's well-being (e.g. Davidoff & Hall 1987:152f, 395). Likewise, to exercise indirect influence through femininity rather than direct discussion, power and position in the family and in a po-

tential family business (Davidoff & Hall 1987:183). Ideologies of gender were reflected through various channels and institutions of the age as shown by, for instance, the professor of English Mary Poovey in her analysis of law, medicine, care work such as nursing, and not least the art and literature of the age (Poovey 1988), and the women – and men – of the time were confronted with and reproduced such expectations in many contexts.

Pre-Manor Life

Before Molly Tang became the lady of Nørre Vosborg, her world consisted of central Copenhagen and a broad network of relatives and other relationships. Marie Elisa Fenger was born in 1807, the first child of Johannes Fenger (1767–1829), a merchant and manufacturer, and Christine Lorentze Meinert (1779–1834), who went on to have two more siblings. The family lived in the central neighbourhood of Christianshavn. Her parents owned a large townhouse – called Abraham Lehns Gård in Strandgade – from which they also ran the soap manufacturing and trading company that Molly Tang's paternal grandfather had founded under the name Borre & Fenger. Molly Tang's maternal grandparents had also run a business in Christianshavn, and the Fenger and Meinert families were connected by several inter-marriages, including that of Molly's parents. Accordingly, Molly Tang grew up with grandparents and a number of Copenhagen uncles, aunts and cousins as a close, integral part of her everyday life. Her "Grandmama", her maternal grandmother Maren Kirstine Meinert (b. Noe, 1755–1842), who moved into a large flat in the Fenger family's townhouse in 1819, became a particularly key and unifying figure.

The neighbourhood Christianshavn was originally built in the seventeenth century as part of the fortifications of the capital and its port. Although the district to some extent maintained its function as a military area, in Molly Fenger's childhood Christianshavn was a residential, trade and industrial district integrated in central Copenhagen. The demography was mixed, but especially the prominent street Strandgade, where the Fenger family lived, housed a number of large townhouses built and for centuries owned by shipowners, large merchants in the overseas trade, and the upper class in general. The Fengers thus belonged to the upper-middle class of Christianshavn, but as was the case for many businesses at the time, it was a challenge for Molly Fenger's father to maintain a healthy economy. The first decades of the nineteenth century were a time of crisis in Denmark and not least in Copenhagen. The Napoleonic Wars had cost the country a great deal and Copenhagen became the target of a violent English bombardment in 1807, which caused great destruction and expense to the city. Subsequently, inflation continued to grow until the point in which the state in 1813 had to introduce drastic monetary reforms, and there was a general crisis in all trades. The Danish king at the time, Frederik VI, and in general the state government of the period, encountered some resistance from the increasingly influential Copenhagen bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

All the Copenhagen branches of the Fenger and Meinert families more or less belonged to the capital's upper-middle class, making their living as factory owners, wholesalers, clergymen, doctors and civil servants (*Diary: 1829–1837; Memoirs: 1849–61; Barfod 1922*). Molly

Tang's memoirs reveal that, in the 1820s and 1830s, the family circle held both conservative and modern views, and that things got heated when the older conservative uncles and the young uncles, who were "Freethinkers" and passionate advocates of the liberal ideas of the age, gathered around the dinner table. This included discussions about Frederik VI's reign during the period of crisis and the economic conditions for the trade class to which parts of the family belonged. The mixed attitude towards the royal house led, among other things – as the middle-aged Molly Tang concluded in her memoirs – to equally mixed emotions for her as a child, when the extended family's otherwise beloved Sunday trip took them to the park Frederiksberg Have, where they could experience with a crowd of cheering Copenhageners the royal family sailing on the canals of the park (*Memoirs: 52*).

The memoirs depict the adult women who surrounded the young Molly Fenger during her childhood and adolescence in Copenhagen as efficient, skilled housewives with a strong work ethic, a sense of order and countless practical chores to see to, including, especially in the case of her grandmothers' generation, active involvement in the family business. As described in an English context by Davidoff and Hall, the generation that Molly Tang belonged to was among the first to point to increasingly separate spheres for men and women, including the separation of women from the professional business of the family and a female focus on the house, family, and a suitable social life, as a distinction of the middle class. Davidoff and Hall show that it was even a matter that could cause conflict between the generations, who wondered with some indignation at each

other's respective focus areas and understanding of good behaviour (Davidoff & Hall 1987:357ff). This development is confirmed to a certain extent in Molly Tang's memoirs, where the practical regime of the previous generations is emphasized, and where it is suggested that Molly herself had some difficulty fitting into this – although she remembered it with some respect.

It is however characteristic that, looking back, Molly Tang highlighted her female ancestors' appropriate preference for domesticity as opposed to sociability or an exclusive lifestyle. This is, for example, how she describes her maternal grandmother:

My grandmother was an effective, enterprising, extremely capable housewife, who demanded of her children and subordinates the same orderliness and meticulousness as her own, and they learned at an early stage that they were not in this world to be posh ladies⁵ (Memoirs: 5).

Inevitably, however, a woman's position in this social circle necessitated a number of social activities such as visits and dinner parties. The memoirs tell us that mastering all that this entailed, either as a guest or a hostess, and in general running a household befitting one's status, was a task that did not come equally naturally to all the women in the family but was a regular part of the task portfolio. The fact that it even took up quite a lot of time, at least in Molly's adolescence, is confirmed by the ongoing diary entries from her youth, which reveal that the family either received guests, paid visits or attended other social gatherings almost every day. On the rare occasion that nothing was on the programme, it was quite often because one was "indisposed" due to illness, toothache or the like.⁶

It was back in the 1820s that the young Molly Fenger began keeping a Diary, first sporadically, and then every day. The daily entries from 1829 established a form with which the diaries would comply throughout her life, a form which, at least thematically, in many ways can be recognized from other known diaries from the period (Steinitz 2011:13ff). Each evening, or perhaps the following morning, she would open the notebook dedicated to that year's entries and describe the day's activities from morning to evening in anything from a few lines to entire pages. But the entries featured far more than just events. For instance, the description of a day might also explain with whom she had spent time during the day – quite often followed by an assessment of what it had been like.⁷ She also assessed the day's activities, both duties and pleasures. How much had she accomplished, and how demanding had it been? Had an experience been enriching, and what had made a special impression in a sermon, a novel or an outing? She recorded and commented on news from near and far, on the day's letters or visits, and on weather and health. Finally come what really provides an insight into an emotional practice: the impressions we get of Molly's changing moods, whether expressed between the lines and reflected in her choice of words, humorous comments and anxious outbursts, or articulated in actual descriptions and evaluations of the emotions themselves.

If the diaries and memoirs are anything to go by, Molly Fenger's everyday life in Copenhagen was rather active. Between the ages of 7 and 14, she attended Christianshavns Døttreskole (The Christianshavn School for Daughters) to-

gether with other upper- and middle-class girls. We learn from later accounts that, while she struggled with school *life*, she found school *work* extremely easy and much preferred it to domestic duties (Memoirs: 31f, 41, 50, 53). After leaving school, she continued to study subjects such as language and art, and she was a keen reader. Her family and social circle kept up with all the latest novels, poetry and drama, reading them both in groups and alone. Various types of needlework occupied many hours. The work was extensive and varied, and Molly, her mother, her sister and the women in their circle would sew both by themselves and together. They worked mainly on garments and accessories, and on personal projects. The city's offerings – theatre, art exhibitions, going to church to hear particular preachers, shopping and outings – also featured on the programme of everyday pleasures and activities. There was also constant involvement in household tasks such as laundry, spring cleaning, gardening, pickling and so on (Diary: 1829). Last but not least, there were the endless visits to this or that home in what was at the time a small Copenhagen city centre, and during the summer to country homes of their social acquaintances in Copenhagen's hinterland, which could involve travelling back and forth several times a day.⁸

Even though young Molly Fenger's world largely comprised the upper-middle-class milieu and everything that Copenhagen could offer, there was one place which, from a very early stage, represented the moon vis-à-vis her Copenhagen planet: The manor of Nørre Vosborg in West Jutland. Her extended Copenhagen family was linked to the manor's Tang

family in several ways. Molly's grandmother's family had roots in West Jutland, and a long friendship with the Tang family had resulted in several marriages between the families (Barfod 1922). The most significant was that of Molly's maternal aunt, Marie Cathrine Tang (née Meinert), who in 1797 became the estate owner's wife at Nørre Vosborg. There were frequent letters between the manor and the Copenhagen homes. The aunt and cousins sometimes made the long journey to the capital, staying in the townhouses of Christianshavn on week-long summer visits. Sometimes the Copenhageners visited them. For example, at the age of 17, Molly travelled to West Jutland with her maternal uncle (Memoirs: 559ff).

However, the middle-aged Molly Tang's recollection of her childhood in the memoirs features an interesting narrative that goes beyond her regular contact with her relatives and her interest in their life at the West Jutland manor house reflected in the diaries. It is the story of a special personal longing and an inner leaning towards Nørre Vosborg. In retrospective terms, this journey towards the manor began with the warm-hearted friendship, which the school-girl Molly struck up with her West Jutland cousin, Mathilde, who was two years older:⁹ “her glowing descriptions of Nørre Vosborg filled my mind with a curious longing for the West”¹⁰ (Memoirs: 31).

Molly Tang's memoirs are not only descriptive, but also at times analytical in their portrayal of the emotional life and personal development of her childhood and youth. Thus, in her understanding of herself at the time, she often described herself as a child with “a timorous and apprehensive spirit”¹¹ or as a young person who was almost out

of place, restlessly longing for something different (e.g. *Memoirs*: 38, 40, 49, 57). As the memoirs progress in chronological order, this longing becomes increasingly associated with Nørre Vosborg. The older Molly recalled that the young Molly keenly, but somewhat confusedly, daydreamed of adventure, freedom and travel, but also, more precisely, was affected by a zeitgeist which, in reaction to Denmark's strained conditions during the Napoleonic Wars and economic crises, focused on past greatness and longed for a revival of historical Nordic glory (e.g. *Memoirs*: 56–58). Nørre Vosborg could apparently deliver all of this: "There was, however, a knight's castle, there were ancient memories, there were legends, and there was freedom. There was everything I longed for"¹² (*Memoirs*: 57).

The familiar reality in Copenhagen was disturbed when Molly Fenger and her younger brother and sister lost both their parents within the space of a few years, while Molly was in her twenties and her younger siblings were teenagers. Although this meant that they had to sell the soap business, and that the three siblings were now on their own, they continued to live in Christianshavn, surrounded by their family and network, and to a great extent their lives carried on as before. The major change occurred when, following her second visit to Nørre Vosborg, Molly got engaged to her cousin, the then estate owner Andreas Evald Meinert Tang, and became Molly Tang after their wedding in December 1837 (Graugaard 2014a: 199ff. *Diary*: November 1837–April 1838).

Everyday Life at Nørre Vosborg

In 1824, as the third generation of estate owners in the Tang family, Andreas Evald

Meinert Tang (whom Molly called Evald) had taken over Nørre Vosborg manor. Since the thirteenth century, the manor had been under the ownership of a number of Danish nobles, and a few bourgeois families. In 1786, the two brothers Søren and Peder Tang (Evald Tang's grandfather) bought Nørre Vosborg at auction. Their story was a special one. They were born on one of Nørre Vosborg's copyhold farms as sons of a copyholder family, but came into money, moved up the social ladder and eventually became estate owners.

When Evald Tang took it over, Nørre Vosborg was not one of the biggest estates in Denmark, but it was significantly large and important in regional terms. During the tenure of Evald and his wife, it cemented its status as a stately home and one of the region's gathering points and historical highlights (Boeskov 2017:32ff, 134ff). When Molly Tang arrived in April 1838, she came to an active manorial milieu. From the very start of Evald Tang's tenure, the estate's finances represented a fundamental challenge. However, by 1838, he had been working for a decade to get the estate on its feet and was both practically and politically involved in the development of the agriculture and progress both of the estate and of the region as a whole. When he arrived with his new wife, the manor buildings were also being refurbished, and a new wing for the manorial family had been planned and initiated (Graugaard 2014a:200).

Changes in the Danish manorial landscape during the period led on many estates to an even greater degree of large-scale agriculture, which also included, for example, estate dairies and other small industries. This required a large number

of agricultural workers, and the period is thus known for the many employees on the estates engaged both in agriculture and as domestic servants (Boeskov 2021; Turner 1962). As in many nineteenth-century manorial environments, the Nørre Vosborg estate was a gathering point for a large number of people. A leaseholder couple by the name of Ægidius, who were the same age as the owners, lived on the estate in the tenant dwelling. They were in charge of a staff of around twenty men and women, who attended to running the estate and the leaseholder couple's household, while a small group of gardeners and artisans dealt with the maintenance of the house and garden. As previously mentioned, Tang's mother/Molly's maternal aunt, the previous estate

owner's wife, still lived in the manor, where she had her own chambers and a personal "lady's companion" as her servant. The owner couple's household staff included a housekeeper, a cook and a scullery maid, together with a coachman and servant (Diary: 1838 and Ulfborg Parish Census 1834 and 1840). The estate also encompassed a number of copyholds and industries with all the staff that these required (Graugaard 2014b). Additionally, the manor was surrounded by a network of family, acquaintances and business partners, who frequently gathered at Nørre Vosborg for family get-togethers or general socializing. Molly Tang now assumed the important role of the lady of the manor and the practical role of the female head of the household.



2 & 3. Portraits of estate owner Andreas Evald Meinert Tang and his wife Marie Elisa Tang, born Fenger, called Molly, from the year 1838 in which she was married and moved from Copenhagen to 'the far west' and Nørre Vosborg as the new lady of the manor. The portrait painter Rask stayed at the manor house in December 1838, where he painted the young couple. Molly Tang's diary reveals that it was not a distinct success. Rask talked willingly and often about his own talent, and it was boring and time-consuming to pose for him. In addition, the result was disappointing: "*My Portrait finished. E[vald] unfortunately not satisfied*" (Wednesday 19.12.1838). *Portraits of Andreas Evald Meinert Tang and Molly Tang. Portrait Painter Rask, 1838. Owner: Sverre Barfod.*

Unsurprisingly, everyday life now took on a different shape from life in Copenhagen (all examples of the course of everyday life in this section come from the diary's description of Molly Tang's first year at Nørre Vosborg, *Diary: April 1838–April 1839*¹³). Her social circle was new, the household was new and there was a lot to learn. Molly Tang had married a busy estate owner who, in addition, was heavily involved in the development of his local area. For a large part of the time, her "beloved Evald" was busy with his duties, development plans, travel and social gatherings, which did not include his wife. Many evenings she went to bed alone and, whenever this happened, expressed how much she missed her husband. For many days, she was left alone to deal with all the new matters at the manor, including some of the responsibilities that the estate owner himself took care of when he was at home. For example, ten days after arriving, when Evald Tang had driven to one of the nearby villages, the young lady from Copenhagen had to juggle the slaughter of a cow with a polite conversation with a wealthy farming couple who had turned up unannounced (*Diary: 24 April 1838*).¹⁴ This is a striking situation, which in many ways perfectly captures the everyday life that Molly Tang entered into as the lady of a medium-sized manor, entailing as it did both practical and social aspects.

Of course, the days at the manor varied, and everyday life differed from the parties, celebrations and other special occasions. According to the diary, however, most days included a number of practical activities associated with the housekeeping of the manor. She describes how a group of people in the household worked together on major tasks. In this context, Molly Tang

often refers to "we" or "our": for example, "we" washed, or "our" laundry. On occasions, the context suggests that, in practice, "we" sometimes indicates that Molly Tang kept an eye on, and probably organized the work, but that it was the housekeeper or maids who actually did it, and that on other occasions she herself joined in such tasks. Most of the time, however, she does not distinguish linguistically between the two types of tasks and her practical involvement or non-involvement. This may reflect not only the notion of a (working) community at the manor, albeit with an internal division of roles and tasks, but also the fact that, in principle, the lady of the house was in charge of all household tasks.

Everyday tasks also involved communication with employees and the hiring of staff. The diary often indicates that the housekeeper was a key figure, and probably a link between the lady of the house and the household – as it was her usual function in manor environments and larger households (Turner 1962:117ff; Davidoff & Hall 1987:383ff; and e.g., *Diary: 15 May, 24 July and 19 September 1838*). In the diary, Molly Tang also expresses concern about the well-being of staff members in the event of illness or other issues. By and large, the state of health of the entire household including family members and what care might be required was clearly an important issue for Molly Tang, both emotionally and in terms of her responsibility. The relationship with the estate's employees and subordinates was thus, on the one hand, characterized by responsibility and care, and on the other hand by a well-defined hierarchy, where the lady of the house was positioned as one of the leading figures in the estate community.

Molly's activities were influenced by or bound up with those of her husband. She entertained his guests or business partners. She was involved in major projects at the manor, for example the construction and decoration of the new manorial family wing. Occasionally she also relieved him of his administrative duties. Like life in Copenhagen, life in Nørre Vosborg also featured extensive socializing with the surrounding network, either in the shape of guests at Nørre Vosborg or Tang family visits to people in the local area. They entertained the nearest family in the area at the manor house several times a week, and the Tangs often reciprocated these visits. There were also occasional visits from or to further-flung acquaintances, business partners or the estate's tenant families, not to mention parties to celebrate life events and special occasions.

If the diaries are to be believed, the first year at the manor was a busy one, with less time for leisure pursuits than in Copenhagen. There are occasional references to reading aloud, but the frequent records of, and thoughts about, the most recent publications of the time etc., which figured in her youthful years, are absent from 1838–39. Occasionally, amongst all the various chores, there was still time for needlework. The difference, however, was that this only rarely involved personal projects such as making Christmas gifts, but was devoted much more to practical tasks – repairs or sewing curtains etc. Remarkably, in her diary entries during that first year, Molly Tang does not express any longing for books, theatre or art exhibitions. There was apparently just one activity she missed in her new life at the manor in West Jutland: regular church attendance and

the religious stimulation it provided. Her family and social circle in Copenhagen attended church regularly. The diaries indicate that for Molly only illness stood in her way. In contrast, there are many indications that the attitude at Nørre Vosborg, to which she had to submit upon arrival, was that one often attended church on Sundays, but that, even more often, other considerations took priority. If things were busy on the farm, if there were guests to attend to, if the carriage needed to be used for some other purpose etc., Molly did not make it to church. On countless Saturdays, in a state of anxious anticipation, she would attempt to ascertain whether she could attend the Sunday service, and the final decision would trigger either great disappointment or great joy.

The Head of the Manorial Household

The lady of the manor's role as leader of the household and organizer of its activities has been described in detail in Angela Rundquist's insightful book about women's life in the aristocratic, noble milieu of nineteenth-century Sweden (Rundquist 1989). In this milieu, the noblewoman was, first and foremost, a leading figure in the household. She made the overall decisions, took care of the administrative aspects and supervised the work. With few exceptions, she did not take on the practical tasks herself, but was ultimately responsible for their successful execution. This picture is confirmed in the equally noble, but slightly more modest manorial milieu, which is the subject of Marie Steinrud's interesting study (Steinrud 2008). Again, the ladies are portrayed, primarily, as leaders of the household who followed the cycle of the agricultural year, but also as occasional par-

ticipants in the execution of tasks (Steinrud 2008:135ff). In this context too, there is no doubt that household management was one of the clearly defined and indisputable areas of responsibility for the manor's female head: an area of responsibility which daughters in that milieu were raised to tackle efficiently and with authority.

In studies of the English primarily urban middle-class families and the associated feminine role, an interesting observation is made of certain challenges of household management. There is some contradiction between the expectations that the women were met with when it came to domestic and "wifely" qualities such as feminine softness, motherly kindness, gentleness, self-sacrifice, and separation from the family livelihood vs. the practical reality of a larger household, where the housewife had to act as an authoritarian and effective household leader (Davidoff & Hall 1987: e.g. 383ff, 395). As mentioned above, studies show that the latter was not least essential in connection with manorial households which by definition were large and required supervision of a considerable variety of work tasks. For a manor the size of Nørre Vosborg the household management was also closely linked to other practical and economic activities of the estate.

The diary entries relating to Nørre Vosborg paint a clear picture of how, from her very first days on the estate, Molly Tang was expected to take the lead in the manor's household and to participate in the work. Activities and ruminations described in the diary reveal that not only did the manorial community expect it, but that to a great extent Molly Tang expected it of herself. This expectation was very likely coloured by her memory of her female rel-

atives in their homes in Copenhagen and her recollection of their excellent abilities as housewives. Growing up in Copenhagen among them had no doubt prepared her for both domestic and social tasks. However, the household of the manor, and perhaps in particular, its association with the agrarian cycle and the manor as a gathering point for the area, entailed many new duties. Molly Tang threw herself into all this, not only with a will to learn and to tackle the task, but also with many worries, especially in the difficult early months. For example, a few weeks after arriving at the manor, she wrote:

I am feeling so anxious this afternoon. Everything weighs heavily on me. I have to start governing this household, and I simply do not know the ins and outs¹⁵ (Diary: 27 April 1838. Also, e.g.: 17, 18, 29 and 30 April, 5 May, 1 September).

The result of her efforts and her mood were both erratic. On some days, the reflective moment spent writing her diary revealed that she had emerged victorious from her struggle with her duties: for example, when she was given the task of organizing a staff party. The party was a success, everyone had a great time and danced and would not go to bed (Diary: 11 August 1838). On other days she made mistakes, and these occasions and her general sense of utter uselessness in the face of the well-oiled manorial machinery were particularly overwhelming. For example, just a few days after the successful party, following an oversight, she wrote that she lay awake most of the night, weeping over her own "ineptitude" (Diary: 23 August 1838).

Though Molly Tang had to play her new role alone, she was not entirely lacking

practical assistance and guidance in the early days. The manor had a highly proficient housekeeper, from whom the young wife learned in the early days with great reverence, when it came to the practical tasks. She observed the efficient work being done and wanted to acquire the same skills (Diary: 19 April 1838). Molly Tang had also brought her sister, Johanne Marie Cathrine Fenger (1817–1873) (a.k.a. Hanne), who was ten years younger, with her to her new home. Hanne too had to adjust to the new environment but was eventually able to help relieve her sister of her responsibilities.¹⁶ Also available were women with first-hand experience of life as a lady of the manor at Nørre Vosborg, so it was obvious to seek guidance from them. First and foremost, there was Evald Tang's mother, Marie Cathrine Meinert, and secondly, his sister, Mathilde Krarup (1805–1899), who had grown up in the manor and was now an experienced housewife. She was married to Pastor Ove Krarup (1799–1862), the parish clergyman in the neighbouring village of Ulfborg, meaning that the couple lived in a rectory just a few kilometres from the manor.

As previously mentioned, since childhood and the Tang children's visits to Copenhagen, Mathilde Krarup had been Molly's bosom friend, and in the middle-aged Molly Tang's memoirs Mathilde is associated with the young Molly's passionate conception of the glories of the ancient manor and her attraction to the west of Denmark. The friendship continued after Molly's arrival to the manor, the Krarup couple soon became a reliable and affectionate anchor for Molly, and she spent a lot of time with them. Her mother-in-law – whom Molly Tang called “Mother” – was

an equally constant presence in her life. Unlike the busy husband, most of the time her mother-in-law was physically present at the manor with Molly Tang. According to the diary entries, the two women met up on a daily basis. Her mother-in-law also attended most of the social gatherings with the young couple, whether at home or away. Some entries dating from the first months at the manor also indicate that Molly Tang sought her mother-in-law's advice whenever she was worried about household matters, and that she received a friendly response.¹⁷ However, the general impression is that the new and the old lady of Nørre Vosborg did not share the practical household management, but that those tasks were Molly Tang's territory and the dowager had withdrawn from such responsibility.

There seems to have been a spirit of friendliness between the two women in this early period of their divided community, and both parties seem to have understood and accepted the division of roles. Nonetheless, it was hard for Molly Tang when on more than one occasion it was clearly apparent that she was the less experienced, both at the manor and in the familial relationship – something that happened, for example, when her mother-in-law and sister-in-law were together. She bemoaned her troubles, for instance, in her diary on 17 May 1838. Evald had been away, and the Krarups had been at the manor in the evening. Molly was annoyed because she felt that her mother-in-law treated her like a weak person the moment Mathilde was present. During the evening she had felt rather dejected in the company.¹⁸ But then her beloved Evald came home: “and then everything is fine” (Diary: 17 May 1838).¹⁹

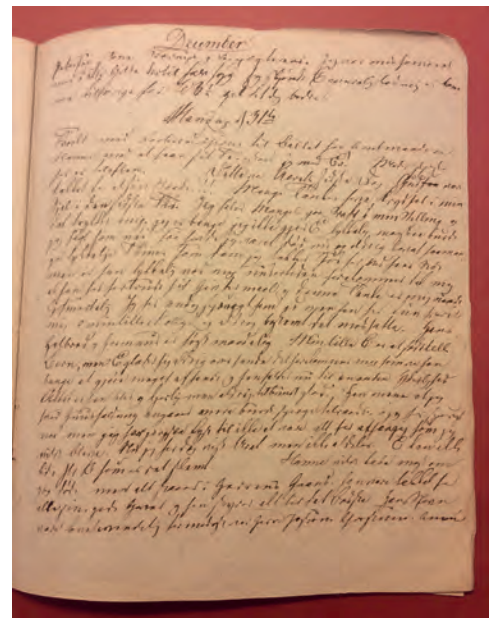
As both this situation and the sorrows and joys described above associated with trying her hand at household chores illustrate, the diaries, perhaps more than ever before, were also a forum for Molly Tang's self-assessment and the depiction of her emotional life. In addition to her brooding over the household, the diary also recounts many other emotional situations during these early days at the manor – both the joyful and welcome, and the troublesome “caprices”.

Molly Tang and Her “Caprices”

So, everything was fine when Evald was by Molly's side. The feelings of love, happy moments and harmony between the two constituted a favourite subject in the diary, and there was an undeniable honeymoon spirit. On 8 June 1838, she fondly described how her Evald got up early to depart, but more than once had to return to her in the bedroom to say goodbye. She slept in and then drove with her sister to the rectory to pay a visit to her sister-in-law. On the way, thinking of her beloved, she enjoyed the mild spring weather, even though it was actually raining. Aware of the uniqueness of the manorial milieu, she felt like “the happiest wife”²⁰ as she drove across the old bridge over the moat, enjoying the fragrance of the balsam poplars above her head (Diary: 8 June 1838). Overall, the relationship between the spouses regularly gave rise to emotional and evocative descriptions. Molly Tang expressed joy and gratitude when her husband was supportive and caring. She described her sense of loss and loneliness when he was away. She expressed concern when he was ill or out in bad weather. She also described how awful she felt on the rare occasion there was any

bad feeling between them, or he was in a bad mood, and how relieved she was when harmony was restored.

Another, much darker thread that runs through the descriptions of her moods in her diary is a recurring melancholy or bad temper.²¹ She records this tendency a few times most months as a troublesome element in her summary of the day in question. Moreover, the descriptions of her low spirits are often followed by comments that give the impression that Molly Tang had



4. The diary was a constant companion for Molly Tang throughout most of her adult life. The pages are closely written and contain details about big and small issues and about both the outer and inner life. At the end of the year, as here in 1838, she usually took stock of joys and sorrows in the year that had passed, and thanked God for His grace and patience despite all the worries. *Marie Elisa Tang's diary, 31 December 1838, Personal archive, The Danish National Archives.*

found herself hovering between what she thought she *should* do and what she had *actually done*. It was usually in situations where she considered she should have done something better or differently that this depressed mood cropped up. But the diary also features interesting examples of the fact that it was these very feelings that emerged in a given situation, which she considered to be inappropriate, and which then led to the depressed feeling of having failed.

In addition to adapting to new roles, her new home, housekeeping and new relationships, the wedding was soon followed by yet another demanding change: pregnancy and the birth of the couple's first daughter Christine in October. The diary often features references to fatigue, discomfort, and malaise during the pregnancy. Even though the people around her seem to have encouraged her to rest, there was nothing that triggered the crestfallen moments more than the sense of not being able to be useful. If she considered that she had been idle or lazy – for example, on the rare occasions that she slept in the morning, took a rest, or had not worked sufficiently hard during the day – she often expressed concern and despondency:

I was totally downhearted about myself that day. I bring no joy, accomplished nothing, and could so easily be dispensed with. I am just in the way here. Alas, if only things were different!²² (Diary: 6 August 1838).

After her daughter was born, motherhood and family life did not always engender the desired and expected feelings. Discrepancy between what she thought she should feel and what she actually felt emerged in this

context too. For example, one day, shortly after giving birth and a period of being confined to bed, when she resumed everyday life, she felt tired and anxious, despite all her intentions to be delighted about the wonderful events. In the evening, alone with her diary, she bewailed her troubles and the fact that her mood was what it *could* be and not what it *should* be. She blamed herself for not sufficiently appreciating the well-being of her child and the grace of God and went so far as to refer to herself as “bad” (Diary: 23 October 1838). She also remarked on the new family's first Christmas Eve at Nørre Vosborg. Bustle, but also a positive sense of working together had prevailed for many days, and now all her nearest and dearest came together in the home of the estate-owner couple, ate together and celebrated Christmas at the manor. It was exactly what Molly Tang had wanted, but, frustratingly and inappropriately, some of the expected and deepest feelings were absent. Accordingly, when the Christmas festivities were over, she wrote:

It was the very picture of a Christmas Eve that I had been imagining for some time. But external circumstances can be misleading. The best, the heartfelt joy was lacking²³ (Diary: 24 December 1838).

The picture is one of an emotional practice, which not only reflects certain expectations of her own skills and behaviour, but also, in no uncertain terms, her own moods and ways of feeling. In Molly Tang's opinion, certain moods – for example, those associated with the romantic bond between spouses, with a feeling of happiness or fervent gratitude for life's gifts – were not merely more *acceptable*; it seems they were also

expected in certain situations, in which any absence of them triggered troubled reflection and negative self-assessment.

The constant interplay between records of the day's events and her emotional evaluation provides us with an insight into something significant about being, or perhaps rather becoming, a lady of the manor in the mid-nineteenth century – at least in Molly Tang's case. On the last day of an eventful 1838, taking stock of her situation in her diary, she starts in a spirit of dismay: "I feel a lack of strength in my position, and that depresses me" (Diary: 31 December 1838).²⁴ In the lines that follow, she evaluates various key aspects of this position and elaborates on the challenges it posed to her. These ruminations summarize and to a great extent confirm the aspects of her new life as a lady of the manor, which she had been grappling with and worrying about during the year.

There was the marriage. Her beloved Evald was her be-all and end-all. Nonetheless, she was scared she could not make him sufficiently happy. There was parenthood. She appreciated having a lovely child, but worried about family life, because the relationship between child and father was not always as deep and heartfelt as she wished. Above all, of course, there was the bothersome household, which she still did not feel she was on top of. She had been advised to seek more guidance, but she was reluctant to follow that advice. In her own assessment, she had already sought more than enough guidance – probably from her mother-in-law – and feared losing her autonomy as the manager of the household if she asked for more. In other words, Molly Tang's position in life as a lady of the manor involved the huge, mul-

tifaceted task of running a manorial household, with all that this entailed in terms of practical and social tasks and doing so with strength and autonomy. In keeping with the ideals of femininity and family of the time – and apparently her own expectation – this was also associated with the ability to play the role of wife and mother and, in general, to be the rallying point for the family and, not least, to do so when under the influence of certain moods and deep feelings.

It is thus interesting to observe that Molly Tang on this occasion and throughout the year identifies both certain domestic virtues, the responsibility for the so-called "labors of love" (Gillis 1996:144ff.) and the need to stand strong and powerful at the head of the household, as central to her position and as areas of responsibility that she felt had to coexist in her filling of this position. At this point in her life, the encounter with the role as the lady of the manor was generally not perceived as harmonious. Her strong desire to live up to both practical standards and emotional ideals was challenged by the realities of everyday life and what she experienced to be her own personal limitations.

1861 – A Seasoned Lady of the Manor?

Every new beginning is difficult. But, as previously mentioned, the continuing story of the activities of the Tangs at Nørre Vosborg reveals how the spouses became increasingly efficient in their joint efforts in an active period in the manor's history. Even after just a few years, Molly Tang's diaries begin to reflect that she was increasingly getting to grips with her various roles.

Many years later, in 1861 at the age of 54, she completed her memoirs of her



5. Molly Tang c. 1860. An active but also difficult period in the history of the manor. Most days, Molly Tang was the quiet driving force that got the manor machinery running with its many activities, guests, household and not least six young daughters. *Portrait of Molly Tang, c. 1860. Photo: Tönnies, Aalborg. The Royal Danish Library.*

childhood and youth. As we know, they are all about life before the manor. But the final pages also feature her memory and reflection of her first personal encounter with Nørre Vosborg when, at the age of 17, she accompanied her uncle on a trip there. As she remembered it, her first wondrous impression was probably influenced unrealistically by the 17-year-old girl's fanciful expectations of Nørre Vosborg, which she had been longing to see for quite some

time. But part of this “enchantment” was still intact in the 54-year-old Molly Tang’s experience of this place that had now been her home for 23 years (Memoirs: 59–63). The memoirs conclude with a regret (more of this later), because 1861 and the years thereabout were not an easy time.

As an estate owner, Evald Tang was an inventive and active person, and he played a major role in the development of the area and its agriculture, infrastructure, organization, and political conditions (Graugaard 2014a&b; Boeskov 2017). Throughout his adult life, and thus also in the 1860s, he was busy and worked from early morning to late evening. He was constantly on the road in connection with his activities, not least because he also had a career in national politics, which often required his presence in parliament in Copenhagen. His struggle to establish a solid financial position for the manor or at least to keep it just about afloat never succeeded, though, and the 1860s were especially tough. In 1865 it got to the point where the estate was placed under administration (Schacke 2014). During the same period, Tang’s health gradually deteriorated, posing an increasing threat to himself and his family during the 1860s until his death in 1868.²⁵

At the same time, in many ways life was flourishing and busy at the manor house. Evald and Molly Tang had no fewer than seven daughters, of which six survived childhood. In 1861, their ages ranged from 15 to 23. At this point they were all unmarried and lived at home, their lives taken up with education, language, music, needlework, literature etc. under the supervision of their mother. They also took an active part in the social life of the area and socializing with other young people of their cir-

cle. The manor itself hosted many meetings and events associated with Evald Tang's activities and, generally speaking, formed a setting for social events and parties for family members and networks. Over the years, Evald and Molly Tang had established Nørre Vosborg's status in the area, which made the Tangs obvious representatives when any dignitaries visited West Jutland (Boeskov 2014; 2017). In this respect, 1861 was a particular highlight, when the Danish King Frederik VII, his wife and a huge entourage stayed at the manor for a week while on a summer visit to the area. The dowager, Tang's mother, had died in 1855, but a few years earlier the Tangs had a detached house built – "Vosborglille" – near the main building as a home for the estate owner's elder brother, Peder Tang (1797–1876) and his small family and household, just as Molly Tang's sister, Aunt Hanne was still part of the extended family and household in 1861. Despite all the challenges, the manor still had a large farm to run and a large household and staff. All in all, the manor formed a setting for the lives of approximately 50 people (see, e.g., Ulfborg Parish Census 1860).

Even in 1861, Molly Tang was faithfully keeping her diary. Her records of the manorial life to which she belonged indicate that she was very much the stable figure in its midst, while her husband and, to some extent, her daughters led more outgoing lives. If we compare her diary entries from the first year at the manor with those from 1861, the number of her tasks and challenges which she describes was no smaller, but her evaluation of her own capacity to tackle them is somewhat different.

To put the comparison in a nutshell, in 1861 Molly Tang comes across as a sea-

soned household manager. She was still personally involved in certain practical tasks – particularly laundry and, in general, anything to do with the textiles of the house (see also Rundquist 1989:194). However, it would seem that it was the management of the domestic servants, the planning of the practical tasks and the weekly book-keeping of the household's accounts that constituted her main focus in the household (Diary: 1861). The tone of the diary suggests that the years had invested her with the authority she felt she was lacking in 1838. With a sense of leadership, she made notes of, for example, the dynamics among her domestic servants (e.g., Diary: 30 July 1861), apparently not hesitating to reprimand or give praise where it was due (e.g., Diary: 13 and 20 July, 9 August 1861) and efficiently making sure that the staff and their jobs were taken care of, for example, in the event of illness (e.g., Diary: December 1861).

In addition to the authority that came with experience, the practical explanation why many tasks were delegated may also have been that Molly Tang now had to take care of many other matters. In 1861, notes of manorial operations and agricultural routines come across as stable throughout her diary. As already mentioned, the estate owner himself was frequently absent, and even though operations were entrusted to a farm manager, the attention she pays to the annual agricultural cycle, animals, dairy and employees testifies to the fact that she was involved in the daily routines. Planning and holding the many social events for which Nørre Vosborg had gradually become a hub also took up a great deal of Molly Tang's time. There were many of these events, and some of them



6. The household accounts and thus the overview of the household was one of the indisputable responsibilities of a manor house lady. As an experienced household manager in 1861, Molly Tang kept her accounts every Saturday. After Molly Tang, her daughter Christine Valeur, born Tang, became the lady of the house, and she is here captured at her desk at Nørre Vosborg in 1903 concentrating on the accounts. *Sketch by unknown artist from Nørre Vosborg's estate archive. "Mrs. Valeur at the accounts 1903"*.

were extraordinarily large. The royal visit has already been mentioned. It had also become a practice at Nørre Vosborg several times a year, in celebration of special family or national occasions, to assemble a large number of people in the house or garden (Boeskov 2010, 2014 & 2017:191ff). Molly was personally in charge of organizing these events, but she was also the leader of such a well-functioning staff and helpers in the shape of her sister and elder daughters that, the day after her return from a ten-day trip to Copenhagen, for example,

she could entertain a hundred guests at a well-organized party to celebrate her husband's birthday (Diary: 25 May 1861).

Emotional Practice in 1861

What about relationships, emotions and self-evaluation? The life of the now 54-year-old Molly Tang was still fraught with worries, including, of course, the financial hardships, the occasional pressure of time and work and the well-being of her nearest and dearest. Reading the diary, however, it seems that living up to the ex-

pectation of being a mother and wife was no longer a tribulation. The daughters and their activities feature frequently in her daily entries, often the subject of their mother's warm feelings or concern: particularly in relation to her eldest daughter's serious illness during the autumn, when she, like several others in the area, contracted typhus. The 54-year-old Molly Tang personally and resolutely cared for her isolated daughter around the clock. In her diary, she expressed her anxiety and sorrow, her plea to God for her daughter's survival, and subsequently her relief and gratitude when her life and health were again secured (Diary: October–December 1861). Parenthood and the feelings associated with it were present, but, as with the household, it would seem that the role was now a familiar one and that she performed it with greater assurance.

The same could be said of the marriage, which in 1861 gave rise neither to the same myriad of loving remarks as in 1838 nor to insecurity or inferiority in the relationship. Throughout the diary in the year 1861, Molly expresses loyalty to Evald and his projects, care for his health and well-being, and a sense of community with him in relation to the children and the manor, and she often refers to the time she spent with her husband as "pleasant". This was the case, for example, one rare, tranquil moment on an evening in July, when it happened that the family's many members were scattered all over the place, so for once she and her husband could sit alone on the steps of the pavilion, disturbed only on a single occasion (Diary: 14 July 1861). Of course, life had its worries, but there were also happy, warm feelings triggered by spending time with her family, enjoying the nature around

the manor, and reading books, for which she now had more time.

Even though Molly Tang was now a fully-fledged lady of the manor, she had not ceased to reflect on her place in the world and the moods this provoked in her. The diaries reveal that, even at this stage of her life, she reflected on her own efforts. Mistakes and abortive situations could still frustrate her. However, there are much longer intervals between such considerations and even longer intervals between her self-recriminations. In fact, she often evaluates imperfect situations with humour, or simply manages to forgive herself. For instance, she had a dinner party, at which she was not entirely satisfied with her own efforts, because she had been tired after a few busy days and a myriad of tasks. There had been an endless stream of visitors and, in Evald's absence, she had to serve as "both host and hostess". At the end of the day, her level-headed conclusion was that, given the circumstances, she had done her best and hoped that her guests would view the matter in the same way (Diary: 3–4 August 1861).²⁶

"Halfness Has Been My Misfortune"

When Molly Tang considered herself as a person in 1861, the focus was new. Whereas in 1838 she had been naturally preoccupied with her new life situation and overcome by the powerful feelings it engendered in her, now her self-reflection was more to do with looking back on her life in an attempt to understand what had formed her as a person. In the diary, this interest appears sporadically,²⁷ but it was particularly in her memoirs of her childhood and youth that these considerations came to the fore. While the memoirs primarily

featured descriptions of the milieu that had shaped her as a person in Christianshavn, as already mentioned they also identified the emergence of personality traits and, in particular, the young Molly's yearning for Nørre Vosborg as a means of fulfilling all her notions and dreams. It is reasonable to regard the end of the memoirs, her personal union with the manor, as the fulfilment of both her dream and the destiny that had summoned her.

And yet not. In 1861, when Molly Tang wrote the last lines of her memoirs, the future of the manor was uncertain and the financial situation was hard pressed. So, everything had not ultimately come to pass as in the dream, and she believed that her answer to the question of what she had accomplished was: "Nothing whole, everything half. Halfness has been my misfortune"²⁸ (Memoirs: 62). Of course, this deliberation applied to the material fate of the manor, but there was also an emotional awareness of a personal fate that was only half fulfilled. As during her early days at the manor, when she occasionally found a discrepancy between external and internal circumstances – for example, despite a happy situation, being dissatisfied with the depth of her own feelings and those of others – she could also detect a discrepancy now. With great expressiveness, she described her constantly strong, enchanted and heartfelt relationship with Nørre Vosborg. However, she also described how this relationship contained an existential riddle, which she had never been able to solve, and which, she was forced to confess, meant she had probably never really understood how to lead a life in the manor. Despite the fact that the diary's records of anything and everything and of her day-

to-day tasks indicate that she mastered the practical aspects of manorial life, in 1861 she still expressed a longing for a genuine union with it. Whatever the case, she wished to live the rest of her life, and end her days at Nørre Vosborg. If things should turn out differently, she would always hanker after the place as if yearning "for Canaan"²⁹.

Exit and Conclusion

Molly Tang's diaries indicate an awareness of an emotional life and a practice, in which she actively and continuously related to herself as a person and sentient individual. The memoirs she wrote in the middle of her life confirm this, albeit with the addition of her retrospective interpretation of her personal development and the subsequent rationalization and designation of patterns and paths through life. It is well known that the source material for shedding light on the lives of women in history can be scanty, even in the often relatively well-documented milieus of the upper class (as stated, e.g., in Steinrud 2008:12 ff). The material that Molly Tang wrote is rich, conveying her own highly subjective view of her life as a woman and of her emotional life. While it goes without saying that this subjective and overtly emotional influence leads to certain limitations in the material as evidence in any factual surveys, it can nonetheless pave the way for an insight into a conceptual universe and self-understanding that is rarely available for posterity.

As this analysis has shown, this includes identifying an ever-present relationship between everyday life and emotional life, centred around the special areas, which both in a practical and identity-related

sense, fell within Molly Tang's expectations vis-à-vis her various roles and activities as lady of the manor at Nørre Vosborg. Through an attention to emotional practice as reflected in the material, certain domestic virtues, the responsibility for the emotional work and relationships of the family and the authoritative and powerful role as the head of the household are identified as important areas for her work and identity, areas that in other research contexts have been identified as female ideals of the time. It appears from her reflections how Molly Tang actively related to her own efforts as a woman and her role through life, and that she strove for the ideal qualities which her contemporaries praised and which she, just like her equals, most likely became acquainted with via the art, novels, and debate of the romanticists. It was not only qualities that could be achieved through actions but also internalized qualities that brought about special moods and emotions in special situations. However, as this analysis has shown, life is very rarely arranged according to ideals, which in this case is manifested not least in the encounter with a different cultural environment in the context of the manor and in a historical period where an inward-looking perspective and a particular emotional practice were part of the ideal and self-expectation. A concrete insight from the analysis is thus that a stressful factor was the great pressure of the housewife role combined with an ideal of active emotional work, exclusive family time, personal religious practice and so on. In other words, a conflict between domestic realities vs. normative expectations as expressed both in the past and in our academic understanding of its ideological order.

Some of the insights previously described in research on both the practical and the symbolic role of the manor lady, and the women of other upper- and middle-class homes, are confirmed through this example. However, material like this offers both an unusually detailed insight into matters such as the actual tasks of the household management and not least in a manor milieu that in many ways differs from a general perception of the gilded manor life in the large and well-established houses of the time. Thus, it can help to qualify our understanding of the varied overall picture of the manors of the period and the cultural characteristics of manor life. It also suggests that the social changes that the manor families of the period were increasingly confronted with, such as the integration of both persons and ideas shaped in bourgeois environments, could give rise to confrontation on many levels, even in emotional life. The example of Molly Tang represents a personal transition from the bourgeois urban life to the rural manor life and as mentioned perhaps the story of a conceptual universe including certain ideals of femininity formed in this context and transplanted into a manor environment. Thus, it complements descriptions in Scandinavian research of what it implied to be born and raised to be a manor house lady with an insight into what it took to become one.

Molly Tang lived on for seventeen years after the death of her husband and stuck by Nørre Vosborg through thick and thin until her death at the manor in 1885. Her diaries and memoirs mainly tell the highly personal story of an individual. However, her experience in the role of a lady of the manor in the mid-nineteenth century also implies this role's inextricable connection

to the manor as a social milieu, gender and its associated practical and identity-related responsibilities, and not least to the ideals of the time, which called for a conscious emotional practice.

Signe Boeskov

Ph. D.

Dansk Center for herregårdsforskning

Randersvej 2

DK-8963 Auning

email: sb@gammelestrup.dk

Notes

- 1 Since 2004 Nørre Vosborg has been owned by the Realdania Foundation and is now a hotel, restaurant, conference venue and cultural centre. The history of the manor is well described not least because it through eight years was the subject of the interdisciplinary research project “Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum” (Nørre Vosborg in time and space), which among other things resulted in the publication: Anders Bøgh, Helle Henningsen & Kristian Dalsgaard (eds.), *Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014. However, the diary material used in this article has not previously been analysed on a large scale or for the purpose of shedding light on the manor lady’s work and role on the manor.
- 2 Original: “Mine Følelser var mange”.
- 3 Original: “nu, hvad var det, andet end mine gamle Grillen, der formørkede min Himmel”.
- 4 Marie Elisa Tang’s diary: Saturday 14 April 1838.
- 5 Original: “Min Bedstemoder var en rask, driftig, overordentlig dygtig Huusmoder, der af sine Børn og Undergivne fordrede samme Orden og Nøiagtighed som hun selv, og de lærte tidligt, at de ikke var til i Verden for at være Stadsdamer”.
- 6 For example, in 1829, when Molly Fenger turned 22. From 1 January to 31 August, there are only 28 days during which no visits to or by the family or the other social circle are recorded. The visits could be formal visits, short sick visits to the close family, hours of interaction in the context of needlework and chores, eating lunch together, tea or an evening party. Diary: January–August 1829.
- 7 This was true of both the dynamics involved in close relationships and assessments of new acquaintances: for example, 1 January 1829, when Molly Fenger’s uncle, Nicolai Meinert, “was uncooperative” or on 16 January 1829, when, on a visit, she met a lady and her daughter for the first time. The first she found pleasant, while she thought the latter was “badly brought up”.
- 8 For example, on Sunday 15 March 1829, the young Molly Fenger went to Slotskirken to hear J.P. Mynster preach. From there she proceeded to the home of her uncle Christian Fenger and his family who lived in the nearby street of Ny Kongensgade. Her uncle was ill, and Molly came to find out how he was doing. Then, also in Christianshavn, she visited the Oppen family, close acquaintances of the Fengers (the daughter Ingeborg was Molly Fenger’s closest friend in adolescence), “to chat for an hour.” While Molly’s younger brother Nicolaj attended a funeral in Lyngby in the afternoon, she buttered sandwiches for her aunt, “Tante Helene”, who was throwing a party that evening. The party’s guests included the Fengers and four or five other families from their circle of acquaintances.
- 9 Susanne Mathilde Krarup (née Tang) (1805–1899).
- 10 Original: “ved hvis glødende Beskrivelser af Nørre Vosborg mit Sind med en underlig Længsel stundede efter Vesten”.
- 11 Original: “et forknyt og ængsteligt Sind”.
- 12 Original: “Der var dog en Ridderborg, der var gamle Minder, der var Sagn, og der var Frihed. Der var alt, hvad jeg længtes efter”.
- 13 The days of 24–27 July 1838, for example, were representative for most other days at Nørre Vosborg. The diary recounts how Molly helped with the laundry – the servants rolled, while Molly and her sister ironed and organ-

- ized linen. She visited one of the rectories in the area, drank tea in her mother-in-law's quarters at the manor and entertained guests. She preserved gooseberries, worried about Evald's health and everything she had not achieved, and celebrated the first anniversary of the visit to Nørre Vosborg, during which she got engaged – "What a momentous day!!!" Diary: 24–27 July 1838.
- 14 Marie Elisa Tang's diary: Tuesday 24 April 1838.
- 15 Original: "Min Sjæl er ængstelig bekymret i eftermiddag, alting ligger saa tungt paa mig. Denne Huusholdning jeg skal begynde at styre, og jeg veed hverken ud eller ind."
- 16 The sister stepped in especially in connection with Molly Tang's maternity periods and later with raising the children: for example, 20, 21 and 26 September 1838.
- 17 For example, Sunday 29 April: "Visiting Mother to talk about housekeeping – she was so friendly."
- 18 Original: "viskagtigt behandlet" – in other words, as if she were a weak-willed or feeble person.
- 19 Original: "og saa bliver alt godt".
- 20 Original: "den lykkeligste Kone".
- 21 Molly Tang has various ways of describing these negative feelings: for example, "mine gamle Griller", "Sorte Skikkelser" lurking in the background, being "snavs", "melankolsk" or, above all, "forknyt". Marie Elisa Tang's diary: for example, 14 and 15 April, 8 December, 8 and 15 June, 11 March and 29 January, 14 Graufbruary, 24 June, 1 July, 18 and 19 August 1838.
- 22 Original: "Jeg var ret hjertelig forknyt den Dag over mig selv, der ingen Glæde, ingen Nytte gjør i Verden – og kan saa vel undværes – ja, som er i veien her til lands. Ak var dette anderledes!!"
- 23 Original: "Det var det Billede af en Juleaften, som længe har foresvævet mig. Dog lurer det Ydre, thi det bedste, den inderlige Glæde, manglede".
- 24 Original: "Jeg føler Mangel paa Kraft i min Stilling, og det trykker mig".
- 25 The manor remained in the family's ownership after the death of Evald Tang, although the financial situation remained difficult. Molly Tang was the owner during her widowhood from 1868 to 1878, until her eldest daughter and her husband Henrik Stampe Valeur took over the estate. However, he died early in 1880, so it was Molly's daughter Christine Tang (married Stampe Valeur) who, as a widow, was lady of the house for 43 years. Her nephew and niece took over the estate in 1923, followed by the descendants of Evald's sister Mathilde Krarup. Today, Nørre Vosborg is owned by the Realdania Foundation. Following restoration, it is now a hotel, restaurant, conference company and cultural centre.
- 26 Original: "baade Vært og Værtinde".
- 27 Such musings about the course of life appear in the diary, for example, in relation to Molly Tang's reading of the popular literary memoirs of the time, in recollections of her youth or when confronted by the life choices or dreams of acquaintances.
- 28 Original: "Ingenting heelt, alting halvt. Halvhed har været min Ulykke."
- 29 Original: "som efter Canaan".

References

Archive and Internet Material

- Folketællinger for Ringkøbing Amt, Ulfborg Herred, Ulfborg Sogn 1834, 1840 og 1860, arkivalieronline, www.sa.dk.
- Husholdningsbøger (1839–1885), Nørre Vosborg Godsarkiv, Rigsarkivet Viborg, Danmark
- Marie Elisa Tangs erindringer 1849–1861: *Til mine børn*, transskriberet afskrift i efterkommeres varetægt.
- Marie Elisa Tangs dagbøger 1829–1838, Dagbøger 1821–1885, Privatarkiv for Maria Elise Tang, Rigsarkivet Viborg, Danmark
- www.danskeherregaarde.dk

Literature

- Andersen, Elly 2005: "Fra fortidens herregårdskultur til fremtidens velfærdsmodel". In: Michael Bregnsbo, Torben K. Nielsen & Søren Hein

- Rasmussen (red.): *Historie*, nr 1. Aarhus: Jysk Selskab for Historie.
- Åström, Anna-Maria, 1993: "Sockenboarne". Herrgårdskultur i Savolax 1790–1850. Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- Barfod, Anna Tang 1922: *Forsøg paa et Overblik over Slægterne Meinert-Tang-Fenger og deres indbyrdes Forbindelse*. København.
- Baunvig, Katrine Frøkjær 2018: *Den eneste ene. Historien om hvordan vi lærte at drømme om den store kærlighed*. København: Gyldendal.
- Berlin, Isaiah 1999: *The Roots of Romanticism*. London: Pimlico.
- Boeskov, Signe 2010: "Nørre Vosborg! Smyk til Fest, dine Stuer – dine Sale. Om fester og fejringser som iscenesættelse af herregård og herskab 1850–1920". In Signe Boeskov, Dorte Kook Lyngholm & Mikael Frausing (eds.), *Det pryder vel en Ædelmand. Festskrift til Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen*. Auning: Dansk Center for Herregårdsforskning.
- Boeskov, Signe 2013: "Fra den gamle frue til den vilde greve. Om et generationsskifte på Gammel Estrup afspejlet i indretning". In Britta Andersen, Marie Aaberg Andersen & Klaus Højbjerg (eds.), *Herregårdshistorie 8*. Auning: Gammel Estrup Danmarks Herregårdsmuseum.
- Boeskov, Signe 2014: "Herregårdsliv 1855–68. De store besøg og historien om herregården og familien Tang". In Anders Bøgh, Helle Henningsen & Kristian Dalsgaard (eds.), *Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum. Bind 2 – Herregård i lyst og nød*, Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Boeskov, Signe 2017: *Herregård og herskab. Distinktioner og iscenesættelser på Nørre Vosborg og Hvedholm 1850–1920*. København: Museum Tusulanum.
- Boeskov, Signe 2021 (under publication): Indledning. Tjenestefolk på herregården fra adelsvældets til demokratiets tid. In Britta Andersen, Marie Elkjær & Signe Boeskov (eds.), *Herregårdshistorie 17*. Auning: Gammel Estrup Danmarks Herregårdsmuseum.
- Busk-Jensen, Lise 2009: *Romantikens Forfatterinder*, bind 1. København: Gyldendal.
- Davidoff, Leonore & Catherine Hall 1987: *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dyrmann, Kristine 2021: "Political Sociability at the Brahetrolleborg Estate in Denmark, 1789–90". *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 2021, VOL. 46, NO. 4, 510–530.
- Frykman, Jonas & Orvar Löfgren 1979: *Den kultiverade människan*. Malmö: Liber Läromedel.
- Gay, Peter 1986: *The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud, vol. II: The Tender Passion*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gillis, John R. 1996: *A World of Their Own Making. Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Graugaard, Espen 2014 a: "Etatsråd Andreas E.M. Tang (1803–68) – vestjysk godsejer og idealist". In Anders Bøgh, Helle Henningsen & Kristian Dalsgaard (eds.), *Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum. Bind 2 – Herregård i lyst og nød*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Graugaard, Esben 2014 b: "Godsets udvikling i Andreas Tangs tid 1824–68". In Anders Bøgh, Helle Henningsen & Kristian Dalsgaard (eds.), *Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum. Bind 2 – Herregård i lyst og nød*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Hougaard, Jens 2008: *Romantisk kærlighed*. 1. bog, Aarhus: Klim.
- Ilmakunnas, Johanna 2012: *Ett ståndsmissigt liv. Familjen von Fersens livsstil på 1700-talet*. Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- Laursen, Jesper 2009: *Herregårdsjagt i Danmark*. København: Gads Forlag.
- Laursen, Jesper 2017: *Lensgreven. Historien om Mogens Frijs*. København: Gads Forlag.
- Lyngby, Thomas 2015: *Måder at bo på. Indretning, liv, stemninger og bevidsthedsformer i danske overklasseboliger i byen 1570–1870*. Hillerød: Studier fra Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg.
- Poovey, Mary 1988: *Uneven Developments. The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rasmussen, Carsten Porskrog 2006: "Indledning. Mellem Grundlov og Lensafløsning". In Britta

- Andersen, Dorte Christensen & Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen: *Herregårdenes Indian Summer fra Grundloven 1849 til Lensafløsningsloven 1919*. Auning: Dansk Center for Herregårdsforskning og Skippershoved.
- Rosenblad, Kajsa B. 2005: *Scenografi för ett ståndsmässigt liv. Adelns slottsbyggande i Skåne 1840–1900*. Lund: Sekel Bokförlag.
- Rundquist, Angela 1989: *Blått blod och liljevita händer. En etnologisk studie av aristokratiska kvinnor 1850–1900*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Schacke, Adam 2014: “Godsøkonomien 1865–1923”. In Anders Bøgh, Helle Henningsen & Kristian Dalsgaard (eds.), *Nørre Vosborg i tid og rum. Bind 2 – Herregård i lyst og nød*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Steinitz, Rebecca 2011: *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century British Diary*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steinrud, Marie 2008: *Den dolda offentligheten. Kvinnlighetens sfärer i 1800-talets svenska högreståndskultur*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Sumner, Anne 2004: *Borgerliga ambitioner och adliga ideal. Slott och byggherrar i Sverige kring sekelskiftet 1900*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Trumbach, Randolph 1978: *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Academic Press.
- Turner, E.S. 1962: *What the Butler Saw. Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Servant Problem*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd.
- Ulväng, Göran 2019: “The Swedish Manor 1750–1950 – Decline or Continuity?”. In Jonathan Finch, Kristine Dyrmann & Mikael Frausing: *Estate Landscapes in Northern Europe*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Venborg Pedersen, Mikkel 2005: *Hertuger. At synes og at være i Augustenborg 1700–1850*. København: Museum Tusulanum.

From Nazi Concentration Camp to Detention in Sweden 1945

Female Survivors, Sexuality, and Respectability

By Britta Zetterström Geschwind

Gunnarpshemmet was the name of a large stone villa in the thriving Tjörnarp parish in the south of Sweden. A highway went through the community which had also a train station. Gunnarpshemmet was however located in a secluded grove. It had nine bedrooms, a bathroom, a shower room, and three water closets. A photo reveals what looks like an average and well-maintained house with a solid stone porch. The two-acre garden had fruit trees and firs. If it were not for the fact that the place was enclosed by a two-metre high barbed wired fence, it might seem quite idyllic. When not occupied with chores and duties, the interned women sometimes stood by the fence gazing out. The locals were not allowed near, signs outside the premises prohibited contact with the internees. The enclosure was guarded by local policemen and the camp director, an elderly Red Cross nurse, kept an eye on movements and activities by the fence. Still, several of the women managed to escape the premises on more than one occasion, and local men indeed came close, although this was not permitted or approved.

Gunnarpshemmet was a closed detention camp for female refugees. Fifty-seven women were forcibly detained here between 1945 and 1946, but seldom more than fifteen at a time. This article will examine the camp, focusing on the internment of former concentration camp prisoners who had been transferred to Sweden with the “white buses” rescue operation, undertaken by the Swedish Red Cross in cooperation with the Danish government in the spring of 1945 (Lomfors 2005; Koblik 1987).

The interned women constituted a disparate group in terms of nationality, age, class, religion, and ethnicity. Usually they

had been placed in several open refugee camps before being transferred to detention. What made these females such a threatening category that they were placed behind barbed wire in a guarded detention camp? Were there differences in how the women were perceived? How did they perform agency, and what room for manoeuvre was there? How might previous experiences of Nazi camp imprisonment and war have affected their actions and experiences of detention in Sweden?

This study is part of my post-doc project aiming at investigating Swedish refugee camps and the reception of female former concentration camp prisoners. Gunnarpshemmet is important to historicize on its own, but it also serves as a case study to shed light on how gender and sexuality, intersecting with other power structures created the boundaries of citizenship for these women. The purpose of this article is to investigate the power play between the survivors and the camp institution, and to explore various tactics the women could develop to resist the detention, (re)gain respectability, and avoid repatriation. With inspiration from Beverly Skeggs’s (1997) thinking about *respectability* as a crucial capital to be counted as a citizen, the aim is to shed light on the complexity and diversity of the group of “survivors”, and to emphasize them as agents. This aim is in line with scholars who have problematized the conformist trope about the survivor subject as a victim, and especially female, as being vulnerable, weak, passive, and “innocent”, who has left some experiences of suffering that were dangerous and even “impossible” to talk about or get recognition for. In Sweden, this problematization has only begun to be recognized in relation



1. Gunnarpshemmet as it looks today. Some memories of the women linger. Still today locals call the house “the whore house”. Photo: Britta Geschwind.

to female survivors (e.g., Martinez 2021a, b; Thor Tureby 2005; 2015; Wagrell 2020).

The choice of women addressed has been guided by their differing backgrounds, the varying reasons for their detention, and the fact that they all had been imprisoned in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. To access the powerplay between individual and camp institution, material such as government directives, camp documents, personal dossiers, letters, testimonies, and interviews has been analytically combined and contrasted. The bureaucracy required to sort, handle, and place the individuals who came to Sweden during and directly after World War II has deposited a rich body of archival material. Especially important here is the archive of the Swedish State Commission for Foreigners (SUK), and the World War II Camp archives

(SUKL) at the Swedish National Archives (RA). In the official records, the voices of the women themselves are mostly silent, but this does not mean that they are absent.

Gunnarpshemmet has been briefly discussed by Tobias Berglund and Niclas Sennerteg (2009). Their presentation is primarily based on the five volumes of culled material left by the camp at SUKL (Hallberg 2017:178, 218; Rydén & Berglund 2018). Although incomplete, the camp archive is rich in information. It primarily reflects the camp management’s views on the women. For this reason, it is important to bring together materials that speak from different positions, perspectives, and with different “tones of voice”. As argued by several ethnologists, archival sources of diverse kinds can contradict or reinforce each other and give different

answers to the same question. Contrasting can thus be used as a source-critical method (Vallström & Lennartsson 2014:4). This is particularly important when seeking marginalized voices or perspectives (Bergquist & Svensson 1999; Jönsson & Nilsson 2017; Lennartsson 2014, 2001; Svensson 1993). Ethnological perspectives and bricolage approaches are thus important in the field of Holocaust studies, a field that is dominated by historians.

Apart from the Gunnarps hemmet archive, I have studied official records in SUK, such as files from the Social Bureau, the National Medical Board, and the Control Agency where I have examined the dossiers on some of the women. These contain traces of their contacts with authorities such as the police, health authorities, refugee camps, and SUK. Depending on the extent of the contacts, the files are thin or thick. Individual statements in interrogations, in letters, and a witness record from one of the women recorded by The Polish Research Institute (PIZ) in Lund contrast the documentation by the authorities. Other witness records in the PIZ collection, artefacts gathered by PIZ from survivors in the museum Kulturen in Lund, as well as transcribed interviews from the 1990s with survivors who became Swedish citizens, have provided useful complementary material for expanding my understanding of surviving Ravensbrück.

The Swedish Camp System

The men and women who came to Sweden to escape the violence and destitution of World War II were seen both as problematic and as potential assets by the authorities. Gender, education, marital status, nationality, political opinion, and health were reg-

istered and influenced their placement in various forms of refugee camps and institutions. The reception system included quarantine camps, hospitals, reception camps, work camps, and closed detention camps. The scholarly, as well as popular, interest in Swedish camps has mainly been directed towards detention camps for males (e.g. Berglund 2008; Berglund & Sennerteg 2009; Grahn 2012; Johansson 2004; Lihammer 2006; Lindner 1994; Lundgren 2008; Hammare 2012; Rehn 2002), with few exceptions (e.g. Geschwind 2020; Martinez 2017; Persson 2011; Rudberg 2017). Much remains to explore.

The reception system and its institutions were created to regulate, help, and stabilize the refugees' situation. They generally aimed at returning the refugees to normalcy after living in inhumane conditions. Various normalizing practices were directed at the refugee body. Female and male bodies were examined, restricted, and understood in separate ways; for example, regarding the need for protection or control, or what constituted the "normal". Health issues played a vital role as a regulating mechanism and bordering regime, in Sweden as well as on an international level (Montesino & Thor 2009:33; Idvall & Nilsson 2017). The able-bodied and fit to work were sorted from those in need of care, and those deemed problematic (Byström 2012; Olsson 1995).

Although the conditions differed between camps, open as well as closed camps were fenced in to prevent contact between the refugees and the locals. This was done both to protect the public from the diseases the refugees could carry, and to protect the refugees from the locals. Another aspect was to prevent sexual relations between refugee women and Swedish men, espe-

cially after the arrival of mostly female survivors from Nazi concentration camps in 1945. As noted by the historian Malin Thor Tureby, the Swedish men's intrusive behaviour towards the liberated women was a theme in the contemporary press in southern Sweden (Thor Tureby 2015:288).

Individuals who were considered a potential threat to Sweden could be placed in closed detention camps; politically risky, criminals, deserters, so-called observation cases, and disciplinary cases. The category "risky foreigners" changed with the course of the war, from communists or part of the anti-Nazi resistance to Nazis and Nazi-collaborators (Byström 2012:162–163). Detention camps for male refugees were set up already in 1940. The same did not officially exist for females until the instigation of Gunnarps hemmet in the spring of 1945, the only one of its kind.

The Forced Detention of "Risky" Female Refugees

The need for an internment camp especially for female refugees was emphasized in a government inquiry into a new immigration law presented early in 1945 (SOU 1945:1). One argument for detention was, as for men, that they were considered politically risky "observation cases". Mentioned were Danish and Norwegian women who had ties to the occupying forces, the Nazi party, or other intimate relations to Germans, such as love affairs, sexual relations, or having children with German soldiers. Another category was "disciplinary cases", vaguely described as "women who are unwilling to work and loose" and who "cause difficult problems" (SOU 1945:1:121). Before the special internment camp was instigated, female refugees who were considered

problematic could be housed in so-called "work homes" (ibid.). This was a kind of social relief for people who were considered a liability for society, who could not support themselves, "insane", "imbecile", and women deemed as "loose". As in other kinds of institutions of this time, the work homes would care for and foster the interned into better citizens through scheduled days, work, hygiene, and control of the body (Eivergård, Olofsson & Vallström 2012; Engwall 2000; Jönsson 1998).

The same official instructions that had been set up for male internment camps also applied to the women of Gunnarps hemmet. Everyday meals, activities, accommodation, and contacts with the outside were regulated. In practice, however, the norms and regulating practices were highly gendered as feminine, putting emphasis on domestic work abilities, such as cleaning, knitting, making the bed, doing dishes and laundry. The homelike nature of the villa was eclipsed by the steel fence with its three parallel lines of barbed wire, police guards, and watchdogs. In several ways, the everyday power relations of the internment camp was similar to the sociologist Erving Goffman's definition of a *total institution* (Goffman 1991). The term refers to a place where a group of people is cut off from the surrounding society and whose everyday life is highly formalized. On the other hand, the boundaries of the camp could be porous and negotiable. As the feminist geographer Doreen Massey puts it, "Spaces are social relations stretched out" (1994:121). If one thinks of the camp as networks of social and dynamic relations rather than a static place, it logically follows that neither spaces nor boundaries are stable and the same for everyone (Massey 1994:2–24). The

level of closedness and control was conditioned. “Wrong” behaviour was reprimanded, for example by withdrawing allowances or permission to go out. Similarly, “right” behaviour could be rewarded. The possibility to be transferred to an open camp depended on the reasons for detention but also depended heavily on assessments of the internee’s behaviour. The kitchen, garden, and laundry room made a “home-like” setting that both controlled and shaped their actions and movements, creating a time-space arena suited to form (and perform) the homemaker.

The Gunnarshemmet archive contain many accounts of activities directed towards the fence; reports on how to set it up, guard it, pay for it, repair it, how to keep females in, how they escaped it, and how interned females and Swedish men made contact alongside it. The barbed wired fence could be likened to a *material punctum*, drawing eyes and bodies towards it, and being a constant reminder of the confinement (Barthes 1982; cf. Gustafsson 2008). It was a boundary, and simultaneously a possible contact surface to the outside world. Roland Barthes has described a punctum as the element in a picture that captures the attention, evokes emotions, and lingers in the memory long after the gaze has left the object. What becomes a punctum is subjective, but it can be shared by a group of people. Judging from accounts by former concentration camp prisoners, the fences in the Swedish camps created a certain kind of traumatic affect in contact with their bodies and eyes (Gottfarb 2006:203–206).

The detained women came from Norway, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Remarkably, people who had reason to hate or fear each other were interned together (Berglund & Sennerteg 2008:200–210). Norwegian and Danish women who had been in relations with German soldiers were placed along with Catholic as well as Jewish survivors of Nazi concentration camps where they had held different hierarchical positions.

The survivors were among the around 30,000 individuals who had been transferred to Sweden with the Red Cross “white buses”, and the UNRRA Campaign 1945 (Åmark in Byström & Frohnert 2013:40–48; Byström 2012:23–25). Most were Polish women, and they were legally called “repatriates” by the authorities. The term from Latin, *re*: re/return, and *patria*: fatherland, shows that the state, unlike other groups, viewed them as temporary guests who were to be returned to their home countries as soon as possible.

The reasons for being detained generally appear vague and weak from a legal point of view. In some cases, the internment was a result of an unlawful escape or prolonged leave from a reception camp. Some women had been violent or committed petty crimes, but usually it was enough that a person was considered “undisciplined”, “hysterical”, or “promiscuous” and had disturbed the order in her previous refugee camp. The most common reason was that they were judged to be immoral, “unwilling to work” and above all, sexually “loose”.

Several (but not all) received treatment for sexually transmitted diseases in accordance with *Lex Veneris*. The law, instigated in 1919, meant that both male and female individuals with syphilis, gonorrhoea, and *ulcus mole* were given free care in the infectious stage of the diseases, but were

obliged by law to seek care since spreading the disease was punishable. The law gave the state a new kind of control as well as responsibility over the individual. The women at Gunnarps hemmet were subjected to gynaecological inspections, as were repatriates in other Swedish camps. Getting a certificate of health was a prerequisite to work outside the camp, or to get married (Olsson 1995:115, 133; Lundberg 2008:15, 158). The gynaecological examinations need to be put in the context of the increase of venereal diseases during the war, the emerging welfare state with its overall concern regarding health and hygiene (Johannisson 1990; Blom 2006), but also as means to control the sexual behaviour of (foreign) women.

In her dissertation on Swedish legislation concerning venereal diseases, the historian Anna Lundberg concludes that although the *Lex Veneris* had the democratic ambition to apply to all, the application of the law disadvantaged women of the lower class (Lundberg 2008). She states that the law reinforced a modern discourse where care and health were conditions for obtaining recognition of citizenship. This came to be especially true in the aftermath of World War II, regarding female repatriates. The control measures affected them in a particular way since their placement in camps made them easy to control (cf. Engwall 2000).

A matter worth addressing in relation to the forced inspections in Sweden is the Norwegian *Helseanordningen* instigated in June 1945, allowing forced gynaecological investigations of women suspected of having venereal diseases. The controls provided the Norwegian state with means to find so-called “German girls”, suspected

of having relations with German soldiers during the war. As in Denmark, venereal disease could be taken as proof of immorality and sexual contact with Germans. These women were treated as criminals. In both Denmark and Norway, they could be placed in detention camps, sometimes for months (Pedersen 2006:66–86; Papendorf 2017; Warring 1994:168). In 1945, the Norwegian government amended the Citizenship Act so that Norwegians who married Germans were stripped of their citizenship (Blom 2006:227; Olsen 1998). That caused some who had escaped to Sweden to get stuck here. Several were detained at Gunnarps hemmet. Being free of venereal disease, especially receiving “medical proof” of being a virgin, could save a woman from sexual stigma, as will be exemplified. In Nazi Germany, venereal disease could be grounds for concentration camp captivity, and resulting in a prostitute stigma.

Before their arrival in Sweden, the women we will meet in the following had been imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp north of Berlin, where they had had different roles and ranks. Ravensbrück was far from the largest of the Nazi camps, the Jews were not as many as in other camps, and it was not officially a death camp (although the death rate was very high, and it became a death camp at the end). Ravensbrück do not fit well into the Holocaust narrative, but it is highly important for shedding light on the Nazis’ crimes against women and children (Helm 2015). Ravensbrück is also significant from a Swedish perspective, since most of the female survivors who came to Sweden with the white buses mission had been imprisoned there. An introduction to

Ravensbrück is needed to understand the women's responses to the Swedish camps, the norms, practices, concerns, and controls, such as the barbed wire, the health inspections, and the labelling practices.

From Ravensbrück Concentration Camp to Internment in Sweden

I was arrested and interned in a concentration camp for absconding from work. The reason I absconded was that I had two children in Poland whom I had been forcibly taken away from to work in Germany. My children were young: one was seven years old; the other, one and a half. To this day, I still don't know what happened to my children.

So begins the witness record of the Polish Catholic A., a widow in her early thirties who was one of those interned at Gunnarps hemmet. A. was arrested with her husband in 1941 for escaping forced labour to find her children. He was brutally beaten, and they were separated. After imprisonment in a female penal camp in Rheinheim she was transferred to Ravensbrück. She was later sent to Neuengamme where she was rescued with the white buses to Sweden. After arriving in Malmö, going through medical examination, delousing, sanitization, and quarantine, A. was transferred to the open camp Ronneby Brunn in Blekinge, where she got into a fight with two other Polish women, resulting in her detention in Gunnarps hemmet; the women she had fought were also sent there. After receiving an assessment of good behaviour, A. was released to Frostavallen convalescent camp nearby in Höör. Her witness record was taken there in March 1946 by Helena Miklaszewska (1906–2000), one of the Polish Research Institute's (PIZ) assis-

tants who were survivors themselves and collected over 500 witness testimonies from Polish survivors in Swedish camps (e.g., Dahl 2021, 2011, 2007; Martinez 2021; Rudny 2005).

Ravensbrück was set up in 1939 as a "Frauenlager" intended exclusively for women. It developed into a vast complex with factories, workshops, and satellite camps at external factories. It served as the principal training and recruitment centre for female Nazi camp guards and overseers, who after training were enlisted in Ravensbrück and other concentration camps. About 140,000–150,000 individuals from 30 nations were imprisoned here 1939–1945 (Beßmann & Eschebach 2013; Helm 2015:651).

Hard physical labour, humiliation, torture, killings, famine, vermin, and disease were everyday experiences. Tens of thousands died in the camp, but others were sent away to be gassed. Women were shot dead, hanged, beaten to death, bitten by dogs, given lethal injections. The conditions worsened dramatically as the camp became increasingly overcrowded. In 1945 a gas chamber was built on site. A. testified to the horrendous conditions.

Executions were carried out in the camp; prisoners were taken away and shot. Compulsory experimental operations were performed. All of this had a very dispiriting effect. Sometimes, women who were unable to bear it any longer would fling themselves on the wire fence. One woman flung herself on the wires in front of me; I saw her corpse, black all over. I heard of women hanging themselves. I know that *auzjerkas* [guards/overseers] set dogs on women at work, and that the dogs bit off chunks of flesh. Sometimes, women would come back from the bunker so badly beaten that they couldn't walk or move at all.

The seeming lack of feelings and the factual tone in A's and other PIZ witness records needs to be understood from their intent as evidence to be used in war trials (Dahl 2021; Van Orden Martinez 2021a). Other materials collected by PIZ instead reveal strong emotions and personal views. Poems, sketches, and crafted things made during the Nazi captivity bear witness to individual endurance, creativity, and collective resistance (Rydén 2018). In the Ravensbrück collection of *Kulturen* in Lund, there is a tiny white rabbit carved from a toothbrush in captivity by Zofia Sas-Hoszowska. It is a symbol of the "compulsory experimental operations" that A. mentions above, referring to medical experiments. Those experimented on were called "rabbits", "Kaninchen", or "Lapins", often in a sympathetic way by the other prisoners. Their legs were cut open and filled with rotten straw, glass, and rags, muscles and bones were surgically removed (Beßmann & Eichebach 2013: 223–238; Helm 2015). Although the subjects were relatively few compared to the total number of prisoners, the experiments were well known and dreaded, and the victims pitied.

As in the Nazi concentration camp system in general, prisoners were forced to wear colour-coded badges for identification. Their colours and shapes placed people in certain categories. Jews, who generally had the lowest status, wore yellow triangles forming a star. A red triangle meant political prisoner, green criminal, purple Jehovah's witness. A person given the designation "arbeits-scheu" (work-shy) or "asozial" (asocial) had to wear a black triangle. The category included beggars, alcoholics, or otherwise socially vulnerable, individuals of the Roma and Sinti community, and women deemed prostitutes or lesbian. The letter "P"

sewn within the triangle meant Polish, the largest group in Ravensbrück.

Some were assigned as functionaries to supervise other prisoners or carry out administrative tasks. This was an elaborate psychological abuse within the Nazi camp system intended to turn victim against victim and prevent solidarity. Brutality was encouraged. Women classified as prostitutes and criminals were used as leaders for other prisoners. In a testimony about "the horrors of Ravensbrück" in *Svensk tidskrift* 1946, 21-year-old Polish Maria Krakowska-Löwegren describes the use of prostitutes as foremen, which is telling for the stigmatization of prostitutes among the prisoners. She writes that the daily cohabitation with the mostly German prostitutes and criminals "meant humiliation for us".

...these inferior elements were used by the camp leadership as a kind of foremen. [...] One can easily understand the pleasure it was for this riffraff, at their will, to command, torment, and assault (for this was part of their powers) "die Patrioten," as they hatefully called us, and to have virtually the power of life and death over us, whom they knew stood greatly morally above them (Krakowska-Löwegren 1946:174).

The binary divide between perpetrator and victim is problematic since individuals often were made to become both. Some prisoners were forced to exercise authority and were often hated. Under threat of being punished themselves, they disciplined and punished others. Some used their position by helping other prisoners while risking their lives; others, concerned with the survival of themselves or those closest to them, did what they could to assist the SS. For the prisoners, knowing the characters of different functionaries was crucial for sur-

vival. Several women at Gunnarps hemmet had held ranks in Ravensbrück such as “Stubenälteste” (room or barracks leader), “Blockälteste” (block leader), and a “Lagerälteste” (camp leader) also pointed out as *Aufseherinnen*” (overseer/warden). We will come back to them.

The Polish woman A. described the arrival at Ravensbrück, how female guards with dogs collected her and the others on lorries to the camp where they were taken straight to the baths. There, all their personal belongings and valuables were stripped off and confiscated. Her hair was cut, and she had to change to camp uniform. Usually, arriving women had to strip naked in front of SS men and female guards and go to the icy water of the showers. Their head and pubic area were inspected for lice and often shaved. They also received medical examinations, varying from throat and dental exams to being subjected to gynaecological examinations to check for sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, but also to uncover hidden valuables (Docking 2021:434). Nazi camp prisoners typically experienced sexual vulnerability of various forms. As stated by the historian Marion Kaplan, sexual violation often started with sexual humiliation: nudity and shaving (Kaplan 2020).

Scholars have increasingly paid attention to the sexual violence within the Nazi camp system as well as forced sexual labour in “camp brothels” intended to reward higher-status prisoners and German soldiers. The women forced into sexual slavery were mainly taken from Ravensbrück (Sommer 2021, 2009). The sex slaves had better food and quarters, meaning better chances of survival, but they were under constant control, and after the war were

often subjected to hate and reprimands as traitors. Both Jewish and non-Jewish women could become sex slaves for camp guards of both sexes and for prisoners in positions of power. To trade the body for food or clothes was means to survive (Person 2015; Caplan 2010).

The Swedish Reception, Care, and Sorting Practices

So, how might various traumatic experiences of Nazi atrocities, as described above, have affected their meeting with Swedish care and reception? And how did the staff of Gunnarps hemmet and other authorities understand and react to their experiences?

Around the time A. gave her witness record, she received schooling with other illiterate repatriates in the Frostavallen camp. The camp director Karin Axell reported on their learning progress to the Social Bureau and wrote that A. had “learned something” but could not read. “She is psychopathic and extremely moody. You cannot persuade her to do something she does not want.” The judgement of her as “psychopathic and moody” stands in contrast to the conclusion of the interviewer Helena Miklaszewska: “The witness is a simple person with a good memory; her testimony is to be trusted.” Although there are many examples of expressions of empathy and respect between Swedish aid workers and survivors, the professional assessments about the survivors often appear painfully rational and unempathetic to their sufferings. Judgements such as “psychopathic”, “hysterical”, and “lazy” were not uncommon. This could be understood as trauma reactions, today described in terms of PTSD, causing anxiety, apathy and being on high alert. The authorities, camp management, and doctors had

difficulties relating to or comprehending what the survivors had gone through.

One aspect which caused the women trouble and dislike was their reluctance to be examined by doctors. Survivors have witnessed to their feelings of horror on arrival in Sweden, meeting the medical exams, sanitizing, and delousing practices and being asked to strip naked in front of men and step into showers (Nilsson & Idvall 2018). The internees of Gunnarps hemmet shared their dread of medical examinations with survivors in open camps. One who testified to this was the physician and venereologist Gerda Kjellberg (1881–1972). She had been commissioned by the National Medical Board to visit certain refugee camps for repatriates where a risk of “sexual intercourse and unwelcome conception” was suspected. Kjellberg performed gonorrhoea examinations and provided sexual counselling. As mentioned above, the Labour Market Commission demanded testing since being free of infectious venereal diseases was a prerequisite to work outside the camps. In her report on sexual hygiene among the repatriates, Kjellberg wrote to the National Medical Board:

In all the [camps] that I visited, it was completely impossible to repeat an examination that had already been done. Due to everything they have been through in the concentration camps, the patients had a panic fear of all sorts of examinations.

Polish women in a camp in Gränna “declared with one mouth that it was an insult to the entire Polish people to assume that a Polish woman could have something to do with a man to whom she was not married.” They felt repeatedly violated by the exams and wanted to put an end to the “harass-

ments”. In addition to the feelings of violation that came from the forced gynaecological exams, the discomfort and fear were also linked to the risk of losing respectability. To work, be able to move around, and perhaps to receive citizenship you had to “pass” as the right kind of female and refugee; virtuous, hardworking, and grateful. Another passage in the report is telling of the importance of being “untouched”. Kjellberg had performed examinations on 150 Polish women in Ronneby Brunn.

Here, too, I met strong opposition, mainly because a male colleague on the day of my visit happened to “deflower” 3 young women during a GC examination. This did not surprise me as the camp had a single speculum and this was of the calibre for a multipara.

A speculum is used to dilate the vagina during examination. The term “multipara” refers to someone who has given birth several times. The doctor had asked the females not to report the incident, but they did, possibly after talking to the curator Anna Zajączkowska of the Polish Social Aid. After receiving word of the incident, the Director General of the National Medical Board Axel Höjer demanded an explanation from the doctor, who responded: “Primitive conditions with sterilization, etc., as well as language confusion, was the reason that I must have lost self-control, so that I ruptured the hymen with the speculum.” The injured females got the doctor to write them a certificate, proving that they were “virgo intacta”, “untouched” at the time of examination. They asked the Polish curator to translate the documents into Polish. This meant that they got verification of their virtue, which could be “ex-

changed” into the currency of respectability (Skeggs 1998:160–162).

Kjellberg’s report to SUK seems to defend the repatriates before the authorities by assuring that they did not pose a moral threat to Sweden. After visiting various camps, she claimed to have an idea of the nature of the clientele and could testify that she found most of them to be “virgo intacta”. Today it is commonly known that it, in most cases, is impossible to gynecologically determine whether a woman had her sexual debut. She also found the orthodox Jewish women totally indifferent to male attention. She found it “difficult to imagine that these, admittedly young, but physically sloppy women with bitter and depressed appearance, could exercise any physical attraction”. Kjellberg’s report ends with the somewhat laconic remark that “The Swedes’ problem is not the foreign women but the Swedish men.”

Intrusive men lurking by camps sheltering young female survivors was a well-known problem, as noted above. Gunnarps hemmet too attracted the curiosity of local men. The vicar of Tjörnarps was approached by married women, neighbours of the camp, who requested him to write to SUK. They did not want the camp in their parish, since the married men “sneak to the fence and lure the interned women out”. The men had possibly heard rumours of the “sexually depraved” women and hoped to get a glimpse, or more.

Because they were detained on grounds of sexual morality, it is vital to consider the sexual abuse and the stigmatization of prostitutes within the concentration camp system when reflecting on their encounters with the Swedish reception. Several had been labelled as prostitutes before arriving

in Sweden, and this label followed them here. The camp report of young French woman M. states: “had been a prostitute of simpler kind, and she had made no secret of this in Ravensbrück [...] had probably been arrested for this reason.” The Polish Catholic woman K. was 18 years old when she arrived from Ravensbrück. According to SUK she was guilty of low morals and “undisciplined behaviour”. A letter from the manager of the Stråtenbro camp, Sten Jornäs, had sealed her fate.

She is already known from Poland for deviant sexual conduct and has continued to behave so since her arrival in Sweden. During inspection, male persons were found in her bed and when she was made aware of the inappropriateness of this, she was extremely unruly and rude.

Since she came to Ravensbrück 1941 as a very young girl the assertion that she was known for deviant sexual behaviour in Poland even before that is distressing. This kind of information came from other survivors, and from authorities such as the police. The passage about “male persons in her bed” raises troubling questions about power relations. Who instigated the intercourse, and how?

Categorizations such as “loose” in the host country may have painfully reflected the sorting methods performed at Ravensbrück. In a way, the Nazi hierarchies continued to act upon them. Being in Sweden did not protect a Jew from anti-semitism (e.g., Andersson & Kvist Geverts 2008; Kvist Geverts 2008; Byström 2012, 2006). A red triangle (political prisoner) had higher rank than a black triangle (asocial) or green (criminal). Identifying as political prisoner could give some dignity

after the war. In contrast, black or green triangles were connected to stigma and shaming. Black or green triangle survivors were not heard in the Hamburg War Crimes trials. It is hardly a coincidence that the striped prisoner jackets collected by PIZ, now in the museum Kulturen in Lund, have red triangles with a P. The German designation “arbeitsscheu” or “asozial” had its equivalents in Sweden (*arbetskygg*, *asocial*) and other European countries. In pre-war Sweden “asocial” marked someone who breached societal norms and was seen as a moral problem. As in Germany, it was a widespread term for sexually deviant, “abnormal” women (Engwall 2000). One can imagine the distress of being liberated from the concentration camp only to be put in a detention camp in the host country, due to a related order.

The hierarchies of the concentration camp system affected the relations between survivors. Regarding Jewish E., the camp director Edin writes to SUK, “clashes arise quite logically, when Jews, Poles, and Germans here are forced to live so close to each other, those who hate each other so.” Some were former Nazi camp prisoner functionaries, detained for this reason. Before K.’s detention, she and other Polish women in the Eckersta camp had recognized two fellow camp residents as “Anweiserin” (overseer/warden) and reported them to SUK for various forms of cruelty. The two were sent to Gunnarps hemmet. Remarkably, after some time K. was sent to detention together with them. Detained with them was also 33-year-old German-Polish B., after she had been reported for brutality in Ravensbrück and Eberswalde by several Polish women. B. had been a “Blockälteste” controlling

over 360 “asozial Volksdeutsche” (ethnic German) women wearing the black triangle, deemed as prostitutes. It seems like an irony of fate that B. in Sweden was detained along with women who had received this very stigma. B. had risen through the ranks within the camp system. In Ravensbrück she was appointed “Stubenälteste” then “Blockälteste”, controlling prostitutes, then Jews, and lastly political prisoners. She was sent to Auschwitz as a “Blockälteste” in a women’s hospital block (Kłodziński 1974). Lastly, she was “Lagerälteste” in Eberswalde and again in Ravensbrück, where she operated more directly under the camp commandant.

Tactics of Resistance and Adaptation

The authorities’ assessments of the interned women appear brutal in their division between the desirable and the abominable, the pitiful and the repulsive. In a letter to SUK, the camp director at Gunnarps hemmet responds to criticism directed at the camp from the young Pole K.

K. is highly unbalanced. When reprimanded, she becomes hysterical, stamps on the floor, slaps her hand on the table and screams, so that her face turns bluish red. When she wrote the letter to the Aliens Commission, she had just had such an outburst. She had just started as a kitchen assistant, but as she gobbled from all the bowls, drank from sauce and soup bowls, and lipstick on the housewives and my own jug revealed that she had filled herself by drinking directly from our milk – I said – not the housewife, that we did not want her in the kitchen. The first time she showed her temper was at our doctor, when she refused to let him take a sample during examination. He said that she was hysterical and intellectually inferior [...] You must treat K. like the child she is, now 19 years old, she came to concentration camp at the age of 13.

K. “gobbles”, she does not eat. She “fills herself”, she does not drink. She is “hysterical” not furious or desperate, and her face is “bluish-red”. When she refuses to let the doctor take samples, she is considered intellectually inferior, “like a child”. The choice of words and tone about K. exemplify the reviews of many of the women. It is markedly dichotomous, and often infantilizing. When taboos and norms are challenged, it can arouse discomfort and disgust. What is considered deviant is culturally conditioned and changeable, but at the same time tenacious. The deviant is described as “animal”, “dirty”, and “sick” in contrast to “human”, “clean”, and “healthy”. The animal gives in to the body’s desires and cannot be restrained, as does the child in contrast to the rational adult. The honour, respectability, and well-being of women has continued to be bound to their bodies. The way in which many of the detained women were labelled is in line with how Beverly Skeggs shows how women of the working class have persistently been “othered”, sexualized, and pathologized (Skeggs 1997). As in Skeggs’s study of working-class women, the interned women’s perceived lack of, or possession of, respectability was essential, and functioned as a boundary practice.

Young K., and the other interned women were however not passively accepting their fate. Their vulnerability and stigma made them develop various tactics in opposition to, and in line with, the power structures, depending on their individual situations and assets (or, as Skeggs and Bourdieu would put it, “cultural capital”). I call their acts of resistance *intellectual*, *bodily*, and *relational*. According to Michel de Certeau, *strategies* belong to dominant places and

institutions, such as the overarching efforts of Gunnarshemmet to create predictability, to control, guide, and guard the females. *Tactics* on the other hand are individual’s creative resistance to these structures, their everyday actions, coping, and attempts to break loose from representations and restraints imposed on them by the dominant institution, no matter how futile (de Certeau 1984:36–37). Tactics have to do with hope (Buchanan 2000:86–107).

The first tactic I call *intellectual*, such as writing letters of complaints to the authorities. The reason for the defensive letter about the Polish woman K., cited above, was that she had written a complaint to SUK about how she and the other internees were treated. She wrote:

I turn to you Honourable Gentlemen, for I have some sadness. There is a Swede here who works in the kitchen, she criticizes us all and does not want to leave us alone. She punishes us with the food, and it will probably not be long before she beats me. She thinks she can do what she wants because I’m the youngest. Should she start beating me, have I not suffered enough in the camp, should I have to suffer again? [...] The one who is now here is treating us as the “Aufseherinnen” in the German camps and I have had enough of this. I have been imprisoned in camps since I was 13 years old.

By writing letters K. tried to improve the situation for herself, and for others. Her letters can be seen as traces of resilience. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that letters were read by the camp management, and therefore possibly self-censored.

The French women M. and S. opposed what they had learned was written of them in the camp reports and wrote to the French legation to get help to restore their repu-

tation. It was reported that M. had been a prostitute “of simpler kind” and had sexual relations with Germans in Ravensbrück. M. rejected this as untruthful gossip and wrote that her virtue could be validated by her relatives in France. S. had been in the French resistance as a spy. Her camp report states that she “already on the train to Ravensbrück had intercourse with three SS men in front of everyone”, and that she thereafter openly had sexual relations with the Germans in Ravensbrück. In a well-formulated letter to the French legation, S. contested these accusations. She resolutely denied any misconduct by the SS men, explaining the reason she was taken away with them to another train carrier was out of their respect for her, since she had her period. If she was raped, telling about this would not likely have benefitted her attempt to restore her respectability in the eyes of the authorities.

It seems that the tactical way to reject accusations of promiscuity was to oppose sexual experiences, rape, and other sexual abuse altogether, and send the accusations back as unfriendly gossip, resulting in a kind of self-surveillance (Skeggs 1997:72). Many survivors saw women’s sexual victimization as a stigma that needed to be concealed (Kaplan 2019:44). Survivors who wanted to talk about sexual violence were silenced after the war. These stories were too problematic and disturbing to hear, and could strike back at the victim, resulting in shaming and stigmatization; this silencing has also involved historians and museums (Summer 2009; Waxman 2009; Sinnreich 2008).

Sexual violence became a taboo subject and a stigma also in their host country, Sweden. As Skeggs puts it, sexuality was

not compatible with being feminine and respectable (1997:99, 115–116). This is also evident in the report of Gerda Kjellberg above, showing the importance of being a “virgo intacta”. The women who got the doctor to write them a certificate of being “untouched” were using the controlling practices in their favour. By having the documents translated into Polish, they strategically turned their vulnerability into a strength and performed a kind of intellectual resistance. This resistance, operating in line with the power structures, can be understood as tactic in de Certeau’s sense. But this was not always an available choice.

A tactic of more open and defiant resistance was *physical*. The most obvious was to escape the camp. Women jumped out of the window with sheets, cut the fence, escaped on the road or by train. The fence had to be fixed constantly, and extra police guards were hired to keep them in during night. A Dutch woman tried to escape using sheets but fell and hurt her back. Another was caught by her ankles while climbing the fence. Several who managed to escape came back, voluntarily or by police force. It was hard to cope outside without contacts, money, or somewhere to stay.

Other forms of bodily resistance could be refusal to eat or work, or to undergo medical examinations. For example, K.’s refusal to be examined as mentioned above. She also performed hunger strikes and tried to get others to join her. Several women tried to refuse to let doctors examine and treat them. The Dutch woman M., rescued from Ravensbrück in April, was placed in Gunnarps hemmet after various refugee camps and hospital stays. Her medical card shows that three samples to

discover venereal disease were taken on different dates, and that she received injections against syphilis. A note reveals that the treating doctor refused to give her more treatments since she was rowdy, “making a big fuss during the injections”. The bodily resistance worked. She did not get any more treatment, although that might not have favoured her situation in the long run.

There was a noticeable dualism between appraised “gratefulness” and detested “ungratefulness”. Competences and behaviours coded feminine were constantly assessed. K.’s opposition in words and bodily actions such as hunger strike, fury, and written complaints, made her ungrateful and rude in the eyes of the camp management. Playing along, looking clean and tidy, being on time, and never complaining about chores was the grateful, feminine, and hence rewarded opposite.

Unlike that of Polish K., the evaluation of former “Lagerälteste” German-Polish B.’s behaviour is benevolent, with epithets like “proper”, “tidy” and “polite”. She was punctual, considered diligent in needlework, and quick to learn at cooking. V. whom K. had recognized as Anweiserin, was assessed as “neat”, and “the most self-controlled of the Polish”, and being “able and brisk at cleaning and doing laundry”. The middle-aged German Jewish widow M. was described in a positive tone as being lively at housework and “humble”. The Czechoslovakian Jewish H. who was married but had been separated from her “Aryan” husband also had the camp manager’s liking, taking on duties of cooking, cleaning, carrying firewood, or shovelling snow without complaints. She was called “the most sensible, despite her southern temperament”, since in “con-

flicts” between Jews and non-Jews “it is often Mrs. H. who takes the first step to reconciliation. In an answer to the Control Agency about her sexual morality, due to her engagement to a Swedish man, Edin vouched for her respectability.

The assessments of the women can be understood in several ways. First, that the camp administration did not seem to take notice of their experiences of suffering in the concentration camps, nor their inter-relations, but rather, paid attention to their behaviour, and their self-control. Secondly, judging from and comparing statements about the women, their nationality or ethnicity does not seem to have been very significant; whether she was a Jew or a Catholic, Polish or Norwegian. The women receiving kinder remarks were mostly educated, somewhat older women, married or widowed. What mattered most was the degree to which they could uphold feminine competences and respectability, such as making the bed, cooking, cleaning, and display virtuous and “grateful” behaviour. The assessments affected their room for manoeuvre. Being less educated, young, and with a sexual stigma made it hard to perform the right kind of femininity, and thereby being granted leave of absence and citizenship. On their own, respectability was out of reach. These women had to deploy other tactics to improve their situation, such as bodily resistance, escaping, or the prime heterosexual signifier of respectability: engagement or marriage (Skeggs 1997:126). This tactic to resist a bleak fate could be called *relational*. Getting married to a Swedish man seems to have been a successful tactic for those who wanted to stay in Sweden, *if* they succeeded in finding a spouse, which was a precarious balancing act.

Repatriation or Citizenship, Balancing Acts

Some women pursued Swedish men by writing letters, answering contact ads, or using other ways to make contacts. The internees could only be granted leave of absence from the camp if escorted by camp staff. Their applications were mostly denied either by the camp management or by SUK. When denied, some took great risks to meet men. The fence stands out as a material punctum shared by the internees, the camp management, as well as the local men, although inscribed with different meanings: Hope, fear, lust, and risk. Drawn to the fence, men offered the women cigarettes and alcohol. Some took the opportunity when courting to escape in the night. One Dutch woman even managed a rendezvous with a soldier on the other side of the fence. By lying on either side of a hole and pressing their bodies towards one another, they had an intimate moment. The judgement on her after the event is harsh. The camp report states she: “seemed partly like a child but ran over logs and rocks when she saw a male individual.”

One might ask why they took these risks to meet men. In the eyes of the authorities such behaviour was a proof of the low morals. It was a hard balancing act to find opportunities to meet a man to marry without losing respectability. Some succeeded, many did not. They met men, sometimes had sex, but failed to get a marriage proposal. At other times their marriage was hindered by the SUK. Merely being a repatriate meant being considered “morally risky”, and the ability to adjust to Swedish society was doubted. A common view was that the concentration camp captivity had “morally corrupted” them. A Swedish



2. Hidden in a grove are remains of what locals call “the whore steps”. That is where the women could meet up with Swedish men. At the top of the steps was the main road, hidden from the house and making the men invisible. Photo: Britta Geschwind.

newspaper article about repatriates getting work, claimed that their inability to adjust was not only due to physical and psychological weakness, but also to “moral factors”. “Especially regarding the vast number of young women among the repatriates, the risk of placing them in work is obvious.” For the interned the stakes were even higher, being not only repatriates but also carrying the stigma of sexual deviance.

I suggest that seizing the moment by getting the attention of men was a logical tactic to gain freedom and for some the last remaining chance to earn citizenship in the host country. Marriage to a Swedish man automatically gave a woman Swedish citi-

zenship. The only way to get rid of the stigma was, for some, to risk enhancing it. The government promise that no Polish refugee would be forced to go back if they did not want to do so was in fact conditional. Some “unwanted” refugees who were forcibly taken to the ferry back to Poland tried to escape by jumping off it as it left the docks (Bogatic 2011:185).

Young K. did not want to go back to Poland. Her parents and siblings had all been imprisoned in concentration camps and not heard from since. Her right knee was unusable due to a bombing. It was however decided that she was to be expelled from the country. Her appeals to the foreign committee were not heard. The camp director had advised SUK not to take her pleas into consideration. K. also wrote to the National Medical Board asking for consent to stay to get help with her knee. The camp director Anna Edin then sent a letter herself, stressing the doctor’s opinion that nothing could be done about the knee, “in the event that she should raise the issue again in order to stay in Sweden”. Her opinion was that K. would not fit into the society, and that the best place “for the poor girl would be a reformatory”. K. also tried to find a Swedish man, with no luck. Like K., the Polish-German B. did not want to go back to Poland either. She was granted permission for her engagement with a Swedish man, but after interventions from the man’s brother, opposing it to SUK, it was revoked. The brother stated that B. had manipulated his “simple-minded” brother into marriage to gain citizenship, and that he had no means to support a wife. The authorities concurred. Pleas from the spouse-to-be did not help. Nor did the help of camp manager Edin, testifying be-

fore the Foreign Committee about her high morality. B. was to be deported for her acts of cruelty in the Nazi concentration camps. The two women whom K. had accused of brutality in Ravensbrück were to be deported too. So was K. The four women were scheduled to be deported on the same transport. The camp director opposed this, but not out of concern for K.

For the 3 other Polish women, I ask that, if possible, K. is not sent with the same transport as them, as she will most certainly tell everyone on the ship the accusations against the three. She was (underlined) one of those who exposed 2 of them so that they were detained here, and for every new one who comes here, she willingly tells about it. The 3 Polish women humbly ask to avoid having her as a travel companion, if they must travel back to Poland.

Edin acted according to her view that the detention of the former camp overseers was a protection from hate and retributions from other survivors. K. was deported on 13 May, the others on 6 May 1946.

Although marriage could be a successful tactic to gain citizenship, it did not always come easy, or without sacrifices. This can be exemplified with the words of two well-educated Polish Catholic survivors who succeeded in obtaining Swedish citizenship. They were not among those detained but shared their experiences of concentration camps and transport to Sweden.

G. had dreamt of being a cosmetologist, a career for which she had studied in Poland. She had been captured during the Warsaw uprising in 1944 after witnessing rapes and herself being subjected to violence and attempted rape. Soon after her rescue from Bergen-Belsen, she married a Swedish man and became a mother and

housewife. G. could not pursue her career in cosmetology in Sweden since she had lost all her papers, and her husband did not want her to work.

I am free since I married. First and foremost, that. He did not want me to work. And it was what it was. Then I had it relatively good. He did as well as he...he worked in three places, just so that I could relax. I should be free. I should be able to live like a normal person.

The intimacy of marriage was psychologically demanding. G. had a tough time getting pregnant, “the poison was in me”, she said. Asked about her feelings when meeting her husband, she replied: “I was very cold, and it was a pity for him, and he asked me to get used to it.” But with her new life, she explained, she got to go to Poland and visit her closest ones, friends from college.

L. had been a Red Cross Nurse in Poland and was imprisoned in Ravensbrück from 1940 until her rescue. She met her Swedish husband, a businessman, at a dinner.

He liked me and asked me if I wanted to be his wife. I laughed. He was older than me. So, I told the superintendent at the children’s hospital [her workplace] and she said, “L., you shouldn’t think about the fact that he is older. You should think that you will get a home, a husband. You can’t always live here. You’re getting older. You should take him with all your arms [sic] and say yes.”

L. also had problems getting pregnant. When struggling she had thought: “they fixed me, the Germans, they injured me in one of the many inspections in the concentration camp.” But eventually she had two boys whom she raised on her own when her old husband died.

Conclusions

By following the internees, we have gained insight into how the female survivor was constructed as a social category formed by views on gender, sexuality, class, age, and ethnicity. By relating the official authorities’ statements to women’s dossiers and letters, the view of “right” and “wrong” female behaviour has emerged. The qualities considered desirable were juxtaposed with what was classified as the unwanted. It has shed light on tactics the women could develop to improve their situation: intellectual, bodily, and relational. The tactics depended on the degree to which a woman could pass as feminine and respectable. We have also seen how the humiliations from the concentration camps could follow the women to Sweden. This affected both how they were viewed by the authorities and how they reacted to the reception practices and categorizations. Their experiences of trauma are vital in understanding their possibilities to adjust, to “pass” as respectable females, and to gain Swedish citizenship.

Gunnarps hemmet is on the one hand remarkable, on the other it has similarities to other kinds of institutions for “deviant” women in Scandinavia. The gendered praxis – the care, segregation and ordering of bodies and spaces – needs to be understood in relation to the care and control of the emerging welfare state. Gunnarps hemmet is a kind of litmus test for how gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity formed women’s lives in Sweden at this time. But these women faced even greater challenges to prove themselves as “good” and respectable women, being repatriated and some also carrying the stigma of “asocial” from the Nazi classification system with them. The control and concern for general health

and sexual morals simultaneously served as tools in controlling the female reproductive body, and especially the foreign and deviant body. Although with vastly diverse consequences, the underlying ideas on which the controlling practices built, were closely related in Sweden and Nazi Germany.

Britta Zetterström-Geschwind

Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences

Ethnology

Postbox 192

SE-221 00 Lund

email: britta.geschwind@kultur.lu.se

Notes

- 1 Previously the villa had functioned as an orphanage for 24 Jewish refugee children who had come to Sweden with the rescue operation “Kindertransport”. In an advertisement from the Jewish congregation to sell the property, it is described as “well suited for holiday-home or orphanage” (*Judisk krönika*, sept. 1943 no. 7, p. 102).
- 2 *Malmö Museer*, Berndt Jonsson’s collection, Photo BJ 001101.
- 3 National Archives (Sw. Riksarkivet, RA), World War II Camp archives (Sw. Andra världskrigets lägerarkiv), Gunnarpshemmet, correspondence, vol. 4.
- 4 The diverse group were given various descriptions: refugees, foreigners, repatriandi, and the rescued of 1945. I use the term detainees when I talk of all the women who were incarcerated. When talking of the former Nazi concentration camp prisoners I refer to them as repatriates when discussing the perspective of the authorities, and as survivors when discussing the Jewish as well as non-Jewish individuals. They might also be called displaced persons, but this term was not commonly used in Sweden at that time.
- 5 Skeggs’s work focuses on respectability linked to gender, sexuality, and the working class, but her theoretical framework, expanding on Bourdieu’s thinking about cultural and symbolic capital, is applicable to other power relations for example, ethnicity, nationality, civil status, and age.
- 6 Sw. Statens utlänningskommission (SUK)
- 7 Sw. Andra världskrigets lägerarkiv (SUKL).
- 8 Sw. Riksarkivet (RA).
- 9 Also called the Tjörnarps detention camp.
- 10 Sw. Sociala byrån.
- 11 Sw. Medicinalstyrelsen.
- 12 Sw. Kontrollbyrån.
- 13 Sw. Polska Källinstitutet i Lund, Pol. “Polski Instytut Zrodlowy w Lund”. The PIZ witness collection *Witnessing Genocide* in the Library of Lund University (LUB) has been digitized and to a large extent translated into English. Thanks to Tomasz Lesniak at the department of collections at LUB for swift help with speeding up the translation of the document in question. There are several works on PIZ, its leader Zygmunt Łakociński (1905–1987), and the team of survivors collecting the 514 in-depth interviews mostly in 1945–46 (e.g. Dahl 2021, 2011, 2007; Martinez 2021a, b; Rudny 2005).
- 14 For an overview of Swedish refugee policy, see Byström 2012; Byström & Frohnert 2013; Åmark 2011.
- 15 Copy with “Gunnarpshemmet” written on it. Regulations (Reglemente) concerning detention camps, signed Gustav Möller. SUKL, Gunnarpshemmet, vol. 4. See also SUK, the Social Bureau A1:2. Protocol stating that the regulations should also apply to Gunnarpshemmet.
- 16 RA, SUKL, Gunnarpshemmet, vols. 1–5.
- 17 Barthes’ analysis is about photographs, but as argued by the ethnologist Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, the concept can be applied to material objects.
- 18 Several interviews in the Ravensbrück archive at Kulturen refer to the feelings of fear of the washing and delousing procedures and fenced camps. See also a quotation from Livia Fränkel’s diary about coming to a barbed wired Swedish camp quoted in the exhibition “Speaking Memories, the Last Witness of the

- Holocaust” at the Swedish History Museum (cited in Geschwind 2020:150).
- 19 The number differ between sources, stating 25,000–31,000 people.
 - 20 This was the case also with other kinds of detained “deviant” women at this time, deemed “asocial” and “imbecile” at mental institutions such as Västra Mark as described by Kristina Engwall. While reading her thesis, as well as Lars-Eric Jönsson’s (1998) thesis about other mental institutions, I could see parallels to the women at Gunnarps hemmet regarding Swedish sexual policy.
 - 21 Danish and Norwegian women who had been with Germans became victims of extensive hate, violent “street justice”, and subjected to social stigma and humiliations, as were their children.
 - 22 LUB, PIZ, Witnessing genocide, Witness record 232, Lund University Library (LUB).
 - 23 RA, SUKL, Ronneby Brunn, vol. 1., SUKL Gunnarps hemmet, vol. 3.
 - 24 There were also children. Most died of starvation, neglect, or were killed, although mothers and other prisoners did what they could to keep them alive. There was also a smaller, separate camp for men who conducted construction works, and a youth camp (Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Ravensbrück memorial website).
 - 25 The “bunker” was the dreaded punishment block, where prisoners were isolated and tortured.
 - 26 Poems and art circulated and were vital for resilience, resistance, and keeping hope. Objects in the collections of LUB, and in the Ravensbrück collection of Kulturen in Lund, need to be researched and translated with more interest and regarding their materiality, methodologically and analytically, something I hope to explore further.
 - 27 Sas-Hoszowska gave the rabbit as a gift to Ludwika Broel Plater 1944 (1885–1972), later one of the most devoted survivors working for PIZ. Sas-Hoszowska has left a witness record in the online witness database “39–45, chronicles of terror”, Witold Pilecki Institute of Solidarity and Valor. Archive provider, Institute of National Remembrance.
 - 28 Concentration camps used for medical experiments had different “specialities”, Ravensbrück’s being limbs.
 - 29 Most survived but were crippled for life. See the testimonies of Zofia Sokulska and Maria Broel-Plate at the Nuremberg trials (transcripts 920, 811), available at the Nuremberg project at Harvard University Library. See also Cousins 1959.
 - 30 There were also other atrocities within the hospital block, inflicted on women of various backgrounds: amputation, sterilisation, and abortion.
 - 31 This dread was described by a Ravensbrück survivor interviewed in the 1990s: “It was hell. One lived under constant threat; would one be taken out for these medical experiments? Would they come and pick you out?” The interviewee explains they picked the girls out at night, and that they choose healthy Polish girls from Lublin (Kulturen, Ravensbrück archives, interview CCIX:1, 6).
 - 32 This categorization was arbitrary. It could be enough to be found in the wrong place at the wrong time to be deemed a prostitute. Similarly, “criminal” could mean someone who had broken Nazi laws.
 - 33 Translated from Swedish by the author.
 - 34 A., like many other witnesses’, points out which prisoner functionaries and guards were cruel, and which were gentler.
 - 35 Letter from Karin Axell to central curator Rina Branting, RA, SUKL, Frostavallen 1943–1946, vol. 2.
 - 36 LUB, PIZ, Witnessing Genocide, Witness Testimony 232, 1946.
 - 37 See also Kulturen, Ravensbrück archive, interviews no. CCIX:1,25, p. 4, CCIX:1,18, pp.14–15, CCIX:1,23, p. 6.
 - 38 Kjellberg was one of Sweden’s first female doctors. She was committed to the right to sexual education and had a long career working against prostitution and venereal diseases

- (RA, The Dictionary of Swedish National Biography, "Gerda Kjellberg", Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, accessed 14 December 2021).
- 39 Report, Gerda Kjellberg "Angående vissa flyktingläger för kvinnor" September 1945. SUK, SoS, the National Medical Board 8, Investigations (Utredningar).
- 40 PM 24/8 to Axel Höjer, SUK, the Social Bureau (Sociala Byrån) b2:1.
- 41 The doctor stated that the incident was due to stress, since he had only two hours to take 50 gynaecological samples and send them to the bacteriology department in Lund for cultivation (the National Medicinal Board, the Director General, incoming letters (Generaldirektören, inkommande brev, 1945-46, E 2:1.).
- 42 RA, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 5.
- 43 Camp report signed Anna Edin, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 2.
- 44 Letter signed Sten Jornäs, 2 February 1946, to SUK Notarie Senning, on the topic of having K. transferred. Copy in SUKL Gunnarshemmet, vol. 3.
- 45 Antagonism between refugees was widespread in the Swedish refugee camps, not least due to anti-Semitism (Kvist Geverts 2008; Gottfarb 2006; Olsson 1995:112; Giloh 2016).
- 46 Several witness records kept at the PIZ archive at LUB attest to brutal acts and deadly abuse carried out by her hand (LUB, PIZ, witness testimonies 47,77, 173). B. had lived most of her time in Germany and spoke German fluently. Her father had managed to get a certificate as "Volksdeutsche" (ethnic German), but not the mother. Some survivors witnessed that B. had a red triangle with a P., but that she had also worn the triangle without the P., marking her as "Volksdeutsche".
- 47 RA, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vols. 1, 2, Dossier of B., SUK, the Control Agency, H1.
- 48 Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, I have chosen to anonymize all internees at Gunnarshemmet. The opposite approach is taken for individuals who have chosen to witness in the media to make their story heard, and anonymization would work against that.
- State officials and professionals acting within the camp organization appear under their own name since their statements were made as part of their professional role, not as individuals.
- 49 My translation from Swedish. Letter to SUK from the camp director. RA, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet Vol. 2
- 50 SUK, Kanslibyrån, vol. F1 AC:12095.
- 51 Thanks to Florence Fröhlig for the translation from French. RA, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 3.
- 52 SUK, Andra världskrigets lägerarkiv (SUKL), Gunnarshemmet, vol. 2.
- 53 Gunnarshemmet protokoll 26 November 1945.
- 54 Sven Laurell at the Control Agency had asked Edin about the (questioned) sincerity of the relationship between H. and a Swedish man she was engaged to. Edin wrote that she could vouch for H.'s respectability since she had controlled the correspondence between H. and her fiancé. RA, SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 3.
- 55 Most of the female survivors interviewed in the late 1990s married Swedish men shortly after their arrival (Kulturen, the Ravensbrück archive).
- 56 Report signed A. Edin to Sam Ahlford, the Control Agency (Kontrollbyrå) SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 2.
- 57 Report signed A. Edin to SUK. SUKL, Gunnarshemmet, vol. 1.
- 58 *Expressen*, 10 August 1945. Delikat "omskolning": Konzentrationslägerfångarna får gå ut i förvärvsarbetet ("Delicate" retraining, Concentration Camp prisoners may go to gainful work.) The Royal Library (Kungliga biblioteket) KB, News archives, search terms: "repatriandi" and "concentration camp."
- 59 Interview CCIX:1,32, p. 15, Kulturen, Ravensbrück archives.
- 60 Interview CCX1:1,23, Kulturen, Ravensbrück archives.

References

Archives

Kulturen in Lund, Ravensbrück collection and archive. Transcribed interview collection with former concentration camp prisoners, Swedish Red Cross personnel, and aid workers. Interviewer, Anita Marcus.

Lund University Library (LUB), The Polish Research Institute in Lund (PIZ), *Witnessing Genocide*: <http://www.uu.se/hitta/digitala-samlingar/witnessinggenocide/witness-testimonies>.

Malmö Museer, Berndt Jonsson's collection.

National Archives, Riksarkivet (RA)

Statens Utlänningskommission (SUK):

World War II camp archives, (Andra världskrigets lägerarkiv): Gunnarshemmet, Frostavallen, and Ronneby Brunn

The Social Bureau (Sociala byrån)

The National Medicinal Board (Medicinalstyrelsen)

The Control Agency (Kontrollbyrån).

Web sources

“39–45, chronicles of terror”, Witold Pilecki Institute of Solidarity and Valor. Archive resources provider: Institute of National Remembrance. 2021. <https://www.zapisyterroru.pl/dlibra>. Accessed 15 December 2021.

Mahn und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten. (Ravensbrück memorial site). <https://www.ravensbrueck-sbg.de/en/history/1939-1945/>. Accessed 20 December 2021.

Nuremberg Trials Project. Archive resources provider: Harvard Law School Library. <http://nuremberg.law.harvard.edu/>. Accessed 18 February 2022.

Riksarkivet, The Dictionary of Swedish National Biography. *Gerda E Kjellberg*, urn:sbl:11527, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (Britta Collinder). Accessed 14 December 2021.

Unpublished

Grahn, Susanne 2012: Smedsbo interneringsläger. En sluten disciplinförläggning för flykting-

ar i Sverige under andra världskriget. H.L.K. Bachelor thesis, School of Education and Communication, Jönköping University.

Pedersen, Terje A. 2006: Tyskerjenter i Norge Reaksjoner og klippeaksjoner, 1940–1946. Master's thesis in history, Oslo University.

Literature

Åmark, Klas 2011: *Att bo granne med ondskan. Sveriges förhållande till nazismen, Nazityskland och förintelsen*. Stockholm: Bonnier.

Åmark, Klas 2013: Sweden and the Refugees, 1933–1945. In *Reaching a State of Hope. Refugees, Immigrants and the Swedish Welfare State, 1930–2000*, ed. Mikael Byström & Pär Frohnert, pp. 39–53. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Andersson, Lars M. & Karin Kvist Geverts (eds.) 2008: *En problematisk relation? Flyktingpolitik och judiska flyktingar i Sverige 1920–1950*. Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala University.

Barthes, Roland 1982: *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Berglund, Tobias 2008: Slutna utlänningsläger för civila i Sverige under andra världskriget. Ett systemperspektiv i en omvärldskontext. In *En problematisk relation? Flyktingpolitik och judiska flyktingar i Sverige 1920–1950*, ed. Lars M. Andersson & Karin Kvist Geverts. Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala University.

Berglund, Tobias & Niclas Sennerteg 2008: *Svenska koncentrationsläger i Tredje rikets skugga*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Bergquist, Magnus, Birgitta Svensson & Anna Maria Claesson (eds.) 1999: *Metod och minne. Etnologiska tolkningar och rekonstruktioner*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Beßmann, Alyn & Insa Eschebach 2013: *Das Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück. Geschichte und Erinnerung*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag.

Blom, Ida 2006: Fighting Venereal Diseases. Scandinavian Legislation c.1800 to c.1950. *Medical History*, 2006, 50:209–234.

Bogatic, Wirginia 2011: *Exilens dilemma. Att stanna eller att återvända, beslut i Sverige av polska*

- kvinnor som överlevde KZ-lägret Ravensbrück och räddades till Sverige 1945–1947*. Linnaeus University, Växjö: Linnaeus University Press.
- Buchanan, Ian 2000: Strategy and Tactics. In *Michel de Certeau. Cultural Theorist*, ed. Ian Buchanan, pp. 86–107. London: Sage.
- Byström, Mikael 2006: *En broder, gäst och parasit. Uppfattningar och föreställningar om utläningar, flyktingar och flyktingpolitik i svensk offentlig debatt 1942–1947*. Stockholm University, Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.
- Byström, Mikael 2012: *Utmaningen. Den svenska välfärdsstatens möte med flyktingar i andra världskrigets tid*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Caplan, Jane 2010: Gender and the concentration camp. In *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany*, ed. Jane Caplan & Nikolaus Wachsmann. New York: Routledge.
- Certeau, Michel de 1984: *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cousins, Norman 1959: The Ladies Depart, *Friends Journal* 5(28): 441–444. Accessible online: <http://www.friendsjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/remember/downloads/1959/HC12-50201.pdf>
- Dahl, Izabela A. 2007: "...this is material arousing interest in common history": Zygmunt Łakociński and Polish Survivors' Protocols. *Jewish History Quarterly* 223(3):319–338.
- Dahl, Izabela A. 2011: Collective Memory and National Identity Construction. Polish Survivors' Records in Sweden. In *Landscapes after Battle. Justice, Politics and Memory in Europe after the Second World War*, ed. David Cesarini, Suzanne Bardgett, Jessica Reinisch & Dieter Steinert, pp. 169–186. London & Portland: Vallentine-Mitchell Publishers.
- Dahl, Izabela A. 2021: Witnessing the Holocaust. Jewish Experiences and the Collection of the Polish Source Institute in Lund. In *Early Holocaust Memory in Sweden. Archives, Testimonies and Reflections*, ed. Johannes Heuman & Pontus Rudberg, pp. 67–91. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Delikat "omskolning": Koncentrationslägerfångarna får gå ut i förvärsarbetet. *Expressen*, 10 August 1945.
- Docking, Kate 2021: Gender, Recruitment and Medicine at Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, 1939–1942 *German History* 39(3):419–441.
- Eivergård, Mikael, Olofsson, Veronica & Vallström, Maria 2012: *På anstalt. Andra minnen av det moderna*. Östersund: Jamtli förlag.
- Engwall, Kristina 2000: "Asociala och imbecilla". *Kvinnorna på Västra Mark 1931–1967*. Örebro: Örebro University.
- Geschwind, Britta 2020: Spår efter ett svenskt flyktingläger. *Kulturarv i förändring*, ed. Lizette Gradén & Tom O'Dell. Lund: Sudentlitteratur.
- Giloh, Mordechai 2016: Splittringen mellan polska judiska och icke-judiska överlevande från koncentrationsläger. Det svenska samhällets reaktioner våren och sommaren 1945. *Nordisk judaistik/Scandinavian Jewish Studies* 27:24–42.
- Goffman, Erving 1991: *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gottfarb, Inga 2006: *Den livsfarliga glömskan*. Stockholm: Langenskiöld.
- Gustafsson Reinius, Lotten 2008: Elden eller evigheten? Materiella punctum i svenska museisamlingar från Kongostaten. *Tidsskrift för kulturforskning* 7(4):23–44.
- Hallberg, Lars 2017: *Källor till invandringens historia 1840–2000*, Revised and expanded second edition, Stockholm: Riksarkivet.
- Hammare, Christer 2012: *Svartjärn – Ingels: ett svenskt koncentrationsläger? eller – ett skogshuggarläger med en skiftande historia i tre dramatiska akter på 1940-talet!* Ingels: Christer Hammare.
- Helm, Sarah 2015: *If This Is a Woman. Inside Ravensbrück: Hitler's Concentration Camp for Women*. London: Little, Brown.
- Idvall, Markus & Fredrik Nilsson 2017: "Man bör ha en medicinsk spår". En studie av kulturellt gränsarbete. *Gränslös. Tidskrift för studier av Öresundsregionens historia, kultur och samhällsliv* 8:23–35.

- Johannisson, Karin 1990: *Medicinens öga. Sjukdom, medicin och samhälle – historiska erfarenheter*. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Johansson, Jesper 2004: *Vägershult. En disciplin-förläggning för flyktingar i Sverige under andra världskriget*. Växjö: Svenska emigrantinstitutet.
- Jönsson, Lars-Eric & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.) 2017: *Kulturhistoria. En etnologisk metodbok*. Lund: Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper, Lund University.
- Jönsson, Lars-Eric 1998: *Det terapeutiska rummet. Rum och kropp i svensk sinnessjukvård 1850–1970*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Judisk krönika. Organ för Skandinavisk-judiska ungdomsförbundet*. 1943. Year 12, vol. 7, September 1943.
- Kaplan, Marion 2019: Did Gender Matter during the Holocaust? *Jewish Social Studies* 24(2):37–56.
- Kłodziński, Stanislaw 1974: Jadwiga Dąbrowska-Belońska. Kaperka, M., trans. *Medical Review – Auschwitz*. 14 December 2020. Originally published in *Przegląd Lekarski – Oświęcim* 1974:232–237.
- Koblik, Steven 1987: "Om vi teg, skulle stenarna ropa", *Sverige och judeproblemet 1933–1945*, Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Krakowska-Löwegren, Maria 1946: Fasorna i Ravensbrück. *Svensk tidskrift*, 31 December 1946, pp. 164–176.
- Lennartsson, Rebecka 2001: *Malaria urbana. Om byråfflickan Anna Johannesdotter och prostitutionen i Stockholm kring 1900*. Stehag: Symposion.
- Lennartsson, Rebecka 2014: Arkivetnografi eller Reflektioner över en tappad biljett. *Kulturella perspektiv* 3:8–19.
- Lihammer, Anna 2006: *Krampen – ett interneringsläger från 1940-talet. Historisk arkeologi inom projektet "Interneringsläger för Sovjetryssar i Skinnskatteberg – en glömd del av världskriget"*, RAÄ 121, Aspänge 2:1, Heds socken, Skinnskattebergs kommun, Västmanland, Västerås: Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård Mälardalen.
- Lindner, Jörg 1994: Att röka på förbjuden plats kostar en månads fickpengar. Svenska interneringsläger under andra världskriget: diskriminering, degradering och disciplinering. *Arbetshistoria* 18(1):3–13.
- Lomfors, Ingrid 2005: *Blind fläck. Minne och glömska kring svenska Röda Korsets hjälpsats i Nazityskland 1945*. Stockholm: Atlantis.
- Lundberg, Anna 2008: *Läkarnas blanka vapen. Svensk smittskyddslagstiftning i historiskt perspektiv*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Lundgren, Hans 2008: *Krampen. Ryssläger i Sverige under andra världskriget*. Västerås: Västmanlands läns museum.
- Martinez, Victoria Van Orden 2021a: Witnessing against a Divide? An Analysis of Early Holocaust Testimonies Constructed in Interviews between Jewish and Non-Jewish Poles. *Holocaust Studies* 1–23. Accessible online: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-179493>.
- Martinez, Victoria Van Orden 2021b: Survivor-Refugee Humanitarianism. A New Perspective of Second World War Humanitarianism in Sweden. Conference paper, "Women and humanitarian aid – a historicizing perspective", 13–15 October. Linköping: Faculty of Arts and Sciences.
- Martinez, Victoria Van Orden 2017: History Dies Deep in the Woods. The Forgotten Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors in the Forests of Småland. *The Local Sweden*, 4 July 2017. Accessible online: <https://www.thelocal.se/20170704/history-dies-deep-in-the-woods-the-forgotten-nazi-concentration-camp-survivors-in-the-forests-of-smaland-sweden/>
- Massey, Doreen 1994: *Space, Place and Gender*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Montesino, Norma & Malin Thor 2009: Migration och folkhälsa. Hälsovårdspolitiska bedömningar i den svenska flyktingmottagningen under 1940-talets första hälft. *Historisk Tidskrift* 129:1.
- Nilsson, Fredrik, & Marcus Idvall 2018: "Där den stora uppsorteringen börjar". Om nationsgränser och nationella reningsriter. *Laboratorium*

- för folk och kultur 2. Accessible online: <https://bragelaboratorium.com/2018/04/21/dar-den-stora-uppsorteringen-borjar-om-nationsgranser-och-nationella-reningsriter/>
- Olsen, Kåre 1998: *Krigens barn. De norske krigsbarna og deres mødre*. Oslo: Forum Aschehoug.
- Olsson, Lars 1995: *På tröskeln till folkhemmet. Baltiska flyktingar och polska koncentrationslägerfångar som reservarbetskraft i skånskt jordbruk kring slutet av andra världskriget*. Lund: Morgonrodnad.
- Papendorf, Knut 2017: Accused of Being “German Whores”. The Internment of the So-Called “German Girls”. In *Women in War. Examples from Norway and Beyond*, ed. Kjersti Ericsson, pp. [187]–200. London: Routledge.
- Person, Katarzyna 2015: Sexual Violence during the Holocaust. The Case of Forced Prostitution in the Warsaw Ghetto. *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 33(2).
- Persson, Maria (ed.) 2011: Skatås. *Utgrävningen av en minneslucka*. Lindome: Bricoleur press.
- Rehn, Siv 2002: *Internerad i norra Sverige. Krigsmaktens och Utlänningskommissionens interneringsläger i Norr- och Västerbotten under åren 1940–1945*. Stockholm: Probus.
- Rudberg, Pontus 2017: “Allt är harmoni”. Om tillvaron på Stigbo, ett hem för Judiska flyktingbarn år 1939. In *Tillfälliga stockholmare. Människor och möten under 600 år*, ed. Anna Götlund & Marko Lamberg. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag.
- Rudny, Paul 2005: *Polски Instytut Żródlowy w Lund (PIZ), (Polska Källinstitutet i Lund). En presentation av arkivet*. Lund: Lund University Library.
- Rydén, Johanna Bergqvist 2018: When Bereaved of Everything. Objects from the Concentration Camp of Ravensbrück as Expressions of Resistance, Memory, and Identity. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22: 511–530.
- Rydén, Reine & Tobias Berglund 2018: Gallringen av Statens utlänningskommissionens lägerarkiv. *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning* 2:48–75.
- Sinnreich, Helene 2008: ‘And it was something we didn’t talk about’. Rape of Jewish Women during the Holocaust. *Holocaust Studies* 14(2):1–22.
- Skeggs, Beverley 1997: *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming Respectable*. London: Sage.
- Sommer, Robert 2009: *Das KZ-Bordell: sexuelle Zwangsarbeit in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern*. Berlin: Humboldt – Universität.
- Sommer, Robert 2021: Forced Prostitution in National Socialist Concentration Camps – The Example of Auschwitz. In *Forced Prostitution in Times of War and Peace*, ed. Barbara Drinck & Chung Noh Gross. Bielefeld: Kleine Verlag.
- SOU 1945:1, 1943 års utlännings-sakkunniga (1945) *Betänkande med förslag till utlänningslag och lag angående omhändertagande av utlänning i anstalt eller förläggning*. Justitiedepartementet. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Svensson, Birgitta 1993: *Bortom all ära och redlighet. Tattarnas spel med rättvisan*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag.
- Thor Tureby, Malin 2005: *Hechaluz – en rörelse i tid och rum: tysk-judiska ungdomars exil i Sverige 1933–1943*. Växjö: Växjö University.
- Thor Tureby, Malin 2015: Svenska änglar och hyenor möter tacksamma flyktingar. Mottagningen av befriade koncentrationslägerfångar i skånsk press under året 1945. *Historisk tidskrift* 2:266–300.
- Vallström, Maria & Lennartsson, Rebecka 2014: Etnologin och det förflutna. Plocka russen ur kakan eller missa Jesusbarnet i krubban? *Kulturella perspektiv* 3:2–7.
- Wagrell, Kristin 2020: “Chorus of the Saved”. *Constructing the Holocaust Survivor in Swedish Public Discourse, 1943–1966*. Linköping: Linköping University. Accessible online: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-163514>.
- Warring, Anette 1994: *Tyskerpiger: Under besættelse og retsopgør*. Roskilde: Roskilde University.
- Waxman, Zoë 2009: *Testimony and Silence: Sexual Violence and the Holocaust*. London: Routledge.

Let's Stick Together – Notes and Thoughts from Fieldwork

An Autoethnographic Account of Method, Shame, and Laughter

By Maria Bäckman

The background to this article is an ongoing study of the white stick, its materiality and consequences, with the purpose of reaching an understanding of visually impaired people's position in society. Many people have an ambivalent attitude towards the stick despite it being an excellent tool that facilitates orientation and mobility. Besides increasing the understanding of the cultural dynamics of the stick, the article also has an intradisciplinary aim. Since I, like my informants, have a visual impairment that started in adulthood, the study is clearly influenced by autoethnographic methodology, but not exclusively so.¹ The text is therefore also formulated as a methodological reflection of the autoethnographic approach and its implications for my own gathering of knowledge. Hereby, an additional aim of the article is to contribute to the ongoing discussion about the benefits, as well as the potential pitfalls, that occur when researchers let themselves be inspired by autoethnographic methods.

Even at an early stage of my own rehabilitation, I started to keep an account of events as if in a field diary. To begin with, there was no underlying research motive, but over the course of time the object of writing became more focused on my own experiences of the new way of life. Extracts from this diary, which have been revised as to language, will guide the reader throughout this exposition. To be able to demonstrate the sense of discomfort sometimes evoked by the stick, and my own method for studying and analysing these ambiguous feelings, two recurring points in my empirical material are particularly highlighted here. One part includes the strong feelings of shame that the stick risks evoking during use. The other is laughing

practices included in the setting of the field in various ways.

The persistent focus on the white stick helps illuminate how individual choices and experiences are constantly related to the surrounding society. In line with other findings in the vast field of critical disability studies I want to emphasize the aid as a device that cannot be isolated from norms concerning physical abilities that create normality and deviation, nor from associated values and hierarchies (Shakespeare 2000; Sandahl & Auslander 2005; McRuer 2006; Hughes 2007; Rydström 2012; Shildrick 2020). When individual users of the white stick describe their relation to the aid, this illustrates how both cultural and social norms, as well as impediments of a more structural character, affect the everyday life of visually impaired people. In particular my discussion of these issues is informed by the notion of ableism, as an equivalent to more well-known concepts like racism and sexism (McRuer 2006; Campbell 2009; Harpur 2009; see also Grue 2019; Bylund 2022). From such a perspective the so-called disability arises when somebody with other abilities encounters a world that was designed to suit physically able-bodied people. There and then, the person with a physical impairment is literally disabled in their interaction with the surrounding world.

My Stick and I

Today I have decided to use my stick. I'll choose the more discreet symbol cane instead of the longer mobility cane. I tell myself that it is only for going to work, the shorter cane will do. I take (rather seriously) a deep breath and leave the house, brace myself, and start the walk to the bus

stop. It's crowded with people who will see me approaching. I therefore choose a different way than I usually go. It's a detour but it means that I can approach the bus stop from behind. I think maybe many of my neighbours are there and I might not notice them, and I don't want them to see me. With the stick. When I get to the long queue that formed when the bus came in, I realize the detour did not help. They have already seen me, and have reacted. All the people in the queue step aside and let me onto the bus first. My stomach turns but I walk past the queue, I don't want to be impolite. I gaze unseeingly, stoop and lower my head when I go past. Why can't I keep my back straight when I am "blind"? I quickly walk to the back of the bus and sit down. I hurriedly fold up my stick and put earphones in my ears. I try to disappear into my audio book and not notice my surroundings.

Since I live in the same kind of life-world as many of my visually impaired informants, the situation described above is an example of experiences that occur whether I like it or not. At the same time, the personal background means that I have gathered my own experiences [first hand-observations] of what is involved in using a white stick in public. As a researcher, when I position myself in a field where I partly share experiences with several participants in the study, this brings into focus a sensitive balancing act between empirical closeness and analytical distance. From that perspective, my own experiences may be both a resource and an encumbrance (Davies 2008; Farahani 2010; Adams et al. 2015).

This on-the-spot account of my bus trip clarifies one of the keys to the study. When I undertake the discussion about the abili-

ty of the white stick to alternately facilitate and complicate matters for persons with impaired sight in coping with their being-in-the-world, this is a discussion immediately related to myself. Questions and formulations of problems are partly based on my own life as a visually impaired person.

This also applies to my concrete approach as a researcher to the field. I have often let my own experiences of rehabilitation and use of the stick guide me in the work with my main material: a six-year ethnographic study, carried out with some longer and shorter interruptions at Stockholm Sight Centre. As a user, I have participated during my, still ongoing, rehabilitation in several activities offered to individuals and groups at the centre. As a researcher, I have interviewed other users and a number of professionals at the centre. In my role as a researcher, I have recurrently carried out observations of various activities without being a participant myself.²

What does the above-mentioned formulation that this text "is immediately related to myself" actually mean? Further, as researchers, how can we use such a literally self-reflecting, self-referential, and subjective method in a meaningful way in our own research practices? Without any claims to being complete, or providing any definite answers, I intend to use my current research on the white stick to illuminate and discuss the uses of the autoethnographic approach to the field. But to begin with, to outline the method, a few introductory words would be in place.

Why Autoethnography?

Recently, it has become more common for qualitative research to apply a method characterized as autoethnographic. It is more

usual to integrate the researcher's own self into the analyses, not least among those who are interested in processes of subordination and marginalization (Ellis 1999; Khosravi 2010; Kafer 2013; Denzin 2014). Nonetheless, how should we actually understand the concept of autoethnography? The ethnologist Britta Lundgren (2020) has written a lengthy retrospective account of her own career; what it was like to pursue a career as a woman and find one's place in the academic world. She takes the reader back to her childhood and adolescent years; the account thereby develops into a discussion of how class- and gender-related conditions, in combination, contributed to shape both herself as a person and her future choices. As she herself states, it is an autoethnographic text. Lundgren uses her own experiences to illuminate and reflect on structures and incidents that frame her as a person, but also extend beyond her.

In this context, an important clarification is made concerning the method; Lundgren points out that autoethnography can be applied in many different ways. Referring to Leon Anderson (2006), she draws attention to a fundamental difference between, on the one hand, an emotionally and empathetically oriented autoethnography, and on the other, a more dissociated and analytical variant (Lundgren 2020; see also Liliequist & Silow Kallenberg 2022). In this article, I would like to place myself, in line with Lundgren, in between these two stereotyped extremities.

This mediating position can be further pinpointed with the help of three criteria used by Heewon Chang (2008), and additionally put forward by Lundgren, to characterize autoethnographic methodology. In this characterization, it is an approach to

research in which “the content is autobiographical, the method is ethnographical, and the scientific analysis is oriented towards making a difference and achieving social and cultural understanding” (Chang 2008:49, cited from Lundgren 2020:26; see also Khosravi 2010; Palmgren 2011, 2021).

The distinct emphasis of Lundgren on the inherent tension and variation of autoethnographic methodology is hardly surprising. The same could be said of other ethnographic methods. Just as there are several ways of carrying out an interview, the ethnographic methodology stands for a multitude of possibilities and choices. Therefore, researchers usually adapt their choice of method to the purposes of their research (Öhlander 2011; Jönsson & Nilsson 2017). The choice of method does not only affect the collection of material, but also the following analysis. In turn, this is moreover consequential with regard to the questions that precede and/or arise in parallel with the developing investigation (Bäckman & Ekström 2022).

Indeed, none of the above-mentioned characteristics are unique for autoethnography. On the contrary, they are closely related to common procedures among ethnologists and anthropologists: long-established methods for collecting material and for ethnographical writing. There are, for example, obvious similarities to classical methods involving observation and participant observation (see Öhlander & Pripp 2011 on the difference); the researcher's conscious shifting between techniques for engaging and disengaging approaches to the field (Ehn & Löfgren 2001); as well as insider/outsider considerations (Farahani 2010; Hansson 2021). Furthermore, the

intentional inclusion and presence of the individual self of the researcher has long been an important part of research traditions that emphasize positioning, reflexivity and collaborative knowledge production (Ehn & Klein 1994; Gunnemark 2011; see also Bylund 2022). This has been juxtaposed with the more impersonal and as it would appear more objective ideal of other approaches. Autoethnography borders on all these previous debates and conflicts, moreover sometimes highlighting these lines of conflict more clearly.

In addition, even if it is not called autoethnography, there are elements of this in other scientific traditions of research and writing. In a historical perspective, research and observations have been carried out on the researcher's own body within medical science; for example, experiments with vaccines and other foreign substances (Ståhl 2019).³ A relatively recent example is the background to Barry Marshall's 2005 Nobel Prize in medicine (together with Robin Warren). To prove the then controversial thesis that most kinds of stomach ulcers were caused by bacteria, antibiotics thereby being a cure, Marshall infected himself by taking a cocktail of the harmful bacteria.⁴ A well-known literary example comes from Walter Benjamin's *On Hashish* (2019 [1972]), where he takes a controlled dose of hashish and then keeps a detailed account in diary-form of how his own senses are affected by the drug. Another similar case is Aldous Huxley's just as controlled procedure with psychedelic drugs, described in *The Doors of Perception* (2020/1954).

Consequently, in line with the theme of the article, I will conclude this introduction by returning to myself. I can thus state that

the autoethnographic approach has had a clear operative function in my study. To be brief, it has helped me sharpen the analytical questions and to find a number of theoretically founded approaches. Nonetheless, it is just as true that this kind of self-application has led me to consider the limits of autoethnography. In order to illuminate my reflections on the methodological use of myself, I will distinguish three ways of integrating the method in the study. Even if this is based on my own research practice, the discussion is of general interest.

Firstly, autoethnography can be a (usually supplementary) method for collecting material, and a way to establish contact with the field. Secondly, autoethnography can, as already mentioned, facilitate the identification of relevant questions and the formulation of problems; it can moreover be used to build up the study and to elaborate theoretical aspects. Thirdly, autoethnography provides an opportunity for reflexivity; one's own experiences can contribute to deepening the analysis in the sense mentioned above, to carry out research on oneself. All three aspects of the method will be considered and commented on in the following. And the point of departure is shame and laughter.

White Cane Group Discussion

On one occasion during the fieldwork, I am sitting together with seven other participants describing myself as a (reluctant) user of the white stick. The setting is the "White Cane Group Discussion", a discussion group arranged by Stockholm Sight Centre. I am there in my double role as participant and researcher. It is the first session of three, and we start with a round where we presented ourselves briefly. The first

to speak is the welfare officer Emma, who gives a short account of who she is and her role during the discussion. Thereafter, the physiotherapist and braille teacher Martin, whom most of us have already met, tells us about himself:

My diagnosis is RP [retinis pigmentosa, a hereditary eye disease], and for me the central parts of my sight went first; in my twenties I started to see less and slowly it got worse and worse. So, I can see a little at the sides, oh and mostly just distinguish between light and darkness, nowadays. But later, this white stick, it is a hobbyhorse for me, being able to move around on my own, so... we're likely to get back to this.

One of the participants wonders if the welfare officer has worked with visually impaired people earlier. She has not, she says, and adds apologetically that if she needs to ask, we now know she is a beginner. Martin mentions that he has worked at the Sight Centre since 1996. "That is quite a while," somebody exclaims, impressed; and the rest of us around the table laugh. "So, there is a good deal of experience from me," he continues. The welfare officer Emma gives info on practical details: like turning off our mobile phones; what is said in the room stays there; the importance of everybody being responsible for "keeping a decent conversational tone" and not interrupting each other. "A common cause," she emphasizes, and we hum in agreement. Then she apologizes for just having interrupted Martin and we all laugh again. After this introduction from the leaders, it is our turn. Emma turns to Stefan and asks if he would like to start.

To be able, in some degree, to communicate the atmosphere of the group and the room during this first meeting, I have

chosen to give a fairly detailed and close empirical account of the participants' presentations, which followed the presentation of the leaders.

"Yes, I can begin. I'm all for it. Let's see now... my name is Stefan and I have had my stick for sort of three years almost now, but it was a drawn-out start. I work at a preschool. I have RP, so I have slight vision, but the opposite to you Martin. So, I see straight forward but not to the sides." "Not good in the dark," Martin adds. "Yes, night vision, use the stick locally, and that kind of thing, going to the shops, like. But not at work. It's difficult there. Well, that's me," he concludes. "How old is Stefan?," one of the women asks. "I am forty," he answers. "May I ask something?" another woman says. "Yes," says Martin. "You work at a preschool, how do you manage the children, in the corridors, like. Don't you fall over them, like?" "Yes," says Stefan and laughs, "if I'm not careful. But that stays here." We all laugh out loud together. "Well, yes, it is a bit of a dilemma sometimes. If I'm tired or so, then I have to be very careful." "Yes and toys and such like," someone adds. "But I have told everyone. And I use the stick going back and forth from work. But it takes them a long time, for them to catch on I mean, but they notice too, when they try to communicate with body language, and such like, the teachers. It's like, 'I see, it's as [serious] as that,' then I think they try to convey that to the children. But I don't want to make a big thing of it either. You need to find a good balance; you don't want throw dirt at yourself. You need to find a good level, that's how I feel anyway."

Martin thanks Stefan and the next person continues. "Is it my turn? My name

is Nikolaj. I am 48 and I have glaucoma. Don't see anything in the dark. Use my hearing quite a lot. But I have sufficient sight for moving around. I can see a person who is dressed in white or in black, partly, so that's good. Well, I haven't a job, no. Disability pension. (Clears his throat). Well, anyway. The white stick; I've had a white stick for a long time, a few years, but it never really comes out of my bag." Several of the group laugh and hum in agreement. "Well, I'm shy of it, shy of people; about what they might say. 'That damn idiot.'" Stefan agrees "Yes, that's how one feels." Nikolaj continues, "I know I'll only see that person once, but I'm so sensitive. I'm easily upset and hurt, like. I've started using the stick now actually; started to take it out a little bit, now and then. Six months ago. But I'm still shy. Someone should kick my behind. That's how I am." One woman says, "Then I can help you" and another adds "We can do it!"

The room fills with laughter again and Stefan adds, "Can I ask a question? Does the stick give any advantage? Apart from having to be ashamed, is there any kind of benefit?" "Yes," says Nikolaj, "If I use the stick when it is dark, because I can't see anything then. Yes, that's a good thing; I can feel, I mean the stick feels things before I do, before my head or my knees do, so that's good. Aaah. I've tried using the stick a bit in the daytime, and I notice that people move out of my way." He sounds surprised and the rest of us laugh. He continues, "Noo then there are people who walk around with their telephones, and sometimes they fall over me, perhaps. But otherwise, they move out of the way. That is quite nice."

After Nikolaj it is Kerstin's turn. "I was born in 1950. I was born with some degree

of sight loss, but then I had an accident, perhaps ... well, I don't quite remember, seven years ago perhaps, yes, seven years ago, and it got worse. But I don't work ... I have a disability pension, so I have tried to manage ... without a stick. Though I've had one for probably five years." Kerstin speaks slowly and thoughtfully with many pauses. "And I suppose I am in the same position as Nikolaj ... that ... it takes a lot of space. Or, it feels as if I take up so much space when I use it, or try to. At the same time ... it obviously gives ... relief to your mind. Or, I can understand that if I learnt to trust it, it would save me quite a lot of energy." There is silence and Kerstin laughs in a slightly embarrassed way. Martin agrees, "Yes, it is hard to get over that step ... and then it becomes a habit." Silence again, and then Martin turns to me, "Maria, when do you use the stick?"

When the question lands with me, it becomes obvious that I am not just the visiting researcher with permission to record the conversation, I am also there as a participant in the group on the same terms as the others. My own presentation slots in with the others':

Well, I have loss of sight, but with little windows, or whatever you would say, which I can see out through. But they don't overlap, so I have double vision to a certain degree but ... otherwise I suppose ... mostly I use the stick when, like Stefan, when I am finding my way to and from places. But ... I am not very good at using it to work, for instance. And perhaps for the same reasons as you are saying; it feels as if a lot of focus is on the stick and not on me ... [clear my throat] for example as a lecturer giving lessons or such like, then ... even if I have to tell the students, of course, that I don't see very well since I can't see when they put their hand up, and that kind of thing, when they want to say

something, like. So, it's ... well, ambiguous. But obviously, it helps a lot when you want to move around amongst people. Because it's really rather cool ... they actually move out of the way.

My presentation does not arouse any reactions, but one of the participants wants to hear more from Martin. 'You're not going to say when you started?' 'Yes,' answers Martin, and then he starts filling the gaps:

I can say that I walked around, keeping the stick in my pocket or backpack for a long time, bumping into people and they said "Look where you're going." And things like that. You bump into posts that are grey against the grey pavement and such like, so ... But when I started at the physiotherapist education, I felt that I was meeting other people who didn't know me, so I started using the stick from day one, even if ... I felt that I wouldn't need it the whole time, in daylight for instance. But then I thought ... better get started immediately so that it was part of me, rather than beginning to use a stick after a term or so. So that was my strategy, and I think it worked very well. Then it was difficult, as you say, at home, fetching the kids at preschool and... Certain days I had good eyesight, and was cycling and...

Everybody starts to laugh. "Oh my God" one woman says laughing, "that's hard to understand!" Martin continues, "and all of a sudden there you are with a stick, and of course," he breaks off and everyone laughs out loud "people wonder," Nikolaj says, "Yes, people would wonder ... what's he playing at ... with his sight?" Martin: "Yes, so it ... it's a difficult process we're going through, getting to the point where we see that the advantages of the stick are greater than the disadvantages."

This is what it could be like when a group of strangers, previously unknown to each other and only brought together for

a group discussion as an initiative of the Sight Centre, were telling each other of their use of the white stick. Laughter and gallows humour was a recurrent element, but it was an inclusive and acknowledging laughter. During the presentations and conversation, the humorous elements had a supportive function which relieved and acted as confirmation. Difficult experiences were not laughed at in any derogatory way, but instead recognized as real and relevant. "Yes, that is just how it is." Together, we could laugh at our wretchedness.

Like much other comedy, it was thus a case of humour as an emotional relief (Freud 2002/1905). At the same time, the most characteristic element of the confirming laughter that spread through the room was that it was a laughter between equals. Later, I will return to the hierarchical laughter, which is instead directed from above and downwards (Billig 2005; Jönsson & Nilsson 2014).

However, in another place in my field notes, I have chosen to write a detailed account of my own more negative experiences of myself as a white stick user. Compared with my presentation in the discussion group above, I reveal more of the discomfort and oddly complex feelings of shame that tend to take over when I am in public with the stick.

My sight educator Anna-Lena gave me a new white stick. A short symbol cane, for use at work. White, shiny with a black plastic roller tip, which has a slippery feel to it. No wear and tear yet. I hang it on a peg in my room at work. Probably won't use it, I think. A couple of days later I'm on my way to the Sight Centre with my old mobility cane, which I have got out again. As soon as I'm outside the front door, I

feel like an infernal drama queen. The stick seems gigantic, at least three metres long. It's as if it is shouting out: "Look at mee! Here I am!! I certainly am visually impaired!!!" It rattles too. I try holding it slightly above the pavement so people won't turn and stare, but then I can't feel the ground, so I have to give that up. The whole situation feels like when I was a teenager in town with Mum at an age when I preferably shouldn't even have a Mum. At least not one that was visible to other people. In my teens I coped with the embarrassing company by pretending I was just there by chance. I kept a few steps behind and checked the shop windows. Now I notice that I'm doing the same. In my mind, I am sort of walking a few steps behind the stick, but it is hard to pretend that it isn't mine. When I'm amongst people I cannot deny that the stick is part of me. I am just as embarrassing as I was afraid to be as a teenager.

In the autoethnographic text, it can be seen that I can choose to portion out more of the complex, and often bewildering, feelings of shame and discomfort that the stick evoked in me on this occasion. At the same time, it is clear that I am in control over, perhaps not the actual situation, but the pen describing the situation afterwards (Briggs 1970; Ehn & Klein 1994). One question is what happens when I, as a researcher, transfer my own discomfort to ethnographical text, namely, autoethnography.

A Sense of Affinity and Trust – Access to a Field

Such a circumstance is that the autoethnographic work invites, almost encourages, an emotional approach. There is thus a risk that the autobiographical text is considered

unnecessarily intimate, becoming more private than personal. Nevertheless, it is access to the private that is one of the main benefits of the method, the revealing an emotional and vulnerable layer that the researcher cannot demand from the informants. Consequently, the autoethnography also raises a number of ethical questions about the involvement of the researcher's self in the researcher's own work process. Is it possible as a researcher to treat oneself in an unethical way? Does the method lead to a too great degree of (ill-considered) self-exposure? Researchers must reasonably be answerable for this themselves. However, the fact is that I, as an autoethnographic researcher, for ethical reasons can choose to expose myself and my own experiences to a greater degree than I could (or want to) request of my other informants (for a similar discussion, see Bylund 2022). Certain questions are not even possible to ask an informant.

The other side of the matter is, of course, that the autoethnographic analysis can be seen as unnecessarily self-centred, like an uncalled for rummaging in one's own feelings and experiences without any connection to relevant research questions and problem formulation.

A more positive contrary observation is that the autoethnographic approach has provided an opening to a field of research that would otherwise have been much more inaccessible. It is not the contacts with the Sight Centre or professional sight educators that I have in mind here, even if they have been of considerable importance for the study. Rather, I mean the knowledge that can only be provided by my own experience of what it is like to live as a visually impaired person, and how this has bridged

over much of the scepticism that is easily directed towards an outsider – a person who does not belong to the field of those who are involved, but is instead a visitor to the field. To be visually impaired oneself is to be ascribed a necessary insight into conditions and difficulties that are relevant for the group. In short, I am included amongst those who know what it is like.

A concrete example is when the discussion group in the long extract above speaks of how much energy it takes to handle the difficulties of the surroundings to understand that visually impaired does not mean blind. This is otherwise often taken for granted and the white stick pinpoints the matter. It is common to equate the use of a white stick and being completely without sight, i.e. blind. Those who have residual sight or have an eyesight that varies from day to day are therefore placed in a limbo-like situation. The visually impaired person is neither completely blind, nor fully able to see. Not infrequently, this can create stress about what surrounding people may think or believe. As when Martin tells us that before his visual impairment developed into total loss of sight, he might walk to preschool to fetch his child, equipped with a white stick, and the next day he might come on his bike with a child seat. There is a common fear that other people will think that you are some sort of a cheat when you are using a stick; that you for some unknown reason want to be perceived as being blind. This is a problem that is not only known to me from the outside, I am also familiar with it as part of my own reality.

Personal experience is therefore a means of both studying in greater detail and taking part emotionally in central cultural ways of

creating meaning. It helps me catch sight of matters that otherwise would be difficult to understand or even to get any kind of a hold on; it also illuminates the grounds for inclusion and exclusion, marginalization of the non-normative, as well as the resulting self-contempt. Frequently, my own feelings of shame have been like a dowsing rod, helping me to identify and analyse situations and contexts where the particular vulnerability of visually impaired people is expressed.

Laughter that Unites and Differentiates

It is an August evening. The city is still warm and my sister and I are on our way to the Photographic Museum in Stockholm for some food at the open-air restaurant and then a stand-up comedy show. The event has been advertised in the calendar of the museum for a long time. It is a beautiful evening and the dinner is good. After a while, it is time to go indoors and find a seat in front of the stage. The comedians perform one after another and nothing remarkable happens until the last artist enters the stage. His performance is almost entirely based on classical sick humour. And his jokes are all about visually impaired people; for example, arguing that no visually impaired people go to the Photographic Museum because they cannot see anything. Well, imagine something so amazingly funny as a group of blind people with white sticks at the Photographic Museum. The performance continues and the audience is now laughing loudly at blind people at nudist camps, and blind people with their backs to the stage because they cannot see.

The visit described above is of a somewhat earlier date than the other accounts in

the text. This means that I was much more vulnerable and uncertain on this occasion about my then relatively new identity as visually impaired, which is not an insignificant point in how I experienced the situation. However, I was not only a person who has been afflicted by visual impairment in the middle of life, I was also a researcher. So, as a visually impaired person and a researcher, what does one make of such an evening and such an experience?

Of course, I started by letting my researcher competence set up the necessary distance to the event, which was a case of sheer survival. You could say that I retreated into the comparatively safe world of theory and scientific concepts. But now I am lying. The first thing that happened was not at all that my professional “researcher’s self” was set in motion. That was later, after a while. Instead, I was overwhelmed by the strong feelings of shame that arise when a whole auditorium full of people are laughing at you. Indeed, I realized that they were not laughing at me personally, but the laughter had a direction, and it was pointing my way, towards the person I had become. I was completely struck by my own disability; that I now belonged to those who are crippled, subordinate, and unimportant; the comical ones that apparently can be laughed at.

What was it then that the researcher found, after a while, when it was possible to step aside from the immediate experience? A first conclusion was that the laughter established a common bond amongst the audience. But the inclusive and laughing us that was created as the self-evident visitor at the Photographic Museum was also a company of seeing people. The group that was not expected to visit the museum

– and in their absence could be laughed at in an unrestrained way – were visually impaired people. Another reflection was more personal and troubling. Even though I had studied, lectured on, and written about several of the processes that emerge as a result of cultural delimitations and social hierarchies, it was the first time I had in reality deeply felt and experienced them myself. The most alarming insight was that, when I sat there in front of the stage, I was not filled with constructive and outraged indignation directed outwards, which I would have wished for. Instead, it was a destructive and paralysing feeling of shame that was directed inwards. The comedy on stage is about me, they are laughing and having fun about people like me.

The event and my own reaction to the jokes performed demonstrate how explicit and implicit norms about who can be considered capable and fully functioning effectively close and open possibilities of inclusion and exclusion of certain kinds of bodies. For those whose body has an exterior and interior making it possible for them to be regarded as anybody, the process involved in this distinction is almost always invisible. Just like being white or heterosexual, a functional body acts as a lubricant enabling some people to live their lives without distressing resistance (Siebers 2008; also Ahmed 2006; Grue 2019). This is not the same as saying that these people do not encounter misfortune and difficulties. Embodying a norm is no guarantee that you do not chafe against other people, neither does it protect against other kinds of difficulties. What it does mean, however, is that some people, because they manage to embody a norm, are ascribed a self-evident agency (Shakespeare 2000; McRuer

2006; Ambjörnsson 2021). In their very existence, they are an entirely self-evident reference point, which means that they, without any problems, can give themselves the right to laugh at others; or as is also often the case, to engage in a staring practice (Garland-Thomson 2009).

The jocular setting at the museum illuminates the hierarchical relationship between those who embody a normative functional inclusion, and those who for some reason find themselves further out in the periphery. Nevertheless, there are several keys to the question of who it is at all possible to joke about. Nowadays it is no longer acceptable or unproblematic to joke about, for example, black people or Jews. This does not mean that it never happens, but such jokes may provoke objections and criticism. For some reason, it was still all right to joke about blind people at the Photographic Museum. This calls for reflection. Are people with visual impairment (and perhaps other people with similar disabilities) more legitimate targets for jokes than, for instance, various ethnic minorities? Is there an ethical sensitivity that is unevenly distributed among so called marginalized groups?

These seem to be legitimate questions. However, what I would like to emphasize here is how the event, and my own distress over the situation, at an early stage became a guidance for what would later become a systematic study. Afterwards, I could constructively consider my own experience and feelings and thereby identify a broader complex of problems. I could also formulate research questions relevant for the field and the study. Investigating my own fears, reactions, and shortcomings later helped me to relate to my informants in an

empathetic way, not least based on experience. There was something here that we shared. Or, in actual fact, the method pointed to something that we potentially shared, since we cannot assume that all visually impaired people have identical experiences or interpretations of such.

This takes us back to laughter and shame. Mikhail Bakhtin (1984/1965) maintains that the medieval carnivalesque laughter was a merriness that disrobes and deconstructs. It was laughter that came from beneath and was directed upwards, to the rulers. By heeding the body with its inevitable exudations and sounds, this reveals basic human similarities that traverse all social divides. At the Photographic Museum, I encountered laughter that, in my own interpretation of the event, instead struck downwards and established differences, denying inclusion. It was, as I understood it, an instance of ridiculing a group in a position of structural vulnerability. Both cases resemble external laughter where the butt of the joke is directed towards someone other than the laughing persons themselves.

The difference is great compared with the internal laughter that arose and was shared among the participants of the “White Cane Group Discussion”. Here, the function of the laughter was instead usually supportive and strengthening. A different kind of affinity was created, which was based on recognition, acknowledgment, and empathy. The observation underlines the significance of humour as an effective strategy for coping with difficulties in life, making them easier to handle (Albrecht 1999; Macpherson 2008; Bylund 2022).⁵ It was not by chance that the inside jokes took the form of gallows humour. Its dark and drastic sides easily generate under-

standing laughs among those who recognize each other's misery.

Another observation from the ongoing fieldwork is that much of the laughter – both external/vertical and inside/horizontal – arises from distinct communicative and dialogical practices. This is a fundamental difference from the way shame is based on the idea of a secret that must be kept from the surrounding world. The experience of shame is basically non-communicative and only possible to share in a secure setting (Goffman 1990/1958; Harper 2011). Considering the ways laughter and shame occur in my study, these can therefore be seen as mirror-images of each other. The dialogical laughter together with others is contrasted against the individual, and thus secret, shame. The latter denies somebody access to the longed-for sense of belonging to a particular group of people (Skeggs 1997). Shame is negative energy that keeps people away from what they are hoping for. Laughter, on the other hand, paints with much broader cultural brushstrokes and encompasses situations that can be both excluding and including.

Inside Out – an Autoethnographic Dilemma

Autoethnography can be described as a general term for a number of methods of collecting material, analysis, and writing based, to an unusually high degree, on the researcher's own connection to the studied field. At the same time, the point of departure in personal experience is also related to a claim of knowing things from an insider point of view. The opportunity thus also arises to use autoethnography as a means to support the researcher's own argumentation. So, what happens when

you become your own empirical material as a researcher? Moreover, with unlimited access to what might be described as privileged information. Having discussed several advantages of the method, I will return to some possible problems. I would particularly underline two relevant objections. First, the autoethnography runs the risk of making itself almost indisputable in the sense that the analysis of the researcher's, literally, "own" empirical material is not possible to argue against. For easily understood reasons this is not a particularly scientifically fruitful approach. Furthermore, this research position is even more difficult to question if the autoethnographic analysis is based on the researcher's own belonging to a marginalized group.

The other drawback is based on old truths about ethnographic methods in general, namely, that the researcher is both part of the field and not part of it. After the fieldwork is over, there is a return to academic work and further processing of the collected material. Despite the level of engagement and participation in the field, the researcher is still essentially a temporary guest and a comparative stranger. The question then is what it is like for the autoethnographic researcher who really is part of the field, when the sense of belonging among the studied participants is the driving force and motivation for applying the method. This concerns the plausibility of the research: does not all the subjectivity of an autoethnographic project easily tip over into a scientifically impossible position? You cannot leave yourself. Thus, what happens to the supposedly necessary distance if the researcher lacks the means of withdrawing to formulate reflections in a different place?

I have no definite answers to any of these questions. On the contrary, I believe there is good reason to keep them living, open and topical. This does not prevent me from considering them best answered by the individual researcher and thereby dependent on the research in question. For my part, it means that I share some matters, but not others. I also make sure that the autoethnographic elements of the study are only part of the total collection of material. By presenting my own experiences side by side with other types of empirical material, I have also tried to minimize the risk of them being understood as unassailable “truths”. This is moreover the reason for my choice of discussing the close relation between theoretical approaches and my own research practices.

Finally, it can be added that the autoethnographic method must also be related to the critical discussion which over the years has emphasized that ethnographic authority, in a historical perspective, has been constructed through a clearly distinguished author's voice (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Ehn & Klein 1994; Davies 2008). This is another reason for clarifying that autoethnography should not be seen as a short-cut (even less a key) to this, or any other, study. Use of the method is conversely justified through the in-depth understanding of other parts of the material.

Broadening and Limiting

Now it is time to tie up the loose ends. A synthesizing empirical focus for this article is the complicated relationships that persons with acquired vision loss tend to develop in relation to the mobility aid known as ‘the white stick’. However, consistent attention to the relationship between the

autoethnographic researcher and collection of the material and writing has been just as important.

As stated earlier, above all the autoethnographic approach has had a clear operative function in my study. Thanks to the method I have continuously been able to sharpen the analytical and theoretical aspects of the ongoing inquiry. Alongside the application of the method, however, there are also some potentially troublesome issues that had to be dealt with. With no intention to resolve all of these questions, I have aimed my writing in that direction. Here, when the article is about to reach its end, I will take the opportunity to remind the reader of the three different ways that autoethnographic methods have influenced my own findings. Hopefully, this will inspire others to make their own efforts in the vast field of autoethnography.

Firstly, together with the use of other methods, autoethnography has helped me to collect relevant material, and it has also facilitated my contact with informants. Secondly, it had a strong impact on the process of identifying meaningful questions and formulating appropriate problems. For this reason, I have benefitted from autoethnography in building up the study and elaborating on certain theoretical aspects. Thirdly, and not least, autoethnography has provided an opportunity for reflexivity, and has also contributed to the inquiry even in that matter.

Subsequently, this is a text that is very much hovering over both methodological questions and empirical findings, and I am not quite ready to leave my empirical focus. In the introductory extract from my field diary, when I adjusted my posture in front of the bus queue according to what I

thought was a more suitable enactment of a person with impaired sight, and then disappeared as quickly as I could into the protection of my audio book, this was because of the moment of shame I experience. I was ashamed of the deviation I displayed. I was ashamed to be somebody whom the others had to notice and move aside for. I was ashamed of my own feelings of shame of not wanting to belong among those who are vulnerable and different. Nevertheless, it was not my inability to see that evoked these unwanted feelings of discomfort. Instead, it was the white stick, the tool, the aid, which attracted attention to my disability through its mere existence. Without the stick, I would have stood in the queue and got onto the bus like everybody else. It was the stick that clarified my functional failure.

Belonging to the norm involves the privilege of being invisible, being able to pass under the radar. Correspondingly, being positioned outside the norm involves negative visibility. The white stick, which in many ways appears to be so well-suited for visually impaired people, is at the same time an aid that marks the user as a person who has some form of serious loss of vision. Hence, the white stick effectively prevents passing as a fully sighted person, which is just what many of the users want to strive for as far as possible. Simultaneously, the aid also places the user outside functionality norms that value and award physically able-bodied individuals (Campbell 2009; Harpur 2009; see also Frank 1999).

This unwelcome and unwanted attention has bearing on the shame that recurs in various ways in this text. Consequently, it is not just any kind of visibility, it is a kind that degrades and leads to loss of societal

status. Furthermore, it is not just any kind of shame, it is the shame of not having access to a fully functioning body. The reason is simple. In our society, full functionality means not only normality, but also differences in various conditions of life such as education, professional activity, economy, family and health, self-esteem and independence.

To be positioned as disabled means that you risk being placed among losers, those who are discriminated against in society and subordinate. Not that this is necessarily the objective truth, but it appeals to cultural logics the creep under your skin.

Such feelings have become analytically accessible to myself largely owing to the application of autoethnographic methodology. As a researcher, the method has enabled me to come into contact with visually impaired people's life conditions at both an individual and a structural level. However, a more important methodological realization is that these and other similar (and different) experiences have directed me in the questions to ask and in my ongoing fieldwork. I would have had greater difficulties in accessing my field and my informants' life stories without that knowledge.

I will end this article as I started it by referring to my own experience as a visually impaired user of a white stick. My stick is my helping friend. On occasion, I really do experience it as an extension of my senses, part of myself; and at times I am thankful for the extra space it creates around me. But it is also a magic wand, painfully making me shrink, depriving me of my abilities. It turns me into someone other than those who, much more self-evidently, fulfil the norm of functionality.

Maria Bäckman
 Ass. Professor
 Dept. of Ethnology, History and Gender Studies
 Stockholm University
 SE-106 91 Stockholm
 e-mail: maria.backman@etnologi.su.se

Notes

- 1 Since the spring of 2012, I have had a post-operative sight impairment with severe and permanent reduction of my field of vision in both eyes.
- 2 A few that can be mentioned are White Cane Education, White Cane Group Discussion, as well as parental courses for people with visual impairment and their families. So far, I have carried out interviews with around ten sight educators and around 30 adults with visual impairment. At the Sight Centre, the word *user* (Sw. *brukare*) refers to persons who are registered in any way at the centre, or who use their facilities. Throughout the article, the word is used in this sense but also as a synonym for the user of a mobility cane. It should be mentioned that names of participants in the article are fictitious.
- 3 This has become a recurring theme in a large number of films, which were to a greater or lesser degree based on reality. For a brief overview see <https://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/sa-realistisk-ar-filmens-vilda-jakt-pa-vaccin/>
- 4 See *Dagens Nyheter* 10 December 2005: Han tog en drink och vann till slut.
- 5 An extreme example is the jokes and humour that were part of the everyday experience during the Holocaust (Ostrower 2015).

References

Fieldwork

Interviews with informants carried out between 2018 and 2022. All transcripts and recordings are in the possession of the researcher.

Research notes from own experiences and fieldwork between 2012 and 2022.

Literature

- Adams, Tony E., Stacy Holman Jones & Carolyn Ellis 2015: *Autoethnography. Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmed, Sara 2006: *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Albrecht Gary L. 1999: Disability Humor. What's in a Joke? *Body & Society* 5(4).
- Ambjörnsson, Fanny 2021: *Om Nadja*. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Anderson, Leon 2006: Analytic Autoethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(4).
- Bäckman, Maria & Simon Ekström 2022: Metodfrågans var, när och hur. In *Etmologiskt fältarbete – nya fält och former*, ed. Kim Silow Kallenberg, Elin von Unge & Lisa Wiklund. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail 1984/1964: *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Benjamin, Walter 2019: *Om hasch*. Lund: Ellerströms.
- Billig, Michael 2005: *Laughter and Ridicule. Towards a Social Critique of Humour*. London: Sage.
- Briggs, Jean 1970: *Never in Anger*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Bylund, Christine 2022: *Anakrona livsvillkor. En studie av funktionalitet, möjlighet och begär i den föränderliga svenska välfärdsstaten*. Umeå: Umeå universitet.
- Campbell, Fiona K. 2009: *Contours of Ableism. The Production of Disability and Aabledness*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chang, Heewon 2008: *Autoethnography as Method*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Clifford, James & George E. Marcus 1986: *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Davies Aull, Charlotte 2008: *Reflexive Ethnography. A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. London: Routledge.

- Denzin, Norman 2014: *Interpretative Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Ehn, Billy & Barbro Klein 1994: *Från erfarenhet till text. Om kulturvetenskaplig reflexivitet*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Ehn, Billy & Orvar Löfgren 2001: *Kulturanalyser*. Malmö: Gleerups.
- Ellis, Carolyn 1999: Heartful Autoethnography. *Qualitative Health Research* 9(5).
- Farahani, Fataneh 2010: On Being an Insider and/or an Outsider: A Diasporic Researcher's Catch-22. In *Education Without Borders. Diversity in a Cosmopolitan Society*, ed. Loshini Naidoo. New York: Nova Science.
- Frank, Gelya 1999: *Venus on Wheels. Two Decades of Dialogue on Disability, Biography, and Being Female in America*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Freud, Sigmund 2002/1905: *The Joke and Its Relation to the Unconscious*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.
- Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie 2009: *Staring. How We look*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goffman, Erving 1990/1958: *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Grue, Jan 2019: *Jag lever ett liv som liknar ditt. En berättelse om att leva med en sårbar kropp*. Stockholm: Weyler förlag.
- Gunnemark, Kerstin 2011: Metodprocesser och kunskapsförståelse. In *Etnografiska hållplatser. Om metodprocesser och reflexivitet*, ed. Kerstin Gunnemark. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Hansson, Kristofer 2021: Den sammanflätade kunskapen. Autoetnografins möjligheter i forskning om långvarig sjukdom. *Kulturella perspektiv. Svensk etnologisk tidskrift* 30(1).
- Harper, James 2011: Regulating and Coping with Shame. In *Re-constructing Emotional Spaces. From Experience to Regulation*, ed. Radek Trnka, Karel Balcar & Martin Kuska. Prague: Prague Psychosocial Press.
- Harpur, Paul 2009: Sexism and Racism, Why Not Ableism? Calling for a Cultural Shift in the Approach to Disability Discrimination. *Alternative Law Journal* 34(3).
- Hughes, Bill 2007: Being Disabled. Towards a Critical Social Ontology for Disability Studies. *Disability & Society* 22(7).
- Huxley, Aldous 1994/1954: *The Doors of Perception, and Heaven and Hell*. London: Flamingo.
- Jönsson, Lars-Eric & Fredrik Nilsson 2014: Skratt som fastnar. In *Skratt som fastnar. Kulturella perspektiv på skratt och humor*, ed. Lars-Eric Jönsson & Fredrik Nilsson. Lund: Lunds universitet.
- Jönsson, Lars-Eric & Nilsson, Fredrik 2017: Om etnologi och kulturhistoriska metoder. In *Kulturhistoria. En etnologisk metodbok*, Lars-Eric Jönsson & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.). Lund: Lunds universitet.
- Kafer, Allison 2013: *Feminist, Queer, Crip*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Khosravi, Shahram 2010: *'Illegal' Traveller. An Auto-Ethnography of Borders*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Liliequist, Evelina & Kim Silow Kallenberg 2022: Autoetnografi – personliga erfarenheter som kunskapsproduktion. In *Etnologiskt fältarbete – nya fält och former*, ed. Kim Silow Kallenberg, Elin von Unge & Lisa Wiklund. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Lundgren, Britta 2020: Limpan i radiogrammofonen – eller En berättelse om akademien. In *Möjligheter och mellanrum. Berättelser om genus och akademiska livslopp*, by Britta Lundgren, Hildur Kalman & Annelie Brännström-Öhman. Göteborg/Stockholm: Makadam förlag.
- Macpherson, Hannah 2008: "I don't know why they call it the Lake District, they might as well call it the rock district!" The workings of humour and laughter in research with members of visually impaired walking groups. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26(6).
- McRuer, Robert 2006: *Crip Theory. Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*. New York: New York University Press.
- Öhlander, Magnus 2011: Utgångspunkter. In *Etnologiskt fältarbete*, ed. Lars Kaijser & Magnus Öhlander. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

- Öhlander, Magnus & Oscar Pripp 2011: Observation. In *Etnologiskt fältarbete*, ed. Lars Kaijser & Magnus Öhlander. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Ostrower, Chaya 2015: Humour as a Defence Mechanism in the Holocaust. *Interpretation-Journal of Bible and Theology* 69(2).
- Palmgren, Ann-Charlotte 2011: Autoetnografi. Att läsa andras kroppar. In *Etnografiska hållplatser. Om metodprocesser och reflexivitet*, ed. Kerstin Gunnemark. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Palmgren, Ann-Charlotte 2021: Etik i den autoetnografiska processen. En diskussion om relationell etik med avstamp i ett tidigare utfört projekt. *Kulturella perspektiv. Svensk etnologisk tidskrift*, 30(1).
- Rydström, Jens 2012: Introduction: Crip Theory in Scandinavia. *Lambda Nordica*, 17(1-2).
- Sandahl, Carrie & Auslander, Philip (eds.) 2005: *Bodies in Commotion. Disability and Performance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Shakespeare, Tom 2000: *Help*. Birmingham: Venture Press.
- Shildrick, Margrit 2020: Critical Disability Studies. Rethinking the Conventions for the Age of Postmodernity. In *Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies*, Nick Watson & Simo Vehmas (eds.). London: Routledge.
- Siebers, Tobin 2008: *Disability Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Skeggs, Beverly 1997: *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming Respectable*. London: Sage.
- Ståhl, Isabelle 2019: Förord. In *Om hasch. Walter Benjamin*. Lund: Ellerströms.

“Once Upon a Time”

Fairytales and the Translation of Mindfulness

in *Wherever You Go, There You Are*

By Åmund Resløyken, Gina Fraas Henriksen, John Ødemark

In recent decades, the meditative practice known as “mindfulness” has become a widely disseminated cure in both Western mainstream culture and academic medicine and psychology (Wilson 2014; Williams & Kabat-Zinn 2011).¹ In a study of the reception of mindfulness in the US, religious studies scholar Jeff Wilson has observed that mindfulness and its proponents can shift between “religious, spiritual, therapeutic, or secular” modes of authorization (Wilson 2014:194).

One of the leading figures in the mindfulness movement is the North American scientist, writer, and meditation teacher Jon Kabat-Zinn. This article explores a folkloric mode of authorization in a text by Kabat-Zinn. More precisely, we will investigate how Kabat-Zinn deploys both notions of fairytales as a genre, and concrete specimens of European fairytales as a vehicle for translating the Buddhist technique into the therapeutic practice of mindfulness. Citing the work of Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs on the historical construction of vernacular culture as an object of scholarly inquiry (2003; cf. Briggs 1993), we will demonstrate how a particular image of the fairytale genre and the fairytale as a scholarly object forged in the nineteenth century is instrumental in this translation process.

Kabat-Zinn started his work on mindfulness as a therapeutic practice in the *Stress Reduction Clinic* at the University of Massachusetts Medical School in the 1970s. Here, he developed a series of course programmes for relieving pain and anxiety illnesses that became known as *Mindfulness-based stress reduction* (MBSR) (Kabat-Zinn 2011b:8).² In 1994, he published *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday*

Life, which is our main object of inquiry here. This book has been translated into more than twenty languages, and it has been republished several times (Kabat-Zinn 2005:271). Kabat-Zinn states that the aim of the book is to make “the path of mindfulness accessible to mainstream Americans so that it would not feel Buddhist or mystical so much as sensible” (Kabat-Zinn 1994:xvii). Moreover, he adds that he intends “to provide brief and easy access to the essence of mindfulness meditation” (Kabat-Zinn 1994:xix) for people who do not want to take part in structured programmes.

Mindfulness has been articulated with a range of new scientific and epistemic fields such as cognitive psychology and evidence-based medicine (EBM) (Cho 2012). An essential mode of authorization, however, is still the technique’s roots in Buddhism. Practices categorized under the name of *sati* or *smṛti* – Pali and Sanskrit terms regularly translated as “mindfulness” – form a crucial part of the “noble eightfold path” of Buddhism (e.g. Gethin 1998). As a part of this larger whole, *sati* and *smṛti* aim at ending *dukkha*, suffering, a universal condition, and at achieving compassion with all living beings – not at healing individual diseases, suffering, and stress, the conditions mostly targeted by mindfulness in its Western accommodations.

Many previous studies of the Western appropriation of mindfulness have commented on the linguistic and conceptual aspects of the translation of Pali and Sanskrit terminology. Generally, these studies have been concerned with whether Western languages have rendered the Buddhist terms adequately, and to what degree the conceptual and cosmological meanings of ancient

source text have been "lost in translation".³ In addition to studies of conceptual and semantic change in the move from the "original" source text in the Buddhist canon, scholars have also examined the long history of Western translations of Buddhism on a more civilizational level. In particular, it has been observed that Buddhism has been construed as an analogy to Western *natural science* and/or *psychology*, not as a religion, and the wisdom and insights of the Buddha as a harbinger of knowledge that science later has discovered. "The Core of Buddhism is Psychology", it has been claimed. As such, the "core" is also a place for "pure" scientific and psychological insights free from religious "superstition" (Cho 2012; Lopez 2008; Helderma 2020).

In contrast to the concern with linguistic translation and civilizational analogies, we will focus on what we call the folkloric grid in Kabat-Zinn's translation of mindfulness. We shall examine a sample of textual details where the folkloric grid is used to present mindfulness to a popular Western audience. We will show that the association of the fairytale with timeless and archaic tradition, and with fiction without any "reality effect" (Barthes), paves the way for Kabat-Zinn's equivalence between the fairytale and mindfulness: The temporality of the fairytale expressed by the phrases "once upon a time" and "happily ever after" becomes a symbol of the timelessness of mindfulness. Our study also demonstrates the extraordinarily effective history of the early folkloristic project. As we shall see, the idea that folktales were archaic vestiges, and as such, sources for the national self and primitive humanity, was taken for granted – as a cultural fact – by

psychoanalytical interpreters in the twentieth century. This is still the point of departure for Kabat-Zinn.

"Once Upon a time": Textual Grids and Metadiscursive Regimes

As stated, we will examine a level of translation between the linguistic and the civilizational. This shift of scale, and the focus on a specific *cultural* level of translation, is indebted to the translation studies scholar André Lefevere (1), and to Baumann and Briggs's work on the history of metadiscursive regimes in anthropology and folkloristics (2).

1. Textual Grids

Lefevere (1999) maintained that questions of translatability have more to do with "discrepancies" in what he called "conceptual and textual grids" than with "discrepancies in languages" (like what *sati* really means) (cf. Ødemark & Engebretsen 2018). At stake here is thus "the supposedly primary or fundamental role played by *linguistic* codes in the operation known as translating". On the contrary, Lefevere adds, translators

think in terms of what I would like to call *two grids*. I do not want to speculate on the primacy of one grid over the other; rather, I would suggest that we think of them as intertwined. One is what I would like to call a '*conceptual grid*', the other a '*textual grid*' (Lefevere 1999:75 and 76–77, our emphasis).

These grids are the results of socialization, and are therefore culture-specific:

An educated member of any culture in the West, for instance [...], will know that certain texts are supposed to contain certain markers designed to elicit reactions on the reader's part, and that the success

of communication depends on both the writer and reader of the text agreeing to play their assigned parts in connection with these markers. The writer is supposed to put them in, the reader is supposed to recognize them. *Texts that start with 'Once upon a time', for instance, will elicit quite different expectations in the reader than texts that start with 'Leave Barcelona 8:15 a.m.; Arrive Amsterdam 11.30 a.m.'* (Lefevere 1999:76, our emphasis).

For instance, interpreting and translating the sentence "*es war einmal*" into "once upon a time" requires discursive and cultural competence; it activates a textual grid (a genre, the fairytale), a conceptual scheme, and an ontological commitment ("this is a fairytale"). The crucial point is that there is *no way that a mere linguistic analysis* (cf. "linguistic codes" above) of the sentence will tell you that the sentence marks the entrance to the land of fairytales. Thus, as we will discuss in more detail below, even "pure" linguistic translation must account for metadiscursive practices for producing, classifying, and interpreting genres (cf. Briggs 1993).

Citing Lefevere, we will examine how the genre of the fairytale and its assumed attributes is used as a textual grid in one particular translation of mindfulness. However, we will also show that the grid in question is a historical product of the work of early folkloristics.

2. Metadiscursive Practices

Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs have traced the place of folklore in the construction of modernity (2003). Referencing Bruno Latour's construal of modernity in *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993), they draw attention to the fact that "modernity" and "the scientific revolution" needed more than the "working" separation of

the domains "nature" and "culture". For Latour, the modern is based upon a separation of the domains of nature and culture. Characteristic of modernity is, moreover, the continuous processes of translation that link nature with society, which in turn are balanced by processes of purification that restore the divide (ibid.).

Bauman and Briggs note that Latour's model "left out two of the key constructs that make modernity work and make it precarious [...] language and tradition" (2003:5). A third domain was indispensable, namely, language. This domain differs from the other two because it was understood more as an instrument to be used, or alternatively, an obstacle to be removed, than as a scientific object in its own right. Nevertheless, this domain played, and still plays, an essential role in constructing the other two. It is linguistic signs and discursive codes, not things or actions per se, that make it possible to locate phenomena as belonging to one or the other domain (Bauman & Briggs 2003:4–10). These discursive practices for locating words, sentences, or texts as belonging to a particular kind of discourse, Bauman and Briggs call "metadiscursive practices" (ibid.; cf. Briggs 1993:388).

The metadiscursive practices of the Brothers Grimm are a particularly seminal example of the simultaneous construction of a "folk" genre – and an object of scholarly inquiry. As is well known in folklore studies, certain stylistic traits of fairytales, such as the rule of three, the extensive use of quoted direct speech and of proverbs were added by the Brothers Grimm to the informants' tales. Most important in our context are the framing devices of the new genre, namely, formulaic phrases such as

“once upon a time” (“Es war einmal”) and “they lived happily ever after” (“Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, dann leben sie noch heute”). Such emblematic phrases have come to identify the genre, and now, as in Lefevere’s example, they *serve as tokens of a literary type*. These genre characteristics, however, should be understood as products of the textual work and metadiscursive practices of the Grimms – not the perennial traits of some sort of ideal and timeless “folktale” fully formed in an archaic period. The metadiscursive practices of the Grimms renders the speech of the “folk” in a purported purified state that makes it eligible for citation and circulation in scholarly papers as typified fairytales. Hence, we could say, producing the folkloristic research object and the genre of fairytales, through the imposition of textual grids, in one fell swoop (Bauman & Briggs 2003:214–215).

It is important that the idea here is not to debunk the work of the brothers, but to underscore its necessarily constructed nature, and through this, deconstruct the binaries governing the scholarly debate about the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and its “faithfulness” to the “folk”. Both opponents and defenders of the brothers assume “the image of intertextual fidelity”, i.e. the idea that written text can render oral tales in an authentic and faithful manner:

According to this image, texts created through transcription, translation, and editing should bear a direct and intrinsic connection to their sources [...]. Both champions and critics of the Grimms share the brothers’ powerful modernist assumptions about texts, that is, that there is a natural and authentic mode of transmission associated with traditional knowledge, that printed collections can mirror this process in some fashion, and that the authenticity

and legitimacy of published narratives can be assessed in this way. [...] the quality of collections is to be assessed in terms of the degree to which obvious gaps between the two sets of texts are rendered *invisible* (Bauman & Briggs 2003:212–213).

Bauman and Briggs cite the comparative mythologist Joseph Campbell on the opinion that the Grimms’ work “let the speech of the people break directly into print” while the folklorist Allan Dundes criticized them for constructing “fakelore” (Bauman & Briggs 2003:212–214).

Mediated by Campbell, the “image of intertextual fidelity” will govern Kabatzinn’s use of fairytales to translate mindfulness. Dundes, moreover, scolded Campbell for radically misconstruing the genres of folklore: “Campbell does not really understand what a myth is, and he does not really distinguish it from folktale and legend” (Dundes 2005:394). Dundes points to the fact that Campbell – in line with Jung – uses fairytales, for example versions of Little Red Riding Hood, as a source for basic elements of the universal myth of the hero, as archetypes.

On the one hand, Dundes distinguishes the genre of fairytales from myth and legend. On the other, we have Campbell, understanding the fairytales as the vestige of an original and panhuman oral tale, and as such *containing* universal traits of human thoughts expressive of a transcultural human psychology. Dundes traces this idea to nineteenth-century folkloristics, and in particular, to Adolf Bastian’s theory of *Elementargedanke* (ibid.:396). Bastian argued that at the origin of culture there were certain primitive and foundational ideas and conceptions, a psychological framework shared by all men. These had at a later stage diversified into what he called

Völkergedanken, which in time turned into the local traditions of different peoples.

Bastian was one of the originators of the ethnopsychological position of German mythology research in the late nineteenth century, a position that in turn had inspired Jung⁴ (Nordberg 2013:143–153; see also Dorson 1955 and Oring 1975:40–43). We will come back to Campbell and Jung in the context of mindfulness below, but it should be noticed here that Bastian and the ethnopsychologists redefined the subject matter of folkloristics. While this had initially been defined as the speech and linguistic expressions of the “people”, Bastian and the ethnopsychologists were concerned with the workings of the mind and forms of thought of the people. Jung is indebted to this definition in his studies of myths as expressions of the collective unconscious (cf. Leeming 2001). Kabat-Zinn, moreover, sees fairytales through the mythic grid of this psychological tradition.

Mindfulness as a Transcultural Tool of Psychological Development

Kabat-Zinn turns to fairytales in a chapter entitled “Meditation Develops Full Human Beings”, in the first part of *Wherever You Go, There You Are*. The main message of this chapter is – precisely – that mindfulness meditation is a way to achieve personal growth; it is a “guide to human development [...], to that of a fully developed adult” (Kabat-Zinn 1994:85). As we shall see, this notion of human development and the conceptual metaphors he uses to describe it (such as “Life is a journey”) pave the way for the use of fairytales to expound meditation.

Kabat-Zinn defines mindfulness, its ancient origin and its contemporary relevance in the following way:

Mindfulness is an *ancient* Buddhist practice which has profound relevance for *our present-day lives*. This relevance has nothing to do with Buddhism per se or with becoming a Buddhist, but it has everything to do with waking up and living in harmony with oneself and with the world (Kabat-Zinn 1994:3, our emphasis).

Mindfulness is seen as a cross-cultural tool for integrating body and mind, and the relation to Buddhism here almost appears accidental. In several passages, Kabat-Zinn states that the goal of meditation, as of life itself, is to develop a harmonious relationship between mind and body. Achieving this, human beings can become whole. The concept “full human beings” refers to such an integration of body and mind.⁵ The ambitious aim of mindfulness is thus a reconciliation between body and mind as well as nature and culture. These are oppositions regularly conceived as the fundament (and the founding error) of modern Western ontology, i.e., a general and cultural malaise characterizing certain epochs and societies with potential to cause disease and sickness in individual bodies (Harrington 2008; Kristeva et al. 2018; Latour 1993).

In the opening of the chapter, we move back to ancient India (Kabat-Zinn 1994:81). In Pali, which Kabat-Zinn claims was “the original language of the Buddha”, there is no single word with the same meaning as the English word “meditation”. However, one of the words used is *bhavana*. In Kabat-Zinn’s translation, *bhavana* signifies “development through mental training” (ibid.).

The lack of an equivalent of the key term “meditation” first seems to imply a problem of inter-lingual and cross-cultural translation. However, the lack in question actually contributes to a particular notion

of meditation as a universal form of and for human development. By introducing the Pali word, Kabat-Zinn establishes both the *foreignness* of mindfulness and its ancient cultural and linguistic difference. However, the cultural and temporal localization established by the reference to *bhavana* is immediately transcended by the translation of the term as "*development through mental training*". The development in question turns out to be the realization of a transcultural psychological potential. In Lefevere's terms, the disciplinary and conceptual grid used to translate *bhavana* here is psychology. This gridding, however, is immediately linked to a set of conceptual metaphors that will prepare the reader for a journey to the land and language of fairytales:

1. Human development is a natural form of growth
2. Life is a journey

The author uses these conceptual metaphors to argue for the universal applicability of *bhavana* = "*development through mental training*" as both a natural and a cross-cultural process.

1. Human development is a natural form of growth
- Firstly, then, we have a metaphor of growth:

meditation really is about human development. It is a natural extension of cutting teeth, growing an adult-sized body, working and making things happen in the world, raising a family [...] and realizing that you too will grow old and die (Kabat-Zinn 1994:81).

Thus, Kabat-Zinn begins, organically, with physical growth, next passes through biosocial maturity (becoming a parent; creating

new biological life), and ends with death. By being inserted in this chain of growth, meditation is naturalized as an organic and continuous addition to biosocial life.

2. Life is a journey

Secondly, Kabat-Zinn relates meditation to what he calls the "journey metaphor". This "is used in all cultures to describe life and the quest for meaning" (ibid.:87). Thus, the notion of life as a journey is elevated to the status of a transcultural metaphor. This also turns mindfulness into an integral or natural part of human development, not a culturally or religiously restricted practice. Moreover, it adds a certain movement and nomadism to the first conceptual metaphor; it takes "growth" and "development" on the road – on a journey into an external world.

As part of his exploration of this transcultural metaphor Kabat-Zinn cites iconic cultural texts, like the incipit of Dante's *Divine Comedy*:

In the middle of this road we call our life
I found myself in a dark wood.

With no clear path through.

Dante, *The Divine Comedy* (cited in Kabat-Zinn 1994:87).

In a very deft construction of intertextual webs and metaphorical coherence across cultural times and places – citing both Western and Eastern key texts (Dante, the Buddhist corpus) – Kabat-Zinn *transforms the fairytale into a transcultural path to development, out of the "dark wood"* (perhaps also alluding to the place and time of the Buddha's awakening). Fairytales offer narrative guidance on how to develop into full human beings.

Fairytales as Maps for Development

We have to quote extensively, to show how Kabat-Zinn turns fairytales into universally valid psychological maps:

The old fairytales, we are told by their modern interpreters, Bruno Bettelheim, Robert Bly, Joseph Campbell, and Clarissa Pinkola Estés, are ancient maps, offering their own guidance for the development of full human beings. The wisdom of these tales comes down to our day from a time before writing, having been told in twilight and darkness around fires for thousands of years. While they are entertaining and engaging stories in their own right, they are so in large part because they are emblematic of the dramas we encounter as we seek wholeness, happiness, and peace. The kings and queens, princes and princesses, dwarfs and witches, are not merely personages "out there." We know them intuitively as aspects of our own psyches, strands of our own being, groping toward fulfillment. We house the ogre and the witch, and they have to be faced and honored or they will consume us (eat us up). Fairy tales are ancient guidance, containing a wisdom, distilled through millennia of telling, for our instinctual survival, growth and integration in the face of inner and outer demons and dragons, dark woods and wastelands. These stories remind us that it is worth seeking the altar where our own fragmented and isolated being-strands can find each other and marry, bringing new levels of harmony and understanding to our lives, to the point where we might actually live happily ever after, which really means in the timeless here and now. These stories are wise, ancient, surprisingly sophisticated blueprints for our full development as human beings (Kabat-Zinn 1994:81–82).

In this quotation, "[m]odern interpreters of fairy tales" are called upon to testify that fairytales are extremely old, *and* that they offer guidance on how to develop into full human beings. The cited authors had all seen fairytales as archetypes and psychological roadmaps.⁶ As we showed above,

such a psychological framing presupposes a particular textual grid. In turn, this particular gridding is made possible by conflating different kinds of tales and genres, seeing all oral tales as myths or fragments of myths originating in an archaic time (cf. above, Briggs 1993; Bauman and Briggs 2003; Dundes 2005).

The psychological and transcultural framing of the folktale that influences Kabat-Zinn is dependent upon a spatio-temporal structure that we can refer to as a *chronotope*. This *chronotope* furnishes the *background* against which objects can be "timed" or given historical "value" in a narrative (Bakhtin 1981; Puckett 2016:157). Associating fairytales with fires, twilight, and darkness establishes a spatial dimension for the fairytales (just as India did for meditation). On the one hand, fairytales belong to an archaic period, before historical time. On the other, those who Kabat-Zinn refers to as the "modern interpreters" of the fairytale also all agree that the oral tales in question have been "*distilled* thorough millennia of telling" (Kabat-Zinn 1994:82, our emphasis). Hence, history is also a space for development – the gradual "distillation" of narrative beauty and wisdom of the tales, which parallels the possibilities for human development introduced by mindfulness.

In the paragraph quoted above, we also find the standardized fairytale coda "live happily ever after":

These stories remind us that it is worth seeking the altar where our own fragmented and isolated being-strands can find each other and marry, bringing new levels of harmony and understanding to our lives, to the point where we might actually live happily ever after, which really means in the timeless here and now (Kabat-Zinn 1994:81–82).

Kabat-Zinn articulates the time of the fairytale with "the timeless here and now", which mindfulness meditation aims to achieve. Thus, the narrative *ending* of the fairytale is made into a symbol of mindfulness – and of what the meditator seeks for. The core idea of the whole book is expressed through this fusion of the folkloric grid and the atemporality of mindfulness, namely, the importance of *living attentively in the eternal present of the here and now*.

Moreover, Kabat-Zinn's articulation of mindfulness and fairytales creates a dual conception of time. On the one hand as a linear time of non-harmony, and on the other as a state of harmonic non-time found in the achieved mindfulness state that also gives meaning to the fairytale trope "live happily ever after". Throughout his book, this state of atemporality is presented as the goal (of mindfulness, the "wisdom" of Buddhism, and fairytales). In the afterword of the book, Kabat-Zinn says that mindfulness meditation

is a door into the timeless, it operates beyond time, underneath time, inside of time, and so allows for transformation [...] (2005:273).

The chronotope opened up by this move, however, is an interior space where the content and characters of Buddhist cosmologies as well as the supernatural beings populating many oral tales are turned into symbols of psychological forces.

Demythologization as Psychologization

According to Kabat-Zinn, then, the main characters in fairytales are obviously aspects of *our own* psyches. This is actually so obvious that the reader already knows

and recognizes these characters intuitively. David McMahan (2008) has described the entangled demythologization and psychologization of mindfulness. Elements that are incompatible with secular modern knowledge and are reframed and relocated to the symbolic genre of "myth". Given such a textual grid, the tales can also be rendered as symbolic messages. Buddhist deities, for instance, are not really gods, but representations of different states of mind and psychological conditions and forces.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of this psychoanalytic transmutation of the deities to the modernization of Buddhism [...]. Buddhism's cultural capital as it moved into Tibet in the seventh century lay in its adherents' superior ability to control unseen beings. Its admittance into western modernity similarly depended on its demonstrating control over these beings – this time exorcising them from the world of molecules and atoms and confining them to the psyche. Here they could continue to exist as "representations," "symbols," or "energies" resident in all human beings. The wrathful deities came to be construed as ingenious images of inner realities discovered by intrepid explorers of the psyche rather than diabolical demons or primitive superstitions. This internalization of the gods was the passkey that granted Tibetan Buddhism entry into the modern West, whose monotheism and modernity could not abide a gaggle of gods inhabiting the real world (McMahan 2008:53).

As we have seen, Kabat-Zinn places Tibetan deities and fairytale characters in the same chronotope. By equating the Jungian idea of archetypes and myth, the fairytales, the journey that is "life" and the work of mindful meditation, it becomes possible to *figure all these sources and characters as a transcendental map leading towards the state of harmony*. A case in point from Kabat-Zinn is the following psychologization of the gods:

The form of Buddhism that took root and flowered in Tibet from the eighth century until our day developed perhaps the most refined artistic expression of these terrifying aspects of the human psyche. Many Tibetan statues and paintings are of grotesque demonic beings, all respected members of the pantheon of honored deities. Keep in mind that these deities are not gods in the usual sense. Rather, they represent different mind states, each with its own kind of divine energy which has to be faced, honored, and worked with if we are to grow and develop our true potential as full human beings, whether men or women. These wrathful creatures are not seen as bad, even though their appearance is frightening and repulsive, with their necklaces of skulls and grotesque grimaces (Kabat-Zinn 1994:83–84).

The text underscores that the artistic expressions do not represent gods external to human beings, it is all about aspects of the human psyche. The Tibetan statues and paintings actually portray the same wisdom as the wisdom of fairytales. On the path to becoming full human beings, it appears that all people – everywhere and always – will encounter the same type of internal psychological dramas. Fairytale characters as well as the supernatural entities in Tibetan cosmology “really” represent such dramas. Unless we converse with the different aspects of our psyches, we will not achieve fulfilment.

Fairytales as Inner Work

The wisdom contained in fairytales, Jungian psychology, and Tibetan Buddhism all tells us that we must *work* to develop into a full human being. Such work is exemplified by Kabat-Zinn’s use of Robert Bly’s book on fairytales and masculine identity. More precisely, Kabat-Zinn delves into Bly’s interpretation of the so-called *golden ball* from the Grimm fairytale “Iron John” and

transforms this into a model for working with the self. “The golden ball” is supposed to be a recurrent motif in fairytales:

One recurrent theme in the fairy stories is that of a young child, usually a prince or a princess, who loses his or her golden ball. [...]. And we still carry that golden radiance, or can recover it, if we take care not to let our development arrest (Kabat-Zinn 1994:82).

Kabat-Zinn goes on to say that we all at some point have “radiated with the golden innocence and infinite promise carried by youth” (ibid.). The golden ball seems to be a symbol of the possibilities we all carry in our interior.⁷

Kabat-Zinn finds a motivation for meditation in Bly’s presentation of Iron John, and he uses the “golden ball” as an argument for the potential for psychological development. With the “golden ball” Kabat-Zinn gives the reader a psychological story of the origin of the divided human being, relating “once upon a time” to the developmental psychology of children. Before it will be possible to get hold of the golden ball again, it is said that a “bargain” has to be made with our “suppressed shadow energies”. Here they are not symbolized by Tibetan demons and deities but by the dramatic personae of the Grimm tale:

Before that bargain can be made, you have to know that these creatures are there, *prince and princess, frog, wild man or wild woman*. Conversing with those aspects of our psyches that we instinctively turn away from into unconsciousness is a prerequisite (Kabat-Zinn 1994:83).

To make such a “bargain”, then, you have to realize that you house all the kinds of creatures mentioned in the fairytales: a

frog, a wild man or woman, a prince or princess, and so on. You have to meet elements from your unconsciousness to get in touch with your potential, your golden ball. In line with analytical psychology, the creatures from the fairytales are here symbols of archetypes common in our psyches.

Concluding Remarks

Our examination of Kabat-Zinn's translation demonstrates how deeply sedimented ideas of the genre of fairytales are mobilized as a textual and conceptual grid when Kabat-Zinn's science-based MBSR programme is reintroduced for the general public in *Wherever You Go, There You Are*.

Moreover, our study demonstrates the effective history of the early folkloric project. Psychoanalytical interpreters in the twentieth century took for a fact the idea that folktales were archaic vestiges, and as such, sources for primitive humanity. Moreover, psychological interpreters later took the image of intertextual fidelity for granted.

The resulting interpretation of fairytales as transculturally valid symbols and myths further prepares the fairytales for comparison with Buddhist and Tibetan texts – all read in the same way, with reference to the same generic grid; as symbolic statements about the human psyche; about all humans, everywhere, at any time. This notion still furnishes the premise for Kabat-Zinn's approach to fairytales, and his use of fairytales to construct a place for mindfulness in the Western imagination.

The construal of fairytales as narrative examples of the workings and development of the (archaic) mind transforms the narratives into psychological roadmap. Hence, the fairytale does not only become a map

for developing the meditation technique, it is also a model for living.

Kabat-Zinn's fairytale is transformed into a universal anthropological myth where "life", materially and psychologically speaking, is a development process, aiming at integrating the diffracted parts of human existence, mind and body, nature and culture. In this translation, however, the content and characters of Buddhist cosmologies as well as the supernatural beings populating many oral tales are turned into symbols of the soul. By placing Tibetan demons and the characters of fairytales in a transcultural psychological space, Kabat-Zinn also assigns these beings to a new ontological position. Figures from fairytales and Tibetan demonology all become "aspects of *our* psyche", domesticated as a natural part of humanity and as symbols pertaining to the domain of the human sciences (not demonology or comparative theology).

The idea of fairytales at work in Kabat-Zinn, then, is indebted both to the ideology of fairytales developed in the nineteenth century, and to the metadiscursive construction of the "oral tale" as a literary and scholarly object. This construction is taken for granted – as a natural fact about oral and authentic folk culture – by the commentators in the psychological tradition. In the terminology of Bauman and Briggs, the notion of "intertextual fidelity" – assuming the non-productivity of textual translations and the "treason of the translator" – is still a basic assumption – in psychology, but also among folklorists who want to come as close as possible to the authentic voice of the "native informant".

Åmund Norum Resløyken

Postdoctoral Fellow

Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo

P.O. Box 1010 Blindern

NO-0315 Oslo

email: a.n.reslokken@ikos.uio.no

Gina Fraas Henriksen

Researcher

Centre for Health Sciences Education, Faculty of Medicine, University of Oslo

P.O. Box 1078 Blindern

NO-0316

email: g.f.henriksen@medisin.uio.no

John Ødemark

Professor

Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo

P.O. Box 1010 Blindern

NO-0315 Oslo

email: john.odemark@ikos.uio.no

Acknowledgement

The authors acknowledge the support and funding from the *Research Council of Norway*, project number 315928.

Notes

- 1 Mindfulness can refer both to a specific state of mind and to a meditation technique aiming to achieve this state of mind, both an end and the means to achieve the end (e.g. Williams & Kabat-Zinn 2011).
- 2 This work is also the basis for his bestselling book *Full Catastrophe Living*, first published in 1990. Moreover, Kabat-Zinn has published widely in different genres aimed at different audiences – both in scientific journals and in books written for the lay public. He has devised mindfulness-based interventions targeted at people suffering from health-related disorders, practices for coping with everyday life, as

well as leadership-development programmes, and educational programmes for children and various professions (Kabat-Zinn 2011b:8–9).

- 3 It has been pointed out that the notion of “non-judgemental” attention in modern, Western mindfulness differs widely in implications from the Buddhist source texts, which after all posit a quite specific judgement about universal suffering as their ontological premise. Moreover, it has been observed that the notion of “memory” present in the Pali and Sanskrit term is lost in the translation of *sati* and *smṛti* into mindfulness (Gethin 2011).
- 4 In addition to Jung, E. B. Tylor, and through him, J. G. Frazer, were inspired by Bastian.
- 5 This is the pivotal point for the mind/body approach in medicine, later associated with so-called “integrative medicine” (cf. Kabat-Zinn 2011b:10).
- 6 Bruno Bettelheim was an Austrian psychologist who actively used fairytales in the treatment of children. Among his best-known works is the Freudian analyses of fairytales in *The Uses of Enchantment* from 1976. Greatly inspired by Jungian psychology, Robert Bly used the Grimm fairytale *Iron John* as a “map” for what was called “Men’s mythopoetic movement” or “Men’s spirituality movement”, which tried to redefine men’s gender roles in the US in the 1970s (Bly 1990; Salomonsen, 1991:115–130). A related project also underpinned by Jungian theory was Clarissa Pinkola Estés’s use of fairytales in *Women Who Run with the Wolves: Myths and Stories of the Wild Woman Archetype* (1992). Joseph Campbell was an American mythologist, most famous for his book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949), which discusses the archetypal hero in world mythologies, popularized in the 1988 PBS documentary *Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth*.
- 7 According to Bly, people lose their golden ball around the age of eight, and it might take ages to discover the loss.

References

- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1981: Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel. In *Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bauman, Richard & Charles S. Briggs 2003: Voices of Modernity. Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality. Vol. 21. *Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bettelheim, Bruno 1976: *The Uses of Enchantment. The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bly, Robert 1990: *Iron John. Men and Masculinity*. London: Rider.
- Briggs, Charles, L. 1993: Metadiscursive Practices and Scholarly Authority in Folkloristics. *The Journal of American Folklore* 106 (422):387–434.
- Campbell, Joseph 1949: *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Vol. 17, Bollingen series. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Cho, Francisca 2012: Buddhism and Science. Translating and Re-translating Culture. In *Buddhism in the Modern World*, ed. David. L McMahan, pp. 273–288. London & New York: Routledge.
- Dorson, Richard M. 1955: The Eclipse of Solar Mythology. *The Journal of American Folklore* 68 (270):393–416.
- Dundes, Alan 2005: Folkloristics in the Twenty-First Century (AFS Invited Presidential Plenary Address, 2004). *The Journal of American Folklore* 118 (470):385–408.
- Estés, Clarissa Pinkola 1992: *Women Who Run with the Wolves. Myths and Stories of the Wild Woman Archetype*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Gethin, Rupert 1998: *The Foundations of Buddhism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gethin, Rupert 2011: On Some Definitions of Mindfulness. *Contemporary Buddhism* 12 (1):263–279.
- Harrington, Anne 2008: *The Cure Within. A History of Mind-Body Medicine*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Helderman, Ira 2020: *Psychological Interpreters of Buddhism*. Oxford University Press.
- Kabat-Zinn, Jon 1994: *Wherever You Go, There You Are. Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life*. New York: Hachette Books.
- Kabat-Zinn, Jon 2005: *Wherever You Go, There You Are. Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life*. New York: Hachette Books.
- Kabat-Zinn, Jon 2011a: Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR, Skillful Means, and the Trouble with Maps. *Contemporary Buddhism* 12 (1):281–306.
- Kabat-Zinn, Jon 2011b: *Full Catastrophe Living. How to Cope with Stress, Pain and Illness Using Mindfulness Meditation*. London: Piatkus.
- Kristeva, Julia, Marie Rose Moro, John Ødemark & Eivind Engebretsen 2018: Cultural Crossings of Care. An Appeal to the Medical Humanities. *Medical Humanities* 44 (1):55–58.
- Latour, Bruno 1993: *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Leeming, David A. 2001: Myth and Therapy. *Journal of Religion and Health* 40 (Memorial Issue for Barry Ulano), 115–119.
- Lefevre, André 1999: Composing the Other. In *Post-Colonial Translation. Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett & Harish Trivedi. London/New York: Routledge.
- Lopez, Donald S. 2008: *Buddhism and Science. A Guide for the Perplexed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McMahan, David. L. 2008: *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nordberg, A. 2013: *Fornordisk religionsforskning mellan teori och empiri. Kulten av anfäder, solen och vegetationsandar i idéhistorisk belysning*. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur.
- Ødemark, John & Eivind Engebretsen 2018: Expansions. In *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge, Sources, Concepts, Effects*, eds. Lieven D’huilst & Yves Gambier, pp. 85–90. John Benjamin’s Publishing Company.
- Oring, Elliott 1975: The Devolutionary Premise. A Definitional Delusion? *Western Folklore* 34 (1):36–44.

- Puckett, Kent 2016: *Narrative Theory. A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salomonsen, Jone 1991: *Når gud blir kvinne. Blant hekser; villmenn og sjamaner i USA*. Oslo: Pax.
- Williams, J. Mark G. & Jon Kabat-Zinn 2011: Introduction. Mindfulness. Diverse Perspectives on its Meaning, Origins, and Multiple Applications at the Intersection of Science and Dharma. *Contemporary Buddhism* 12 (1):1–18.
- Wilson, Jeff 2014: *Mindful America. The Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Learning from MACA Alumni

Insights into Current Practices and Discussions in Applied Cultural Analysis

By Meghan Cortner, Jessica Jørnæs, Adam Kuskner & Mark Vacher

The Masters of Applied Cultural Analysis (MACA) programme at the University of Copenhagen and Lund University was established in 2008, combining ethnological and anthropological approaches to solve concrete problems in corporations, the public sector, and non-profits. Over the past decade, this Scandinavian collaboration with an annual uptake of around 50 students from all over the world, has produced close to 500 “applied cultural analysts”. Cultural analysis as a practice and discipline is now used in many fields and varied constellations to solve problems via qualitative and ethnographic research methods. Our aim has been to conduct the inquiry with the help of invested practitioners of Applied Cultural Analysis. Through interviews, we have invited academics who designed and teach the educational programme and alumni who practise Applied Cultural Analysis professionally, to share personal experiences and dilemmas emerging from performing the discipline.¹ Our intention is not to discuss what Applied Cultural Analysis should be, but to explore it as what in philosopher Donna Haraway’s terms can be described as “situated knowledge(s)” (Haraway 1988). This article aims to reflect on where the discipline is today and contextualize MACA as a practice via its vast network of alumni.

In addition to the aforementioned, we do not solely focus on the MACA programme as is, but the larger field of cultural analysis as a distinctive and highly specialized discipline. We, one MACA teacher and three alumni, review multiple facets of the discipline, by examining how alumni of the programme practise cultural analysis after graduating and the larger impact and purpose of the discipline in professional

contexts. By grounding our research in the roots of the programme and its educational objectives, we account for what it means to enter a field and conduct cultural analysis outside academia and what is inferred when using the word *applied* in cultural analysis. We thus diverge into a discussion of how cultural analysis is formed by the external party for whom the research is conducted, and how this *other* is ultimately an integral part of understanding and shaping the discipline. Lastly, we explore the tools that enable professional practices of cultural analysis and illuminate how the discipline is commodified by discussing the nature of the end product.

Material and Framework

The research for this article was conducted in 2020–2021 and consists of participant observation and interviews with eight faculty members, thirteen alumni of the MACA programme, and a focus group of current students (2021). We also included documents that were given to us by participants, including course descriptions, the funding application, and programme flyers. In Donna Haraway’s terms, these documents, such as the InterReg which funded the programme, spark actions, set boundaries, and are agents taking part in defining what MACA is and has become for the participants (Haraway 1988).

We actively used our own understanding and experiences as teacher/alumni of the programme to conduct our research, employing a deliberate insider approach to our means of communicating and interviewing. This, in turn, gave us a unique opportunity to compile a comprehensive body of material. Those interviewed were faculty and alumni from the University of

Copenhagen and Lund University, and our informants were located in Scandinavia, Asia, North America, and South America. The bulk of our material consists of hour-long interviews conducted both in person and remotely.

We interviewed our informants in stages, first the teachers and then the alumni. This was done in order to familiarize ourselves with the core objectives and intended teachings of the programme of Applied Cultural Analysis. We interviewed faculty members who are currently associated with the MACA programme, as well as a few of those who established the programme initially and who are no longer associated with it to the same degree. We did so, as following the chronology of the programme provided us with insight into how the collective knowledge, atmosphere, and discipline itself has developed over the past ten years. By interviewing the faculty, we were able to map out the objectives of the programme and thus how they have transcended into concrete application via the alumni as practitioners. As the focus of this research is to explore applied cultural analysis as a discipline, we draw primarily on the alumni and their active implementation of what they have learned from the master's programme itself. However, in order to do this adequately, it is imperative to provide and solidify an overview of the origins of MACA, via accounts provided by its founding members and associated teachers.

From Programme to Discipline

The MACA programme is a subsidiary of ethnology and is founded on its basic principles as an academic programme. Scholars in the same field (Fredriksson & Jönsson

2008; Graffman & Börjesson 2011; O'Dell 2017; Sunderland & Denny 2007) highlight how ethnology, ethnography, and anthropology have experienced and continue to experience great change. According to the former MACA teacher, Tine Damsholt of the University of Copenhagen, the new labour market for ethnologists emerged from the hype around the notion of user-driven innovation. The drive to become more integrated into the labour market emerged from the fact that ethnologists not only possess the methodology to explore "hidden" aspects of everyday life (Löfgren 2014) but simultaneously are able to make it relevant to others outside the realm of humanities and social sciences. The practice of amalgamating ethnographic methodologies in businesses, organizations, and industrial practices, has been on the rise the past decades (Cefkin 2010; Jespersen et al. 2011; O'Dell & Willim 2015). In order to accommodate this tendency, the ethnology department in Copenhagen began to organize projects and partnerships reaching beyond the university under the label Center for Kulturanalyse (CKA) (Krogh & Damsholt 2008).

CKA, however, was neither a mandatory nor a formal educational component in the ethnological study programme and thus a collaboration with the ethnology department at Lund University was established via a grant from Interreg Europe. Interreg Europe "offers opportunities for regional and local public authorities across Europe to share ideas and experiences" (Interreg 2021), and the grant which funded the MACA programme adhered to the pillar "Everyday Integration". The idea of the collaboration between the two universities consisted in promoting border crossing and

commuting within the Öresund Region. The regional development taking place at the time would eliminate geographical limitations that hitherto made such a collaboration unattainable (Nauwelaers et al. 2013) and it would drive the interest in the collaborative aspect of the MACA programme as well as its international objectives. Knowledge sharing and capacity building was also signified by making the formal language of the programme English, which also opened the door for international applicants. The programme also aims to address capacity building and impactfulness, not only between universities and an international cohort, but also between those graduating in the social sciences and the labour market by including external companies and organizations in the advisory board. Lastly, the ethnology department in Lund did not have a master's programme, and because teachers and faculty members had a specific interest in the applied nature of ethnology, there was space to introduce a new degree within the faculty.

The collaboration was set in motion, not only to broaden the scope of ethnology but also to do so in alignment with the path set by students and alumni. The first Master's programme in Applied Cultural Analysis (MACA) commenced in September 2008. MACA consists of seven blocks of courses extending over two years. The students are provided with practical ethnographic fieldwork experience, knowledge of prominent socio-cultural theory and abilities to apply their skills in collaboration with external actors. The latter is unfolded in the second semester, where students collaborate with external organizations, businesses, or NGOs. The course requires students to familiarize themselves with an unfamiliar

field, to develop and execute a project for a client. The external involvement and collaboration with stakeholders is what makes the programme unique and sets it apart from others. According to Tom O'Dell, a current teacher on the programme, "there are no other educational programmes like MACA in Scandinavia" that he is aware of. However, a brief summary of other programmes within Scandinavia that touch on similar approaches of amalgamating ethnographic methods into business and institutions outside academia would be appropriate. Scandinavia has been particularly strong in approaches in ethnographic human-centred research (Pojed et al. 2016). Starting with Denmark, there are other educational institutions that offer curricula linked to business anthropology/ethnography including Roskilde University, Aarhus University, Southern Denmark University, University of Copenhagen, and Copenhagen School of Design and Technology. Expanding to Sweden, and Norway there are programmes at Umeå University (Sweden), Stockholm University (Sweden), University of Gothenburg (Sweden), the University of Oslo, and Trondheim Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Norway) (Pojed et al. 2016).

The interest in user-driven innovation and ethnographic insights has spread to many professions and sectors (Voldum & Havelund 2008). It can be argued that a growing number of scholars deeply respect the role ethnography can play beyond academia via its ability to reshape social and cultural life (O'Dell 2017). The trend of involving European Ethnology in the works of corporations, public institutions, and NGOs has been covered by au-

thors in the same field (Pojed et al. 2016). Furthermore, co-developers of the MACA programme Fredriksson & Jönsson (2008) have collected accounts and discussions from researchers and practitioners in applied ethnographic work. The contributors outline challenges and opportunities “related to work tasks outside academia” (ibid. 2008:9). In this article, we aim to explore the MACA programme not only as a university programme but as a distinct and specialized discipline, and through this will account for its transcendence outside academia. We distinguish between academic traditions and professional practices whilst simultaneously approaching MACA as a discipline that represents both. Interviews with alumni provide perspectives on what is learned in the university programme and how it is practised afterward. Alumni are the agents (Haraway 1988), who with their acquired skills, carry or bring MACA into the labour market beyond the boundaries of the programme. They bridge the academic traditions of the programme and the professional practices in the labour market, and it is thus feasible to explore the MACA programme as a discipline of applied cultural analysis. In the following section, we will delineate the notion of “applied”.

Unfolding “the Applied”

Teachers and founders of the MACA programme recall that knowledge of the discipline in many areas both inside and outside academia, such as the labour market, is rather limited. Ambiguous definitions of the discipline are often condensed to more well-known descriptions such as business anthropology and qualitative research. However, as also pointed out by another founder of the programme, Tine Damsholt,

the MACA programme was always intended to be something else.

As Tine Damsholt explains, the intent in calling the programme *Applied Cultural Analysis* was to broaden the scope of cultural analysis and direct it towards public institutions, NGOs, and social organizations, which was broader than Business Anthropology. The term “applied” is often hard to define as it is multifaceted and implies a different trajectory than other similar disciplines. This raises questions such as: What does “applied” mean in the context of cultural analysis? How does it take shape as a discipline? And finally, who and what needs to be at play for a cultural analysis to be applied? In the following section, we will dissect the professional practices of applied cultural analysis to see how the concept is situated.

Taking a Step Back

Whether an applied cultural analyst is doing freelance research for a food manufacturer or working in the HR department of a large corporation, the understanding of their positions is always linked to interpretations assessed by other peers of different backgrounds and disciplines. Being an applied cultural analyst in this context requires one to navigate between varying perspectives, fields, and changing positions according to different agents involved in projects. In an interview, a MACA alumnus James explains his emic approach to the places where he has worked:

I learned that until I learned the language they speak [...] with talking to let’s say Novo Nordisk, Leo Pharma, Grundfoss, Danske Bank – the more experience you have in talking to all these different tribes, the more you know how language translates; “right strategies”, “strategic concepts” they throw

[them] around like crazy. I think the strongest tool is that you're able to position yourself in whatever language they speak and then sort of launch that "MACA satellite". (James)

James explains how he is positioned in a field where similar terminology is used. He picks up on clients' words and interactions that they use without shared definitions. He then elaborates on the strength of positioning oneself and launching the MACA satellite. But what does he mean when he refers to the MACA satellite?

The MACA satellite is his metaphor for stepping back from the specific situation in order to examine its broader context. Taking distance by re-positioning oneself, he argues, the applied cultural analyst is able to separate terms of subjugated knowledge that are at play in the context in which they are situated. Distance in this case implies questioning shared and mutually understood concepts ingrained internally within an organization. This distance allows one to notice inconsistencies in the use of concepts and to question unfounded assumptions. When James is assigned a project, he utilizes the MACA satellite approach, as a tool for deconstructing existing structures of subjugated knowledge. He uses his experience with the fluctuating preconceived notions to reposition himself from where he is situated. The ability to take distance does not position James in a god-like gaze, as criticized by Haraway (1988), rather, it is a tool for fuelling the satellite to gravitate and explore other visions. Knowing their language, he positions himself and deconstructs clients' various definitions by asking them questions and thus constructs new consensual meaning. This is summarized as follows;

A project, right [...] what is that? So, if you deconstruct that, the word project, what it means ... how to understand what we now call a project. But the way of understanding each project in and by itself – because each project is different – they don't adhere to the same structure. [...] So the way Noël thinks of a project is not the same way Michelle thinks of a project. [...], if they both have different definitions of it. So I think this is super powerful in MACA. (James)

When James "returns to the ground" he carves out a space for a new perspective. In this example, he explains how we can question the existing structures of "a project" and thus deconstruct the notions of different representations belonging to his colleagues and clients. Often, as Haraway (1988) claims, one language is enforced as standard and the difference in representation and situation – and events like projects – can thus carry similar meanings yet be indeterminate depending on the actors involved.

James does not take the perspective from one discipline; rather, he outlines the differences in perspectives from different disciplines. Scholars in social sciences and humanities highlight how epistemic differences can create junctures as knowledge categories are drawn from dissimilar origins (Verran 2013; Oliveira 2012). Networks of meanings are formed between agencies with different backgrounds of knowledge, and one strength of the applied cultural analyst is to recognize the epistemic nuances in the network of these agencies. Not only does James use the language to position himself to gain recognition by colleagues and clients, but he also points out differences in the field in which he is positioned.

In another example, Leah, a MACA alumna and current senior consultant, explains how a part of her work is to question core concepts:

instead of just asking the leaders, or the ones defining the strategy, we are also doing interviews with all the employees at different places within the business to say, okay, so if your strategy is to be more agile, whatever that means, but if that's your strategy, what does agility look like, for your employees in this part of the business? What does it look like in this part of the business? (Leah)

Leah draws in more perspectives from employees and challenges the customary understandings that her clients have. She must learn about their field, their company, and employees – before challenging it. She uses methods to get knowledge and overview of the field, she brings in other perspectives to expand the conceptions of her peers and stakeholders. This is essentially a derivative of the practices that are taught in the MACA programme.

The MACA programme is founded on the existing disciplines of ethnology and anthropology. The usual practice of these disciplines is that the researcher enters the field as an “outsider” (Jordan & Lambert 2009) with the intention to study a culture of set beliefs, epistemes, and languages. Both James and Leah employ this approach to the field in which they work, but they practice it with some form of variation. Rather than inserting themselves into an unfamiliar field – or culture if we may – they proceed from the specific context in which they are already situated. They become a part of the field from which they establish exteriority and deconstruct what is already there. The professional practice of the applied cultural analyst is thus to use their experience and position to deconstruct preconceived notions.

The education in applied cultural analysis aims at bridging disciplines from the humanities in practice to given institutions,

businesses, or organizations, and by doing so there must be an acknowledgement of where and how different knowledge is situated. Cultural analysis is an instrument to navigate in these different knowledges. The objective of deconstruction with applied cultural analysis implies that it will lead to a form of improvement or transformation. Other disciplines might avoid transforming the field in which they work, but the premises for applied cultural analysis is transformative.

Applied as Active

Applied Cultural Analysis is often credited with the ability to “point out hidden factors” (Löfgren 2014). In the previous section, we have illustrated how applied cultural analysts strive to put themselves in a position in which they can deconstruct the notions of a concept within a field. In these examples, we can see that applied cultural analysis is about pointing out differences and discrepancies rather than revealing hidden factors. The discipline takes up different ways in which people ascribe meaning to shared concepts. Furthermore, with the premise as being transformative, the practice also plays an active role in impacting and educating businesses and organizations. Catherine explains how she broadens public and private sector leaders' perspectives by sending them out to do ethnographic fieldwork themselves:

I send them on a case study [on a bridge and] I asked them to do interviews with people they meet there. [...] When I send them there, I tell them: “you have two target groups, you have people that walk on the bridge, and you have people who ride bikes on that bridge.” And when they come back, they see that “oh, there's also a tourist and there are commuters that use the bridge to go back and

forth.” [...] I make them question the different categories that you can put people in. Take them out of one box and put them into another or they can be multiple boxes at the same time. (Catherine)

Not only does Catherine question representations and concepts of the stakeholders, but she also brings the stakeholders out of their own preconceived notions by inviting them with her to conduct fieldwork. Through fieldwork, they get to deconstruct their thinking by embodying new discoveries which indicate that there might be “multiple boxes” in which bridge users fit simultaneously. Here she employs what James describes as the “MACA satellite”, in order to drag them out of their habitual understandings to make them see the world from a different vantage point. Returning from this hopefully transformative experience, they can now approach their employees in a more comprehensive manner. Through this exercise, they are taught to think as cultural analysts, which can aid them in the development of new strategies. Cultural analysis in practice thus becomes not only a position that challenges but also an active role in change and development.

It is important to note that all applied cultural analysis is not necessarily done for a client. Many practices identified in the interviews include interactions with colleagues and other actors on a daily basis. A common characteristic of most alumni working with applied cultural analysis is that they work in an interdisciplinary way. While Zoe, a design researcher, tells us how bringing people from different disciplines together is a driver for innovation, Mia, an alumna and current post-doc who is working with interdisciplinary research,

points out how it can also cause contradictory standpoints and clashes of ideas.

Any cultural analyst and anybody who is working with qualitative methodology tends to be a little bit more broadly observational about what they see in the world, I think. And because we have to be, and that’s part of our training is that we have to be critical, and we have to look for these nuances in people’s practices or in what are the differences in what they say versus what they do. (Mia)

Mia explains how the cultural analyst has to be increasingly “observational” in how they see the world. This goes back to the concept of stepping out of the position in which one knows, and into the position in which one questions. By using theories and methodologies, the applied cultural analyst is able to launch the “MACA satellite” and deconstruct and look for nuances and differences in people’s practices.

Among other things, the examples above have highlighted attributes and various forms of practice throughout the interviews with alumni. Defining specific ways of directly applying cultural analysis can be difficult, as the workplace, industry, or area of research plays a large role in the manifestation of its application. Therefore, the examples do not define *how* cultural analysis is applied; more so, they define commonalities and parameters through which applied cultural analysts meet across different fields and industries. To further explore the work of applied cultural analysts, we turn to the meaning of Applied Cultural Analysis as a discipline.

Applied Cultural Analysis: One Discipline

Drawing on the aforementioned examples, the broader context provided by the

name “applied cultural analysis” has introduced alternative ways of practising the discipline. Indeed, the contextual setting of the programme is broad as it is applied in many different ways in many different fields. This is reflected by alumni moving from education to the labour market where they experience distinct practices of cultural analysis in different contexts. Luka explains:

Applied doesn’t mean what I thought it meant, everyone can apply something and everything is applied [...] it’s what lies beyond the applied not just applying it to a business or putting it in the right context or understanding but what applied really is, [...] It’s not a new branch of the humanities, it’s a reinterpretation of what already exists. (Luka)

Luka does not see the discipline as something “to be applied” but rather a form of practice relating to what is already there. He argues that it is a reinterpretation of existing disciplines, such as ethnology, and the term reaches further than its “applicability” so to speak. Seen as a single discipline by many, applied cultural analysis is also seen as a facet of an existing tradition by others. Attaching “applied” to “cultural analysis” does not change the practice, rather it changes the *form* of the practice. Applying the practice thus becomes dependent on cultural analysis and the meaning of “applied” changes form in its symbiosis with the discipline.

Viewing the two terms as one discipline, rather than two independent processes, allows us to reconsider the meaning of applied cultural analysis. Thus, we argue that there is a difference between doing cultural analysis with the objective to *apply* it and doing *applied cultural analysis* as a professional practice. The latter involves being in

a field of actors and meanings from which the applied cultural analyst will establish a distance that enables detecting difference and draws consensus between what already exists. This is a practice that refers back to what is taught in the MACA programme and has a different form from that taught in other disciplines, i.e. (business) anthropology and ethnology. Whereas the disciplines of ethnology and anthropology are based on the researcher inserting themselves into a field with the intention to study others in that field, the discipline of applied cultural analysis is founded on a professional being already situated in a field, with the intention to study differences within that given field. The MACA satellite described by James and practised by Catherine is a prime example of this. Thus, applied cultural analysis practised by MACA alumni is not practised alone, rather it involves co-dependent actors and agents that partially make up the *form* of the practice. Without meaning and representations from others, there is nothing to deconstruct.

Applied by Whom? – The “Other” Others

Historically speaking both anthropology and ethnology are studies of others (Hastrup 2020; Damsholt & Mellemegaard 2017). These others are prominent figures and appear in titles of many classic cultural analyses, ethnographies, and monographs (The Nuer/Evans-Pritchard, We the Tikopia/Firth, Tuhami/Crapanzano) (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Firth 1936; Crapanzano 1980). They constitute the academic foci and their ‘otherness’ plays a significant role in the development of core methodologies. Thus, fieldwork, participant observation, ethnographic interviewing all represent ap-

proaches aimed at facilitating encounters with people considered objects of study due to their status of being others.

Especially within anthropology, the implications of approaching people as others have informed vivid and critical discussions regarding representation. To what extent are representations acts of dominance? What are the implications of taking otherness as a point of departure? How do we address our positionality as researchers and participants? Who or what constitutes an “other” and how should researchers write about them? (Clifford 1983; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Geertz 1989).

The MACA programme draws from the two fields of anthropology and ethnology. When researching user experiences, target groups are typically approached as anthropological others. For many alumni, and as we have exhibited in the previous section, knowing these others, understanding their actions, preferences, and values, constitutes their professional purpose as applied cultural analysts. One alumna, Emily, explains how her approach to studying users of the services provided by her workplace is what differentiates her from her colleagues. She recalls showing up to a client workshop wearing *a raincoat and rubber boots*. The purpose of the workshop was to improve municipal waste management and part of the programme included site visits and ride-along with garbage trucks.

A visual example of how we as cultural analysts have to try and fit into different contexts. And this project and this context, and this target group (the garbage collectors) that I had to work with, was just so different from the people that *they* (the workshop participants) were used to working with. And I was out in the street. Normally when we did things like a workshop, it would be in an office. (Emily)

While the other workshop participants stayed in the trucks, she was out emptying garbage containers with the garbage collectors. Although providing ethnographic insights through participant observation and ethnographic interviewing is what defines Emily’s professional position as an applied cultural analyst, there is a fundamental difference between her practice and that of academia. This difference, which will be discussed in the following section, relates to the intended audience of her work.

The Intended Audience

One aim of academic work is to be published and made accessible to a general audience. However, this is not to say that academic texts are produced without taking their readers into account. A standard requirement for texts published in academic journals is peer review. The reviewers are crucial gatekeepers determining whether the text will meet and engage its audience. The highest standards within peer reviewing are the so-called double-blind review, where neither reviewer nor author is privy to the identity of the counterpart. The goal is to ensure impartiality and a strict focus on the scientific and/or academic validity of the work. In other words, authors of academic texts have to meet the expectations of very specific and highly specialized others, but the audience of their work is still regarded as a broader community of researchers and in principle the general public at large.

Because it is supposed to be available to all, an implication is that the text may be subject to legal restrictions. Sensitive information may have to be removed or anonymized and ethical concerns regarding exposure of individuals to potentially

harmful audiences, e.g. hostile regimes have to be taken into account (AAA, Code of Ethics 1998). Thus, regarding academic work, all can be readers but not everything can be shared. Unlike academic work, the general public is not always a potential recipient of applied research. In the case above, exemplified by our informant Emily, the intended recipients were the invited representatives of the funding municipality. The purpose of the workshop was to make them aware of how to improve their waste system by providing them with direct and unfiltered insights into the work of their employees (the garbage collectors).

Compared to the intended audience of academic work, this group of recipients consists of specific stakeholders who represent what in the MACA programme and among alumni is referred to as clients. Clients in the context of MACA are understood as specific others entitled to the outcome of a given cultural analysis. In this case, they represent a funding public institution, in other cases, clients are representatives of companies or NGOs but technically, any person or organization that for their own purpose and benefit chooses to hire or employ a cultural analyst to research a topic can be defined as a client.

Access to Insights

The designation of clients can be more or less exclusive and more or less excluding. While participation in the workshop on waste management was by invitation only, the generated material, reports, and municipal strategies were intended to be available to the public. Nevertheless, the aim of the event was to share all the nuances of the landscape with an exclusive audience.

Issuing invitations is not the only way to control who gets access to insights provided by applied cultural analysis. Sometimes strong efforts are made to actively prevent applied cultural analysts from sharing their work with a wider audience. As shown below, such efforts can manifest in confidentiality clauses and non-disclosure agreements:

I can give you a very general description because I have signed something and it is confidential. (Chloe)

Yes, I think I could give you this example with (company) because the case was published on the website. (Zoe)

In the first quotation, the applied cultural analyst's work is confidential and as a result can only be described in very general terms. In the second, it can only be shared because it has already been published by someone else. In both cases, the applied cultural analysts are bound by restrictions and are thus not entitled to the outcome of their own work. This illustrates how dependent they are on the client as a counterpart, and shows that there are varying degrees of accessibility.

This aspect of limited access differs greatly from that of academic research and relates to a particular relationship with the second category of others mentioned earlier. Unlike the others of academic anthropology/ethnology, these others are not the subjects of representation, and unlike the intended recipients of academic work, they are often identifiable and have a direct impact on the distribution of the cultural analytical product. Although not all applied cultural analysts are subject to contractual restrictions, those who are, are subject to

the impact of others on their analyses. This impact can be quite significant and by far exceed that of reviewers of academic work.

Sometimes it would be difficult when I thought that I found something that I thought was very interesting. And they would say, no, this is not interesting. And then you kind of have to go back and find something else or rephrase it. So, it was all about pleasing them. And at the end of the day, it was about business and profits. (Sarah)

In this example, the influence exercised by others does not explicitly concern when or with whom to share insights but relates to the content of the analysis itself. According to the informant, it is business and profit that determines what, in Sarah's case, a cultural analysis must contain in order to please the client. This resonates with a more general point made by a MACA teacher Frida Hastrup, who argues:

But I think rather than explaining and arguing and defending it's all about actually trying to do those cultural analyses that make you worth the investment. (Frida)

If the investor or client cannot see the cultural analysis as work leading to their desired outcome, then regardless of other potential qualities, it may be considered irrelevant at best or at worst a waste of time and resources. However, what a client needs and what they desire is not always the same, and thus, ensuring them a return on investment, in the long run, is not necessarily as simple as pleasing them by giving them what they deem compelling or relevant.

Managing clients' expectations regarding applied cultural analysis is a prevalent concern among many alumni. To some ex-

tent, it involves striving to please the employer, as in the example mentioned above, but it also involves getting to know them well enough to provide them with what they need to meet their own aspirations. This point is elaborated as follows:

The thing with the clients is that they are very curious to learn, but they don't interpret things in the way that cultural analysts or we as qualitative researchers do. But the thing is, that we need to know what things they care about and what they're thinking. If I'm able to narrate the whole story to them, in a way that makes sense, that has represented their aspirations and their relationships to their customers, that adds enrichedness to the client, because it's also a way of helping them to understand their own culture. [...] if they're able to be part of that, they're able to make more changes back at their company, and they're able to innovate things from what I find. (Zoe)

As Zoe points out, it is important to uncover the different factors apparent within the given field of research whilst simultaneously ensuring that the client is engaged. However, sometimes providing the client with what they need is not enough, especially if it requires a long story or narrative. As described by an alumnus whose job is to facilitate company leaders in transforming their businesses, the needed product has to be easily acquired and put into use.

I mean, they don't spend that much time digging into it, you know, deconstructing notions, or what do they say? concepts? So, it's, that it doesn't need to get too theoretical. But it's very much about the client, I mean, they don't have time to sit and discuss what you mean when you say leadership, right? They need to have tools that they can apply, and then execute, and then they can drive their teams. (Ben)

As intended tools for leaders to execute and lead, the outcome of this analyst's work is often a tool for others, and as such, the result of their work must also prove its worth in the hands and minds of the receiver.

Like cultural analysis, applied cultural analysis is about others, but in the "application" hides the essential fact that it is performed for and is intended for specific others. It is not just about who, what, how, or why, but also *to* and *for* whom. Thus, unlike the otherness addressed within anthropology, the important questions sparked by the otherness of employers and clients relates not to representation but to affiliation.

Therefore, when dealing with cultural analysis in its applied forms, alumni must, in addition to matters of representation, also consider who they are doing the analysis for, and not least, how doing it for others impacts the analysis and outcome. Within applied cultural analysis, such a dual enquiry has been allocated the term "the double cultural analysis" (O'Dell 2017; Damsholt 2011). Like the anthropological others (e.g. the garbage collectors in the project on waste management), these "other others" of applied cultural analysis have to be interpreted and understood in order for the applied cultural analyst to successfully produce their work.

In line with this, we must, along with the questions regarding representation we posed at the beginning of this section, ask: To what extent is affiliation a matter of dominance? What are the implications of taking a joint project with designated others as a point of departure? Who or what constitutes an employer, a client, a stakeholder, and how should applied cultural analysts relate to them?

As outlined in this section, the analysis is partly constituted by the presence of others, their different ways of ascribing meaning to concepts, and their varying agendas and aspirations. Thus, how we answer and address the aforementioned questions is crucial when taking the quality and ethics of applied cultural analysis into account.

The End Product?

In the final section of this article, we will shed light on the part of applied cultural analysis that ultimately defines the discipline, namely, the end product, the commodified aspects of the trait. Throughout this article we have highlighted how cultural analysis as a discipline aims to both deconstruct certain notions of concepts within a field and to question the affiliation and the role of the other when defining our discipline and the work we do. As we have demonstrated, many alumni work for large institutions and companies or in the realm of consultancy, and therefore offer a specific service often tailored to the clients' desired outcome. In this section, we discuss the tools that applied cultural analysts use in their profession, and how the field becomes commoditized via the application of these tools and thus their transformative capacity regarding concrete problems. We will then diverge into a discussion of the sometimes invisible nature of the end product that we produce as cultural analysts.

When exploring the term commodity or the commodification of something, one usually has an object in mind that has been attributed value in some form or another. The classic Marxian understanding of a commodity is often applied when referring to commodification, namely, an entity detached from ourselves that serves a

specific purpose which satisfies a human desire (Marx 2002:145). Especially the latter part of this definition lends itself to a broader interpretation that is also viable for applied cultural analyses. When viewing commodification in terms of applied work, the “object” becomes the analysis itself, as it is essentially the entity of exchange. As highlighted in the previous chapter, in academia, there are often a set of prescribed guidelines that inform the means of distribution of material. Applied work, on the other hand, does not abide by the same set of guidelines, and thus accepts the premises of analysis and research being able to take on a form of exchange value, which in turn enables commodification of such material. The ethnographic practice does not change in itself, but the audience does, and when cultural analysis is requested or needed for a specific purpose, it becomes a form of commodity.

When talking about a product or a commodity, it is also essential to acknowledge the existence of a market. In order for something to become commodified, there must be a need or demand for it. It has been shown through our interviews that such a demand for applied cultural analysis exists. This was highlighted by Tine Damsholt and Orvar Löfgren, and in addition to this our informant Susan exemplifies it when explaining her role in a multidisciplinary consultancy;

What we have seen in the last couple years, is that our clients want insights, and when we position ourselves in relation to other consultancies offering similar services, we can see they are also starting to offer this on their shelves. Our competencies are a commodity in the market as it is right now. (Susan)

Here Susan explains that there is a demand for cultural analysis, and that her compe-

tencies as a cultural analyst are needed in order to provide insights. The final result of a project is often compiled into insights, which are often presented as solutions or small points which the client can build on or ponder on. In her interview, she further iterated that companies often want qualitative insights in addition to digital solutions or quantitative insights, as it provides depth to the final deliverable. To further pursue what is meant by depth in the product the clients buy into, a discussion of work and labour comes into play. In *The Human Condition*, Hanna Arendt distinguishes between the notions of work and labour, inferring that a product of work is meant for consumption whilst labour, although also geared for this, does not have any permanence in the form of a finished product and thus its value is found due to its continuous and interchangeable nature (Arendt 1958:143). The way in which cultural analysis is commodified as a product is rarely in the shape of an “end product”. What a cultural analyst provides is attributed value, a tool or an analysis that when applied improves the end product, not due to its finiteness, but due to its applicability to something else. The core objective of applied cultural analysis is not consumption, but its *application*. A good analysis should live beyond its conception and ultimately bring forth further utility and merit to its recipient.

Tools as a Commodity

When regarding utility, a common notion often used by teachers and alumni alike comes to mind, namely, *tools* or a sort of toolbox we use as applied cultural analysts. Tools can be many things, as we will exemplify below, but their commonality lies

in their use as transformative entities. Tools in a MACA context are often a plethora of things, whether they are physical objects, methods or notions presented in a concrete form. When regarding cultural analysis as a commodity, it is often the tools they use that yield the most intelligible exchange value.

Our informant William explains this very adequately when referring to the way in which he learned the language and terminology of his clients over time, and is now skilled in positioning himself when communicating to different parties. This means of understanding his clients' vernacular is essential, but the way in which he passes on the acquired knowledge is where the specific tool he utilizes becomes apparent.

I use these different tools. For example in alignment meetings, I ask what's the most important thing in this project? And then you'd say, well, it's energy. Then I write energy on this card. Then I asked the group, What's your idea of this word? What do you read when you read energy off this? And then you bounce it back and forth in the room and it becomes it becomes alive. (William)

Here the tool is very concrete in its form, namely, the cards which our informant uses to initiate discussion and communication in alignment meetings with clients. In our interview, William showed us how he explores concepts with the use of cards and post-its, as he explained how small exercises like this often take clients by surprise, but ultimately create an atmosphere that enables open communication and transparency regarding terminology. This can be related back to the MACA satellite example presented in the first section of this article, as this type of tool also creates the effect of taking a step back and examining the basics before undertaking comprehen-

sive analysis. The tools are used in processes in which the final product is developed. Therefore, they are not exposed as final products of analysis, but they have an impact on "a" final product.

The idea of a tool, however, is not always so concrete and they often manifest themselves in many forms. Another informant uses theory itself as a tool, boiling certain notions down into translatable notions in order to engage her clients.

I realized that theories were not only to be read, but they could be transformed into methodologies. And I think this is a huge difference from other approaches, or even traditional social sciences. So, when I'm talking about creating methodologies, I mean that I shape, for example, Victor Turner's liminality into business methodology to transform businesses. (Marcella)

Marcella explains Turner's liminality or liminal phase to the companies and businesses she works with so they understand the notion of being in a state of "in-between" and relates it to their specific business cases, as she often works with companies who are in the process of transformation. Here the tool becomes the theory itself, which she has moulded into specific methods that her clients can not just understand, but also engage with. Marcella has a highly nuanced understanding of the various theoretical points of departure she employs and she is able to transfer this knowledge by utilizing theory as a tool to aid in transformation by condensing theory in a way that her clients are able to relate to its premises.

A final example of a tool used by an alumna in order to convey a perspective and knowledge can be exemplified by reverting back to our informant Leah, who

sends companies out to try cultural analytical methodology first-hand.

I think that one of the things that I've learned is that the more you let people try and do these methods, the more they will learn how difficult it actually is to do a good interview. (Leah)

Here, the tool becomes the methods themselves, as she often experiences how clients gain a sense of the complexity involved in gathering qualitative data. This is a specific strategy she uses in order for her clients to gain a better understanding of the landscape they seek to apprehend, and thus the outcome is often a transformative experience. By making them engage with ethnographic research, she is also successful in showing them how challenging it can be. By doing this, she adds value to the commodity/product she is exchanging.

Cultural analysis tends to aim at being applicable, not consumable, and the tools produced thus have to be useful to specific others. We have shown that the discipline is bound by a reciprocal relation to the client, as the skills applied cultural analysts develop derive from the constant navigation of new problems presented by them. The work produced by applied cultural analysts is ascribed value by these others, and therefore they become an integral part of the outcome. Value can be defined by the way in which an action becomes meaningful to the actor or audience when embodied in a larger context (Graeber 2001:xxi), and when relating this to applied cultural analysis, it is often certain aspects of the analysis that are desired depending on the project or client. The end product of applied cultural analysis is most often unseen, similar to that of Arendt's description of labour

(Graeber 2001:143). When implemented or applied, cultural analysis is often embedded as it is seen in the way in which others utilize the insights. The same can be said for labour, as it is not visible; however, our informant Susan highlights this in the following example, where she worked with a large company on a project tackling sexism in the workplace. In this particular example, her job was to uncover insights that would otherwise not be communicated internally.

If you are a human resources boss in a huge company, you cannot ask your female employees about sexism in the workplace. But when you come from outside, and tell them that this is an analysis to better the industry, they are more likely to point out what the issues are. (Susan)

The end product that is then delivered to the client is insights, as in Susan's case, often written up as a report. It is the ethnography itself that ultimately holds value, as its aim is often to aid or improve a specific problem process or product for a client. Here the end product is not tangible, as it is continuous but unseen when implemented.

Unless you are a consultancy that sells hardcore facts and numbers, what you are selling as a cultural analyst is invisible, because how do you sell knowledge? But in the good projects, the knowledge that we provide an organization can lead the organization to dig deeper. For example, with the sexism project, the company was able to use our insights and dig deeper into the problem. (Susan)

A defining aspect of applied cultural analysis is thus not so much that it produces a tangible concrete solution. Instead, the practices of the discipline are incorporated in solutions that become someone else's.

Conclusion

This article has explored the larger field of applied cultural analysis as a discipline and opened the discussion of how alumni see and practice the discipline. Drawing on interviews with alumni, we have outlined some of the professional practices that are linked to the MACA programme at the University of Copenhagen and Lund University. This article has outlined how the practice of ethnographic research and analysis does not change from one discipline to another, but the audience does and thus the form of the practice changes accordingly. In line with Donna Haraway's notion of situatedness (Haraway 1988), practising applied cultural analysis implies consciously taking positionality into account. The applied cultural analyst seeks to offer transformation and plays an active role in development within its given context. This form of practice often involves what we have called the "other" others, whom the researcher or practitioner must understand and negotiate with. As the MACA programme just passed ten years it is a good time to discuss what is applied, who the others are, and how the discipline is shaped by commodification, to produce a distinct product. Both in academia and in private/public sector research, cultural analysis is intended for designated *others*, and it is thus important to question, not just the representation, but also the affiliation and reciprocal relation to the client. The discussion brought forth by this article not only addresses those who have graduated from the discipline and are practising it now but also expands these points for the larger discipline of ethnology in Scandinavia and others in the field.

Meghan Cortner

MA, Applied Cultural Analysis
Qualitative researcher at AnswerLab.
meghancortner@gmail.com

Jessica Jørnæs

MA, Applied Cultural Analysis
jessicajornaes@gmail.com

Adam Kuskner

MA, Applied Cultural Analysis
Consultant, Maple
adam@kuskner.dk

Mark Vacher

PhD, Associate Professor
Dept. of Ethnology, Copenhagen University
mvacher@hum.ku.dk

Notes

- 1 In line with confidentiality clauses and non-disclosure agreements signed by MACA alumni, all research participants except teachers on the MACA programme will appear under pseudonyms.

References

Fieldwork

List of interviews & dates

Master's students

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | Focus Group: Anna,
Henry, Mathilde,
Jacob | 27 Oct 2020 |
|---|---|-------------|

Teachers

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------|
| 2 | Robert Willim | 11 Nov 2020 |
| 3 | Tom O'Dell | 11 Nov 2020 |
| 4 | Tine Damsholt | 18 Nov 2020 |
| 5 | Frida Hastrup | 23 Nov 2020 |
| 6 | Håkan Jönsson | 24 Nov 2020 |
| 7 | Orvar Löfgren | 27 Nov 2020 |
| 8 | Charlotte Hagström | 2 Dec 2020 |
| 9 | Mark Vacher | 12 Dec 2020 |

Alumni

10 William	28 Jan 2021
11 Sarah	2 Feb 2021
12 Zoe	2 Feb 2021
13 Ben	3 Feb 2021
14 Leah	4 Feb 2021
15 James	4 Feb 2021
16 Mia	4 Feb 2021
17 Marcella	8 Feb 2021
18 Susan	9 Feb 2021
19 Catherine	15 Feb 2021
20 Chloe	15 March 2021
21 Emily	15 March 2021
22 Luka	15 March 2021

Literature

- Arendt, Hannah 1958: *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cefkin, Melissa 2010: *Ethnography and the Corporate Encounter: Reflections on Research in and of Corporations* (Vol. 5). Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Christensen, Søren, Astrid Pernille Jespersen, Signe Mellemegaard & Marie Sandberg 2017: *Kultur som praksis – Etnologiske perspektiver på individualitet og fællesskab, kultur og historie*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Clifford, James. 1983: On Ethnographic Authority. *Representations* 2:118–146.
- Clifford, James & George Marcus 1986: *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. (A School of American Research advanced seminar), Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association. Approved June 1998. *Anthropology News* 39(6):19–20.
- Crapanzano, Vincent 1980: *Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Damsholt, Tine 2008: The Sound of Citizenship. *Ethnologia Europaea* 38(1):56–65.
- Damsholt, Tine 2011: Brugerdreven innovation og kulturdreven innovation. In *Kulturdreven innovation. Nye metoder, nye muligheder*, ed. T. Damsholt, K. Salomonsson, A. Wiszmeg & L. S. Hvalsum, pp. 53–60. Copenhagen & Lund: University of Copenhagen & University of Lund.
- Damsholt, Tine & Signe Mellemegaard 2017: ”Kulturhistoriske problematiseringer”. In *Kultur som praksis – Etnologiske perspektiver på individualitet og fællesskab, kultur og historie*, ed. Søren Christensen Christensen et al. 23–66. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1940: *The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Firth, Raymond 1936: *We, the Tikopia. A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Fredriksson, Cecilia & Håkan Jönsson (eds.) 2008: *ETN:JOB*. (ETN: Etnologisk skriftserie; Vol. 5.) Lund: Lunds universitet, Etnologiska institutionen.
- Geertz, Clifford 1989: *Works and Lives. The Anthropologist as Author*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Graeber, D. & Graeber, D. 2001: *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value. The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. London: Palgrave.
- Graffman, Katarina & Kristina Börjesson 2011: We Are Looking Forward to Some Cool Quotes. *Ethnologia Europaea* 41(1):97–103.
- Hastrup, Kirsten 2020: *Klassiske og moderne antropologiske tænkere*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Haraway, Donna 1988: Situated Knowledges. The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14(3):575–599.
- Holland, Dorothy 2004: Ethnographic Studies of Positioning and Subjectivity. An Introduction. *Ethos* 32(2):127–139.
- InterReg Europe (n.d.): *What is Interreg Europe?* Interreg Europe. Retrieved 26 November 2021 from <https://www.interregeurope.eu/about-us/what-is-interreg-europe/>.
- Jespersen, A. P., M. K. Petersen, C. B. Ren & M. Sandberg 2012: Guest Editorial: Cultural Analysis as Intervention. *Science Studies* 25(1):3–12.

- Jordan, B. & Lambert, H. 2009: "Working in Corporate Jungles: Reflections on Ethnographic Praxis in Industry". In *Ethnography and the Corporate Encounter*, ed. M. Cefkin, pp. 95–133. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Krogh Petersen, Morten & Tine Damsholt 2008: "Cultural Analysis for Innovation and Implementation". In *ETN; JOB*, (ETN: Etnologisk Skriftserie, Vol. 5), ed. Cecilia Fredriksson & Håkan Jönsson, pp. 50–60. Lund: Lunds universitet, Etnologiska Institutionen.
- Löfgren, Orvar 2014: The Black Box of Everyday Life: Entanglements of Stuff, Affects and Activities. *Cultural Analysis* 13:77–98.
- Löfgren, Orvar & Regina Bendix 2008: Rethinking Europe as a Field for European Ethnology. *Ethnologia Europaea* 38(1):5–7.
- Marx, Karl & Friedrich Engels 2002: *The Communist Manifesto*. Gareth Steadman Jones (ed.). London: Penguin Books.
- Nauwelaers, C., K. Maguire & G. Ajmone Marsan 2013: The Case of Oresund (Denmark-Sweden) – Regions and Innovation: Collaborating Across Borders. *OECD Regional Development Working Papers* 2013/21. Paris: OECD Publishings.
- O'Dell, Tom & Robert Willim 2015: Rendering Culture and Multi-Targeted Ethnography. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 45:89–102.
- O'Dell, Tom 2017: Multi-targeted Ethnography and the Challenge of Engaging New Audiences and Publics. *Sociological Research Online* 22(4):193–207.
- O'Dell, Tom & Willim, Robert 2011: Irregular Ethnographies: An Introduction. *Ethnologia Europaea* 41(1):5–13.
- O'Dell, Tom 2011: Applied Cultural Analysis in the Öresund Region. Innovation and Problem-Solving Methods that Put People First. In *Kulturdreven innovation. Nye metoder, nye muligheder*, ed. T. Damsholt, K. Salomonsson, A. Wiszmeg & L. S. Hvalsum. Copenhagen & Lund: University of Copenhagen & University of Lund.
- Oliveira, Pedro 2012: Ethnography and Co-Creation in a Portuguese Consultancy. Wine Branding Research as an Example. *Journal of Business Anthropology* 1(2):197.
- Pojed, Dan, Meta Gorup & Alenka Bežjak Mlakar 2016: Applied Anthropology in Europe. Historical Obstacles, Current Situation, Future Challenges. *Anthropology in Action* 23(2):53–63.
- Sunderland, Patricia & Rita Denny 2007: *Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research*. Walnut Creek: West Coast Press.
- Verran, Helen 2013: Anthropology and Its Engagements. Ifá and Its Engagements (Holbraad's *Truth in Motion: The Recursive Anthropology of Cuban Divination*). *Current Anthropology* 54(4):518–519.
- Voldum, Jakob K. & Louise Work Havelund, 2008: People-centric Innovation. On Ethnological Competencies in Business Development Consulting. In *ETN:JOB*, ed. Cecilia Fredriksson & Håkan Jönsson. (ETN: Etnologisk skriftserie; Vol. 5.) Lund: Lunds universitet, Etnologiska institutionen.

Downscaling Climate Change through Local Sustainability

Everyday Climate Activism in a Suburban Neighbourhood in Bergen, Norway

By Lone Ree Milkær

“Someone has to do something”,¹ some neighbours said to each other one evening in 2010 in the suburb of Landås in Bergen, Norway. No one really did anything about climate change on an everyday basis, they thought. “What if we’re *someone*?”² they wondered (Tvinnereim 2019). This was the beginning of the organization *Sustainable Lives*. With the increased focus on climate change in public discourse, a new form of activism has emerged, primarily in the Western part of the world, which is based on cultural imaginations of possible everyday life in a climate-changed future. This article will focus on some of the “some-things” that make the construction of an everyday climate activism community viable in a suburban neighbourhood in Bergen. The focus of the article is how downscaling of the complex concept of global climate change takes place in the kind of activism that blends into everyday life. The article is based on studies of the Norwegian movement *Sustainable Lives*, more specifically the local branch *Sustainable Lives Landås*. As a movement, *Sustainable Lives* has as an explicit goal to change everyday practices and norms to “reduce the ecological footprint and strengthen the quality of life”, as their slogan went.³ With this statement, *Sustainable Lives* moves the notions of sustainability into an everyday setting, and this article will investigate the conceptualization of climate change and sustainability that arises at the intersection of everyday life practices and everyday climate activism as part of local community building.

Global climate change is, according to folklorists Anne Eriksen and Kyrre Kverndokk, an abstract phenomenon (Kverndokk & Eriksen 2021:6). Drawing on Timothy Morton, they remark that it is characterized

by non-locality; it is everywhere but cannot be localized (cf. Morton 2013). Climate change becomes an explicit and observable object through statistically defined scientific definitions and practices, and becomes visible through numbers, graphs and texts. Eriksen and Kverndokk state that:

The numbers, graphs, or texts by which climate change becomes a defined object are not just representations of an intangible phenomenon; to a certain extent, they *are* the phenomenon. This implies that to make “climate change” a meaningful object for science, politics, public debate, and everyday life requires different linguistic and semiotic practices. To make it meaningful is not merely a matter of translating scientific knowledge about something into more broadly understandable language. The “something” in itself – climate – needs to be conceptualised, expressed, narrated, and materialised to acquire substance and meaning (Kverndokk & Eriksen 2021:6).

The aim of this article is to examine such a process of making climate change a meaningful object in vernacular culture. Following Eriksen and Kverndokk, the process of sense making as *something someone* should do something about is not just a matter of downscaling the problem of climate change to a local vernacular setting. It necessitates a process of transforming the abstract notion of climate change into quite concrete practices and cultural expressions. The article investigates how such a downscaling and concretization of the notion of climate change takes place. Specifically, how is climate change made meaningful as *something* people might relate to in local everyday life?

In the case of *Sustainable Lives*, the term *sustainable* works as one important vehicle in the process of downscaling climate

change as a global challenge into a local issue that *someone* could relate to. While *sustainable development* is a macro-term referring to societal development on a large scale (cf. Kverndokk 2017), *sustainable* is an adjective, which often indicates a practice. Here I will study the process of making sense of climate change by following the notion of sustainability in the practices of *Sustainable Lives*, and I ask how climate change is downscaled to a local concern through the practices of the movement. The analysis of how this downscaling is done will be structured according to the three classic dimensions of everyday life, or what ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus, with reference to Sigurd Erixon, termed the three ethnological dimensions, *place*, *time* and *social environment* (Erixon 1938; Bringéus 1976). In other words, the article will examine the social practices included in *Sustainable Lives*' notion of sustainability by first describing and analysing how and where sustainability is located, and then how the temporal dimension becomes a part of the practices of sustainability.

Everyday Climate Activism

Studying everyday environmental activism as a cultural analytical practice field from an everyday life perspective is not new, nor is it new in Nordic cultural analyses. Previous Nordic research in everyday activism has dealt with how political activism merges with the everyday life of the activist and becomes a question of morality (Rickardson 2000:68). It has seen personal dreams and ambitions of the "alternative peasants" in Norway in the 1970s as part of the activism (Rickardson 2000:41). Studies of specific protests have discussed how social and cultural identity became a

component of the activism in protesting fossil gas thermal power plants in the late 1990s (Kapstad 2001), and how activism became a part of life for people who didn't see themselves as activists as part of the protest against Norwegian membership of the European Union preparing the ballot in 1994 (Esborg 2008). Esborg, in particular, uses an explicit emic perspective and sees the activism in a context of broad theoretical constructs such as national identity. In this article, I want to emphasize the emic perspective and see the movement *Sustainable Lives* in the context of the broader concepts of sustainability and climate change. Both Kapstad and Esborg analysed specific actions and political positions related to individual cases, which can be linked to larger abstract complexes, including environmental policy and national identity. Rickardson's analysis dealt with a form of activism in which political and moral arguments are explicitly intermingled in notions of the good life, as is mirrored in the imagined sustainable life of *Sustainable Lives*. This article will elaborate on the tension between the specific and the abstract, between the political and moral arguments of activism. In the focus of the practices of everyday life lies perhaps not as much a shift from politics to morality as an emphasis on the floating limits of the definition of political position (Zackariasson 2006:22, 33). The 1970s feminist slogan "the private is political" comes to mind. The proximity to everyday life and connection to abstract phenomena and concepts linked to activism which characterizes Nordic Ethno-folkloristic activism research is the guiding perspective of the article. Activism is seen as a kind of condition, integral to everyday life, and as an embedded part of groups

and local communities. Moreover, political activism is seen as a field not solely about elections, protests and parties, but as much about the power to change the world, and about the shift from explicit political goals to the values of everyday life that happens as an effect of everyday activism.

The connections between political activism and everyday life practices lead me to the use of the term *everyday climate activism*. The geographers Paul Chatterton and Jean Pickerill use the designation *everyday activists* to describe activists who use everyday activities as building blocks in the creation of a desirable future, which is enabled as a result of the activism (Chatterton & Pickerill 2010; also Walker 2017:14). The field of *everyday climate activism* thus has its starting point in everyday life and the practices that exist there, specifically in the practices of everyday life which are based on the challenges arising in the wake of everyday experiences and practices connected to a perception of climate change (also Barr & Gilg 2006:910; Dowling 2010:489; O'Brien, Selboe & Hayward 2018). The connection of *climate* to the term *everyday activism* specifies the context in which I use it, while the *everyday* prefix emphasizes that it is not about activists who take to the streets with banners and catchphrases. The activists in this article are people in a middle-class suburb of Bergen, who continuously work to interweave activism into their notions of and practices of everyday life and the connected formation of communities and attribution of meaning and values.

Method and Material

The empirical basis of this article is fieldwork done in and around *Sustainable Lives*

Landås' various activities during the period 2017–2019. The initial purpose of the fieldwork was to explore vernacular understandings of climate change, especially its implications for the notions of temporality. It primarily revolved around a small restored mansion – Lystgården – where the movement has its offices and where the majority of the events and meetings take place. For more than two years, I have conducted interviews and collected observations in connection with events as diverse as workshops on edible plants or the making of Christmas ornaments, 17th of May celebrations, which is the Norwegian Constitution Day, and Landåsfest, a one-day festival with hundreds of attendees.

For this article, I draw mainly upon the observations at Landåsfest which I attended in 2017, 2018 and 2019. I have walked through the festival area on the day of the festival itself, taken photos and talked to participants and volunteers. Additionally, I have participated in the preparations for the festival in several ways: in meetings in the months and weeks before, especially in 2018, and in building the site and making the decorations in the days before the festival in 2018 and 2019, while I talked to activists and employees. It ended up being a mix of participatory and non-participatory observations, with a tendency more towards participation at the end of the fieldwork compared to the beginning, primarily because I got to know the volunteers and they got to know me. In a busy environment, I was sometimes seen as an idle pair of hands and was put to work laminating pricelists or bringing change to the people manning the entrance at the other end of the festival area. The interview part of the fieldwork has primarily been

semi-structured qualitative interviews and I have interviewed several of the founders and employees of the movement, as well as particularly active activists.⁴ Only one interview is analysed directly in this article, and the remaining interview material is primarily used as references and background. This particular interviewee and his partner had lived in the same house in Landås for more than 30 years and he cared very much about the sense of community in the neighbourhood in general. His children had grown up here and he had previously been involved in neighbourhood initiatives. In this one interview, the conversation of the neighbourhood was foregrounded due to the special interests and extended experiences of the interviewee, but questions on networking in the neighbourhood have been a part of the interview guide and have been touched upon in all of the interviews.

In addition to the field material, the article analyses texts produced by *Sustainable Lives*. The movement has produced a substantial amount of text as part of e.g. the movement website, dissemination of experiences in print, and the advertising of workshops or events on Facebook. These texts convey the attitudes, values and perspectives of the organization and are treated as empirical material in the article, which means that some of the material analysed will figure in the article as quotations from a text with a named author. The interviews and the texts occasionally address the same topic or are used to analyse different aspects of an issue, since some of the writers are also the interviewees. This means that interviews and texts are analysed as complementary empirical material at the same level in the analysis of the perspectives in the article. The use of com-

plementary types of material – interviews, observations, texts – has been a way for me to approach the construction of meaning in *Sustainable Lives* as an organization-based community. I have talked to members of the community, observed and participated in practices of the community and read text produced with different purposes by members of the community to access different ways of constructing meaning.

Sustainable Lives in Landås

As an everyday climate activist movement, *Sustainable Lives* is an example of a widespread international environmentalist phenomenon that in a broad sense is concerned with the development of sustainable consumption patterns and the development of local communities that are less vulnerable to, for example, fluctuations in global markets and production.⁵

Sustainable Lives as a movement can be seen as part of this, which also includes phenomena with a focus on locally produced foods such as urban gardening, the cultivation of tomatoes on balconies, harvesting of wild plants in gardens and local parks and beehives on the rooftops in big cities. These phenomena can be said to have the asymmetrical relationship between nature and urban everyday life as their focal point. This kind of activism primarily takes place in major cities, focusing on the increased integration of nature and natural resources into everyday life in the city. Moreover, the field reflects a varying degree of direct political posturing as part of the activism, which moves on a scale from an explicit critique of capitalism to resignation to climate change adaptation. Around the year 2020, *Sustainable Lives Norway* was a national umbrella movement, with

an office, a manager and several part-time employees funded by a mixture of public and private funds. *Sustainable Lives* consisted of subgroups primarily in neighbourhoods in Bergen, but in several other places in Norway as well (in Stavanger, Trondheim and Oslo).⁶ Activities of the typical *Sustainable Lives* groups consisted of e.g. garden cultivation courses, seed and clothing exchange markets, clothing repair workshops and lectures on how to raise chickens or which local plants are edible. The national umbrella was administered from an old mansion house in Landås in Bergen that also housed the local Landås branch.⁷

Landås is a suburb about five kilometres from the centre of Bergen. It is a mixed neighbourhood with both high rises and terraced and detached houses.⁸ It is placed up the side of the Landås mountain and was built primarily as part of the post-war expansion of Bergen in the 1950–60s (Johnsen 2004:249, 255). It was in this specific part of town that some people around the year 2010 had the idea of doing something about “the great global challenges that were so crippling”, as one of the founders of the movement said to me in an interview. She told me of an evening when a group of people sat around a kitchen table, drinking a cup of coffee or a glass of red wine, talking about the terrible state of the world, the advancing reality of climate change and the general apathy of society. She told me that they all knew each other because several of them worked in the same office at the local church,⁹ but also because they lived in the same neighbourhood and therefore had children in the same schools and institutions. They were approximately the same age and at the same place in life,

with a house, jobs, young children and a busy everyday life. After agreeing that the world was generally heading in the wrong direction and that someone should do something, they looked at each other and acknowledged, what if we’re *someone*?

Before going home that night, we had come to a kind of realization: The world needs more examples of someone who proves that change is possible. And we couldn’t find the phone number of someone. We had to do the job ourselves. Someone was simply ourselves (Nilsen & Tvinnereim 2018:12).¹⁰

In this origin story of *Sustainable Lives*, changing the perception of climate change is closely connected to the ability to act and to a network of like-minded neighbours who are part of an everyday community. Furthermore, the activism is placed inside the household, around the kitchen table. This ties the idea of the neighbourhood, the household and *Sustainable Lives* together from the onset of the movement.

The Neighbourhood as a Special Place

The focus on the neighbourhood as the place of everyday climate activism presented in the *Sustainable Lives* origin story implies a notion of the neighbourhood as a special place. In the *Sustainable Lives* groups of Bergen the geographical designation attached to each group indicates affiliation to a specific district or neighbourhood, such as the district of Nordnes, Løvstakken or Landås. All of these places are to some degree integrated in the larger city of Bergen, and outsiders do not notice the boundaries between the different parts of the city. This makes the geographical indications emic boundary markers in their own right. But

a place is more than just a geographical delineation. Places are assigned cultural and social significance through practice, or as the philosopher Stephen Casey put it, places are not something that is, places are something that happens (Casey 1996: 26, 27). Performance and narration of the neighbourhood, not just as a significant place but as a place with specific values, are a central part of the practice of *Sustainable Lives* (cf. Buccitelli 2016:7).

The Countryside in the City

The notion of the neighbourhood in contrast to the large-scale society and the “big city”, and at the same time an integrated part of it, is significant in the practices of *Sustainable Lives*.

On the movement’s website, it reads:

In 2008, we began the search for climate-smart solutions in a neighbourhood of Bergen. About 6500 people live in the school district of Landås, in around 3300 households. We’re like the countryside in the city. In this “rural area,” it is important to belong, to be able to contribute and to experience meaningfulness.¹¹

In this quotation Landås and *Sustainable Lives* are linked in a practice, a “pursuit of climate-smart solutions”, which is both precisely located and quantifiable. In close connection to this relocation of climate-smart solutions to a very specific neighbourhood in Bergen, a qualitative understanding of the countryside is presented as a place where individuals contribute to the community they belong to and thereby experience meaningfulness. The countryside metaphor frames the meaning of contribution and meaningfulness, by drawing on the notions of the close-knit local community. There is no apparent need for fur-

ther elaboration than the ascertainment that “we’re like the countryside in the city”. The text continues to provide a more accurate description of what contribution and meaningfulness can be thought to be in this countryside in the city:

We share angle grinders and sea kayaks, pass on children’s bikes and jointly own trailers, while reducing private consumption and experimenting with local sharing economy. We learn about edible plants, cutting up wild sheep and how to grow vegetables in the kitchen garden, while also taking back the knowledge we’re losing.¹²

The ideal of the social life portrayed in this quotation implies a longing for a close-knit community often associated with perceptions about rural life. The countryside creates quite specific images connected to an understanding of traditional rural society, where everyone knows each other and everyone helps each other out when necessary. The imagery points back in time and out of town, where community on a small-scale contrasts with society on a larger scale. It draws on notions of a pre-modern society in which the community was automatically defined by geographical affiliation and seen as a social unit because of geography. This notion of the countryside establishes a figure that can generally act as a metaphor for all that modernity isn’t, both the negative and the positive (Eriksen 2009:8), but from the perspective of *Sustainable Lives*, the metaphor of the countryside is unconditionally positive.¹³ The designation “the countryside in the city” is used by *Sustainable Lives Landås* to create an image of a close-knit community-based neighbourhood.

The social form that is imagined could be characterized by what Tönnies termed

a *Gemeinschaft*, a community first and foremost based on personal relations, often associated with traditional pre-modern societies, in contrast to the impersonal, transaction-based life in the modern city, or what Tönnies terms *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies 2001 [1887]). In that regard, the quotation also implies a temporal dimension, or a longing back to an ideal society based on a more or less imagined and undefined past. In *Sustainable Lives*' understanding, such a *Gemeinschaft* ought to characterize the middle-class everyday life in a Norwegian suburb, where sea kayaks and angle grinders are shared. In this specific articulation of the countryside in the city, two incompatible notions are juxtaposed. To borrow and to share is countryside, but the specific items being borrowed and shared – sea kayaks, trailers, and angle grinders – are a part of modern suburban life. The aim of the sharing is to reduce private consumption, but the sharing and borrowing are not instigated by either surplus or shortage in the local community. On the contrary, it symbolizes the general surplus of modern capitalist consumer society.

The use of the metaphor of the countryside further shows a longing for the *Gemeinschaft* of an undefined past era and for a knowledge, represented by a practice, which at first glance does not match everyday life in a middle-class suburb of Bergen. The cutting up of wild sheep or the harvesting of wild plants are both related to an idea of a simpler everyday life in the countryside and perhaps allude to the asymmetrical relationship between nature and culture generally displayed in the everyday climate activism as such. The coupling between the notion of life in the countryside and a modern environmental movement

is far from new. In the 1970s and 80s, as Heidi Rickardson writes, ecologists and so-called alternative-farmers found “their room for political action in the countryside [my translation]” (Rickardson 2000:42). They moved their urban everyday lives outside of the city, into the countryside, where they acquired small farms and cultivated them. *Sustainable Lives Landås* finds and uses the same type of political space built on the notion of life in the countryside as the road to a better (and sustainable) society, but moves “the countryside”, as a metaphor, into the suburbs. Common to the two strategies is the notion that the path to a sustainable society goes through practices linked to the notion of everyday rural life in the countryside as inherently sustainable. The environmental policy and moral arguments merge into everyday life practices that are meant to lead the way to a good (sustainable) life. The metaphor of the countryside in the city plays an important role in imagining the sustainable *Gemeinschaft* of *Sustainable Lives* and thus has an important position in the downscaling and localization of sustainability.

The metaphor of the rural or the countryside is additionally a cohesive part of how the neighbourhood is constructed in *Sustainable Lives Landås*. Vebjørn is a retired craftsman volunteer who primarily helps out with practical things, he tells me. I met him on an afternoon of voluntary work painting the walls at the first floor of Lystgården and now we are sitting in his living room drinking tea and eating bread with goat cheese and jam. To Vebjørn, the neighbourhood is created as a place by the participation and actions of the people who live there. If nobody does anything, the community disappears, he thinks. That is

why he always joins if someone asks him to participate in any local activities, if he has the opportunity to do so. Part of Vebjørn's perception of community contains a clear sense of the boundaries of the neighbourhood and who thus is part of the neighbourhood and who is not. In an interview, Vebjørn talks of some of the new activities that *Sustainable Lives Landås* have initiated at Lystgården. The activities are not necessarily directly linked to sustainable issues but are a mix of community-building activities as such and sustainable-centred activities in particular. In this quotation, he talks about a choir that rehearses in a room at Lystgården, and about the members of the choir.

Vebjørn: But it was people who [...] knew about each other and maybe greeted each other and stuff but like, they're not together necessarily at leisure otherwise. But you connect the rural Landås, this part of Landås mind you. Because it can only apply to this part, it cannot apply to the others.¹⁴

In the quotation Vebjørn articulates *Sustainable Lives Landås* as a framework which creates a community based on personal relations. He does so by designating the neighbourhood as "rural Landås," and when he tells me that the choir members didn't really know each other, he paints a negative picture of a modern society marked by alienation and of a local community with no close relationships. Without further explanation, he immediately thereafter uses "the rural Landås" as a counter image to the impersonal relationships, where you might nod to the neighbour when walking between the front door and the car in the garage in the morning, but where no one really knows each other. Part of the transformation of sustainability from

a large scale to a smaller scale in the everyday activist practices relies upon is the explicit and exclusive demarcation, which is embedded in the notion of the neighbourhood as the countryside in the city. It is a demarcation that simultaneously excludes the ones on the outside from the sustainable life. In the same breath that Vebjørn weaves Landås as neighbourhood, he also delineates it by stressing that it can "only apply to this part; it cannot apply to the others." When I ask him who "the others" are, he replies by pointing outside the walls of the cosy living room where we sit, to the boundaries of Landås as he experiences them. He explains that here is the school and here is Fridalen and there is Sletten, which is not Landås, and concludes by noting that "Okay, they are there, [...] and we are here." To Vebjørn, the understanding of a clear geographical boundary marks who is part of the community and who is not, but the "local" is both something specifically geographical with the reference to "there" and "here" and a negotiation of boundaries of the *Gemeinschaft* with reference to "they", "we" and "the others". The combination of geography and of a sense community makes *the local* an emic adjective which denotes the special quality and sense of homeliness and reassurance which is considered to belong to the small-scale local close-knit community (Blehr 2000:151).

Landåsfest as Performance of the Present and Future

The festival *Landåsfest* has taken place every year, since the very beginning of *Sustainable Lives* in 2010, until it was cancelled due to the corona pandemic in 2020. The festival is curated by *Sustainable Lives*

Landås, which invites participants and plans the physical lay-out of the festival site. Landåsfest is constructed as a classic festival located around a street in Landås which also houses Lystgården. The festival usually takes place in late August. It is a one-day festival and has a stage for performances placed centrally in the area, as well as the associated stalls for sales and activities. Landåsfest fits perfectly into the definition of a festival, which is a planned, public cultural performance, limited in both time and space and constituted by a combination of participation and performance (Stoeltje 1992). The festival makes use of the cultural grammar of the local festival and, through the form of the festival, displays what in the anthropologist Don Handelman's terminology could be termed a *model* of the local

community. At the same time, the form provides an opportunity to present an ideal of how the local community should be, or what Handelman terms a *model for* the community (Handelman 1990). The cultural grammar of the typical local festival makes it possible to emphasize the neighbourhood both as the ideal close-knit everyday life community in the present and as a sustainable close-knit everyday life community in the future.

"Residents of Landås are welcomed to the second Landåsfest in history. On Sunday 28 August at 2 p.m., the party is on again with local musicians and entertainment in various forms",¹⁵ the invitation 2011 read, and in 2014, "we invite you to a large-scale street party for all of Landås, young and old! As usual, there will be food



1. The Landås festival mirrors the imagery of almost any other local festival: banners, flags, stalls and a myriad of people walking amongst each other. Landåsfest 2019. Photo: Lone Ree Milkær.

and music, activities and environmental information.”¹⁶ The festival can be seen as an almost tangible manifestation of the neighbourhood, and *Sustainable Lives Landås* as an integral part of the neighbourhood. The slogan of the Landåsfest is “Better, funner, greener”,¹⁷ and when seen on the big banner 2019 next to the *Sustainable Lives* logo it connects sustainability, quality of life and everyday life. It is *Sustainable Lives*’ general ambition to “take the climate battle from protest to party” as seen in the slogan used by the organization up until 2021.¹⁸ With the emphasis on fun and party in both slogans, sustainability and climate change activism are moved from the political sphere to the everyday life sphere.

Many activists from *Sustainable Lives Landås* participated in some form of activity during the preparation of the festival and on the day of the festival itself. I talked to a young couple who had recently moved to the area. They knew of the festival and *activities* before they moved there and they had signed up as practical help for the festival as a kind of gateway to the movement and through that to the community of the neighbourhood. To them, as to Vebjørn quoted earlier, participation created a sense of belonging.

I attended Landåsfest in 2017, 2018 and 2019. Although the specific line-up of stalls and activities has varied slightly from year to year, the set-up has largely followed the same pattern. As a tangible preparation, the festival is first announced geographically by physical signs, which visibly limits the audience to residents of the neighbourhood. Brightly coloured A4-sized posters are hung on lampposts in different streets in the area, and a giant banner hangs on a wall located by a driveway central to Landås.

These signs announce the dates of this year’s festival. The posters symbolically mark the borders of a sustainable life, a border that, incidentally, fits nicely within the neighbourhood delineations that Vebjørn designated in the interview referred to earlier in the text. Posters and banners emphasize the boundaries of the local community in the weeks leading up to the party. By hanging the posters only in Landås, despite the organizers knowing that a segment of the participants in the festival comes from other parts of Bergen, they made explicit the symbolic demarcation of the sustainable neighbourhood of the festival.



2. A4 posters like this are placed around Landås by “an army of dog walkers”, as one organizer said in an interview. By labelling the volunteers that help with the hanging of the posters in this way, this practice is linked closely to activities of everyday life, such as walking the dog. Photo: Lone Ree Milkær.

The Festival, the Family and the Neighbourhood

The stage area at the festival site is centrally located. During the day, the on-stage programme consists mainly of performances by local artists: an orchestra with exclusively local members or soloists who reside in the neighbourhood, accompanied by local musicians.¹⁹ The programme starts with a performance by the local school band, as a very recognizable Norwegian cultural manifestation of everyday life and the neighbourhood in a festival frame. In Norway, there is a strong tradition of local musical (often brass or janitshar) bands, especially in schools.

These bands, which are independent programmes involving children at primary level schools, are closely associated with the performance of both local and national identity. Since the early twentieth century, when the first school bands were established (Korpshistorien 2018), they have especially been associated with the local celebrations on the Norwegian Constitution Day on 17 May (Blehr 2000:124, 132; Karlsen et al. 2013:51, 52). The connection to twentieth-century history and national identity blends into the local identity at the opening of Landåsfest and alludes to the past as an anchor. Landå school band has performed at every single festival since the first one in 2010. “Of course, we open with the school band,”²⁰ “they sort of get the party started at the Landåsfest every year,”²¹ some of the activists explained during a planning meeting I attended. Adding the “of course” emphasizes that the element of the school band is an integral part of the cultural grammar of the local festival. Additionally, the hosts on stage introduce the band in an ironic way that shows that everyone knows

the genre “school band at a local festival”. They present the band with the designation “the originals” and say, with a twinkle in their eyes, that they have played at the festival for several generations, which of course they haven’t because the Landåsfest has not existed for generations, but it underscores the traditional values associated with it. School bands are a powerful metaphor in Norwegian society which connects family, tradition and neighbourhood and symbolizes belonging and interdependence amongst these. Opening the festival with a performance by the school band underscores that this is a local community event, with children and family at the centre of attention.

A walk through the festival area shows the neighbourhood as a place for children to play and for people to enjoy themselves with their families and neighbours. At the busiest time, there are several hundred people at the festival area, parents walking with baby carriages and strollers, children running back and forth and adults and children talking and laughing, standing in line at the food stalls and sitting in groups of grandparents, children and grandchildren, eating at the benches and tables. At one end, there is a lawn with activities for small children such as a plastic udder on a green-painted wooden rack, filled with milk, so they can try to milk a sheep and two tents connected with a small tunnel for crawling through.

Toddlers and their parents use this area, but it seems that the lawn itself attracts them as much as the tents and the wooden sheep. In the first two festivals I attended, the highlight was box-climbing at the tall pines on this lawn. Mostly tween-age children compete over who can build the tallest tower of plastic milk crates. The tower

must be built while the child itself stands on top of it, properly secured with a harness and lines attached to the closest trees.

This activity has the longest queue in the festival area and some of the children get right back in line when they have had their try at the tallest tower, to have another go. Two boys, around ten years of age, wait eagerly in line with their heads close together, assessing the current competitor. The local library has a stall where you can print your own badges and buy discarded books. The participation of the library in particular signals a local integration of family life and everyday life. In Norwegian communities, the library is a gathering point for young families, e.g. for a Sunday activity. Typical children and family activities which could be found at any local festival, like face painting, apple baking and clowns entertaining, dominate parts of the festival area and underline that families' and children's activities are a very significant part of the festival area. A model of the neighbourhood as focused on everyday family life is presented and the role played by the family as the central unit in the presentation of the model of the local community is emphasized.²²

The everyday life focus is expanded with an association of food and neighbourhood. Right past the lawn with the play area, the festival continues with a row of stalls selling food and cakes. Parents and children from the school band sell homemade chocolate cake and cupcakes, and activists from *Sustainable lives Landås* make "sveler" (which is a kind of thick pancake from Western Norway eaten with jam or cheese) in the adjacent stall. The "sveler" is made on the spot on big electric pans and they are in high demand. People buy them hot

right off the pan and eating them off paper plates. At the festival in 2019, there was a stall where you could buy food – sambosa from Somalia and börek from Turkey – made by local residents with roots in countries other than Norway as well, but the sveler and the homemade cake have been for sale every year. These are all typical dishes that are homecooked or if produced commercially, they are often handmade and produced on a small scale. And just as important, all these dishes are regarded as traditional. The combination of sveler, homemade cake, sambosa and börek presents a Handelmanian model of a culturally diverse neighbourhood which is united through traditional homecooked food in an everyday household. Putting such dishes on display indicates family traditions as a part of the neighbourhood, as well as connections to a notion of traditional societies.

Displaying a Sustainable Local Everyday Life for the Future

In Landåsfest, the model for a desirable sustainable and liveable climate-changed future is performed alongside the model of the everyday life of the close-knit diverse countryside neighbourhood. Next to the food stalls with the sveler and börek, one can buy food from three or four professional sales stalls. The vendors have been invited by *Sustainable Lives Landås* to be part of the festival area and they all advertise the use of organic and sustainable produce in the dishes they sell at the festival. In the sveler and börek stalls, there is no mention of the status of the produce as organic or not, because the emphasis is on the local and home-made, while the food consumption is re-presented in a sustainable form in the professional stalls.

The re-presentation of the sustainable local community is present at the festival through much more than food stands. Next to the children's area on the lawn, we find a stall with "the environmental agents", an environmental organization for children that focuses on sustainability and environmental awareness through information and activities in local groups such as beach clean-ups and recycling of batteries.²³ A girl around the age of ten sits on her knees on the asphalt beside a tarp with recycling symbols printed on it. She reaches into a bag and pulls up a light bulb that she then tries to place on the right symbol on the tarp, in a kind of recycling picture lottery. A younger boy and his mother are interested bystanders. After a while, the girl invites him to reach into the bag himself and try to place a piece of plastic in the right spot of the tarp. In the church car park, which is an integral part of the festival site, three male activists man an information stall on *Sustainable Lives Landås'* transport group. They are eager to inform festival-goers about their work on sustainable solutions to local transport issues. They have, perhaps in line with the focus on food consumption mentioned above, produced a "transport menu" on a roll-up, which is a list of alternatives to driving your car such as co-driving, biking, biking on an electrical bike and using public transport. The transport group stall is a table with an opportunity to talk to the activists and a lot of adult passers-by stop to have a chat, especially about the bikes. Beside the table at least four different electric bikes are parked for people to try for a spin around the car park. A young woman is sitting on a parked long john-like cargo bike that has seating for two small children in the front. She seems a little hes-

itant, but she is trying the bike on and is talking to a man from the transport group. Because of the hilly terrain in Bergen, biking is not a normal means of transportation for longer commutes, and commuting by electric (cargo) bikes points towards a more sustainable commuter everyday life in the suburb. The kind of sustainability linked to electric bikes relies on supporting sustainability through new technology. Even though seemingly opposites the use of technological solutions and the longing for the *Gemeinschaft* of the countryside co-exist without difficulty in the idea of the local community displayed by *Sustainable Lives Landås*. In another kind of activity communicating technological innovation, you can make a smoothie by operating the blender with a bicycle to get an understanding of the concept of energy and production and to illustrate the use of sustainable energy with a starting point in food consumption. This is a very popular activity and adults and children alike line up to try the bicycle and see the fruits turn into a pink smoothie in the blender on the rack on the back of the bike. Even though questions regarding transportation and technology are an integral part of the climate change consideration on both a larger and a smaller scale, the *Landås* transport group's stall and the activities at the festival are focused on transportation linked directly to local communities and have no mention of other transportation issues, for example freight related to consumer products.

In a stall at the centre of the festival area some of the activists who are part of the *Sustainable Lives Landås* project The Food Forest (Matskogen) sell herbs and vegetables grown further up on the *Landås* mountain. They talk to passers-by about the prin-

ciple of permaculture that the Food Forest is built upon.²⁴The stall is dominated by the green leaves of the herbs that you can smell if you walk by, and the activists in the stall all look weathered and sunburned. You can see that they spend a lot of time outdoors. The project is run primarily by a hired project manager and a group of activists on funds raised by *Sustainable Lives Landås*. The idea of the project is to show that locally grown produce is achievable even in a suburb in Bergen. The sale of locally produced honey is a visible part of the stall, even though the activists manning it tells



3. The honey on sale is from the hives in Matskogen. Landåsfest 2018. The first sign says “Honey for sale” and the one below says “Honey from Landås, 80 crowns”. Photo: Lone Ree Milkær.

me that they are not the actual beekeepers. The hives are at the Food Forest, but caring for bees is a specialist assignment, and a few dedicated activists have that as an interest. Several crates of honey in the back of the stall indicate that the sale is expected to go well. The honey and the beehives are important parts of the illustration of local produce in one aspect in particular. Bees are assigned a very special role in everyday climate activism, especially in major cities where they are seen as a refuge from industrialization and as a symbol of the city as an alternative to the industrialized society that has eradicated the habitats of bees (Sherfey 2020:159ff.). Bees can be said to symbolize a kind of prototype of sustainability, both in the sense that they live in networks and create what they need from the environment (Moore & Kosut 2014:517) and that they have been assigned a special role in the human-animal interactions of anthropocene urban farming. Bees as pollinators have been at the forefront of the climate change discourse (Sherfey 2020:153), and honey has come to symbolize a feeling that everything might be all right and that by selling and buying the honey, we’re all able to contribute to that on a very local scale. When the honey is seen as a part of the cultural grammar of the local festival, it underscores both the local and the sustainable aspect of the festival, as the added sign in the picture from the honey sale reminds us by specifying that the honey for sale is not just honey, but honey from Landås. The sale of honey from the Food Forest is a good example of the performance of the intertwining of the conceptualization of sustainability in *Sustainable Lives* and the metaphor of the suburban neighbourhood as the countryside as part of a solution to

the global challenges of climate change through very local sustainability.

Running through the festival site the close-knit neighbourhood meets the desirable sustainable neighbourhood in a domestication of sustainability. School band, sheep udders and box-climbing, commuting and “sveler” mirror the everyday life lived in the familiarity of the neighbourhood. It showcases the neighbourhood as a place where children play and go to school and parents commute and spend their free time. Simultaneously, the environmental agents, recycling, the Food Forest with the bees, electric bikes and sustainable transportation solutions show how *Sustainable Lives Landås* would like the community to be, in order to be more sustainable and future-oriented. In this way, the festival becomes both a recognizable model of the local community, which presents an image that feels like home to the neighbourhood, and a model for the present and the future desirable sustainable local community in the climate-changing world (cf. Handelman 1990).

The Downscaling of Climate Change

In the everyday climate activist movement *Sustainable Lives Landås*, climate change as a global phenomenon is downscaled into *something* meaningful in local everyday life. Climate change is scaled down from large- to small-scale, towards a local entrenchment more than a global understanding, becoming more associated with the values of everyday life. In the shift from one scale to another, climate change is not just conceptualized, but transformed into something else. In the downscaling process, the concept of sustainability is an important vehicle as climate change becomes relatable in everyday life through the social

practices of *Sustainable Lives*. In this article I have studied some of the ways climate change is concretized and downscaled to a local concern through some of the practices of the movement.

By literally placing sustainability in a community of individual households, via Landåsfest and the establishment of the neighbourhood as the central arena, and by pointing to values of the past countryside as an ideal, sustainability and subsequently climate change can be seen as domesticated. In the domestication process, the responsibility of the climate-changed future is tied specifically to the individual and the local community. The ethnologist Lars Kaijser pinpoints that one of the essential effects of the downscaling of climate change through the domestication of sustainability is the reduction of the threat of the climate-changed future (Kaijser 2019:87). The downscaling of global issues of climate change and a sustainable future additionally implies a shift from an explicitly political issue to an emphasis on the ethical responsibility of individuals in everyday life. This has the consequence that processes connected to climate change mitigation or environmental sustainability become associated with quality of life and consumer choices in everyday life in a neighbourhood like Landås.

The very foundation of *Sustainable Lives* is based on localizing climate change activism by placing sustainable life in neighbourhoods and constructing them as finite entities, demarcated by both geography and cultural values. With the use of the metaphor of the countryside in the city as an ideal, the notion of the sustainable neighbourhood is tied to a notion of community and linked to a certain extent to an



4. The neighbourhood is framed in the garden of Lystgården. Landåsfest 2018. Photo: Lone Ree Milkær.

imagined past. The metaphor of the countryside emphasizes values such as family, household and personal relations as well as forms a connection between the imagined future and the perceived past. Both in the name *Sustainable Lives* and in the explicit purpose of the movement, as it is articulated in the slogan of the movement (to reduce the ecological footprint and strengthen the quality of life), a notion of continuity is established between the models of the life lived now, the life lived in the traditional past and the life we have the opportunity to live in the future. The notion of continuity highlights an understanding of sustainability connected to the preservation of society as we know it today (also Kverndokk 2017:40, 41). If the present sustainable

life is lived with as small an ecological footprint as possible, there will also be a sustainable life in the future, seems to be the logic. In the practices of the everyday climate activism of *Sustainable Lives* this notion of continuity exists as a part of the process of downscaling and thus becomes part of the transformation of the intangible phenomenon of climate change into something meaningful in part of the everyday life of a group of activists in a suburb of Bergen.

Lone Ree Milkær

Institute of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies
and Religion University of Bergen
P.O. Box 7805 N-5020 Bergen
email: Lone.Milker@uib.no

Notes

- 1 “Nogen må gøre noget”. My translation. Norwegian quotations will be translated in the text for the remainder of the article, and the original will be added as a footnote.
- 2 “Hvad nu, hvis det er os, der er nogen?”
- 3 “Bærekraftige liv jobber for å redusere vårt økologiske fotavtrykk, samtidig som vi øker livskvaliteten”, <https://www.facebook.com/barekraftigeliv> (accessed 29 December 2021).
- 4 Twelve interviews in all.
- 5 This focus is also seen in the international Transition movement, which has arisen approximately at the same time as *Sustainable Lives*. In the Transition movement, the potential of local areas and the close community are seen as an essential part of a sustainable transition to a climate-changing future (also e.g. Felicetti 2013:563, 564, 565; Russi 2015:94–99; Boudinot & LeVasseur 2016:382).
- 6 Facebook lists at least 31 pages using “Bærekraftige liv” (*Sustainable Lives*) in the title, often with a geographical tag/reference, such as “Bærekraftige liv Voss” or “Bærekraftige liv in Bø”, enumerated 10 May 2021. The Facebook pages have between 23 and 6100 followers. The page just called “Bærekraftige liv” (with no specific geographical denotation) has the most followers. The level of activity on the pages fluctuates. Some have multiple posts per week and others have not had a post for several years. Seventeen of the “Bærekraftige liv” groups on Facebook are linked to boroughs, suburbs or smaller towns in and around Bergen: Arna, Flaktveit, Hellen, Kronstad, Landås, Løvestakken, Meland, Minde, Nordnes, Nygård, Sydneshalvøen, Sandviken, Sletten, Ulset, Fylingsdalen and Søreide, Nattland and Sødalen and Alpetun/Skjold. An overview of Sustainable Life Groups is also available at www.barekraftigeliv.no/bli-med#map, which includes 24 groups (accessed 11 May 2021).
- 7 The manor house was formerly known as “Landås manor house”, but has been renamed by *Sustainable Lives Landås* and is now called “Lystgården”, which is a Norwegian designation of a smaller mansion used for leisure purposes.
- 8 The lower parts of Landås are dominated by four-storey concrete buildings. Further up the mountainside is mostly two-storey wooden houses, either as vertically partitioned terraced houses or horizontally partitioned with 2–4 apartments dependent on the type of partition (Fonn et al. 2004:285).
- 9 The fact that these people knew each other through their employment at the local church is significant, but will not be elaborated in this article.
- 10 “Før vi gikk hjem den kvelden, hadde vi kommet til en slags erkjennelse: Verden trenger flere eksempler på noen, som beviser, at forandring er mulig. Og vi kunne ikke finne telefonnummeret til Noen. Vi måtte gjøre jobben selv. Noen var rett og slett oss” (Nilsen & Tvinnereim 2018:12).
- 11 “I 2008 begynte vi jakten på klimasmarte løsninger i et nabolag i Bergen. I skolekretsen Landås bor det ca 6500 mennesker, i rundt 3300 husstander. Vi er en bygd i byen. I denne “bygda” er det viktig å høre til, å kunne bidra og oppleve mening”, <https://www.barekraftigeliv.no/om> (accessed 10 June 2020).
- 12 “Vi deler vinkelslipere og havkajakker, gir videre barnesykler og eier tilhengere sammen samtidig som vi reduserer det private forbruket og eksperimenterer med en lokal delingsøkonomi. Vi lærer om spiselige vekster, partering av villsau og hvordan man dyrker i kjøkkenhagen samtidig som vi tar tilbake kunnskap vi holder på å miste”, <https://www.barekraftigeliv.no/om> (accessed 10 June 2020).
- 13 Perceptions of modern life in the countryside may also be intertwined with industrial agriculture and loss of biodiversity, and thus the link between modern life and the idea of the countryside are not exclusively positive (Sherfey 2020:160). The metaphor as used by

Sustainable Lives disregards the hardship of life in the countryside, both in the past and in the present.

- 14 “Men det var folk som [...] visste om hverandre og kanskje hilste på hverandre og sånt men som, men de er jo ikke sammen nødvendigvis på fritid ellers og sånn. Men du knytter bygden Landås, denne delen av Landås vel og merke. For det er jo denne delen det må gjelde, det kan ikke gjelde for de andre.” (Interview with Vebjørn).
- 15 “Landåsbeboere er velkommen til den andre LandåsFesten i historien. Søndag 28. august kl 14.00 braker det løs på nytt med lokale musikere og underholdning i mange former”, http://www.barekraftigeliv.no/nyheter/41-landasfest_2011 (Wayback machine, 25 August 2014, accessed 30 April 2021).
- 16 “[...] inviterer vi til storstilt gatefest for hele Landås, unge og gamle! Som vanlig blir det mat og musikk, aktiviteter og miljøtorg”, <http://www.barekraftigeliv.no/landasfest> (Wayback Machine, 23 August 2014, accessed 30 April 2021).
- 17 “Bedre, gøyere, grønnere”, should be translated to “Better, more fun, greener” to be grammatically correct, but then the rhythm of the phrase would be lost.
- 18 <https://www.barekraftigeliv.no/landas/om> (accessed 31 May 2021). Slogan of Sustainable Life Norway: bring the climate battle from protest to party.
- 19 Each year there was a performance by a main artist, who was not specifically from Landås, but from the greater area of Bergen.
- 20 “Vi starter jo med skolekorpset.” Observation, planning meeting Landåsfest 6 June 2019.
- 21 “De laver ligesom sit eget liv i Landås festen hvert år.” Observation, planning meeting Landåsfest 6 June 2019.
- 22 There is no explicit focus on the heteronormative nuclear family in the set-up of the festival, no mentioning of “mum, dad and children”, but diversity isn’t articulated explicitly either. Exceptions to this are seen in individual cases, such as the festival that featured traditional food from places other than Norway.
- 23 <https://miljoagentene.no/> (accessed 31 May 2021).
- 24 The permaculture principles is built upon the studying an imitation of natural ecosystems, “in order to design human and ecological systems based on these patterns naturally found” (Aiken 2017:177, 178).

References

Fieldwork

- Observations at Landåsfest in 2017, 2018 and 2019.
 Observation, planning meeting Landåsfest 6 June 2019.
 Interviews with Vebjørn and a founder of Sustainable Lives, all material deleted according to Norwegian data regulations.

Online sources

- <http://www.barekraftigeliv.no/bli-med#map> (accessed 11 May 2021). <http://www.barekraftigeliv.no/landasfest>, (Wayback Machine 23 August 2014, accessed 30 April 2021). <https://www.barekraftigeliv.no/landas/om> (accessed 31 May 2021). http://www.barekraftigeliv.no/nyheter/41-landasfest_2011, (Wayback machine, 25 August 2014, accessed 30 April 2021).
- <https://www.barekraftigeliv.no/om> (accessed 10 June 2020). <https://www.facebook.com/barekraftigeliv> (accessed 29 December 2021). <https://miljoagentene.no/> (accessed 31 May 2021).

Literature

- Aiken, G. T. 2017: Permaculture and the Social Design of Nature. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 99(2):172–191.
- Barr, S. & A. Gilg 2006: Sustainable Lifestyles: Framing Environmental Action in and around the Home. *Geoforum* 37:906–920.
- Blehr, B. 2000: *En norsk besværlig. 17 maj-firande vid 1900-talets slut*. Nora: Nya Doxa.
- Boudinot, F. G. & T. LeVasseur 2016: “Grow the Scorched Ground Green”. Values and Ethics in the Transition Movement. *Journal*

- for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 10(3):379–404.
- Bringéus, N.-A. 1976: *Människan som kulturvarsele*. Malmö: Liber.
- Buccitelli, A. B. 2016: *City of Neighborhoods. Memory, folklore, and Ethnic Place in Boston*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Casey, E. S. 1996: How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time. In *Senses of Place*, ed. S. Feld & K.H. Basso. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Chatterton, P. & J. Pickerill 2010: Everyday Activism and Transitions towards Post-capitalist Worlds. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35:475–490.
- Dowling, R. 2010: Geographies of Identity. Climate Change, Governmentality and Activism. *Progress in Human Geography* 34(4):488–495.
- Eriksen, A. 2009: Foreword. In *Negotiating Pasts in the Nordic Countries. Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Memory*, ed. A. Eriksen & J. V. Sigurdsson. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Erixon, S. 1938: *Svenskt folkliv*. Uppsala: Lindblad.
- Esborg, L. 2008: *Det norske nei til EU. En studie av motstand som kulturell praksis*. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.
- Felicetti, A. 2013: Localism and the Transition Movement. *Policy Studies* 34(5–6):559–574.
- Fonn, O. et al. 2004: *Selvbyggerlagene. In Landås. Fra lystgårder og husmannsplasser til drabantby*, 2nd ed., ed. H. Jensen et al. Bergen: Kanonhaugen forlag.
- Handelman, D. 1990: *Models and Mirrors. Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnsen, E. 2004: Fra plan til virkelighet – drabantbyen Landås. In *Landås. Fra lystgårder og husmannsplasser til drabantby*, 2nd ed., ed. H. Jensen et al. Bergen: Kanonhaugen forlag, pp. 249–267.
- Kajiser, L. 2019: Promoting Environmental Awareness. On Emotions, Story-telling, and Banal Sustainability in a Staged Rainforest. *Ethnologia Europaea* 49(1):74–90.
- Kapstad, C. R. 2001: *Når handling tar plass. Ein kulturstudie av Fellesaksjonen mot gasskraftverk*. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen.
- Karlsen, S. et al. 2013: Community Music in the Nordic Countries. Politics, Research, Programs and Educational Significance. In *Community Music Today*, ed. K. K. Veblen et al., pp. 46–63. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Korpshistorien* 2018: Available at: <https://musikkorps.no/tidslinje/>.
- Kverndokk, K. 2017: Klimakrisens tid. *Arr – idéhistorisk tidsskrift* 29(2):33–47.
- Kverndokk, K. & A. Eriksen 2021: Climate Change Temporalities. Narratives, Genres, and Tropes. In *Climate Change Temporalities. Explorations in Vernacular, Popular and Scientific Discourse*, ed. K. Kverndokk, A. Eriksen & M. R. Bjerke, pp. 3–14. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Moore, L. J. & M. Kosut 2014: Among the Colony. Ethnographic Fieldwork, Urban Bees and Intra-species Mindfulness. *Ethnography* 15(4):516–539.
- Morton, T. 2013: *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nilsen, A. W. and A. V. Tvinneim 2018: *Den lille håndboken i grønn naboskaping*. Bergen: Bærekraftige Liv.
- O'Brien, K., E. Selboe & B. M. Hayward 2018: Exploring Youth Activism on Climate Change. Dutiful, Disruptive and Dangerous Dissent. *Ecology and Society* 23(3):42.
- Rickardson, H. 2000: *Tilbake til jorda. Drømmer og hverdagsliv. En etnologisk studie med utgangspunkt i 1970-tallets alternativbønder*. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen.
- Russi, L. 2015: *Everything Gardens and Other Stories. Growing Transition Culture*. Plymouth: University of Plymouth Press.
- Sherfey, P. 2020: Odlå tillsammans. *Budkavlen* 99:144–169.
- Stoeltje, B. J. 1992: Festival. In *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments*,

- ed. R. Bauman. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tönnies, F. 2001: *Community and Civil Society*. Edited by J. Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tvinnereim, A. 2019: *Hva om det er 'vi' som er 'noen'?* *Harvest Magazine*. Available at: <https://www.harvestmagazine.no/pan/hva-om-det-er-vi-som-er-noen-1> (Accessed 1 July 2019).
- Walker, C. 2017: Embodying "the Next Generation". Children's Everyday Environmental Activism in India and England. *Contemporary Social Science Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences* 12(1–2):3–26.
- Zackariasson, M. 2006: *Viljan att förändra världen. Politiskt engagemang hos unga i den globala rättviserörelsen*. Umeå: Boréa.

Breaking the Seal, Keeping it Real

On Authenticity and Masculinity in Engaging with Bunkers

By Mattias Frihammar & Fredrik Krohn Andersson

When the howling voice of “Hesa Fredrik”¹ echoed in Sweden once every fourth month during the Cold War, the siren was a reminder to citizens that they lived in an insecure world characterized by a balance of terror, arms races and nuclear threats. At the same time, it was a reminder that Sweden invested heavily in its military and civil defence. The doctrine of “total defence” included mandatory conscription for all male citizens, a domestic weapons industry (Åselius 2005) and one of the highest rates of bomb shelters per capita in the world (Hörnfeldt 2015; Cronqvist 2008, 2012). However, at the end of the Cold War, the Swedish security policy strategy took a different direction. The international geopolitical upheavals of 1989 were followed by a period of radical downsizing and professionalization of the Swedish military. Conscription was abandoned in 2010, and the nationwide “people’s defence” system was replaced with combat units designed for international missions. As the Cold War “died”, things associated with it, both concrete and abstract, began to gain a second life as heritage. The bunkers and shelters that had been erected lingered in the physical landscape, and today they still seem to be linked to ideas of protection, security and threats, but in new ways.

This article focuses on the heritage processes related to the Cold War in Sweden, specifically, the male-dominated interest in bunkers and shelters. The purpose is to understand how constructions of masculinity and authenticity interplay in the heritagization of the Cold War when bunker enthusiasts encounter bunkers and participate in other bunker contexts. How are authenticity and masculinity established when the actors involved engage in Cold War remnants?

We will draw on ideas from a critical heritage studies perspective, which means that the contemporary popular interest in bunkers and the activities it generates are analysed as meaning-making practices, in which the past is activated and mobilized in the present (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013; Winter 2013). Heritage processes, or heritagization (Harvey 2001:320), can be understood as negotiations where certain ideas and meanings are linked to objects, places or phenomena (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998) and where pasts are used as resources in the present production of an imagined community (Graham & Howard 2008; Anderson 1983).

Central to our stance is a gender perspective. In line with Butler, we argue that “gender cannot be understood as a role which either expresses or disguises an interior ‘self’” and that “gender can be neither true nor false, neither real nor apparent” (1988:528). Masculinity and femininity are constructed in relation to each other as two contrastive cultural categories (Connell 1995:44), and practices of masculinity necessarily activate notions of femininity and vice versa. We reject any essential gender reality behind the gendered performance and instead regard gender as part of a configuration, serving to sustain relations of domination within a given societal order (Connell 1987:71 ff). Following this, masculinity should not be understood as a fixed category but as a type of continuous meaning-making where different ideals, norms and conditions interact and give a set of different masculinities, and where a certain variant constitutes an ideal, hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985; Connell 1995). Exactly what constitutes hegemonic masculinity has

changed over time, but it has persistently been linked to militarism as well as heterosexuality.

Constructions of masculinity and femininity in military contexts have been and still are crucial for a gender order in which men (in the name of nations) are assigned the role of active protector and warrior, while women are linked to the passive role of being protected (Morgan 1994; Elshtain 1982 & 1987). Masculinity and femininity give meaning to military institutions and practitioners in the same way that military activities contribute to perceptions of masculinity and femininity (Higate 2018; Hutchings 2008). These gendered aspects of the military framework are essential to our analysis, as we understand the masculine meaning-making among bunker enthusiasts to be a prolongation of established connection between militarism and gender. In this, the Cold War history of the Swedish military is noteworthy. The period's "deep militarization" (Kronsell 2012) reinforced gendered citizenship (Eduards 2007; Sundevall 2011) and underpinned a division between masculine-coded protection and feminine-coded susceptibility (Åse 2016).²

Also central to our stance is the comprehension of authenticity as a concept "that can be strategically configured and deployed according to the task at hand" (Silverman 2015:69). In line with many others, we see the ever-present search for authenticity as an expression of modernity (Bendix 1997; Handler 1986; Trilling 1974) that is intimately connected with the heritage field (Woods 2020). The discussion of authenticity in heritage studies is both widespread and varied (Hewison 1987; Cohen 1988; Wang 1999; Crew &

Sims 1991; Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003; Holtorf 2013; Khalaf 2021). In the present study, we have no ambition to discuss the different definitions of the concept but focus on the authentic as something desirable and perceived as genuine. However, ascribing authenticity to something not only adds positive value (of some sort) but also reveals an aspiration to reach the unspoiled reality, in other words, to claim an absolute truth. We understand the search for authenticity and masculinity as an inter-formative process in which the gendered aspects of military protection are constantly activated and reinforced.

In the material, we have identified three different but interconnected ways in which configurations of masculinization and authenticity play out. One is what we term a *desire-masculinizing feminization of materialities and spaces*. Here bunkers are constructed as untouched or unspoiled spaces, which in turn enable masculine conquering projects. Another way is the *feminization of spaces and materialities*, which enables a *protector-masculinity*. Here bunkers, along with their purportedly genuine aura, are framed as exposed to threats and risks. The third way we term *homosocial masculinization*, the process in which the articulated knowledge that there are significantly more men than women interested in bunkers is naturalized and rationalized. We will briefly refer to the two first ways throughout the text, and finally deepen the analysis and include the third way in the concluding discussion.

People engaged in the exploration of abandoned bunkers are referred to as "bunkerologists" (Bennett 2013). In Sweden there is a wide bunkerological network that is reflected in a number of publications,

associations, organizations and forums on the internet. The same phenomenon is also found in other national contexts (see, e.g., Bennett 2017). Bunkerology is related to some other contemporary social movements, such as so-called preppers, who prepare for an impending disaster of some kind by hoarding food, learning skills such as first aid and, *nota bene*, preparing bunker-like installations. Like bunkerologist groups, prepper groups are dominated by men, something that has been analysed in relation to male victim roles and the staging of masculine know-how (Kelly 2016). Similar quests for safeguarding a genuine masculine lifestyle that is perceived as threatened have been scrutinized in various studies (see, e.g., Matthews, Hancock & Gu 2014; Hunt 2008; Rademacher & Kelly 2018). However, although we identify that bunkerologists are guided by a search for a sensed lost masculinity, the starting point is not that masculinity today is in crisis (Seagal 1990). In contrast, we argue that masculinity will never be final or fully achieved but always has been and will always be under negotiation (Roper & Tosh 1991).

The empirical material for this study was gathered as part of a three-year project that included ethnographic fieldwork at Cold War heritage sites of various kinds in Sweden. We visited a number of official and unofficial heritage sites, made observations and interviewed people in different positions. The study includes social media, websites, policy and planning material and media. In this article, examples are given from visits to museums and leisure home areas, social media feeds, interviews with enthusiasts and heritage administrators, and newspapers and television pro-

grammes. The collaborative analysis combines an ethnographic interest in how people reflect, act and perform as individuals and groups, with the attention to the uses, adaptations, functions, transformations and representations of material structures within architectural history.

In the following, we introduce the empirical examples. Initially, we address bunker enthusiast activity on Facebook. This is followed by descriptions of heritage sites with a bunker theme interspersed with quotations from interviews with bunker enthusiasts. We take a closer look at the project “Save Sonja” under the auspices of the Military Preparedness Museum (Beredskapsmuseet) in Helsingborg in the south of Sweden, and end in Bungenäs on Gotland, Sweden’s biggest island located in the Baltic Sea, with a slightly longer analysis of an area that has abandoned bunkers converted into exclusive leisure homes. The empirical examples draw attention to the performative actions where masculine security negotiations take place and in which the bunkers play and co-play a constantly mobilized role.

Cosy and Genuine Bunkers

“My girlfriend asked what makes me happy! I sent this picture in response”.³ The comment is from the feed in a Facebook group for Swedish bunkerologists. The photo depicts a steep concrete staircase in a barren rock room, leading down to a concrete wall where a grid door stands partly open. To an outsider, such a dark, gloomy and remote environment would probably appear hostile. In the Facebook group, however, examples of what we have conceptualized as “bunker cosiness” are recurrent. Sometimes, the concept is even

specifically proclaimed in captions such as “Sunday Cosiness”, “Cosy Saturday snow”, “Good Friday Cosiness” and “Cosy Friday”. Sometimes it is expressed in the form of desire, for example, “several thousand square metres of pure love of moisture, rock and concrete” or “2500 square metres of damp, frost, darkness and pure love”. One post shows a shady picture, where one can barely see the contours of a very worn and damp room. An iron hand-rail and an iron door are covered with rust. Accompanying the photo is only one desire-laden word: “Longing”.

In constructing damp rock chambers, raw concrete and desolate tunnels as cosy



1. Bunker cosiness? Photo: M. Frihammar.

and captivating places, the concept of cosiness is reinterpreted. Feminine coded attributes like warm homey comfort are denied, and instead, cold, remote and hard surfaces are put forward as sources of enjoyment. Here, masculinity mashes with notions of authenticity in different ways. We interpret the bunkerological search for a cosy Cold War pristineness as activating a *desire-masculinizing feminization*. In this, the ability to generate a feeling of untouched purity is crucial. Comments such as “It is pitch black, narrow and still [has] a thick layer of dust on the floor” or “Completely untouched for many years” signal and emphasize that the person making the post is the first to enter that space. Pictures of graffiti, on the other hand, are more often accompanied by formulations of the type: “An old rock room that has not aged with dignity.” In the interviews with the bunker enthusiasts, the appeal of the untouched space is highlighted in formulations such as “it’s based on being first and disturbing the dust” or that it is “a pretty fucking luxurious thing” if the place visited does not bear traces of previous visits but seems to have stood untouched since it was abandoned.

Encounters with bunkers are framed as multisensual experiences and are described in affective terms. When asked what determines whether it is a good place or not, one informant answered “the scent, because we often talk about how it is, yes, it is a good mountain, because it smells”, and to emphasize how strongly the memory of the scent affects him, he showed his forearm to indicate that his hair was rising. Reference is made to the memory of scent on Facebook posts, such as in one with an image of a partially lit underground passage with the



2. The wreck of the DC3 aeroplane resting in an enormous showcase producing authenticity at the Swedish Air Force Museum. Photo: F. Krohn Andersson.

comment “Do you recognize the scent?” References to the sense of smell paint the bunkerologist as a connoisseur, underpinning a proper masculinity (Ferguson 2018), with an ability to sensorially judge whether a bunker is “genuine” or not.

A focus on the affective receptiveness of objects and the things being seemingly untouched and strong bearers of emotions is also found in official heritagizations. In an exhibition at the national Swedish Air Force Museum (Flygvapenmuseum) in Linköping of a DC3 aeroplane that was shot down, the entire plane, salvaged from the bottom of the Baltic Sea more than 50 years after it disappeared in 1952, is displayed on the sparsely lit underground floor of the museum (Åse & Wendt 2021; Ekström 2021). The museum’s presentation (in text and in the guided tour) emphasizes that the wreck of the plane is

displayed exactly as it was found and that the exhibition includes all the loose objects (wedding rings, handkerchiefs) found in the vicinity of the plane on the bottom of the sea. In an interview, the former director of the museum described the wreck as “lying in a sarcophagus” still on the bottom of the sea. According to the former director, the placement of the plane wreck in an enormous showcase, beyond the reach of the visitor, is meant to create a physical but, more importantly, mental distance that contributes to the feeling of authenticity and something very special and something that “creates a stronger experience”. If the visitors were allowed to come close and perhaps even touch the objects, this would lead to what the director describes as “breaking the enchantment” (interview 31 January 2019) and, paradoxically, a decomposition of the carefully staged authen-

ticity. The wreck is enclosed by portraits of the men who died in it, as well as stories about the men who eventually found and salvaged it. The staged authenticity invites museum visitors to feel reverence for the men who made the ultimate sacrifice for the nation and the male saviours of their remains – underpinning myths of military protection and masculinized bravery (Baggiarini 2015).

Notably, despite The Air Force Museum's claim of displaying the absolute totality of the DC3 remains, we have found other objects presented as being from the same plane wreck in two other exhibitions at the Swedish National Defence Radio Establishment (FRA) museum and Defence Museum Gotland (Gotlands försvarsmuseum). Our interpretation is therefore that the Air Force Museum's focus on the exact arrangement of objects and their entirety is primarily focused on producing an aura of authenticity.

Secrets and Revelations

As demonstrated above, in the bunkerologist community a place can lose its appeal by being already (visibly) visited by others or, even worse, vandalized. However, we have also identified a threat that is both more general and more ephemeral – the secrecy of the place being lost. In the Facebook group, whose *raison d'être* is to help members show each other pictures, the rules, despite what one might think, include a ban on mentioning location information or the names of the depicted facilities. It is equally forbidden to “fish”, i.e., ask where the place in question is or what kind of object it is. This urge for secrecy sometimes has preposterous effects. During our fieldwork in Boden, in the north of Sweden, we vis-

ited both official and grassroots Cold War heritagizations. One of the places that one of our guides, the owner of Kalix Defence Line Museum (Kalixlinjens museum), took us to see was the new submarine museum in the port of Töre in Kalix. The key object there is the mini submarine Spiggen, a gift from the Swedish navy to the municipality of Kalix. The municipality has lent Spiggen to the museum foundation, which expresses on their website the wish that the exhibition will give “the region a positive marketing [tool] for upcoming tourist visits” (Website Siknäsförtet). However, when we found photos from the same submarine exhibition in the Facebook feed, the text explicitly called for silence about where the boat is located, as if it was a top-secret military site and not a public museum in search of an audience. Here the principles are characteristic of the *feminization of spaces and materialities*, allowing for a *protector-masculinity* to be brought to the fore. The male bunkerology group safeguards the objects (perceived as) being at risk of exposure by calling for mutual silence.

A similar logic is found in the explicit resistance to musealization that we frequently encountered in the material. “Our idea has been that this will not be a museum”, says, for example, the former director of Aerozeum, despite the fact that it is a state-funded heritage institution tasked with the responsibility of preserving and displaying the underground rock chamber built in Säve, north of Gothenburg on the west coast of Sweden, on behalf of the Air Force during the Cold War (interview 22 March 2019). A bunker enthusiast expressed the same sentiment in relation to the National Army Museum in Stockholm and its way of displaying and handling

the objects: “I don’t really like it, because it is an elitist way of looking at stuff” (interview 6 February 2019). Here a line is drawn between a masculine coded active use of the Cold War remnants, represented by the bunkerologists, and a feminine coded caring and nursing attitude by the heritage institution.

Scepticism towards heritage expertise is sometimes manifested in paradoxical expressions. The Military Preparedness Museum was, for example, excluded from the state museum network SMHA due to an unwillingness to follow the stipulated museum rules. However, the museum has stayed extraordinarily active as an insurgent outsider among the Cold War museums, quite often in open opposition to network management (interview 18 August 2020). In the following, we will analyse one of the museum’s high-profile projects, “Save Sonja” (“Rädda Sonja”). The project’s aim

was to excavate and open up an overgrown artillery battery that was sealed in 1990 by the Swedish Armed Forces. “Save Sonja” was described in depth on the museum’s website. The project was introduced with a black and white photograph of a young woman standing on a summer meadow in the middle of the twentieth century. She is wearing a light, floral dress, and her gaze is directed at the photographer. Her light, short hair is touched by the wind. Above the woman are the words “Save Sonja!” It was not clear from the text who the woman in the picture was. On the other hand, the page states that the actual cannon is “christened Sonja”. The project lasted several months, and its process, which consisted of exposing the concrete structure with the help of excavators and eventually picks and shovels, was documented in photos and presented on the website. In this example, the principle of *desire-masculiniz-*



3. Our idea has been that this will not be a museum. Interior entrance hall, Aerozeum. Photo: M. Frihammar.

ing feminization of materialities and spaces is at work, perhaps most clearly in the naming of the project: “Save Sonja”. More implicitly but equally effective, it emerges through the defloration trope, which is activated through the focus on exposing and uncovering the hidden, untouched and uninvaded room.

The actual occasion of the first opening of the artillery battery door took place under ritualized forms and was captured on film, which was later available on the website. The event was also featured in the local newspaper, *Skånska Dagbladet*, where the artillery battery Sonja was presented as a farmworker’s daughter who “is about to be awakened after 28 years of sleep behind her seal” (*Skånska Dagbladet*, 22 August 2019). The caption to the film on the website reads, “Film from the opening moment of 1st cannon piece Sonja”. In the film, two upper-middle-aged men dressed in work clothes stand in front of a concrete wall in which there is a low closed steel door. One of the men is pulling on a rough steel handle in the door, which seems to have jammed. Male voices are heard in the background cheering with shouts like “It’s going up, come on now.” When the handle still does not come loose, someone suggests that they use a “small sledgehammer”, and soon one is delivered. After the handle is hit a few times, it suddenly comes loose – shouts of joy and whooping come from the group of men. The man closest to the door opens it, and a voice in the background exclaims: “Damn, even the paint is still there!” The man who opened door poses for a while in the doorway and the others take pictures of him. He then disappears into the darkness. The End.

Gated Masculinity and Vulnerable Concrete

We see a variation in the bunker theme when we move our gaze from the Save Sonja project to the former military area of Bungenäs on Gotland. The military exited the area in 2000, and a contractor bought the land in 2007. The following year, the contractor also established an architectural firm as part of transforming the area into a so-called lifestyle dwelling area. The assignment for the architects included drawing up very detailed area regulations for the development plan and, eventually, helping design the houses. Here the principle of *feminization of spaces* is at work in paradoxical yet all-inclusive ways. As we shall see, despite the tough character, Bungenäs was constructed as a delicate, fragile place, in need of guard, galvanizing a *protector-masculinity*.

At first glance, the strong regulations in the area and the secluded location give the impression that this is a so-called gated community. These types of areas often focus on being pleasant and cosy and take preindustrial small town or village communities as models. Bungenäs contrasts in a drastic way. What greets the eye is the barren and unflattering Gotland coastal landscape with cobblestone fields, occasional trees and sparse vegetation. The area is also characterized by a military presence from the 1960s onwards and industrial limestone mining before that, and a deep, crater-like open pit mine lies deserted in the middle of the peninsula.

A visitor to Bungenäs first encounters a barrier in the form of a large metal gate and a fence with barbed wire at the top. This is a material relic from the military era when the peninsula was a protected military zone that it was forbidden to en-

ter. The fence and gate are the same today (Gestaltningssystem 2011:5). Old signs from previous military activities are still standing. The information board at the entrance reads “Information Bungenäs exercise area” with a red triangle on a yellow background and the text “Dangerous”. The fence, sign, symbol and text signal that this is a border, something we interpreted as a way to create exclusion and selectivity. On closer examination, however, the delimitation is fictitious; the border is permeable. Next to the imposing gate is an opening that visitors on foot can, and according to the municipal and regional directives, should be able to pass. In fact, the fence cuts right through a nature reserve formed in 2013. Bungenäs is thus also intended to foster an outdoor lifestyle (Utvidgning av naturreservatet Bungenäs, Länsstyrelsen Gotlands län 2013). During our interview, Gotland’s regional heritage administrator told us that he takes his dogs here on walks, so it is obviously successful at attracting people to the outdoors (interview 20 February 2019).

As mentioned, the design programme for Bungenäs is extremely detailed in terms of materials, paints and colours. What is accepted is unpainted, untreated concrete with cast grooves from the casting boards, unpainted wood panelling that becomes naturally grey, wood panel painted with dark green and black distemper paint, iron-vitriol-treated and oiled wood panel, limestone masonry and corten steel (Gestaltningssystem 2011:85). The programme divides the area into smaller sections with specific building regulations on height, roof shape, colour and facade material. Furthermore, there must be no lawns, fences, or plot markings of any

kind. According to the design programme, it is the tranquillity of Bungenäs, together with the traces of industry and military functions, that contributes to “the strong, barren and wild character that Bungenäs has” (Gestaltningssystem 2011:5).

In the everyday life of the residents of Bungenäs, there are also some hard regulations to abide by. In the clean-cut *Design Manual, Bungenäs (Designmanual Bungenäs)* publication, distributed to everyone who buys a house in the area, there is a short but strict admonition:

Exterior additions

List formulated by Aktiebolag Bungenäs lime quarry together with the Design Committee on things that may not occur at Bungenäs:

- Plastic furniture
 - Visible air-to-air heat pumps
 - Cars
 - Caravans
 - Plastic boats
 - Trampolines
 - Satellite dishes
 - Exterior decorations in deviating colours
 - Colourful parasols and sun shelter
 - Advertising
 - Plastic pools
 - Plants foreign to Bungenäs (does not apply to spice gardens)
 - Pressure-treated wood
 - Flagpoles
 - Christmas decorations
 - Extravagant outdoor lighting
 - Fences
 - Lawns
 - Dryers in plastic⁴
- (Sundström et al. 2015:49)

We first encountered the manual during fieldwork at Bungenäs, when we found the publication on display on the bookshelf of the house we rented through Airbnb. This

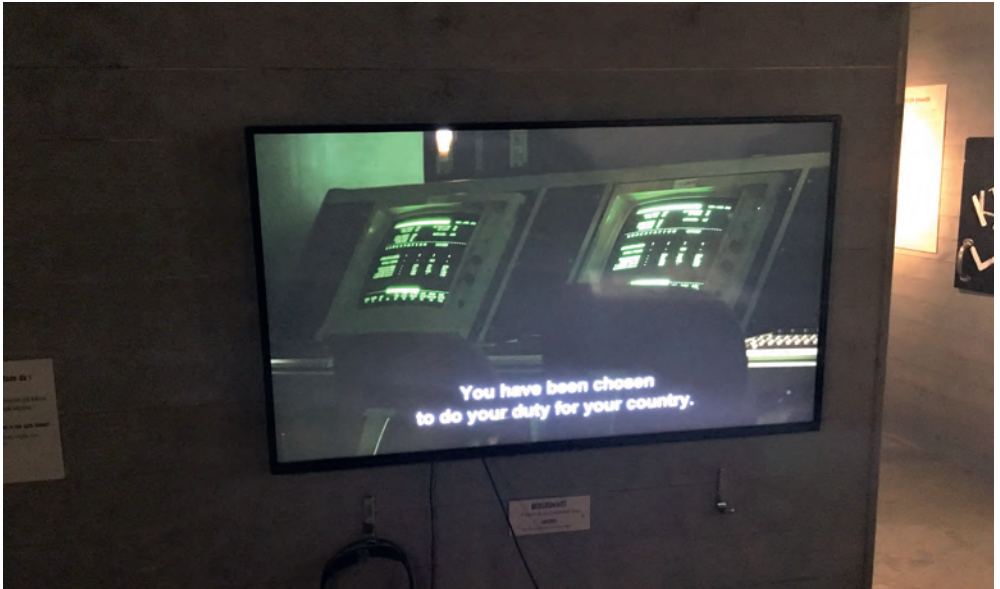
was not one of the spectacular buildings in the area. Even so, the house showed the characteristics of a Bungenäs house with a clean design and tasteful materials, and its interior and exterior meticulously conformed in every aspect to the design manual. However, one day, as we sat on the patio and lifted the lid of the inconspicuous military-green wooden box next to the wall out of curiosity, a kaleidoscope of colourful children's things such as plastic toys, pink balls, water pistols, swimming rings and inflatable dinghies met our eyes. The contrast between the sober, greyscale exterior and the bright festivity of colours inside the box was striking. We interpret the list's rigid rules of conduct as a way of meeting the threat posed by the family life that actually takes place on the site – after all, Bungenäs attracts an economically strong but relatively family-conventional group. Here, as in the bunker cosiness example, traditional feminine coded qualities threaten to sweeten and thus castrate Bungenäs's raw but aestheticized male concrete atmosphere. Looking out over the area, we started to imagine other aesthetically frivolous things in the surrounding houses similarly hidden away so as not to threaten Bungenäs's harsh masculine authenticity.

One of the first projects at Bungenäs was the spectacular building commissioned by H&M billionaire Stefan Bengtsson (*Gotlands Tidningar* 14 March 2014, *Dagens industri* 15 December 2016). Initially called "Building 104", the building was later renamed to the historically inaccurate but more military sounding, "Bunker 104". The origin of the building was the installation of a double Bofors m/51B 15.2 cm coastal artillery cannon, which extended three floors underground.

Between 2012 and 2016, the space was redesigned into a leisure home. The main part of the building today consists largely of the original concrete structures underground, which seem to have been left untreated and raw. Notable in this context, however, is that these surfaces were not raw but painted (light green and blue) when the spaces served as an artillery installation. In other words, the raw concrete is a gesture of authenticity rather than an actual remnant of previous activities. Sometimes the supposedly untouched concrete is contrasted with floors made from lavish materials such as marble, as well as terrazzo floors.

In a quite different context, that of official heritagization, the fabrication of authenticity through the symbolic use of concrete is stretched even further. In an attempt to capture the essence of the Cold War experience in a condensed image, the military vehicle museum Arsenalen in Strängnäs built a "concrete" bunker in the exhibition hall out of wood and plaster. Even though it is fake concrete, the aura and connotative power of the material of authenticity seem to (supposedly) rub off on the experience. Inside the "bunker", a film is screened where the auratic quality and strength of the ephemeral bunker materiality is even further pronounced. The film is composed of still images accompanied by a voiceover. There is an image of an underground concrete shaft. The voiceover begins, "I know that you are scared. You needn't be. In here, it is safe". The film then continues:

Here, there is everything that will ensure that *you* will survive. [...] You have been chosen to do your duty for your country. Do not think of the others. Forget your family. All those other people are not important now.



5. The visitor is addressed in terms of a male Cold War subjectivity in the film at Arsenalen. Photo: F. Krohn Andersson.

The voiceover here explicitly addresses the visitor in terms of a male Cold War subjectivity by the logic of the mechanisms of male conscription in conjunction with the phantasmatic rendering of a “war” that never happened. The short film ends with the quite disturbing lines, “Once we get out, nothing will be as before. There will be nothing left. Nothing.” This produces an experience of pure being and complete safety, facilitated and evoked by the associations of the mediated material quality of the concrete. The authenticity signalled by the imagined material elicits the sensation of an authentic life.

Returning to Bungenäs, the buildings in the area are distributed over a spectrum in terms of how close – or putatively authentic – a connection they have to the area’s previous military use. On one side are, like Bunker 104, the spectacular appropriations

of actual military bunkers and defence installations. These are sometimes so uncompromisingly readapted that we literally stumbled upon them in the terrain when walking around Bungenäs and confusedly found ourselves standing on the patio of a converted bunker. The buildings at this end of the scale are aimed at those seeking a lifestyle signalling unconventional avant-garde. However, there are a limited number of actual bunkers, and for those who strive for this stylistic fringe identity, the acquisition of an authentic bunker becomes both a cultural and an actual conquest of a social position.

At the other end of the scale are the buildings at Bungenäs that are completely newly built. Here, the connection to the bunkers is also used, but in an abstract way. There is an example of this form of bunker use in an episode of the Danish television



6. A desirable original bunker, redesigned into an exclusive holiday home, supplemented with a housing cube in trendy corten steel. Photo: M. Frihammar.

programme *Dream Homes of the Future* (*Framtidens drömhjem*). The presenter of the television show travels around Nordic countries and “visits pioneering and personal homes” with different themes for each respective episode (*Framtidens drömhjem* 2018, episode 1). The episode in which Bungenäs appears is entitled “Local inspiration” (*Framtidens drömhjem* 2018, episode 4). The show begins with a series of environmental images of windy and rainy Bungenäs in autumn. The presenter states that “here are lime quarries and concrete bunkers, and the history of the place is revealed in the house I am going to visit”. She says that the male resident co-owns the house with some friends. This is an ownership constellation that is by no means representative of Bungenäs, and our interpretation is that it is chosen because it fits the image of the area. One of the owners and the architect of the house, both younger middle-aged men in urban

metrosexual style outfits, accompany the presenter around the site. The presenter notes a large concrete relief and exclaims, “Here is some art on the wall.” The owner responds, “That one was made by my friend, the artist Jesper Waldersten.”

The architect says that the house is divided into three volumes: “Here, inside we have the large living room.” He says that there are two bedrooms in another part and one bedroom in yet another part. “The idea is to socialize outdoors. Maybe mostly in the summer,” the architect says when they are out in the wind and rain. Once indoors, the presenter exclaims, “This is cool. What a view. [...] There is something about the colours. The ceilings and floors are dark, so everything is focused on the view.” She is sitting on a large wall-mounted sofa that occupies almost the entire room. The architect notes that this large living room where people enter is meant for gathering. It should, he says, be a social house where

people meet, eat food and spend time together. The owner says that during the planning period, they talked about how nice it would be if twenty people could fit on a sofa: "Let's make a sofa out of the whole room. And that's exactly what we have here." The presenter says that the owner of the house "loves to cook, so the kitchen was given high priority. The concrete slabs that come down from the ceiling create a room in the room." The owner adds, "It is like a small concrete bunker here."

The party exits the house, and this is followed by quick clips of a bunker that is strategically located, boasting a view of the sea from the massive panoramic windows in its living room. The presenter says that "the house is new, but inspiration was taken from the bunkers." The architect adds that it was important that there were clean shapes, concrete and wood. The presenter returns and mentions the strong regulations concerning the area: "You are not allowed to have fences, and cars are forbidden. A design committee must approve every single building. This is to maintain a clear common thread." To this, the architect responds, "It was very important to design this area with many rules. The main architecture in this area is done through the development plan. Then, you have to do experiments in the different places. But what holds everything together is the overall story. That's probably what makes this so different. You want this area to be just as nice in fifty years."

The presenter is then shown one of the bedroom areas and describes how the owners, who are labelled friends throughout, each have one bedroom. The owner states, "The idea has, in a way, been that you can sort of escape in here and just be alone."

Concluding Discussion

In this article, we have analysed the dialectical production of authenticity and masculinity among bunkerologists and in other contexts involving bunkers. The heritagization of the Cold War has functioned as a performative arena where the authenticity of masculinity and the masculinity of authenticity are mutually constituted in different, seemingly heterogenic, but actually consistent constellations, which are further communicated to all involved. Returning to the introductory question of how masculinity is generated through the heritagization of the Cold War and when bunkerologists encounter bunkers, as well as how authenticity is produced and evoked in negotiations and engagements between the actors and materialities involved, a pattern has emerged.

As previously stated, the starting point is that gender and masculinity are performatively constituted acts, and we regard engagement with the bunkers and the notions projected towards bunkers, military installations and other "secret" places as ongoing forms of masculinizing negotiations.

In the examples presented, the principle of *desire-masculinizing feminization of materialities and spaces* appears several times, most clearly in the case of the project Save Sonja through the name itself. The opening is marked by ritualization, which increases the cultural density of the implied defloration trope. The participants dig, saw, and cut themselves in. It is a hard job, but it is done purposefully and aimed at a final goal that is ultimately achieved. In the case of Save Sonja, the object of desire is also conceptualized through the ways the enterprise is represented by an explicit, actual image of a woman that projects an innocent, and by

virtue of the nostalgic framing, authentic femininity. This principle also emerged as particularly conspicuous when the newspaper *Skånska Dagbladet* described the artillery battery bunker as a farmworker's daughter who was about to be awakened after many years of sleep "behind her seal", and the obvious allusion to Sleeping Beauty when the feminized and virginized bunker was awakened by the bunkerologist-prince was repeated even more overtly in the film, where the museum director proclaimed that it was like disturbing the bunker "in its Sleeping Beauty sleep".

This virginity reference was also common in the other material, as shown by the informant, who underlined that it was about "being first and disturbing the dust". There were numerous references on social media to intruding and penetrating what is currently untouched. At Bungenäs, we observed a similar logic on a more abstract level. In this context, the goal is high social standing, which can be achieved by "conquering" a real authentic bunker. Both through economic capital – it is necessary to have significant monetary resources – and cultural capital, in other words the education or *bildung*, to be able to understand that this mechanism applies, i.e., being first to realize the desirability at stake. The condition is that the trophy is recognized as a cultural marker.

The way of structuring bunker engagement as a *protector-masculinizing feminization of spaces and materialities* relates to objects that appear to be exposed to threats and risk and thereby are produced as objects of protection. Among the posts in the Facebook group, for example, complaints about previous visitors' destruction are followed with affirmative expressions in the

comment field. A commentator responded to the previously referenced comment about the underground room that, due to graffiti, could not "age with dignity", with the "sad" emoji (a face with a sad look and tears in its eyes): the feeling of authenticity is hard to produce when there are physical imprints of earlier visitors and vandalism. The demands for secrecy function to define and confirm both what is threatened and who can offer it protection. The example of the submarine being photographed in a public exhibition space but nevertheless being accompanied by a call to keep the place a secret can be interpreted as a performative message. The request to keep the knowledge about the supposedly secret placement of the submarine only within the male-dominated group has a subtext that relates to joint masculine responsibility based on an equally common protective position – the male privilege of protection.

Furthermore, the general scepticism in the field towards official musealization can be understood as, essentially, fear. Here, musealization means that the narrative is articulated and consolidated by heritage experts who, in this context, represent a politically "overcorrect" caring, thus feminine, authority. In this kind of reasoning, "uncurated" becomes equal to "unspoiled". In the bunkerologists' constant quest to reach the untouched, the work of memory authorities appears dangerous, and this threat toward the Cold War authenticity of the remnants produces a protective masculinity.

It is also against this backdrop that several of the observations at Bungenäs should be understood. On an overall level, the driving principle is expressed in the detailed regulations that address the threat of the barren, raw and genuine quality of Bungenäs being



7. At Aerozeum, interaction is prioritized in favour of curated exhibitions. Photo: M. Frihammar.

destroyed. Despite its robust and powerful character, Bungenäs is construed as sensitive, fragile and in great need of protection. The scope and level of detail in the regulations corresponds to the perceived seriousness of the threat. The danger consists of elements that threaten to destroy the existing scale as well as seemingly non-threatening elements such as rich and bright colours, neat plants and lawns. The principle is also followed in specific houses. The previously described readaptation of the bunker is described as an expression of care and concern for the site's heritage. Here, through careful adaptation, the bunker may stay as it is currently and as it has been. However, as we have seen, it is, in fact, concerns about staged authenticity, such as when the earlier interior painting had to disappear so that the bunker could become what it was imagined to have been, that are most telling.

In addition to the two aforementioned principles of structuring bunker engagement, there is a third principle, one that we term *homosocial masculinization*. It is an articulated knowledge that there are significantly more men than women interested in bunkerology. This circumstance is verbalized and given rational explanations, as expressed in one interview:

But what is conspicuous by its absence, that is the ladies, they are not included, at all. [...] They have no relation to this. There it is completely... there it is like zero, they had no mother who told them about this. Dad has told his boys, these 20-year-old energy-drink drinkers, like, so there's a... I think it's not that they're not interested... it's just, it's a world they don't give a damn about (interview 7 February 2019).

Because of these references to a strictly gender-segregated historical order, the in-

terest in bunkers emerges as a homosocially inherited disposition. The bunker thus becomes an arena for same-sex cohabitation where it is possible for one to behave as a man together with other men. This is realized through in-person visits to the sites and described in terms of symbolic relief regarding the new military facilities that are adapted to serve both men and women (resulting in the presence of shower curtains, various changing rooms, etc.). It is against this background, among other things, that bunker cosiness becomes understandable. The bunker constitutes a free zone where a supposedly uncomplicated male existence can be shaped, as a much-needed rest from the demands of ordinary existence to adjust to contemporary complexity.

This function is particularly clear in the newly built house in Bungenäs depicted in the television programme. It is a house where the surrounding bunkers, which are also in visual range through the large window, are said to have inspired the house. In a sense, this concerns how the aura of bunkers rubs off on the houses as well as on the lifestyle in Bungenäs. A simple, ascetic and authentic life where three male friends can live in seclusion, in terms of both geographical location and the spatial organization of the house, with the sleeping cells that are clearly not intended for family life, can be followed by pursuing only the essentials of life, such as cooking in the bunker-like kitchen or engaging in quiet meditation by the crackling fire while contemplating, enjoying, gazing at, and desiring the landscape and the bunkers outside. Not far from there, the threatening, colourful plastic toys lay securely tucked away in the safe military-green coloured box...

Mattias Frihammar

PhD, Ethnology
Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
mattias.frihammar@etnologi.su.se

Fredrik Krohn Andersson

PhD, Art history
Department of Culture and Aesthetics
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
fredrik.krohn-andersson@arthistory.su.se

Notes

- 1 An official broadcast delivering important messages to the public has sounded at 3.00 p.m. on the first non-holiday Monday in March, June, September and December since 1931.
- 2 Mandatory conscription of both women and men was reintroduced in 2019.
- 3 All translations of quotations from the source material are by the authors.
- 4 Utvändiga tillägg
Lista formulerad av Aktiebolag Bungenäs kalkbrott tillsammans med Designkommittén på sådant som ej får förekomma på Bungenäs.

- Plastmöbler
- Synliga Luft-luft-aggregat
- Bilar
- Husvagnar
- Plastbåtar
- Studsmattor
- Paraboler
- Exteriöra dekorationer i avvikande kulörer
- Färgglada parasoll och markiser
- Reklam
- Plastpooler
- För Bungenäs främmande växter (gäller ej kryddträdgårdar)
- Tryckimpregnerat virke
- Flaggstänger
- Juldekorationer

- Överdådig utomhusbelysning
- Staket
- Anlagda gräsmattor
- Torkvindor i plast

References

Primary sources

- “Bunker 104”, *Arkitektur* 2017:4.
- Bunkerologist Facebook group feed 2019–2020. Due to ethical considerations, we do not mention the name of the group.
- van Dinther, Micha 2016: A former Swedish military bunker is commandeered as a subterranean summerhouse. *Wallpaper* 3 December 2016. [https://www.wallpaper.com/architecture/a-former-military-bunker-is-commandeered-as-a-superior-subterranean-summerhouse] [accessed 16 February 2017]
- En kanondag för att rädda Sonja, *Skånska Dagbladet* 22 August 2019. https://www.skd.se/2019/08/22/en-kanondag-for-att-radda-sonja/
- Framtidens drömhem/Fremtidens drömmeboliger*. 2018. DR Denmark.
- Gestaltningssprogram tillhörande detaljplan för Bunge Biskops 1:23, Bungenäs, Region Gotland. Skälsö arkitekter 9 March 2011.
- Här byggs för 50 miljoner. *Gotlands Tidningar* 14 March 2014.
- Interview former head of the network SMHA, Swedish Military Heritage Network 18 August 2020.
- Interview former director Aersoeum Göteborg 22 March 2019.
- Interview regional heritage administrator Gotland 20 February 2019.
- Interview bunkerologist 7 February 2019.
- Interview former director National Air Force Museum Linköping 31 January 2019.
- Miljardärens lyxbunker på Gotland, *Dagens industri* 15 December 2016.
- Sundström et al. 2015: *Designmanual Bungenäs*. Visby [publisher unknown].
- Utvidgning av naturreservatet Bungenäs, Bunge socken Gotlands kommun, samt nya föreskrifter och skötselplan för reservatet, Länsstyrelsen Gotlands län. 2 September 2013.
- Website Beredskapsmuseet [Military Preparedness Museum]. <http://www.beredskapsmuseet.com> [accessed 15 October 2019]
- Website Siknäsfortet. <https://siknasfortet.se/ubatsmuseet/> [accessed 20 October 2021].

Literature

- Anderson, Benedict 1983: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Åse, Cecilia 2016: Ship of Shame. Gender and Nation in Narratives of the 1981 Soviet Submarine Crisis in Sweden *Journal of Cold War Studies* 18:1.
- Åse, Cecilia & Maria Wendt 2021: Gendering the Military Past. Understanding Heritage and Security from a Feminist Perspective. *Cooperation and Conflict* 56:3.
- Åselius, Gunnar 2005: Swedish Strategic Culture after 1945. *Cooperation and Conflict* 40:1.
- Baggiarini, Bianca 2015: Military Privatization and the Gendered Politics of Sacrifice. In *Gender and Private Security in Global Politics*, ed. Maya Eichler. Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Bendix, Regina 1997: *In Search of Authenticity. The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bennett, Luke 2013: Who goes there? Accounting for gender in the urge to explore abandoned military bunkers. *Gender, Place & Culture* 20:5.
- Bennett, Luke 2017: *In the Ruins of the Cold War Bunker. Affect, Materiality and Meaning Making*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Butler, Judith 1988: Performative Acts and Gender Constitution. An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal* 40:4.
- Carrigan, Tim, R.W. Connell, & John Lee 1985: Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity. *Theory and Society* 14:5.
- Chhabra, Deepak, Robert Healy, and Erin Sills 2003: Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30:3.
- Cohen, Erik 1988: Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 15:3.

- Connell, R. W. 1987: *Gender and Power. Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connell, R. W. 1995: *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Crew, Spencer R. & James E. Sims 1991: Locating Authenticity. Fragments of a Dialogue. In *Exhibiting Cultures*, ed. Ivar Karp & Stephen D. Lavine. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Cronqvist, Marie 2008: Utrymning i folkhemmet. Kalla kriget, välfärdsideyllen och den svenska civilförsvarskulturen 1961. *Historisk tidskrift* 3:128.
- Cronqvist, Marie 2012: Survival in the Welfare Cocoon. The Culture of Civil Defense in Cold War Sweden. In *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies*, ed. Anette Vowinkel, Marcus M. Payk & Thomas Lindenberger. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Eduards, Maud 2007: *Kroppspolitik. Om Moder Svea och andra kvinnor*. Stockholm: Atlas.
- Ekström, Simon 2021: *Sjödränkt. Spektakulär materialitet från havet*. Göteborg/Stockholm: Makadam.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke 1982: On Beautiful Souls, Just Warriors and Feminist Consciousness. *Women's Studies International Forum* 5:3–4.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke 1987: *Women and War*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Ferguson, Olivia 2018: Venus in Chains. Slavery, Connoisseurship, and Masculinity in The Monk. *Gothic Studies* 20:1–2.
- Graham, Brian & Howard, Peter 2008: Heritage and Identity. In *The Routledge Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Peter Howard & Brian Graham. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Handler, Richard 1986: Authenticity. *Anthropology Today* 2:1.
- Harrison, Rodney 2013: *Heritage. Critical Approaches*. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Harvey, David C. 2001: Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents. Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7:4.
- Hewison, Robert 1987: *The Heritage Industry. Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen.
- Higate, Paul 2018: Men, Masculinities, and Global Insecurity. In *The Routledge handbook of gender and security*, ed. Laura J. Shepherd, Caron E. Gentry & Laura Sjoberg. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Holtorf, Cornelius 2013: On Pastness. A Reconsideration of Materiality in Archaeological Object Authenticity. *Anthropological Quarterly* 86:2.
- Hörnfeldt, Helena 2015: Spår från ett krig som aldrig blev av. In *I Utkanter och marginaler. 31 texter om kulturhistoria*, ed. Marianne Larsson, Anneli Palm skiöld, Helena Hörnfeldt, Lars-Eric Jönsson. Stockholm: Nordiska Museets Förlag.
- Hunt, Stephen J. 2008: But We're Men Aren't We! Living History as a Site of Masculine Identity Construction. *Men and Masculinity* 10:4.
- Hutchings, Kimberly 2008: Making Sense of Masculinity and War. *Men and Masculinity* 10:4.
- Kelly, Casey 2016: The Man-pocalypse. Doomsday Preppers and the Rituals of Apocalyptic Manhood. *Text and Performance Quarterly* 36:2–3.
- Khalaf, Roha W. 2021: World Heritage on the Move. Abandoning the Assessment of Authenticity to Meet the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century. *Heritage* 4:1.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara 1998: *Destination Culture. Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kronsell, Annica 2012: *Gender, Sex, and the Postnational Defense. Militarism and Peacekeeping*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matthews, Kevin, Joseph Hancoc & Gu, Zhaohui 2014: Rebranding American Men's Heritage Fashions through the Use of Visual Merchandising, Symbolic Props and Masculine Iconic Memes Historically Found in Popular Culture. *Global Fashion Brands Style Luxury & History* 1:1.
- Morgan, David 1994: Theater of War: Combat, the Military and Masculinities. In *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Brod & Michael Kaufman. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

- Rademacher, Mark A. & Kelly, Casey R. 2019: Constructing Lumbersexuality. Marketing an Emergent Masculine Taste Regime. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 43:1.
- Roper, Michael & Tosh, John 1991: Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity. In *Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper & John Tosh. London: Routledge.
- Seagal, Lynne 1990: *Slow Motion. Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*. London: Virago.
- Silverman, Helaine 2015: Heritage and Authenticity. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, ed. Emma Waterton & Steve Watson. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Laurajane 2006: *Uses of Heritage*. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Sundevall, Fia 2011: *Det sista manliga yrkesmonopolet. Genus och militärt arbete i Sverige 1865–1989*. Diss. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
- Trilling, Lionel 1974: *Sincerity and Authenticity*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Wang, Ning 1999: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:2.
- Winter, Tim 2013: Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19:6.
- Woods, Barbara 2020: A Review of the Concept of Authenticity in Heritage, with Particular Reference to Historic Houses. *Collections. A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals* 16:1.

“This is Home”

Vaccination Hesitancy and the Meaning of Place

By Mia-Marie Hammarlin

Within the context of a four-year research collaboration, this article takes as its starting point the concept of *place* to delve into vaccination-critical expressions in everyday life in the twenty-first century. The approval of the project was announced in 2019, before vaccine hesitancy was a topic on everyone’s lips.¹ Little did we know then of the globally heated vaccine discussions that were waiting around the corner, or that citizens all over the world would have to learn to understand and use medical abbreviations like COVID-19, mRNA, PCR, ARDS, Delta, Omicron, and Epi Curves to get by in everyday life, where Sweden has stood out as a harshly criticized but also celebrated exception regarding pandemic policy measures by keeping them to a minimum compared to many other European countries. This exceptional situation naturally affects our study in various ways; the research subject has become an emotionally highly charged and fast-moving target, or as a colleague rhetorically asked us during a seminar: “Have you made yourself comfortable in this hornet’s nest?” Fortunately, we have a clear research goal to cling to, and that is to increase the knowledge about everyday reluctance towards different kinds of vaccines in a generally vaccine-positive country like Sweden and how this is communicated, with a special interest in rumour spreading in open digital forums.

It would perhaps be considered preferable in every article that we write to put anti-vaccination thoughts and opinions and how these are communicated at the centre of our studies. It is the opinions that lead to (non-)actions, so to speak. But there are certain risks in doing that, we figure. It is our belief that the people we have met

are not possible to understand if we focus too much on the topic. Naturally, the interviewees – twenty in total so far, seven performed in Hälsingland, the region described here – can speak about whatever they want during the recording, and they do.² Nevertheless, the immediate aim of the interviews is to get a deeper understanding of why a minority of Swedish citizens, who have been offered vaccination programmes free of charge since the 1940s, are hesitant or critical towards vaccinations. Therefore, we gently force our interviewees to reflect on these ideas and opinions through our plethora of open-ended questions. In several interview studies with vaccine-critical individuals from different parts of the world this is more or less common scientific procedure; the arguments that hopefully can explain why people refrain from vaccinations are placed in the foreground whilst the *cultural and geographical context* that these people find themselves in is downplayed, if visible at all (see e.g. Lockyer et al. 2021; Mant et al. 2021; Sabahelzain et al. 2019; Peretti-Watel et al. 2019; Landicho-Guevarra et al. 2021). This also counts for thought-provoking and cultural analytically ambitious research that manages to keep the balance between recognizing the problem and refraining from reducing people’s lives to their opinions (Hausman 2019; Koski & Holst 2017; Reich 2018; Kitta 2012). This leaves much unsaid, and calls for locally situated ethnographic fieldwork such as participant observations, particularly as vaccinations are not the main thing that vaccine-hesitant people walk around thinking of, as it were. On the contrary really. Rather, vaccination criticism is entangled in other, more complex visions and experiences in

everyday life, connected to feelings of loyalty, a profound elite critique (Harambam 2020:58–101; Hausman 2019:153–174), and existential ideas about the importance of a certain kind of individual and spiritual freedom, e.g. to be able to breathe clean air, eat biodynamically cultivated food, walk straight into the forest, make your own decisions (Reich 2018:87–96), and control your own body by letting it heal from illness as naturally and holistically as possible (Hausman 2019:194–220).

The purpose of this article is to contextualize vaccine-critical individuals in Sweden, viewed as actors, by highlighting everyday experiences, focusing on the place where these are formed. Arguably, when meeting people with strong opinions that are hard to understand, it might be a preferable method as an ethnographer to *glance* at the subject in question by focusing less on what they say and more on what they do, in the place where they live. As a researcher, it is also a good idea to remind oneself of the importance of solidarity with the people we engage ourselves in when doing fieldwork; an ethically responsive and respectful approach towards a politically loaded question might teach us something about both everyday culture and vaccine hesitancy, and how these are intertwined. A related sub-purpose is to bridge the gap between “my lonely emotion and other people’s [emotions]” (Stewart 2017a, see also Stewart 2017b), and thereby hopefully contribute to a marginalized “group” feeling less alone; a toning down of the inflammatory discourse between pro- and anti-vaccination publicly taking place not only in the United States but also in different parts of Europe (Hausman 2019:54).³ The following questions will be answered:

How does place matter when it comes to the formation of vaccine-critical opinions? In what way are these opinions embedded in everyday life? What can locally situated studies of vaccine reluctance tell us about dependability and, by extension, solidarity?

Vaccine Hesitancy in Sweden

In 2019, the increase in vaccine hesitancy was singled out by WHO as one of the ten most urgent threats to global health.⁴ Infectious diseases like measles are returning in different parts of the world, partly as a result of the activities of the anti-vaccination movements which have become more visible and vocal during the last 5–10 years, not least on the internet (Johnson et al. 2020).⁵ Nevertheless, the herd immunity against several dangerous infectious diseases is still high in most Western countries, oscillating between 95 and 100% coverage.⁶ But even small decreases in vaccinations would have immediate negative effects for any population. In that sense, the Nordic countries, where citizens’ willingness to get vaccinated is historically strong, offer a perfect point of departure for anti-vaccination studies due to the high vaccination coverage, which makes it easier to follow changes in the population’s vaccination behaviour.⁷ Until now, vaccine hesitancy studies in a Swedish context have focused on immigrant groups that refrain from vaccinations (Jama et al. 2018), attitudes towards HPV vaccines for children (see Dahlström et al. 2010), and the swine influenza vaccine Pandemrix in 2009–10, which resulted in a severe but rare side-effect (see Nihlén Fahlquist 2018). Britta Lundgren’s (2015a, 2015b, 2017) ethnographic studies in the aftermath of the mass vaccination during

the swine influenza belong to the scarce body of ethnological studies of modern vaccines in a Swedish context, to which also this article contributes. Additionally, studies of attitudes towards COVID-19 vaccines seem to be on the rise (see Nilsson et al. 2021). Even if the pandemic is not in this article's focus, I still regard it as a contribution to emerging COVID-19-research in a Nordic ethnological context, in line with e.g., Tine Damsholt's studies (2020, 2021).

A plethora of concepts are used to describe criticism against vaccines some of which have already been mentioned, encompassing rather mild to strong objections: vaccine hesitancy, vaccine reluctance, vaccine refusers, anti-vaccinationists, and antivaxxers (see e.g., Lawrence, Hausman & Dannenberg 2014). The individuals presented in this article are neither politically nor in any other way formally organized, in fact, none of the twenty interviewees that we have met so far belong to any particular group of anti-vaccinationists. This points to the inapplicability in this context of the word "antivaxxer", with its (right-wing) political connotations. Instead, they could be sorted underneath the terms hesitant or critical towards all kinds of vaccines, but especially new vaccines. It is also common that they are critical towards traditional medicine in general. They are outspokenly critical of vaccines, at least with people they know, and both nurture and form these opinions in culturally complex settings, drawing on information from the public authorities, pro- and anti-vaccination campaigns, traditional media, social media, open digital forums, discussions at kitchen tables, bodily experiences, conspiracies, rumours, and contemporary legends,

blending rational and emotional reasoning into a personal mixture (Kitta 2015:58–90; Lundgren 2015b:111). However, some of the interlocutors in this article are rather active in spreading their opinions through their social media accounts.

Theoretical Framework

This study builds upon fieldwork in Hälsingland, a region in the middle of Sweden. While doing things together with vaccine-critical individuals here, such as sauna bathing, horseback riding, picking lingonberries in the forest, a connection between place and the reluctance towards vaccinations emerges. The immune system becomes naturally strong here, people claim, not due to the national vaccination programmes but because of the closeness to nature in this place in everyday life. Nature is repeatedly referred to as something inherently benign, a viable Nordic idea that is the product of the very civilization it seeks to avoid – a national romantic response to urbanization that has been investigated in ethnological classics like *Culture Builders* by Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1987). This idea is also well-spread among vaccine-hesitant people, research shows (see e.g., Hausman 2019, Koski & Holst 2017, Kitta 2012), and will be investigated closely in this article.

The concept of place is used to elaborate the complexity of everyday interactions giving rise to health experiences and health disparities (Donovan & de Leeuw 2020:97). It is not seen as something static but "mobile, active, transformative and forceful" (ibid.: 100), and not least sensory (Pink 2015); a multidimensional *locality* where the ordinary takes place. Lawrence, Hausman & Dannenberg write:

Attempts to understand national trends in vaccine refusal will always be of interest to researchers and public health practitioners, but real work to understand individuals and their decisions needs to start where they live (Lawrence, Hausman & Dannenberg, 2014:127).

Playing a bit with words, it is possible to say that I investigate *vaccilocus* instead of *vaccination*, where focus is directed to people's everyday life, in the place where they live. For inspiration in this direction of thinking, I have turned to the French philosopher Simone Weil and her work *L'enracinement (The Need for Roots)*, (1949). Weil is a refreshingly readable intellectual that is difficult to place in the history of philosophy, but with a documented interest in humanism, mysticism, and political activism.

The concept of place will also be used to capture cultural history aspects of this particular part of Sweden, and the nation as a whole; how a more or less articulated division between the rural and the urban parts of the country has emerged during the last century. Place as a tool helps the researcher to reflect on "broader political ideologies and discourses that interplay with natural and historical factors and ultimately inform the actions and experiences of individuals as well as groups", Donovan and de Leeuw write (2020:100). The quotation suggests a top-down perspective, i.e., that power structures are inscribed into people's lives to the extent that their experiences, actions and bodies are formed by them, which I agree with; power *does* things to people. In my view, however, this perspective pays (too) little attention to the everyday that just *happens*, over and over again, endlessly. Whatever ideologies or structures they might be crouching under, people still *act*

in everyday life, forming the ordinary into a locally situated messy, pleasurable, and sufferable something, "composed out of heterogeneous and noncoherent singularities" (Stewart 2007:4).

In the analysis, I mainly draw upon Kathleen Stewart's ethnographic texts from an "other" America (Stewart 1996a, 1996b, 2007), where she explores people's everyday life and active memory making by using place as a prism, giving space for affect, rhythm, ambiance, bodies, and things, dovetailing them with state-of-the-art vaccine hesitancy research. This theoretical point of departure positions the study within the so-called non-representational turn, that, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, challenges ideas that, for example, atmospheres and affects do not include the representational and the symbolic (Vannini 2015). It also questions and challenges, in line with work by Nigel Thrift (Thrift et al. 2014), studies of globalization and capitalism effects from above. Drawing on a wide range of philosophers⁸ from feminist theory, phenomenology, practice theory, and biological philosophy, non-representational theory explores "not the what but the how" of the world (Thrift 2008:113), pointing towards the everyday life that happens – Thrift uses the expression "*the geography of what happens*" (Thrift 2008:2, italics in original) – where bodies act together with things in an "anti-biographical" flow of sensations and affects.

Stewart discovers culture through atmospheres, people's storytelling and immediate surroundings; messy back yards, jokes, clotheslines, unsuccessful dates at fast-food diners, memories of suffering, and vivid dreams that coalesce with the landscape, wherever that might be: steep

hills, seductive rivers, extensive highways, and red houses (ibid., Stewart 2015). Through her rhythmic, poetic, at times sketchy language, she invites the reader: "Imagine," she repeatedly writes, as a call for the reader to partake in the places that unfold through her writing (Stewart 1996b). If Thrift's vocation is to *think* about non-representational theory, Stewart concentrates upon *doing* it, and she did so before anyone had heard of "non-representational theory", as a development of her long anthropological career path.

Vaccine reluctance is a politically delicate and contested matter, and therefore particular cities, towns, and villages will not be mentioned in order to protect the interviewees' anonymity. Other potential distinguishing marks have also been changed. This means that I am hindered from openly referring to certain local cultural history books that have been frequently used during the work process. Instead, ethnographic research from Norrland, to which Hälsingland belongs, more broadly will be listed in the references. In the following, I also strive for a more prose-like language to enable a sense of "being there".

The Southern Parts of Rural Norrland

For elderly and middle-aged people who grew up in Hälsingland, or other parts of rural Norrland for that matter, a common cultural reference point is a sort of golden era – at least it's perceived as such when looking in the rear-view mirror – when the fertile soil and the vibrant sawmill industry nurtured flourishing villages and cities, forming nostalgic stories – a sort of place biography – passed on to children and grandchildren. Back then, it is said that sawmills fought against each other to

find enough workers to be able to keep up the production. Back then, people moved here from the big cities, even from the capital, to settle down and build houses and families. The schools were full of pupils, the story goes. Thriving butcheries, bakeries, and association premises were natural meeting places where people shared everyday gossip. Around here, the Swedish word *storbonde* – which is translated as "big farmer" in different language apps, a word that in my view doesn't conform to the cultural aspects of the word *storbonde* and its historical meaning – encompasses the large-scale, prosperous farms that can still be recognized in the landscape. However, in the twenty-first century many of them are left to their own destiny; impressive wooden two-storey houses and large barns that from a distance appear to be intact but when you come closer the lack of human care is what strikes you the most; flaked paint, worn windows, rampant gardens. Nowadays, the activities in the barns have been replaced by ambitious and well-meaning governmental actions and local initiatives to resurrect "a living countryside" (Nilsson & Lundgren 2018; Nilsson 2018).⁹

Because little by little things changed. My grandmother and her siblings belonged to the adventurous pioneers who left Hälsingland and their shoemaker heritage at a young age in the 1920s to reside in Stockholm and make a living as housemaids and factory workers. None of them returned to Norrland other than to visit. One could say that they embodied "flykten från landsbygden" (the flight from the countryside), which through the years led to sparsely populated villages. Successively, this change from "rural" to "depopulation"

formed itself into a discourse in Swedish culture; a development that is taken for granted and rarely questioned (Hansen 1998:46), and that we share with many other Western countries. Simone Weil wrote poignantly about this process in the 1940s. The depopulation of the countryside leads to the death of society as a whole, and nothing seems to slow down the course of action, Weil argues.¹⁰ Against this background, it's fair to say that Hälsingland today "finds itself caught in a present that began some time ago" (Stewart 2007:1). When living here, the lack of work opportunities and the ongoing depopulation are things you adjust to but never fully accept. The same goes for the high death rates connected to drugs among young adults, as well as the high, by national standards, suicide rates among men. Migrants from different countries hang about in the city centre. Abandoned houses line the roads. The consequences of a century characterized by industrialization, urbanization, and globalization are ubiquitous, easily spotted in the landscape through the contours of disused factories, empty industrial buildings, and closed shops, which I find hard to describe without flirting with the desolation melancholy both captured and constructed by a well-established Nordic art genre (Hansen 1998:184).¹¹ Typical for this particular genre, besides its positive view of the countryside, is that it frames rural areas as a non-contemporary deviation; an anomaly in time, Kjell Hansen writes (*ibid.*).

After having spent a week together with vaccine-reluctant individuals here, generously invited into people's homes, it all became more intricate, which is one of the many benefits of doing fieldwork – it does complicate things. I write this text "not as a

trusted guide carefully laying out the links between theoretical categories and the real world, but as a point of impact, curiosity and encounter" (Stewart 2007:5). During the fieldwork disparate "scenes of life" (Stewart 2007:77) emerged that pulled the ordinary into an entanglement "of trajectories, connections, and disjunctures" (Stewart 2008), where everyday life was performed among objects (see Frykman & Frykman Povrzanović 2016). The first scene takes place in a steaming hot sauna, where the embedded things of the ordinary come into play: naked bodies, rustic logs, lit candles, outdoor showers, wet towels, and stories of suffering. Through details, atmospheres, feelings, and self-reflexivity, it is my explicit endeavour to refrain from describing the people that I have encountered as romanticized strangers (Hansen 1998:185), or as tinfoil hats for that matter. I had the opportunity to spend some time with a couple of very interesting fellow human beings, my ethnographic task being to "compose a register of the lived *affects* of the things that took place in a social-aesthetic-material-political worlding" (Stewart 2017a:193, italics in original).

Sauna Stories

It was the interviewees' idea that a sauna would be a good start to the week in Hälsingland for me; they often do this together, so it seemed like a natural thing. After some phone calls and e-mails, I met them for the first time when they picked me up in a car and drove us to a big house located in the countryside. The September evening light as a soft blanket, tucking in the landscape with its overblown fields and meadows, sparsely located houses, and wide-ranging forests.

On arrival, it struck me how much work and time it must take to care for such a well-worn house like this one, placed in a wide garden where the grass was growing high, surrounded by three cottages, one of them from the mid-nineteenth century. Dogs were running about. A mongrel puppy looked more like a wolf than a dog. Later, I could hear someone calling him by his nickname, Wolfy. We were seven women altogether. Around here, people never lock the front door, or any door really, not even at night, or when leaving the house, they said. Locking doors would be some kind of confirmation that there's something to be afraid of out there, a feeling that one wishes to avoid; you're safe here, you can relax. Squeezed in between the main building and one of the smaller houses – painted with "Falurödfärg" a traditional red distemper paint¹² that distinguishes Swedish peasant cultural history more than any other aesthetic expression – a huge boulder had stranded after the inland ice melted 10,000 years ago. It resembled a yawning hippopotamus weighing hundreds of kilos, and was definitely there before the houses were built, but it seemed to take cover in the garden, hiding in between the houses and birches.

These women were all critical of vaccinations against COVID-19, cervical cancer, and measles, that much I knew. They also knew that I was fully vaccinated against COVID-19 and that I'm positive towards the established vaccine programmes.

Outside the darkness fell. Lit candles decorated the entrance to the sauna. Undressing in front of people I had just met felt a bit awkward, especially as I was there in my professional role, but the scent of resin, the crackling sound, and over-

whelming heat were kind to my nerves. At first, the energy was directed towards me, the stranger coming from the university in the south. Later during the week, they simply referred to me as "Lund University". I didn't know the cultural codes in this particular sauna, but sauna bathing is a well-established ritual in Scandinavia that I have taken part in enough times to know the procedure. When minutes turned into quarter of an hour, the sweat was forming a pool on my stomach, and I had to leave the sauna many times over, together with the others, to drink water and take outdoor showers, stark naked in the darkness of the garden, accompanied by the hippo's massive shadow. The ice-cold water evoked sounds of joy: high-pitched screams and laughter, embedded in the surrounding nature. Half-consciously I studied the others' behaviour so that I would blend in as much as possible. Slowly but steadily, I felt more and more included. It was almost like a physical experience in my overheated skin; I could relax, let my shoulders down.

A conversation took form. Stories were being shared. After having told everyone about my research I now participated mostly by quietly listening to what was being said. For some reason – because who knows how or why topics form themselves when people engage in conversations? – somebody started to talk about pain, loss and sorrow; sudden illness and death that bewilder you in a way that takes years to recover from, if you ever do. Our steaming bodies became still on the shelves,¹³ and some of us made low, humming sounds; we were suddenly engaged in "the seemingly simple work of remembering kinship ties and married names – stories of alcoholism, accidents, violence, and cancers"

(Stewart 2007:18). This is how stories of sorrow work; sharing one is the same as giving room for another. I remember how we talked about suicide. It doesn't seem to matter if someone has talked about it as a realistic option for the unbearable agony of life, it still strikes like lightning when it happens; the suicide comes as a shock *because* somebody has been talking about killing him- or herself, as you cannot think that it actually would happen, that someone you love would actually do it. It's numbing how the pleasures of the ordinary suddenly can "morph into a cold, dark edge" (Stewart 2007:4).

The Forest

The following day, we took some metal berry pickers with us, jumped into the car and drove into the forest to pick lingonberries. Through the windshield we spotted yet another moose hunting team; middle-aged men with naked upper bodies standing beside their vans, putting on camouflage-patterned shirts and jackets. Loaded rifles on their backs. Wolfy accompanied us, unleashed, and made my blood curdle a couple of times when picking berries in full concentration as I thought he was a wild animal – yes, a wolf – coming straight at me. The conversation from the sauna continued, finding its own relaxed ways as often happens when doing things whilst talking. I told the story of my eldest daughter's father, a brilliant public service radio journalist at the time when I met him, who died a couple of years ago, and how lonely he'd been at that point, how ill. My company listened carefully to my story; humming, posing short encouraging questions. Leaning gently against our common experiences of loss and sorrow, we changed the

subject and talked joyfully about our early twenties, laughing at peculiar memories connected to our common lack of cooking skills at that time. And we talked about the fresh bear droppings that you sometimes encounter in the Norrland woods. The steel bucket was full of bright red berries. Wolfy jumped up and down noiselessly in the moss. There was no wind. In silence the forest lay as the light faded.

We also spoke about vaccinations. Why would a child need vaccinations against measles here? This rhetorical question captured some of the thoughts that were being shared. The HPV vaccination to protect girls from cervical cancer seemed "uncertain and unnecessary". In relation to the mass vaccination against the COVID-19 pandemic things were different; all doubts had vanished. The reluctance had grown stronger, for all of them. When I interviewed them individually, each one said that they don't trust either in the authorities' knowledge or honest intentions concerning these "emergency use authorized vaccines". "Over my dead body", somebody declared, not without irony. A recurring idea that was expressed is that the vaccinations might manipulate or destroy the immune system for years to come. "The side-effects might show after five or ten years." There are safer ways to stay healthy around here, they said, such as cultivating your own vegetables, spending plenty of time outdoors, and hanging about with good friends, in the sauna, the forest, and elsewhere. Putting health decisions in someone else's hands was out of the question; "When it comes to health, I have the responsibility over my own body. It's a personal matter."

As I always do when meeting vaccine-critical individuals, I asked if, and

how, they try to protect other people from infectious diseases like COVID-19. The answer is generally the same: If they have even the slightest symptom, they stay at home until it's gone. In calm and gentle voices, they also questioned the seriousness of the pandemic (cf. Björkman & Sanner 2013). "Isn't it more like a severe flu, after all?" If the trust in the authorities is low, the belief in the medical industry's health-promoting purpose is even lower; it hits rock bottom in fact. Like many other vaccine-critical individuals around the world, these Hälsingland women were convinced that the pharmaceutical companies are only in it for the money (see Harambam 2020:58–102). These particular arguments as well as the ones concerning a general endeavour for a more natural and sustainable way of living resonate with earlier research results within the field (see Hausman 2019; Koski & Holst 2017; Kitta 2012). The feeling of safety was, among other things, connected to the local surroundings, manifested through unlocked front doors, and outdoor activities. Conceivably, they were involved in collective and active placemaking of which vaccine reluctance had become a part; not a major one, but rather one micro-culture feature among many. I will investigate this in more detail further on.

New York Aesthetics Meets Scandinavian Folklore

There are plenty of opportunities around here to live and work in beautiful old houses without spending one's whole salary on rent. An apartment that I visited was located in a former courthouse built in the late nineteenth century. Most of the flats in this rustic two-story building, with thick stone

walls, were empty. In its prime the house was meant to evoke a feeling of reverence among the local citizens, placed centrally next to the vibrant railway station back then. The railway is still in use but today the trains pass by.

I knew that the interviewee living here was a skilled interior decorator but the apartment still took me by surprise with its exquisite style; industrial cool with a touch of countryside aesthetics embraced by the building's airiness and unique details such as ceiling paintings and extravagant tiled stoves. A writing desk made of steel, a huge bed covered with a French bedspread and linen cushions in white and light grey colours. If you open the windows and play jazz music on a warm summer night, you could pretend to be in Paris or New York. Just like the jazz, social media accounts are used to link oneself to a wider world. They offer the possibility to place one foot in an imaginary, creative, and crowded landscape, scaling up the communication circuits, while the other is firmly placed in this part of Hälsingland, in a particular New York-inspired flat (see Miller, Costa & Haynes 2016). Notably, Sweden's capital Stockholm, a couple of hours' car drive away, is not mentioned as one of those imaginary possibilities. When actually visiting a bigger city, these women prefer to travel north.

Homemade photos covered the walls in the apartment. All of them were taken outside in the nearby surroundings; in the forest, at meadows, or by dark lakes. Most of them sensually picture a woman with little or no clothes on with her thick, curly, hair like a halo around her head; her naked back as she disappears into hundreds of ferns, her body half covered by blue silk stand-

ing in a lake full of water lilies. She rarely shows her face, never looks into the camera, which invites the viewers' fantasies. Imagine her sitting on a powerful white horse with the forest as a backdrop, dressed in a short, old-fashioned nightgown with a longbow on her back, the arrows entangled in her unruly hair, like an elf in *Lord of the Rings*.

An expectation of a resilient Mother Earth that overcomes challenges could be discerned in the pictures, capturing, again, a hope that nature will save us from harm, communicated through aesthetics originating from Nordic folklore. If you involve yourself in nature as a human being, on nature's own terms, you might in the end *become* nature. The Hälsingland woods and lakes in the photos give promises of endless resources; they appear unviolated, peaceful and at the same time intimidating. The limit between civilization and nature becomes blurry, which might be interpreted as either a possibility or a threat depending on who is watching. A nineteenth-century peasant used frightening tales to prevent the children from wandering off in the woods by themselves, where mystic beings waited in the shadows, such as the wood wife, the neck, and the night hag (see, e.g., Stattin 2008 and Egerkrans 2017 for stunning contemporary illustrations of these "Vaesen").

This artwork was not performed to earn money, "it's just a hobby", I was told, where the word "just" seemed unfair, because what makes life meaningful in the end? Playing around certainly does. Instead, a special kind of powerful yoga that had become popular around here provided a somewhat steady income. One evening I attended a workout led by one of the interviewees that took place in an impressive

industrial building in the centre of the main town with ingenious crafted windows, stretching solemnly all the way from the floor to the high ceiling. A dozen women had gathered. The light was dimmed and the music loud; a kind of African-like drum tones created especially for this particular yoga filled every corner of the magnificent hall. We were led through complicated moves reminiscent of martial arts. I did my best to follow the dance-like choreography, the sweat pouring out of my body for the second time during this fieldwork trip. During a sequence with very strong drum music, where we were encouraged to swing an imaginary axe back and forth, I relaxed and sort of became the rhythm, absorbed by my bodily senses "in bending time and space into new kinaesthetic shapes" (Thrift 2008:14).

In relation to the ever-present, amoeba-like, nebulous stress in modern society, this small community of women offered, either consciously or unconsciously, alternative ways of living, or rather, alternative ways of being.¹⁴ In this corner of the earth, time seemed to be an exuberant natural resource, nicely captured by the renowned Swedish author Kerstin Ekman in the Hälsingland-located novel *Löpa varg* (*The Wolf Run*) where the main character, a retired forester, reflects on his wife's cooking habits:

I had brought out the cheese and that extraordinarily tasty marmalade that takes three days to make. First, thin slices of orange are scalded in boiling water. Then they should rest for 24 hours. The next day, you boil them and then leave them in the saucepan overnight once again. The seeds, placed in a small bag of linen, is put into the pan and during the last day the sugar is added, and then you boil it. This becomes a strong marmalade. The

amount of time it takes to make this marmalade only exists here (Ekman 2021:137, my translation).

Besides the strong marmalade, what stayed with me after having read this novel is how socializing with friends, acquaintances, and especially neighbours seems to spontaneously happen in everyday life. Phone calls are superfluous, you just take the car and drop by.¹⁵ At any point of the day there is enough time for brewing coffee and offering a sandwich with a piece of venison on top, enough time to chat about the latest events in the village; a romantic portrait that relies on both lived experience and discourse, where the first has become inseparably entangled with the other (see Hansen 1998).

At this place, there is a possibility to work just enough to support oneself, which means that there is plenty of time to do other things; be with family and friends, arrange photo sessions (playing), go hunting, pick berries and mushrooms in the forest, take long walks and practise yoga and meditation. I was demonstrated an inherited piece of land surrounded by winding roads, gentle hills, and freshwater lakes, not far from the powerful river. A dream to build a house here was taking shape. In contrast to the southern parts of Sweden it is possible to buy land here for bargain prices. Roots, however, the feeling of genuinely belonging to a certain place, are not for sale. "I could never leave Hälsingland," I was told. "This is home." Their past and their present were here, as well as the imagined future. Simone Weil puts words to the fundamental human need of being rooted, a need that is often neglected, maybe because it is hard to pinpoint, to define clearly. Being rooted has to do with a sense of belonging; a natu-

ral, active way of participating in everyday life together with a collective of fellow human beings, to be part of the ordinary that encompasses memories of the past and expectations of what is to come. This sense of belonging is brought about by place, birth, work, and social surroundings that lend themselves to you, Weil writes.¹⁶

Whilst writing this, I check some of the interlocutors' social media accounts once again, and notice new anti-vaccination statements. Some of them are published together with folklore-artsy pictures.¹⁷ Critical comments about facemasks, hand antiseptics, and social restrictions flourish. There is a firm belief that the body doesn't need vaccines to stay healthy, on the contrary really; vaccines, and not least COVID-19 vaccinations, might be very dangerous to health. There is only one true vaccine winner in the world, and that's the pharmaceutical industry. Because who knows what vaccinations do to the immune system in two, three years' time? I started to recognize the arguments. Without doubt, they claim, there are safer, "more natural" ways to stay healthy around here; working out, spending a lot of time outdoors, eating ecologically cultivated food, being with your loved ones, and enjoying life without fear (Koski & Holst 2017). This is how they protect themselves and others from infectious diseases: by taking responsibility for their own health. Body and soul firmly anchored in this place that is, in between the lines, described as an armour against global threats like a pandemic or climate change. As long as one stays here, close to nature, family, and good friends, everything will be all right, they seem to believe, thus speaking from the vantage point of a personal but also shared *vaccilocus*.

But embedded in the stories is also a worry that "normality isn't normal anymore, that somebody has done something to the way things used to be, that we have lost something, that we have been changed" (Stewart 2007:88).

The Friesian Horse

As the reader will have noted, this group of women were engaged in recurring outdoor activities with the purpose – either implicit or explicit – of living a healthy, natural life. At times, the activities took me by surprise, as when visiting a skilled natural horsemanship practitioner.

The joyful gallop could be heard from a long distance and made me laugh out loud and jump back to take cover. The four-legged gentlemen simultaneously squeezed their brakes at the corner of the stable, equally stunningly beautiful; an older black Andalusian and an equally black Friesian two-year-old. Massive hooves, muscular shoulders, flowing manes, long tails. The Friesian's silklike fur so smooth and shiny that you could use it as a mirror. Soon, we were on our way into the forest, led by the horse owner, the natural horsemanship practitioner.

Suddenly, she let go of the youngster; she just threw the rope over his back, and off he went, all by himself. You rarely meet people in the forest around here, and building trust – by letting the Friesian walk on his own and at the same time training him to come when she calls – has made their relationship strong, she explained. During the long walk the Friesian sometimes stopped to eat, and so we passed him by. A minute later we could hear the hooves as he trotted or galloped towards us, eager to catch up with the herd. Imagine this stun-

ning half-ton animal showing up in speed when called, with attentive ears pointed towards his owner. Every time, he landed softly right beside her sneakers. When we had walked for an hour, the owner and the horse started to play hide and seek among the trees. She first, leading the game, with him following after. I couldn't take my eyes from them. "We do this quite often," I was told. So, this is what it can look like when the extraordinary and the ordinary meet. "The affective subject [...] wants to be somebody. It tries to lighten up, to free itself, to learn to be itself, to lose itself. None of this is easy," Stewart writes (2007:59). Spending time in the forest with a playful horse might help though.

An idea came up some years ago that it could be a lucrative business to combine natural horsemanship training with job coaching to support and heal people who are unemployed or on long-term sick leave – there are plenty of those here. But something came in the way.

I have heard similar stories around here of how visions and dreams end up in passiveness. All of a sudden, illness might stand in the way. Burn-out syndrome in fact. Business plans are put to rest. Applying for jobs that one doesn't get won't help recovery, to say the least. Evidently, stress is not only caused by work overload and lack of time, it can also be nurtured by an uncanny feeling of missed possibilities and opportunities combined with too much time; the same kind of stress that, ironically, can be caused by long-term unemployment in itself. To take responsibility and have the initiative, to be aware that you're useful or even necessary – this belongs to a human being's vital, spiritual needs, Weil writes (1949:19). Even if supported by social in-

surances coverage for food, clothes, and a roof over one's head, the workless are deprived of all that, she argues (ibid.:46). "We're busy if we're lucky," Kathleen Stewart writes (2007:10), and continues:

Stress is a transpersonal bodily state that registers intensities. A thing like stress can linger and do real damage. Or it can also flow out of a household like water down the drain, as when someone who has been unemployed for too long finally gets a job. Any job. (Stewart 2007:43)

It can be difficult to talk about involuntarily unemployment. The body fends off, not by words because they let you down; the voice become tenuous, little by little it turns into a whisper that is replaced by an awkward silence, hesitating at the edge of the unsayable (Anderson 2009:78). You avoid eye contact and close your arms around your chest; the body language as audible as any language. The atmosphere becomes dense in the kind of way that makes you a bit nervous or restless. You need to do something to break free from it; rise from the chair, grab a glass of water, open a window, anything really. But you remain seated, struggling to manage the inner turmoil by fixing your gaze on the table surface.

And again, the conversation was flowing into vaccine reluctance. It could be summarized like this: When the children are small, there might grow a powerful feeling that it would be wrong to inject strange substances into their small, perfect, healthy bodies. It is intuition at its strongest. And in the end, who knows best what a child needs; their mother or the public authorities? The answer is simple, at least for some. This overwhelmingly strong will to protect the children combined with research that you

do by yourself – it's usually hard to remember which sources were being used – leads to a firm belief that vaccinations in general are not only potentially dangerous but also unnecessary. The immune system can certainly be strengthened in other, more natural ways here, and a naturally strong immune system is a much better protection against diseases, for your fellowmen, yourself, and your children. And "*Of course* parents use tools at their disposal to advocate for their own children," even if it ends up in decisions that challenge established societal norms and agreements (Hausman 2019:84, italics in original).

Conclusion

When summarizing this ethnography-based analysis of vaccine reluctance in everyday life, I would like to claim two major points: First and foremost, *place matters* concerning vaccine hesitancy in terms of cultural history and geography, and as sensory space for the ordinary. Needless to say, vaccine-hesitant or -critical individuals do not form their opinions in a cultural vacuum. At this place, Hälsingland, and for this particular group of people, the negative attitude towards vaccinations seemed to coincide with a certain kind of strong local community, where a collective identity and mutual dependability were formed in relation to a sense of belonging to nature and to a group of like-minded friends. Between the lines, a *lack of* belonging to an imagined political centre also became visible, represented by the capital Stockholm. Kjell Hansen could perhaps have identified this micro culture as an example of the "reluctant margins of welfare", capturing "the relationship on the one hand between people's actions to achieve their own goals, and the

structuring effects of politics on the other" (Hansen 1998:192). In Norrland, Hansen claims, "People do not allow themselves to become totally subordinated to the ideals of policy, but neither do they act in valiant resistance" (ibid.). Instead, at least some people living here perform – explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously – a kind of reluctance against *something*, that represents the imagined (capital) centre and its politics. Reluctance towards nationally established, democratically sanctioned vaccine programmes can be seen as one of many variants on the same theme. In turn, this attitude aligns with a broader criticism of modernity, demonstrating that "techno-scientific modernity and democratic decision-making do not necessarily go together, especially when people feel that technoscience is aligned with big business and profit making and not dedicated to the real well-being of ordinary citizens" (Hausman 2019:218).

Place also matters in terms of the feeling of "local belonging" that is both experienced and performed in everyday life (Hansen 1998:197). The individuals that I met were born here or had moved here from other parts of Norrland, a belonging that was not underscored so much in words as in everyday action; life seemed to revolve around the nearby, and did not stretch geographically or culturally very far. Hälsingland has everything a human soul could ever need, was the unpronounced way of seeing things (except jobs). The women that I met seemed to rely on the local surroundings to protect them from external threats; front doors were left unlocked, friends dropped by, strangers were invited, horses galloped in the forest all by themselves, and the fresh air gave promis-

es of natural good health. It is not a naive attitude towards life, but rather an expression of necessity; of *being both rooted and exposed* in an economically vulnerable and depopulated region. As indicated above, struggling with involuntary unemployment and long-term sick-leave in everyday life, at least some citizens in Hälsingland seem no longer convinced that the welfare state benefits concern them.

Over and above this, intimate places emerged during the fieldwork, namely the female network culture taking place in saunas, during meditation and yoga practice, and at long dinners in each other's houses; a micro culture that was interrelated in subtle ways with a local community economy consisting of long car drives, plenty of spare time, low housing costs, strong marmalades, handpicked mushrooms, and moose meat, served at the table and stored in the freezer. The women that I met took active part in this modern hunting culture, not by shooting wild animals but by picking and gathering food in the forest, and taking care of the meat that men brought to the household (Frykman & Hansen 2009:195–228). They also had a tendency to answer my questions about vaccine reluctance in similar wording. This underscores the importance of *interactive rationality*, meaning that individuals "are prepared to act in accordance with recognised solidarity – if they believe that the majority of people in their community would do the same in a similar situation" (Frykman et al. 2009:25). The *esprit de corps* with a strong local community, such as a village or a landscape, *and* the loyalty to an intimate group of friends – which all together form what I have been calling a *vaccilocus* – in this particular case triumph over

the solidarity with a more anonymous, national, imagined community (see Lundgren 2016).

To engage myself bodily in this place, together with fellow human beings, opened up for new discoveries; this is a place that is *lived*, "the world is a making", writes Thrift, "it is processual, it is in action" (Thrift 2008:113). I cannot but agree. Nevertheless, this lived local community also stands in contact with the surrounding world. When the interviewees spoke about the lack of trust in public authorities and the pharmaceutical industry, claiming that the pandemic threat has been magnified by people who gain money by selling vaccines, they used the same kind of arguments that are spread globally by a multifaceted antivaccination movement, not least on social media and open forums on the internet (see Harambam 2020).

All things considered, my investigation underscores the importance of studying vaccine reluctance as *culturally specific*. To make any sense it needs to be investigated less as de-contextualized opinions and arguments, and more as a socially, culturally, and locally deeply embedded phenomenon, which I have striven to do, with a special focus upon place, nature, and bodily experiences. This in turn points to the evident need to regard established democracies as consisting not only of one singular coherent public sphere but of many differing and conflicting public spheres (Lawrence, Hausman & Dannenberg 2014). This also highlights the risk for Scandinavian researchers of unreflectingly drawing upon results from the United States, where a large body of anti-vaccination studies are produced. There are plenty of cross-national ideas that are being spread among vac-

cine-reluctant people, I have highlighted some of them here, but Scandinavia's high herd immunity, established welfare state model and well-documented high trust in public authorities call for further investigations in this – politically and culturally specific – part of the world.

Secondly, considering the public discourse more broadly, it is my conclusion that there is little substance in the comfortable solidarity claims expressed by representatives of "the public", such as established pundits working on national media platforms, especially when they are flavoured with condescending words directed towards vaccine-critical individuals. To call adults "egoistiska, ouppfostrade värstingstonåringar" (egoistic, ill-bred tearaway teenagers) will most probably not enhance the will in this "group" to take COVID-19 vaccinations.¹⁸ Arguably, it is a false assumption that vaccine-reluctant individuals lack feelings of solidarity; however provocative it might come across, they are loyal to other, more regional, local, and intimate fellowships, as well as to likeminded people across the globe – and there are complex cultural and political reasons for this. Or as Bernice Hausman puts it from an American vantage point: "How, as a society, we deal with these circumstances of fundamental disagreement reflects how well our social contract is working" (Hausman 2019:84).

I have also tried to show that this "group" of people consists of considerate and generous individuals. That I do not share their view of vaccinations does not mean that I cannot reflect myself in them.

Mia-Marie Hammarlin
 Associate Professor
 Department for Communication and Media
 Lund University
 Box 201
 SE-223 62 Lund
 email: mia-marie.hammarlin@kom.lu.se

Notes

- 1 Project title: "Rumour Mining, a mixed methods collaboration", 2020–2023, in cooperation between the language technologists Professor Lars Borin and Associate Professor Dimitrios Kokkinakis at the University of Gothenburg and Associate Professor of Sociology Fredrik Miegel, and Associate Professor of Ethnology Mia-Marie Hammarlin (PI), Lund University.
- 2 However, personal illness narratives or the like are not in the project's focus. If such sensitive data is spontaneously shared, these parts are not transcribed.
- 3 The people we have interviewed so far do not belong to a specific group. i.e., they are not formally organized. They usually meet like-minded people through different sorts of social media groups, especially Facebook, and through social and cultural patterns in everyday life offline.
- 4 <https://www.who.int/news-room/spotlight/ten-threats-to-global-health-in-2019>.
- 5 Between 2016 and 2020 worldwide measles deaths climbed by 50%, <https://www.who.int/news/item/12-11-2020-worldwide-measles-deaths-climb-50-from-2016-to-2019-claiming-over-207-500-lives-in-2019>.
- 6 E.g., herd immunity for measles, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.IMM.MEAS>.
- 7 A decline in the number of children vaccinated has previously had immediate negative effects. For example, the incidence rate in Sweden of pertussis rose from 700 to 3,200 cases per 100,000 children in 4 years due to a rather small decrease in vaccinations (Kitta 2012:2).
- 8 As described by Nigel Thrift, non-representational theory draws upon thinkers like Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Martin Heidegger, Emmanuel Levinas, Michel de Certeau, Pierre Bourdieu, Donna Haraway, Bruno Latour, Gregory Bateson, Judith Butler, Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari, among others (Thrift 2008:113).
- 9 Some of the interviewees circulated similar stories when we drove around in the surroundings. I would like to recommend the autobiographical cartoonist Mats Jonsson, and his book *Nya Norrland* (2017), which nicely captures feelings of nostalgia, melancholy, longing, and sorrow in a way that most academic work on the topic does not offer. However, Jonsson also illustrates the deadly Union protests, the threat from World War II, the Swedish hunger protests, and the emigration to the United States as a sort of counterbalance; the everyday was circumscribed by life-changing challenges during this "golden era". Another exception is the ethnological and anthropological literature that paints the receptive portrait of what it means to be a "real" man in Northern rural areas, such as Lissa Nordin's (2007) Bo Nilsson's (1999:130–171), and Ella Johansson's (1994) dissertations.
- 10 "Il est évident que le dépeuplement des campagnes, à la limite, aboutit à la mort sociale. On peut dire qu'il n'ira pas jusque-là. Mais on n'en sait rien. Jusqu'ici, on n'aperçoit rien qui soit susceptible de l'arrêter" (Weil 1949:74f).
- 11 Kjell Hansen (1998:84) gives two apt examples that represent this genre: the novel *Vem älskar Yngve Frej* by the Swedish author Stig Claesson (1968), and photography by the Finnish artist Esko Männikö.
- 12 A colour, like red, can actually become a fruitful analytical point of departure, as Stewart eloquently shows (Stewart 2015:19–33).
- 13 There is an exact word for this kind of sauna shelf in Swedish, namely "lav" or "lave", a special kind of wooden structure.
- 14 In the OECD countries, psychiatric diagnoses are increasing as a cause of long-term sick leave, and stress-related syndromes are among the most common, not least in Sweden (Socialförsäkringsrapport 2020:8; OECD 2012).

- 15 Driving is a necessity around here, even to "nearby" neighbours.
- 16 "L'enracinement est peut-être le besoin le plus important et le plus méconnu de l'âme humaine. C'est un des plus difficiles à définir. Un être humain a une racine par sa participation réelle, active et naturelle à l'existence d'une collectivité qui conserve vivants certains trésors du passé et certains pressentiments d'avenir. Participation naturelle, c'est-à-dire amenée automatiquement par le lieu, la naissance, la profession, l'entourage" (Weil 1949:45).
- 17 One of them has 1K followers in each of two social media accounts.
- 18 Hanne Kjöllér: "Vaccinvägarna visar att det är jaget – och inte laget – som är svenskarnas ledstjärna." Column in *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 May 2021. *Dagens Nyheter* is one of the most influential and well-respected newspapers in Sweden, and Hanne Kjöllér is an established columnist.

References

Fieldwork

Between March 2020 and September 2021, the project collected twenty recorded interviews in total that have been transcribed in their full-length. With few exceptions, they took place in people's homes. The interviewees participated voluntarily. A consent form, with information about the project and the interviewees' rights regarding e.g., GDPR and possible withdrawal, was signed before the recording began. Seven of the interviews were collected in Hälsingland, 19–24 September 2021, where participant observations also took place, documented through a field diary and recordings.

Literature

- Anderson, Ben 2009: Affective Atmospheres. *Emotion, Space and Society* 2:77–81.
- Björkman, Ingeborg & Margareta A. Sanner 2013: The Swedish A(H1N1) vaccination campaign. Why did not all Swedes take the vaccination? *Health Policy* 109:63–70.
- Claesson, Stig 1970: *Vem älskar Yngve Frej?* 2nd ed. Delfinserien. Stockholm: Bonnier.

- Dahlström, Lisen A. et al. 2010: Attitudes to HPV vaccination among parents of children aged 12–15 years. A population-based survey in Sweden. *International Journal of Cancer* 126:500–507.
- Damsholt, Tine 2020: Times of Corona. Investigating the Temporalities of Everyday Life during Lockdown. *Ethnologia Europaea* 50(2):137–155.
- Damsholt, Tine 2021: "Returning to Normality Will Be as Strange as Leaving it Behind". *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 51:249–273.
- Donovan, Courtney & Sarah de Leeuw 2020: Geography as Engaged Medical – Health – Humanities. In *Routledge Handbook of the Medical Humanities*, ed. Alan Bleakley, London; Routledge.
- Egerkrans, Johan 2017: *Vaesens. Spirits and Monsters of Scandinavian Folklore*. Stockholm: Wahlströms bokförlag.
- Ekman, Kerstin 2021: *Löpa varg. Berättelse*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag.
- Frykman, Jonas & Orvar Löfgren 1987: *Culture Builders. A Historical Anthropology of Middle-class Life*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Frykman, Jonas & Maja Povrzanović Frykman 2016: Affect and Material Culture. Perspectives and Strategies. In *Sensitive Objects. Affect and Material Culture*, ed. Jonas Frykman & Maja Povrzanović Frykman. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
- Frykman, Jonas & Kjell Hansen 2009: *I ohälsans tid. Sjukskrivningar och kulturmönster i det samtida Sverige*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Frykman, Jonas, Mia-Marie Hammarlin, Kjell Hansen, Bo Rothstein, Helena Olofsdotter & Isabell Schierenbeck 2009: Sense of Community. Trust, Hope and Worries in the Welfare State. *Ethnologia Europaea* 39:1.
- Hansen, Kjell 1998: *Välfärdens motsträviga utkant. Lokal praktik och statlig styrning i efterkrigstidens nordsvenska inland*. Lund: Historiska Media.
- Harambam, Jaron 2020: *Contemporary Conspiracy Culture: Truth and Knowledge in an Era of Epimestic Instability*. London: Routledge.

- Hausman, Bernice L. 2019: *Anti/vax. Reframing the Vaccination Controversy*. Ithaca, New York: ILR Press.
- Jama, Asha et al. 2018: Perspectives on the Measles, Mumps and Rubella Vaccination among Somali Mothers in Stockholm. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 15.
- Johansson, Ella 1994: *Skogarnas fria söner. Maskulinitet och modernitet i norrländskt skogsarbete*. Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag.
- Johnson, Neil F. et al. 2020: The Online Competition between Pro- and Anti-vaccination Views. *Nature* 582:230–234.
- Jonsson, Mats 2017: *Nya Norrland. En serie-roman*. Stockholm: Galago.
- Kitta, Andrea 2012: *Vaccinations and Public Concern in History. Legend, Rumor, and Risk Perception*. New York: Routledge.
- Kjäller, Hanne 2021: Vaccinvägrarna visar att det är jaget – och inte laget – som är svenskarernas ledstjärna. *Dagens Nyheter* 1 May 2021, <https://www.dn.se/ledare/hanne-kjoller-vaccinvagrarna-visar-att-det-ar-jaget-inte-laget-som-ar-svenskarnas-ledstjarna/>.
- Koski, Kaisu & Johan Holst 2017: Exploring Vaccine Hesitancy Through an Artist – Science Collaboration. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*.
- Landicho-Gueverra, Jhoys et al. 2021: Scared, powerless, insulted and embarrassed. Hesitancy towards vaccines among caregivers in Cavite Province, the Philippines. *BMJ Global Health* 2021;6:e006529.
- Lawrence, Heidi, Bernice Hausman & Clare Dannenberg 2014: Reframing medicine's publics. The local as a public of vaccine refusal. *Journal of Medical Humanities* 35:111–129.
- Lockyer, Bridget et al. 2021: Understanding COVID-19 Misinformation and Vaccine Hesitancy in Context. Findings from a Qualitative Study Involving Citizens in Bradford, UK. *Health Expectations* 24:1159–1168.
- Lundgren, Britta 2015a: Narrating Narcolepsy. Centering a Side Effect. *Medical Anthropology* 34(2):150–165.
- Lundgren, Britta 2015b: 'Rhyme or Reason?' Saying No to Mass Vaccination. Subjective Reinterpretation in the Context of the A(H1N1) Influenza Pandemic in Sweden 2009–2010. *Medical Humanities* 41:107–112.
- Lundgren, Britta 2016: Solidarity at the Needle Point. The Intersection of Compassion and Containment during the A(H1N1) Pandemic in Sweden 2009. *Sociology and Anthropology* 4(12):1108–1116.
- Lundgren, Britta 2017: Health Politics, Solidarity and Social Justice. An Ethnography of Unvaccinated Communities during and after the H1N1 Pandemic in Sweden. *Ethnologia Europaea* 47:2:22–39.
- Mant, Madeleine et al. 2021: University students' perspectives, planned uptake and hesitancy regarding the COVID-19 vaccine. A multi-methods study. *PLOS ONE*, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0255447>
- Miller, Daniel, Elisabetta Costa & Nell Haynes 2016: *How the World Changed Social Media*. London: UCL.
- Nihlén Fahlquist, Jessica 2018: Vaccine hesitancy and trust: ethical aspects of risk communication. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 46:182–188.
- Nilsson, Bo 1999: *Maskulinitet. Representation, ideologi och retorik*. Umeå: Boréa.
- Nilsson, Bo 2018: Meanings of "the local" in a Swedish rural development organization All Sweden Shall Live! *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 13, 2(2018):39–56.
- Nilsson, Bo & Lundgren, Anna Sofia 2018: 'For a Living Countryside'. Political Rhetoric about Swedish Rural Areas. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 25(1):72–84.
- Nilsson, Stefan et al. 2021: To be or not to be vaccinated against COVID-19 – The adolescents' perspective: a mixed-methods study in Sweden. *Vaccine X* 9.
- Nordin, Lissa 2007: *Man ska ju vara två. Män och kärlekslängtan i norrländsk glesbygd*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- OECD 2012: *Sick on the Job? Myths and Realities about Mental Health and Work*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

- Peretti-Watel, Patrick et al. 2019: "I think I made the right decision... I hope I'm not wrong". Vaccine hesitancy, commitment and trust among parents of young children. *Sociology of Health & Illness* 41(6):1192–1206.
- Pink, Sarah 2015: *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- Reich, Jennifer 2018: *Calling the Shots. Why Parents Reject Vaccines*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sabahelzain, Majdi M. et al. 2019: Towards a further understanding of measles vaccine hesitancy in Karthoum state, Sudan. A qualitative study. *PLOS ONE*, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0213882>.
- Socialförsäkringsrapport 2020: Sjukfrånvaro i psykiatriska diagnoser. En registerstudie av Sveriges arbetande befolkning i åldern 20–69 år (2020:8). Försäkringskassan.
- Stattin, Jochum 2008: *Näcken. Spelman eller gränsvakt?* 3ed ed. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Stewart, Kathleen 1996a: *A Space on the Side of the Road. Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stewart, Kathleen 1996b: An Occupied Place. In *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld & Keith H. Basso. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Stewart, Kathleen 2007: *Ordinary Affects*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Stewart, Kathleen 2008: Weak Theory in an Unfinished World. *Journal of Folklore Research* 45(1):71–82.
- Stewart, Kathleen 2015: New England Red. In *Non-representational Methodologies. Re-envisioning Research*, ed. Phillip Vannini. New York: Routledge.
- Stewart, Kathleen 2017a: In the World that Affect Proposed. *Cultural Anthropology* 32(2):192–198.
- Stewart, Kathleen 2017b: Words in Worlds. An Interview with Kathleen Stewart. *Society for Cultural Anthropology*, <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/words-in-worlds-an-interview-with-kathleen-stewart>.
- Thrift, Nigel 2008: *Non-representation Theory. Space, Politics, Affects*. New York: Routledge.
- Thrift, Nigel, Adam Tickell, Steve Woolgar & William H. Rupp (eds.) 2014: *Globalization in Practice*. First edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vannini, Philip 2015: Non-representational research methodologies. An Introduction. In *Non-representational Methodologies. Re-envisioning Research*, ed. Phillip Vannini. New York: Routledge.
- Weil, Simone 1949: *L'enracinement. Prélude à une déclaration des devoirs envers l'être humain*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Internet Sources*
<https://www.who.int/news-room/spotlight/tent-threats-to-global-health-in-2019>. (retrieved 19 April 2022).
<https://www.who.int/news/item/12-11-2020-worldwide-measles-deaths-climb-50-from-2016-to-2019-claiming-over-207-500-lives-in-2019>. (retrieved 19 April 2022)
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.IMM.MEAS>. (retrieved 19 April 2022)
https://www.perlego.com/book/1547736/routledge-handbook-of-the-medical-humanities-pdf?utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&campaignid=17490270403&adgroupid=/40283260560&gclid=CJ0KCQjwntCVBhDaARIsAMEwACnRmC5DMLZidBZLtDAXng10dz77hjc4_3WY0HnfAylhdUWF456AdMaAm_tEALw_wcB

Simon Ekström, Professor in Stockholm



Simon Ekström has been affiliated to Stockholm University since 2010, where he has served at the research institute Centre for Maritime Studies (CEMAS) and simultaneously at the Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies. He was promoted to Professor in Ethnology in 2020.

Ekström's research covers several fields. Much of his earlier work has centred on the cultural aspects of violence. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on sexual abuse of women during the early post-war years (*Trovärdighet och ovärdighet: Rättsapparatusens hanterande av kvinnors anmälan av våldtäktsbrott, Stockholm 1946–50*, 2002), an analysis of cultural conceptions, attitudes and practices in relation to gender and violence as expressed in police work and court cases. His dissertation about the so-called "murders of honour" (*Hedersmorden och orden: Berättelser av kultur, kritik och skillnad*, 2009) analyses the public debates following the deaths of three young women of Kurdish descent in Sweden. In these studies, Ekström has been interested in the ways such violent acts make sense – for the implicated persons, in public institutions such as the police and the legal apparatus, and in processes forming opinions in the public sphere. In the work on murders of honour, the way in which these events have been conceptualized through public discus-

sions has been especially in focus. A conclusion is that different conceptions of culture lay at the root of the disputes. An interesting dimension in Ekström's analysis is the way experts on culture from various academic disciplines interacted with the wider public opinion, where political issues of immigration and ethnic categorization were at stake. These studies both show the fruitfulness of close reading of text material.

Another field where Ekström has been especially active, is human–animal studies. In *Humrarna och evigheten: Kulturhistoriska essäer om konsumtion, begär och död* (2017) he investigates man's relations with the lobster from a variety of angles and in historical depth. Here the emphasis is on how the animal forms part of material networks: the role lobsters play in various human practices. At a more general level, the lobster studies illustrate how humans relate to animals, as he also shows in the publication *Djur: Berörande möten och kulturella smärtpunkter*, edited together with Lars Kaijser (2018). Here Ekström discusses the boundary between animals and the human species.

In addition to these research fields, he has also studied museums, archives and cultural heritage, addressing questions about the meaning and significance of knowledge of the past and what shapes the messages of e.g. museum exhibitions, or how archive collections may take on new meanings with changing cultural climates.

In his career at Stockholm University, he has played an active part in forming and developing education programmes, and he has been active in several research networks.

It is characteristic of Ekström's research that it has a broad scope; very often, the analysis of empirical material includes a wide variety of contexts. Dimensions of class, gender and ethnicity are always present, as is attention to the role of mediation of beliefs and attitudes, and to genre in the evaluation of source material. At the same time, he has a broad interest in analytical perspectives. These interests are also present in his educational activities, where gender has been an especially important topic.

Hans Jakob Ågotnes, Bergen

Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, Professor in Stockholm



Lotten Gustafsson Reinius has been appointed Professor of Ethnology at Stockholm University. In 2002 she defended her doctoral dissertation about Medieval Week on Gotland, *Den förtrolade zonen: Lekar med tid, rum och identitet under medeltidsveckan på Gotland*. The dissertation was a demonstration of ethnological strength that has stood the test of time. It was defended at Stockholm University, where she gained the title docent in 2009. For much of her career she has been at the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm, where she was director 2014–2016. From 2016 to August 2021 she was the holder of the Hallwyl Professorship at the Nordic Museum.

A significant part of her scholarly work is based on museums. One of her recurring approaches is to problematize the collections, in terms of materiality, the acquisition context, and the ethical responsibility that today's museum as an institution and its curators as officials have to display. Her work at the Museum of Ethnography

has also raised repatriation issues, and here she has initiated scholarly discussion in several different contexts.

As holder of the Hallwyl Professorship she bore the main responsibility for work on the major exhibition “The Arctic – While the Ice Is Melting”, which also generated the edited volume *Arktiska spår: Natur och kultur i rörelse*, a huge coordinated effort with almost 50 contributors. Here Gustafsson Reinius has taken on the challenge to the humanities, to make significant contributions to today's great existential and political issues, in interdisciplinary dialogue. For ethnology as a discipline it is also an important contribution in that it definitively establishes global environmental issues as a legitimate research field and suggests models for research strategies.

Her scholarly output as a whole is dominated by the article format and other relatively concentrated genres, reflecting both her acute analytical gaze, with an ability to discern fundamental principles and central issues, and her willingness and ability to communicate research to colleagues and the general public.

Artefacts as testimony to history and change, expressive culture, museology, cultural heritage, media history, and colonial history are characteristic features of her scholarly profile. The potential for cultural analysis in studying religion as an interpretative framework and social networks is revealed in many of her works. In terms of theory, she demonstrates considerable breadth. Folkloristic performance and ritual theory, new museology, play theory, ANT-inspired materiality studies, gender theory, postcolonial critique, modernity theory, and posthumanist perspectives recur as her inspiration, orientation, and foundation, not as an end in itself but in constant productive interaction with empirical ethnographic data. Her ability to challenge conventions and provide new and unexpected perspectives is an important asset for the research community.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Markus Idvall, Professor in Stockholm



Markus Idvall was promoted to professor of ethnology in 2021. Idvall has gained long experience at Swedish universities, such as Lund and Stockholm universities, in addition to several years of experience from the research institute Vårdalsinstitutet. During these years, Idvall has contributed to many research fields. His works in the research field of identity, place and boundaries are a continuation of themes in his doctoral dissertation, while his studies in medical humanities represent a completely new research field developed after his doctorate.

In his dissertation, Idvall presents a social constructivist perspective on nations, regions and places, questions what a region is in a societal perspective, and discusses the cultural mechanisms of regionalization processes. Here, historical and tactical preconditions for the emergence of a region, and the region's "cartographic mobilization" are analysed; the aesthetics of the map, which mobilizes and organizes the region; how regions are created in situations where maps are used; how the ethnic mobilization of regions takes place; problematization of the moral component of regional mobilization; and how the use of maps contributed to an increasing regionalization of southern Sweden and the border area Sweden-Denmark in the 1990s. After he completed his doctoral dissertation, this research interest was

further developed, e.g. in "Natur över gränserna: När tyskar, danskar och sydsvenskar delar skog med varandra" ("Nature across borders: When Germans, Danes and southern Swedes share forests with each other"), an investigation of cultural mechanisms behind the "transnational change" that occurs when people with a national background other than Swedish occupy the southern Swedish forest regions. This research theme is also reflected in "Försenade och frustrerade: Öresundsbronns resenärer om Sveriges ID- och gränskontroll" ("Delayed and frustrated: Öresund Bridge travellers' on Sweden's ID and border control"), which is based on the European refugee crisis in 2015. Many of the refugees who arrived in Sweden entered via the Öresund Bridge, which was then subject to ID verification for all travellers. Idvall discusses how the border controls, after the influx of refugees slowed down, continued to affect the privileged and protected travellers, those who were exposed to the controls, but who were also spectators to the drama that unfolded at this time.

One example of Idvall's research in the field of medical humanities is "The Body as a Societal Resource in Transnational Giving: The Organ-Exchange Organizations of Scandiatransplant and Balttransplant". In this study, the focus is on medical personnel in two quite differently structured organizations, one of which (Scandiatransplant) addresses the Nordic countries, and the other (Balttransplant) targets the Baltic countries. Idvall analyses the ways in which transplantation programmes, which in principle relate to national legislation and practices, and to the international transplantation arena, are thus part of a transnational context. Here, too, organ donation is discussed in terms of "gift" (Mauss), "reciprocity", "excessive giving" (Bataille) and "payback".

Another example is the article "Taking part in clinical trials: The therapeutic ethos of patients and the public towards experimental cell transplantations", where Idvall discusses a "therapeutic ethos", or a mixture of ideas, feelings and attitudes that emerge in conversations between lay people (people with and without Parkinson's disease) and medical personnel, on cell transplants for people with Parkinson's disease. Special attention is paid to the conversations about the use of foetal cells in the treatment of the disease, where patients are

more open to this use than non-patients, but where non-patients are more open to the use of stem cell transplantation of embryo material after rejected IVF, than after abortions.

The latter field belongs to a larger research field in ethnology, namely historical and cultural perspectives on health, illness and disease, but at the same time the focus on organ donation and

neuroculture means that the field is expanded considerably in ethnology. Idvall belongs to a small group of researchers who contribute to this expansion of the field. We look forward to further thought-provoking analyses by Markus Idvall, both in medical humanities and in the highly topical field of national borders and refugees.

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Bergen

Ingun Grimstad Klepp, Professor at OsloMet



In 2021 Ingun Grimstad Klepp was appointed professor of Sustainability Research on Clothing and Clothing Habits at Oslo Metropolitan University. Here her main research is performed in the environmental research group of Technology and Sustainability at SIFO, where the relationship between consumption and the environment with a broader culture perspective is in focus.

Klepp received her Ph.D. in ethnology at Oslo University in 1996 with the dissertation *På stier mellom natur og kultur: Turgåeres opplevelser av kulturlandskapet og deres synspunkter på vern*. Klepp's dissertation is a large-scale study based on extensive fieldwork on a central ethnological theme. In a well-structured review of how concepts such as nature, landscape and leisure have emerged in Western modernity, she shows how the meaning and content of these concepts was structured by contradictions; leisure gets its meaning as a negation of work, and nature and culture have their meanings shaped by their mutual opposition. With references to Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, the theoretical starting point is phenomenological – people's bodily experiences should be understood as culturally mediated. In addition, the dissertation is politically relevant in that it intervenes in the debate about the conservation of nature and culture in Norway. The many studies created in the field of "cultural heritage" since 1996 show that she has

been at the forefront of the topic. With her analysis of people's use of cultural heritage in their landscape experiences she started a discussion on the content of cultural heritage management. And with its solid empirical foundation, her dissertation still has strong relevance.

After her interest in the use of history and nature in the landscape, Klepp turned her attention to research on clothing, textile material and fashion. As a research leader at SIFO she has conducted many interesting projects in a thorough and efficient manner. She traverses boundaries between disciplines, has collaborated across faculty boundaries and has for many years contributed to developing SIFO's research environment as well as the textile research field in general.

One of her interesting books from these years is *Skittentøyets kulturhistorie – hvorfor kvinner vasker klær* from 2006. It is an extensive monograph that addresses several classic ethnological research areas, not only on the importance of cleanliness and hygiene, but also in work and everyday life areas, and not least gender relations. Klepp's analytical input into the cultural history of dirty laundry consists of an interest in studying changes in what is taken for granted. She brings the reader into a world of smells and family life, but above all she wants to discuss why it is always women who wash clothes. This is also an aesthetically appealing book where a lot of work was done on the visual material that has its own action through the book.

Since Klepp has demonstrated both breadth and depth in the textile research field as well as in fashion, it is hard to single out specific publications. However, her textile studies may say something about also other fields in society. In the article "A Louse in Court: Norwegian Knitted Sweaters with 'Lus' on Big-time Criminals" in the book *Fashion Crimes: Dressing for Deviance* she discussed how a sweater can upset media if it is hard-boiled criminals appearing in court wearing a *lusekofte*. She finds that this Norwegian national heritage must not be violated since it forms a distinct part of the Norwegian identity. Here she shows not only how familiar she is with knitting traditions and identity issues, but also with the research field of power and masculinity. A *lusekofte* does not go well together with the hegemonic masculinity of the court.

In a short article “Nisseluelandet – The Impact of Local Clothes for the Survival of a Textile Industry in Norway” in *Fashion Practice* she manages to discuss a big issue starting with a small hat.

Particularly strong in her outreach work is communication to a wide audience, through articles and popularizing books, lectures, and not least media contributions. To develop a better general knowledge of clothing and the environment Klepp has been active in popularizing scholarship with several articles and books. Among the latest books in the field are the trilogy *Letstelt* (2019), *Lettkledd* (2020), and *Lettfiks* (2021) that inspire sustainable clothing consumption. Much can be said about all her popular articles and active media participation. Probably the best expression of this is that she was awarded the prestigious dissemination prize from the Research Council of Norway in 2016, where emphasis is placed on the candidate’s ability to be creative and innovative. She received the prize “for engaged communication on topics such as outdoor life, clothing and housework, environment, clothing habits” and for having “become involved in the political debate on consumption growth and environmental impact. She combines perspectives from natural, cultural, and social science research in lectures, books, and exhibitions.”

Recently Klepp’s increasing commitment to strategic and environmental policy work, with

a focus on sustainability has been aimed more at politicians, administration, and business. She therefore participates in several studies of environmental policy, e.g. with the Nordic Council of Ministers and in the EU context. She is also a member of the Union of Concerned Researchers in Fashion, a global network that seeks to influence and change the fashion industry.

Over the years Klepp has developed a strong professional network of contacts at home and abroad, not least through active international publishing and attending congresses. She has maintained a high research profile for many years in the fields of textile, clothing and fashion recently developed with a stronger emphasis on environmental policy.

Not only an excellent researcher, she is also a textile producer. I dare say that we are many people with an interest in fashion who enjoy seeing Ingun wearing her beautiful self-produced clothes and are soothed by watching her knitting during conferences and meetings.

As a full professor, Klepp’s qualities can now come into full bloom, as she shows in new research projects together with others on how sheep rangeland grazing systems can be part of sustainable food and fibre systems and in investigating what is most essential to reduce the environmental impact of clothing.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

New Dissertations

A Multifaceted Analysis of Urban Consumption

Devrim Umut Aslan, Praxitopia. How Shopping Makes a Street Vibrant. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lund University 2021. 297 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7895-821-4.

■ Historically, urban life has been associated with consumption and commerce of various kinds. Even after general stores became permitted in the countryside in the Nordic countries, with the liberalization of trade in the nineteenth century, much of the latest fashion and the newest goods could only be obtained in the towns. That was also where the department stores were located, becoming important places for consumption and experiences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The cities and towns also offered several forms of everyday consumption. Townspeople with small homes and limited cold storage facilities took to the streets almost daily to buy groceries well into the twentieth century. In addition to the permanent shops there was trade in foodstuffs and other goods in market squares and in other, more informal, trading places. In recent decades alarmed voices have been heard claiming that urban trade is changing. Today the shops are increasingly being placed in large complexes on the outskirts of cities, which has reduced the supply in the city centre and left a great many empty retail premises. The death of shops, as it is called, has been a subject of discussion among politicians, urban planners and not least the customers whose everyday lives have been affected by the change.

Formal and informal places of consumption are at the centre of Devrim Umut Aslan's dissertation entitled *Praxitopia: How Shopping Makes a Street Vibrant*. As the title indicates, the focus of the study is on the shopping street and its function. Umut Aslan takes the death of the store as his starting point and examines the link between consumption and its surroundings. The place chosen for the study is Helsingborg,

where the Söder district and especially the central street Södergatan have been viewed as a warning example of this development. In addition, Umut Aslan investigates the question of what the streets mean for people's purchases. The subtitle, *How Shopping Makes a Street Vibrant*, points to the crucial factor in the context. The streets are what make the city come alive, and trade is essential for the hustle and bustle in the area. The interdisciplinary approach of the dissertation is interesting and the theme is highly topical, making this a welcome contribution to research on consumer culture in general. Although the studied area is in Helsingborg, the dissertation also says something about any small town in Scandinavia, especially about the streets in them that are not so fancy and not always so busy.

Devrim Umut Aslan approaches the question of how trade is visible in the cityscape from an interdisciplinary and socio-cultural perspective. By filming, observing, and interviewing a group of people who have gone out to shop, he examines their shopping habits and thoughts about consumption. The combination of video ethnography and mental maps yields a picture of how today's consumers think, perform, and organize their purchases in Södergatan. The starting point is a broad definition of consumption; the dissertation not only covers purchases but is also a study of goods, walking, socializing, and transport. These pieces are put together to create a picture of how the Söder district and Södergatan are perceived by the people who move in the area. The study is divided into three parts and comprises eleven chapters. The dissertation may at first feel like heavy going, but at the same time the introductory survey of previous research, different theoretical approaches, and methodology provides a good context for the study as a whole. The dissertation combines a range of perspectives: practices, shopping as a social activity, and the link between consumption and place. Devrim Umut Aslan also launches his own concept, "praxitopia" with which he tries to explain the significance of how different forms of purchasing are connected with the surrounding environment.

The district of Söder in Helsingborg came into existence in the first half of the nineteenth century as an industrial and working-class neighbourhood in the southern part of the city. The city grew rapidly and soon Söder was home to about half of its inhabitants. During the 1960s, Söder developed into an important trading place for the whole of Helsingborg, but after the 1980s the centre of gravity of trade increasingly shifted to a shopping mall some way outside the city. Today, Södergatan is lined with a mix of restaurants, fashion boutiques, hairdressers, and other shops, but also a high proportion of empty premises awaiting new owners. As a historian of consumption, I found the sections dealing with the change over time particularly thought-provoking. Having studied consumption during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries both in towns and in the countryside, I found that several themes and questions here were familiar. Although the dissertation deals mainly with the present, it offers a great deal to readers with an interest in history. By showing the different ways in which purchases can be made in Södergatan and the practices surrounding this activity, the dissertation provides insight into the breadth and function of consumption for the people who move around in Söder today.

In his dissertation, Umut Aslan seeks answers to three questions: How does shopping take place in Södergatan? What is the meaning of the shopping practices? What is the connection between shopping and the street? The analysis of the activity in Södergatan today creates a multifaceted picture of everyday consumption in the area. The study of the interaction between customers and the shop staff, or between the customers, shows how consumption can be understood as a social phenomenon. Furthermore, the study of how purchases are made both purposefully and alongside other activities demonstrates the many different functions that commerce can have and the many different ways in which consumption can be understood and performed. An interesting theme of the dissertation is budget buying. The hunt for low prices means that many customers find their way to Södergatan, a street with many opportunities to

find bargains. Yet budget shopping brings not only cheaper goods, but also joy, pride, and satisfaction to some of the customers.

The people that Umut Aslan has filmed, interviewed, and observed for his study are brought to life through quotations and photographs. In general terms too, the dissertation contains a great many pictures, mainly as a complement to what is described in the text. The good thing about Umut Aslan's study is that it opens our eyes to something that is commonplace for all of us, that is, going shopping. By placing shopping in its context and closely examining everyday trading practices, the study shows that commerce can make a place come alive. The dissertation also shows that the discussion about the death of shops seems to be somewhat exaggerated, at least when it comes to Södergatan in Helsingborg. I hope the study will inspire similar investigations in other Nordic countries.

Anna Sundelin, Åbo (Turku)

Culture Planning and Inclusion

Pia Hovi, Kyl maar tääl kaikenlaista kulttuuria on! Kulttuurisuunnittelu kokonaisvaltaisena kulttuuri- ja taidelähtöisenä yhteiskehittämisen menetelmänä. (For sure we have all kinds of culture! Culture planning as a comprehensive culture and arts-based co-planning method.) University of Turku 2021. 211 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29-9605-7.

■ Pia Hovi defended her doctoral thesis in Landscape Research at the University of Turku in November 2021. Hovi's research focuses on the models of bottom-up and top-down in city development work. In particular, Hovi studied the roles of artists and art in cultural planning. Furthermore, Hovi's doctoral thesis highlights the best ways of presenting and reporting the collected data to utilize it in city development.

Hovi's landscape research combines research on community, place and place attachment with critical heritage studies, art-based research, and critical pedagogy. In addition, she considers futures research. At the core of the study is citizens'

participation, inclusion, and local empowerment in a sustainable way. The theoretical framework of Hovi's study is based on the concepts of co-creation, cultural planning, cultural mapping, and cultural heritage. The methodology of the study is mixed methods research. The research material consists of interviews, workshops, questionnaires, image material from the art competition, and documents. Hovi has analysed the research material using action research, document analysis, qualitative content analysis, and visual analysis.

The dissertation is based on four published articles. Three of them are in Finnish. The one in English is titled "The Role of the Museum in an Aging Society". The title refers to Hovi's interest in resilient society, equality, good living environment, and inclusion, all of which are included in social sustainability. Other articles reflect heritage work from a voluntary perspective, community art projects with workshops in suburbs, and public art and the planning process, to be more specific: the housing fair's art competition, aiming for cooperation between planners of public spaces and artists.

The work provides a critical perspective on present-day urban development processes. Hovi has a strong voice of her own in the dissertation. She stresses that museum institutions need to take an active role in society and cooperate closely with other sectors to situate themselves at the heart of the community.

The main research question in Hovi's work is: do culture- and arts-based participatory methods increase residents' inclusion and participation in co-creative processes? Hovi emphasizes the inclusion of the residents. This should be done collaboratively by recognizing and defining the cultural resources. It consists of tangible and intangible elements, such as places, including museums, sites and locations, practices, associations, events, local products e.g. craft and arts, nature, as well as values and beliefs, language and dialects, history, memories, narratives, sense of place and identity. These elements are not separate but in dialogue. Hovi stresses that culture is constantly changing, which means that cultural resources are not im-

mutable. Furthermore, each area has its own way to defend its cultural resources.

The definition above is supported by Raymond Williams's anthropological view (based on Edward Tylor) of culture as a way of life and art as a part of society. It helps to understand culture as a dynamic process. Accordingly, cultural mapping is regarded as top-down activity, but it involves various stakeholders, communities, and residents of the area and therefore the everyday experiences and perceptions of people.

Both approaches (bottom-up and top-down) are examined by case studies situated in the town of Pori, Satakunta region in Finland. The bottom-up ("down-up" in Hovi's dissertation) case study represents a cultural mapping with the participation of an artist association. There are three top-down case studies. They include a local museum's cultural heritage work based on collaboration with senior citizens, and the museum's audience programme and city planning public art competition.

The co-creative methods used have been cultural mapping, cultural planning, and community art. Engagement in community art makes the aims quite similar to those of cultural planning, which includes dialogical processes. As Hovi herself is not an artist, she situates her arts-based research in the continuum of art and science on the science side. However, Hovi has worked at the art museum and has conducted some of the projects that are presented in the study. Hovi has carefully reflected on her own role and ethical questions in the study.

Based upon her findings, Hovi emphasizes the need for open and inclusive city development processes that empower and give voice to residents. The process of defining concepts such as culture is important, as officials and residents may disagree on it. The more open and participatory the city development process is, the more it supports their own residential area and well-being. The co-creation events and knowledge co-produced in them are unique in each case, as may be the changing experiences and contexts of everyday life of which people tell in workshops.

Community and place are the key concepts in the study. They are multi-dimensional terms that are understood in many ways, depending on the time and academic field. Hovi's research involves an interesting discussion especially with previous research in landscape studies and urban humanities. Hovi states that processes of cultural mapping may find it difficult to be open enough to recognize various interpretations of places that may be hybrid: physical and digital etc. There are as many interpretations of places as there are residents. In addition, people outside the residential area may take part in cultural mapping in these times of digitalization. Hovi abandons idea of "placemaking" as it has no real communal viewpoint. Placemaking may aim at financial profit, not creativity.

There is a minor discrepancy in the study. Emphasizing the voice of residents is important in the study, but in the text their voices could and should have been more visible for readers, too. Examples from the interview materials could have been analysed more thoroughly. Researchers often add reports of their participant observation in the field when presenting their studies. It would have been interesting to read that here, too.

The strength of the dissertation is the courageous effort to unfold the problems and challenges in city development processes. As a result, Hovi presents an innovative and operative "creative co-creation action model" (pp. 122ff) which helps to make a change in practices. The model consists of three themes: mapping of cultural resources, cultural planning, and community art. At the heart of the model is the need to recognize that the top-down model provides a limited perspective on the residential area and its development. The model stresses the collaboration between officials/researchers and artists or artist communities who are willing to implement the art project with the residents. The knowledge provided by the creative co-creation action model may be included as a part of the strategies.

This book will undeniably appeal to city officials, the museum sector, various stakeholders, scholars in art and landscape studies, as well as

urban researchers representing multidisciplinary approaches. In addition, it may empower residents to engage with city development processes and participatory budgeting in order to suggest how to promote the well-being of the area.

Pauliina Latvala-Harvilahti, Turku/Helsinki

A French School in Finland

Eeva Salo-Tammivuori, Discipline and order. The French school as a field of intangible cultural heritage. Faculty of Humanities, School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, Cultural Heritage Studies, University of Turku 2021. 277 pp., 2 appendix pages. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29-8646-0.

■ Eeva Salo-Tammivuori's doctoral research takes the reader to the French school world, which is portrayed as a unifying and distinguishing field of intangible cultural heritage, built of its own history and further maintained and also shaped through different customs, daily routines and cultures. These elements of the intangible culture go back several generations, and include good manners, strict discipline and persistent working. They have been chosen to be preserved in the cultural heritage process of the French school in Rauma, Finland, established in 2005, which serves as the case study of Salo-Tammivuori's work.

In her research, Salo-Tammivuori discusses how cultural heritage is communicated both inside and outside the school, and compares the culture of French schools with the Finnish schools. The French school in Rauma operates according to the French curriculum and all the pupils and full-time teachers of the school are French. Salo-Tammivuori has worked as a class teacher and assistant at the school since 2006 and began her research in 2012. The author has also visited schools in France. Salo-Tammivuori has thus become thoroughly acquainted with the daily life of the French school and its operating cultures through her work, positions of trust and research.

Eeva Salo-Tammivuori's doctoral thesis consists of six main chapters. In addition to the introduction, separate chapters are devoted to theory

and concepts as well as methodology. Chapters 4 and 5 form the chapters of analysis of the thesis and chapter 6 serves as a summary. The work is multidisciplinary, combining cultural heritage research and education, with a strong emphasis on the latter. This is particularly evident in the chapters concerning the theory, concepts and methodology. Thus, the disciplines complement each other in an exemplary manner. Therefore, the educational emphasis of the work is emphasized as an approach, which leaves the researcher's own specialty somewhat unclear. However, Salo-Tammivuori's research supplements the work done within the field of cultural heritage research and, more broadly, in the study of cultures, making a good contribution to the multi-voiced debate on cultural heritage and also on the school system and the institutions of society. Through her work, Eeva Salo-Tammivuori contributes to research in the field of cultural heritage studies and cultural studies, which deals not only with cultural heritage but also with institutions and everyday rhythms that are important for society and individuals. The school is one institution that firmly structures everyday life and obliges, nurtures and socializes us. When the subject of the research is a school, the subject of the research is also the stage and the multidimensional world of everyday life, which can be accessed through this dissertation.

The choice of research topic and research problem are interesting. The main question of the thesis is: What is the operating culture and communication of a French school like as an intangible cultural heritage and as a cultural heritage process? With regard to this, Salo-Tammivuori also asks: What reasons have led to the breakdown of the cultural heritage community of the French school in Rauma, i.e., the transfer of children to a Finnish school? What kind of experiences have French pupils and their parents had in the daily life of a Finnish school? The research questions are interesting and challenging, but when you read the work, a question inevitably arises: Does Salo-Tammivuori also study herself as part of the French school, and not only the French school from her experiences and from the experiences

of her interviewees? This question arises from the fact that Salo-Tammivuori's study has a strong reflexive and autoethnographic grip. The researcher's own experiences and the material formed on the basis of them and the interpretations arising from the material are thus prominently present in the work.

One of the key concepts of Salo-Tammivuori's thesis is the *heritage community*. This community is formed by the pupils, teachers, parents, and school inspectors as well as the school administration that decides about the curriculum. In the dissertation Salo-Tammivuori approaches the French school with the help of theoretical aspects presented by Geert Hofstede and Michel Foucault, bringing into focus questions of power, distance, avoidance of uncertainty and discipline.

In addition to cultural heritage and the concepts derived from it, the author has chosen a wide range of umbrella concepts for her work, such as interculturality, communication and the dimensions of culture. Schools build identities – national, collective and individual. Through identities, cultural heritage is also defined and renewed, and because of their power to define, schools also have a major responsibility for nurturing and renewing cultural heritage. Nor is cultural heritage permanent and static, but a process that involves different values and meanings at different times and their transmission. Indeed, cultural heritage always represents conscious choices: remembering or forgetting things, including them or excluding them.

The material consists of 22 interviews, including interviews with French pupils and their mothers who have chosen to enter the Finnish school system, and with mothers whose children have stayed in the French school in Rauma. In addition to these, the material consists of Salo-Tammivuori's own observations and research diaries from 2006 to 2021 and additionally, of research diaries from field trips to France in 2012–2013. In addition, texts written by French students as well as French and Finnish teachers and school assistants are used as material in the study.

The richness of the ethnographic material and the researcher's personal experiences bring narrative depth and personal tone to the work, which is characteristic in cultural studies. Ethnographic methods and ethnographic material have made it possible to delve into the cultural structures of the French school and also of the Finnish school compared with it. With the help of the methods and material, Salo-Tammivuori has come very close to the people who participated in the research, which is one of the great merits of the work. The author also describes in detail the data collection, the conduct of the research, and the associated challenges. The reflections related to the material have been done carefully and convey the researcher's familiarity with the diversity of ethnographic work and the research processes.

Thus, in Salo-Tammivuori's research, reflexivity forms both a tool and an empirical material through which the author arrives at insights, interpretations and analyses of the meaning of structures, customs and everyday routines in French schools. They also highlight symbolic, traditional and value-based perceptions and attitudes with regard to the French school. The author's reflexive approach and openness in doing research, and the challenges this brings, show the author's maturity in looking at herself as a researcher as well. With reflexivity, the researcher places both her feelings and thoughts under a magnifying glass. Salo-Tammivuori's personal experiences often bring interesting and added value to the interpretation, but also contribute to the tension between the French and Finnish schools.

The emic and etic aspects can be considered as merits but also as challenges of the work. Perspectives have led the author away from the inside to also explore things from an outsider's point of view. On the other hand, it has been possible to delve deeper into the things that can be observed from the outside through Salo-Tammivuori's personal and research experiences. There is a lot to learn about the different ways in which schools operate, how they manage their cultures and ideologies. In her work, Salo-Tammivuori brings to the discussion the customs and daily routines of

the French school as well as its characteristics and anomalies.

The material used in the study is sensitive, not least because children are also the subject of her interviews. Salo-Tammivuori discusses the ethical aspects of her research material especially with regard to children, showing her familiarity with research ethics in general. The tradition of discipline and punishment is an essential part of the French school and it is put into practice both at home and at school. In comparison, however, the problems and challenges of the French school are emphasized, even overemphasized, compared to the Finnish school. As a result, the French school is often presented in a rather negative light. A confrontation is formed between a French school that adheres to strict discipline and order and a completely different Finnish school that does not flatter the French school and places the Finnish school even superior to the French one. From the perspective of the research as a whole, the subjects and the research ethics, this is problematic, as the negative image is formed not only through the material but also through the author's own views. The image of a French school is thus normative and distinctive, and the author's views often have an attitudinal and questionable tone. Critical examination of the research subject is, of course, permitted, and there is no intention to do so-called convenience science in the study of cultures. Instead of attitudinal views, it would have been good to give more space to interpretations and reflections in the work, so that the cultural heritage communicated by the French school could also have become more diverse.

Salo-Tammivuori excluded the French school as a tangible heritage and instead, only focuses on it as an intangible heritage. As a reader, I wish that the tangible aspects of the French school could also have been considered in this study, since materiality (such as learning materials, different facilities and artefacts of the school, the food served at the school, etc.) are often discussed in the study. Therefore, a contextualization and problematization of the material aspects of the cultural heritage could also have been expected. As the French

school and school culture are presented as controversial in Salo-Tammivuori's work, a discussion relating to controversial and unpleasant cultural heritage, such as former industrial estates, prisons and mental hospitals would have been fruitful. In addition, the mentally and physically demanding environment of the French school connects the study to both bodily experiences and affectivity, to which Salo-Tammivuori's personal experiences and those of her interviewees are also closely connected.

The author's enthusiasm for the research she does takes the research in many different directions, which is reflected in the conceptual multiplicity of the work and the textbook-like presentation of concepts. In addition to a rich narrative, the research findings would have reached a deeper analytical level through a dialogue of concepts, theories, and empirical evidence. Despite the criticism, the empirical material of the analysis with interesting quotations is also relevant to the study.

As a whole, Eeva Salo-Tammivuori's research forms an interesting entity. The processes of research and the results of her study are reported clearly and consistently. The language of the work is impeccable and the text is written in a captivating way. Salo-Tammivuori's research provides new and interesting research information on the operating cultures of schools and the role and significance of the school, its staff and pupils as guardians and modifiers of cultural heritage. This dissertation therefore provides an interesting and important statement on the diversity and challenges of school culture, teacher culture and educational culture. Children's right to a good school experience and memories is also an important message to convey from this work. Eeva Salo-Tammivuori's work is also a fine addition to the dissertation research conducted at the University of Turku's cultural heritage research. The research contribution is therefore also socially relevant and adds to the interaction between academic research and the educational institution that plays a significant role in our society. The significance of the work thus extends beyond the university, offering valuable perspectives on an institution that

is perceived as important and valued in society, and whose development is influenced by the past, present and future prospects, as well as wider social and global influences. As a result, each school is also special in its own way – just like a thesis completed at the end of a long research period.

Sanna Lillbroända-Annala, Åbo (Turku)

Life-modes and Sovereignty Processes in Greenland

Gry Søbye, Suverænitestens umulighed og det glemte folk i Grønland. En livsformsanalyse af selvstyreprocessen med udgangspunkt i fangst- og fiskerisektoren. The Impossibility of Sovereignty and the Forgotten People in Greenland. A life-mode analysis of the transition process from home rule to self-government focusing on the fisheries sector. University of Copenhagen 2021. 369 pp. Diss.

■ In her dissertation *The Impossibility of Sovereignty and the Forgotten People in Greenland*, Gry Søbye studies the connections and conflicts that unfolded between the sovereignty processes and the plurality of life forms, modes of production, as well as different strategies for gaining recognition as a sovereign people in Greenland (2009–2013). In terms of theory, the dissertation draws on the Danish ethnologist Thomas Højrup's state- and life-mode theory, combined with arctic studies (primarily Inuit studies). Empirically the dissertation is based on ethnographic fieldwork among actors within the fishery and catching sector in Greenland (in the period 2011–2013) combined with document and image analysis, including historical documents.

The aim of the dissertation is to provide an insight into what the transition to self-government means for the lived life in Greenland. The dissertation takes a capitalism-critical look at Greenland's economy, politics, and planning, which according to Søbye does not consider different conflicting life-modes, forms of production, and cultural differences.

In the introductory part of the dissertation, Søbye creates a periodization of recent Greenlan-

dic history focusing on the fisheries sector and the fishing and hunting form of production. The periodization is: the colonial time, followed by the welfare state formation, the time of home rule and the new era of self-government. For the colonial period which lasted from the seventeenth century until the Second World War, Søbeye describes a society in which the traditional catch was of great importance and where the colonial authorities built up the monopoly trade in cod liver oil and other products in demand. In the following welfare state period, a key process, according to Søbeye, was the effort to socially equate Greenlanders with Danes, a process which at the same time was based on the expansion of state-owned enterprises and institutions. The subsequent period is defined by Søbeye as the period from 1979 to 2009 under home rule, which transferred part of the political and economic responsibility to the Greenlanders, and which was characterized by subsidies for the fisheries sector. The final period is the time since 2009, when Greenland, through the Act on Greenland Self-Government, became independent. It is during this period that Søbeye's central research interest applies. According to Søbeye, the transition to self-government is characterized by an increased political attention to raw material production, a liberalization of the fisheries sector and the way in which the conditions for catch production are made more difficult.

In the first empirical case we follow the dinghy fisherman Elias, who earns his living as both a fisherman and a hunter – a classic structure with reference to EVP and a practice that, according to Søbeye, rests on the various and preliminary battles between the Danish state apparatus, government agencies and the Greenlandic fishermen and hunters. During her conversations with Elias about fishing, the political development, the course of the year, family and nature, it becomes evident to Søbeye what a struggle it is for Elias to maintain his way of life, but their talks also reveal the ideals and practices supporting his way of life. From an outside, political perspective, Elias is perceived as an ineffective fisherman and a prisoner held in poverty. At the same time, Elias is

singled out by the board manager as an example of a well-functioning fisherman, in the sense of an experienced and careful fisherman. This contrast between being designated by the political discourse as inefficient, but by colleagues in the profession as skilled and reliable shows one version of the opposing ideals that characterize fishing in Greenland. In the following case Søbeye discusses the special Greenlandic institution of “the board”, markets where fishermen and hunters sell their products locally. The case takes its point of departure in the contrast and conflict between the old board and the new one, which was established in Nuuk in 2011. Søbeye shows how the two “boards” represent two different practices: different sellers (from the fishermen themselves or family members, to employed sellers), different ways of presenting the goods and the different ways the board is used as a social gathering place etc., and thus how the two boards represent two different worlds and ideologies.

In another empirical case Søbeye follows Lars and his fishing cutter. According to Søbeye, Lars carries and navigates in several contrasting life-modes. These contrasts create confrontations between considering fishing as a “vocation” or as either an investment opportunity (investor way of life) or a wage job. In the analysis, Søbeye shows how these contrasts have been established and still deepened through political reforms, such as the abolition of the so-called ‘rubber boot clause’ in 2011. Both Elias and Lars point out in their conversations with Søbeye how freedom for them means living in harmony with nature. Søbeye explores this theme in a section on *Nature–culture*, where she zooms in on the difference between having nature or the state as the determining subject, and on the contrasts that exist between a politically initiated technical-scientific horizon and a “hunter” form of production. The section unfolds in particular as an analysis of the logics and effects a technical-scientific (biological) apparatus has on the fishery, including how the understanding of the sea's resources in quota terms creates new conditions for the fishery and thus also new strategic actions among the fishermen. In the fol-

lowing case Søbye's focus shifts to examine variants within the capitalist mode of production. In this section, it is thus Royal Greenland A/S and especially the company's ambivalent positioning in both coastal and offshore fishing, the national and the global, the private and the public, that are discussed. Royal Greenland is the country's largest company and is described as the most crucial distribution relationship in Greenland. After a brief historical introduction, the section focuses on the CEO and his way of life, which is determined to be the career life-mode. This analysis is followed by a case where Søbye follows the everyday life of the smaller company, Romark Seafood A/S. The case describes the challenges of being an entrepreneur in Greenland, where local and global market interests shape a narrative of the entrepreneurial life organized around a private capitalist mode of production, which according to Søbye contrasts with state capitalism and financial capitalism. Søbye ends her analytical part discussing the roles of the state, the civil society and family interests in the current transformation processes, and she describes how these processes are fraught with contrasting perceptions of "freedom", "time", "money", "sustainability", etc.

Against this background, Søbye concludes that, overall, the Act on Greenland Self-Government has facilitated a shift away from a cultural focus on the Greenlandic people as an indigenous people towards an increased economic recognition of the Greenlandic people as a pioneering people who can, and must, assert itself on global market conditions. Pursuing recognition through a specific international law strategy, according to Søbye, enables particular ways of living and vice versa. The Greenlandic people, who started the process of independence from Denmark, have during the process of de-colonization become another people with a different organized set of life-modes.

With her dissertation Søbye contributes to an elevated understanding of how the interplay and struggles between life-modes, and the ongoing sovereignty processes shapes the living cultural unity in Greenland.

Astrid Jespersen, Copenhagen

Abildgaard's Tableaux as a New View of History

Ina Louise Stovner, Historiske tablåer. En fortellende billedserie i Riddersalen på Christiansborg slott 1778–1791. Institutt for kulturstudier og orientalske språk, Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, Novus forlag, Oslo 2021. 215 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ Ina Louise Stovner's dissertation, "Historical Tableaux: A Series of Narrative Pictures in the Great Hall of Christiansborg Palace 1778–1791", analyses the suite of paintings by the Danish artist Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard (1743–1809). The suite originally consisted of ten monumental paintings depicting Danish kings and their deeds, from Christian I (1426–1481) to Christian VII (1749–1808), accompanied by the same number of lunette-shaped grisaille paintings, placed above them, with related motifs. The Great Hall (*Riddersalen*, literally the Knights' Hall) was the largest and most prestigious room in the palace, completed in 1766. It was later adorned with Abildgaard's suite of paintings, which appears to have been commissioned in 1777, the same year he came home from Rome to become professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. Stovner has also included in the analysis four overdoors in the Potentates' Hall – a gallery with portraits of contemporary European regents which was the antechamber to the Great Hall. A total suite of 24 paintings is thus analysed, but since Christiansborg Palace burned down in 1794, just three years after Abildgaard had completed the last painting, a large number of the paintings are missing. Of the main suite, three of the paintings are preserved, while all that remains of the others is the artist's oil sketches. Only a few sketches for the grisaille lunettes have been preserved, and of the four overdoors only one is preserved and three as sketches.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the view of history as expressed in Abildgaard's paintings, based on the discussion, introduced by Reinart Koselleck and others, of how ideas about history changed during the decades around 1800. Stovner's approach is to analyse each painting

thoroughly in order to understand the events and actors portrayed in the paintings and the ideals that they highlight, how these ideals are communicated, and finally what the Great Hall as a whole was intended to communicate. The focus is thus on the paintings themselves and the entire pictorial programme in the Great Hall and the Potentates' Hall.

The paintings, or in most cases the sketches, are examined first in a chapter about the overdoors in the Potentates' Hall, and then the ten paintings in the Great Hall, grouped in three chapters under the headings "Veneration and Presence" (*Christian I Raising Holstein to the State of a Duchy in 1474*, *Christian III Succouring Denmark*, *Frederik II Builds Kronborg Castle*, and *King Christian IV on the "Trinity" in the Battle of Colberger Heide in 1644*); "Absolutism and the Citizens" (*Absolute Monarchy Assigned to Frederik III in 1660*, *Christian V Presents Danish Law in 1683*, *Magnus Stenbock Surrenders the Fortress of Tønningen to Frederik IV in 1714*, and *The Construction of Copenhagen Dock in the Reign of Christian VI*); and "The Apotheosis of Absolutism and the Unitary State" (*Frederik V as Patron of Science and the Arts* and *Christian VII Uniting the Ducal with the Royal Part of Holstein in 1767*).

The analyses of the paintings are convincing and in several cases present a credible revision of perceptions in previous research as to how the paintings should be interpreted. In particular, the analysis of a painting that appears at first sight to be rather dry and almost trivial, *Frederik II Builds Kronborg Castle*, is examined in a way that reveals the great depth and many layers of meaning in the painting that, on the surface, shows the seated King Frederik II, surrounded by advisors, viewing the construction of Kronborg Castle in Helsingør. Here it becomes clear that Abildgaard occupies a place as one of the artists who renewed large-scale historical painting in the decades around 1800 and introduced national history as a theme just as worthy as ancient history.

In an interesting passage about the painting *Christian I Raising Holstein to the State of a Duchy in 1474*, Stovner discusses Abildgaard's

use of historical costume and props, and what one might possibly call a kind of proto-realism in the depiction, but she also points out that certain details have been deliberately made anachronistic. Here she cites research on the aesthetic discussions that were carried on in France in the 1770s and 1780s, about historical costume and the importance of historical correctness in art, and she relates this in an interesting way both to the paintings and to articles by Abildgaard in the journal *Minerva*.

Otherwise, unfortunately, there are not very many international sidelights in this study, whether about historical painting in the 1780s or today's international research situation. The suite of paintings is not compared to any other contemporary project, but neither is it clear whether the Danish suite is unique and therefore lacks comparative material. Similarly, there is a notable silence about the state of international research. In an active and enlightening way, Stovner relates to previous research on Abildgaard's paintings, but has few or no references to the broader research situation concerning, for example, historical painting or nationalism.

Another point of principle concerns the attention to correct detail and scholarly accuracy. In many cases there is a lack of information about the images in the book, both those that are analysed and those that serve as illustrations. Admittedly, Stovner's dissertation is not a dissertation in art history, but basic data such as measurements of the paintings, inventory numbers, and where the paintings can be found, as well as clear statements in the captions informing of which are sketches and which are finished paintings are basic elements in any scholarly account. The fact that some of the images indicate Wikipedia as the source in the list of illustrations is also remarkable. It does not take many minutes to discover that most of these images are in fact part of the collections of Frederiksborg Museum of National History. It is also remarkable that there is no detailed description or floor plan of the Great Hall and the Potentates' Hall, which ought to be an obvious part of an investigation of this kind. This

is particularly disturbing because the author on several occasions relates the different paintings to each other without it being clear to the reader how they were hung, and thus how they related to each other physically in the space.

Although the analyses of the individual works are thus competent and plausible, I have questions about the overall conclusion. In the final discussion, Stovner provides the answer to one of her initial questions. By claiming that all the paintings in Abildgaard's series show condensed moments composed using antiquarian details combined with a larger moral message and portrayed in the form of tableaux, she believes that the pictures in the Great Hall cannot be said to be an expression of a "new view of history" in the sense intended by Reinhart Koselleck and others. Instead, the suite should be regarded as a series of snapshots loaded with the past, present, and future, compressing the time-space of the images into a constructed moment where the didactic message takes precedence over any desire for realism.

Stovner's conclusion about the view of history conveyed by the suite of paintings is worth discussing, not just because it is difficult to see why a tableau composition should be at odds with a new view of history. On the contrary, the suite of paintings can be said to be precisely a manifestation of the new view of history that developed roughly during the period 1750–1850. When viewed together, Abildgaard's suite conveys a story about the nation of Denmark rather than about the great deeds of individual kings. One king's work built on what his predecessors had done. If Christian I had not elevated Holstein to a duchy – as depicted in the first painting of the suite – Christian VII would not have been able to unite Ducal Holstein with Royal Holstein as shown in the last painting. Similarly, Christian V's work with the Danish Law, which is the theme of one of the paintings, was only possible because his predecessor Frederik III had been granted absolute power, as depicted in the previous painting. There is thus a kind of evolution and causality in the history depicted in the suite, and it is not the kings themselves who are the subject but what they did,

their importance for Danish history. That this is the case is underlined by the grisaille lunettes belonging to the suite, the subjects of which are much more abstract in relation to the kings. These often concern purely civic virtues such as the national standardization of weights and measures in 1683 and the foundation of the Copenhagen fire insurance company in 1731.

All these are signs of a modern conception of history, in which national history is given an explanatory value and confers legitimacy in ways that had not occurred before, and where events are given a causal connection rather than just a chronological one. The fact that Abildgaard's paintings have national history as their motif, rather than the individual kings, should at least in my view be regarded as a manifestation of the new view of history, quite contrary to Stovner's interpretation.

Per Widén, Stockholm/Uppsala

The Åland Islands

Ida Hughes Tidlund, Autonomous Åland: A Hundred Years of Borderwork in the Baltic Sea. Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies, Stockholm University 2021. 219 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7911-586-9.

■ *Ida Tidlund's Autonomous Åland: A Hundred Years of Borderwork in the Baltic Sea* is an account of the establishment, maintenance and character of the Åland Autonomy – a Southern Baltic archipelago of mainly tiny islands, whose current 30,000 or so inhabitants comprise around 0.5% of the total Finnish population. Her work draws on a variety of documentary sources, archived interview material, and her own interviewing and participant observation, facilitated by existing knowledge of the islands through family connections. Sartre's concept of the "practico-inert" provides the author's main theoretical inspiration, enabling her to unpack the way in which borders, territorial and material but also judicial and cultural, are the products of human action, and then subsequently constrain and enable, but do not entirely determine it. It allows her to show how

circumstances at any given time affect the possibilities of defending or extending borders and that even the maintenance of any status quo tends to require continual effort. Åland provides a particularly interesting case through which to develop an understanding of such “borderwork” and to illustrate how “a border is both a source of actions and an object of actions”. It is the modern world’s first territorial autonomy and one sometimes held up as a model for peacefully accommodating a minority population within a larger national state.

Tidlund shows that Åland’s history is complicated. Holding the first session of its autonomous parliament in 1922 was a culmination of a chain of events beginning in 1809, when Sweden had to cede its Finnish territories, including the Åland islands, to the Russian Empire, moving them from “being in the centre of a Swedish realm”, to becoming a western outpost of the Russian one. Their status became problematic again when Finland declared its independence from Russia in 1917, following which the Swedish-speaking islanders petitioned the Swedish state and subsequently appealed to the post-war Paris Peace conference, to return them to rule from Sweden. However, in 1921, when Finland’s civil war had ended, the international powers, through the newly established League of Nations, decided, via the Åland Convention, to endorse Finnish claims to the territory. They simultaneously confirmed and internationally-guaranteed, the Finnish parliament’s 1920 Åland Autonomy Act, which the islanders had originally rejected. This gave the latter their own administration and protections for their Swedish language use, traditions, customs and landownership rights. The Åland Islands’ demilitarized and neutral status, initially established after the Crimean War, was also reaffirmed – as it was again (after infractions during World War II) in the Paris Peace Agreement of 1946, when tensions between the Eastern and Western blocs underlined their potential strategic significance.

Reasons for assigning the Ålanders to Finland against their will seem to have included rewarding the latter for its struggles against the Bolsheviks, and a fear of leaving the Swedish-speaking pop-

ulation on the Finnish mainland dangerously isolated if the islanders returned to Sweden. The international diplomats also felt that the most “natural” and defensible geographical break between Sweden and Finland ran, as had the nineteenth-century divide between the former and the Russian Empire, through the largely open water to the west of the Åland Islands. The rejected alternative, through the more complicated strait of Skiftet to the east of the islands, became instead the border between the new Åland Autonomy and the rest of Finland.

However, this was not the end of matter, the exact location of the Åland borders and of the demilitarized zone being finessed over the years for a variety of reasons. One was the problematic location of the lighthouse built by Russian-Finland in 1885 on Märket – a tiny outcrop of uninhabited land at the westernmost extremity of the Åland Autonomy and the only place where the Swedish/Finnish national border in the Baltic is land-based. Tidlund spends considerable time detailing how committees were set up in 1981 to resolve the anomaly of the Finnish-owned and maintained building being located on the Swedish side of the island’s border and describing how committee members, aided by homemade paper models, devised a new boundary line. Through a curious zigzag, this managed to put the lighthouse into Finnish territory without changing the proportion of the island owned by each country or the points at which the land boundary hit the sea on either side of the island. Emphasizing the material component of such borderwork, Tidlund then depicts how “after three years of work”, metal studs supplemented by painted markings physically “sculpt[ed]” a new border across the rock.

Other remedial work was required because of inadequacies in the maps on which the original borders were based. Somewhat simplifying Tidlund’s complicated and detailed account, we can say that lacunae were found in, and discrepancies between, depictions of boundaries of the demilitarized zone and of the Autonomy as they ran through Skiftet. Continuing post ice-age land rise posed another difficulty since this potentially

shifted the location of the maritime edges of the Autonomy's (territorial) borders defined in relation to their distance from shorelines. Things were further complicated in 2000 when the local geographer, Ekman, instrumental in raising the above difficulties, also pointed out that the original demarcators of the demilitarized zone had misunderstood the correct relationship between straight lines drawn on a 2D map and their corresponding location on the curved surface of the actual earth. More committee work was needed before boundaries were redrawn in 2005 and the decision was made to revise the borders in the light of further land level rises at 50-year intervals. The reader concludes that, symbolically at least, even small ambiguities and deviations in their territorial (if largely sea-based) borders are hard for Ålanders to tolerate – even if they may also choose to ignore or unofficially slip through them in certain circumstances.

Nation-states' territorial borders typically mark the divide between different legal regimes. Thus, to mention a distinction affecting the actions of many Ålanders (and smugglers), "oral tobacco"/*snus* can be legally sold in Sweden, but not in Finland, including the Autonomy, although its personal use is permitted in the latter. But as a Territorial Autonomy *within* Finland, the jurisdictional border between the spheres of island life over which the Autonomy's own parliament can legislate and those where powers are reserved to the Finnish national legislature are equally or more important. This is the boundary that determines the spheres in which the islanders have to obey the same laws as all other Finns and those (for example concerning Swedish language use and rights to property ownership and to engage in certain kinds of trading) where in Åland separate Åland law applies. As with its territorial borders, the precise limits of the Autonomy's legal authority were left rather vague in the original Åland settlement and have subsequently been subject to dispute and continuous clarification, with the first major revision (adding the new Right of Domicile and Right to Trade) coming into force in 1952 and a second in 1993. A third was still under negoti-

ation at Tidlund's time of writing. Some changes were also entailed by the Protocol signed in 2004 after Åland voted to follow Finland in joining the EU in 1995.

One particular mechanism for testing the boundary of the Ålanders' legislative powers (and for producing conflict) has been their parliament's right to propose new laws – and the reciprocal duty of the Finnish government to decide whether or not these fit within the Autonomy's sphere of authority. But Tidlund also suggests that changing circumstances typically tend to make the kind of division of powers initiated in the original Autonomy Act unstable. The original legislators, for example, could not anticipate that the arrival of television would raise questions about the division of responsibilities for broadcast regulation. But probably most significant has been the Ålanders' desire to extend the scope of their autonomy, particularly since the end of World War II, when renewed attempts to rejoin Sweden were thwarted. From this point onwards, they increasingly cultivated a sense of their own unique identity, which they felt required reducing the control of the Finnish national state over their lives.

With reference to, for example, Gellner and Smith, Tidlund suggests the relevance of the Åland case to deciding whether a people's belief in their shared characteristics typically precedes and contributes to, or derives from the consequences of, national bordering. In this instance it seems to me to be a bit of both. Prior to the establishment of the Autonomy, the islanders objectively shared many cultural characteristics with each other and also with the rest of the Swedish population which they wished to join as members of the Swedish state. Subjectively, however, they seem to have had little sense of a common identity as Ålanders, frequently pointing to differences between the inhabitants of the various Åland islands and often travelling more frequently to mainland Sweden or Finland than elsewhere in the archipelago, which, at this time, lacked a clear central location or major town. In the post-war years, however, this began to change, helped by the extensive nation-building efforts of "myth-mak-

er” Matts Dreijer, Chief Archaeologist, Director of the Åland Museum, Deputy Director of the main newspaper and much else. He designed a national flag, was instrumental in instituting an Åland National/Autonomy Day and in proposing Mariehamn as capital. He was also the driving force behind the programme of interviews with older inhabitants, whose archive provides one of Tidlund’s own data sources. Dreijer’s sometimes leading questions sought to evoke memories of respondents’ lives and traditional practices both to preserve them and show how they differed from those of mainland Finns. Given nation-builders’ typical concern to furnish their project with a distinguished past, it is unsurprising to find Dreijer also authoring a multi-volume history, stressing Åland’s distinctive character from at least the sixth century and its centrality to the Viking empire. Nor is it surprising to learn that Åland-specific school history texts were then produced to replace those previously brought in from Sweden or Swedish-speaking Finland. Children’s sense of belonging to, and place within, a distinctive bounded Åland was also to be fostered by new maps for schools, one of which, by attempting to allow pupils not only to grasp their homeland’s boundaries but also pinpoint their own place within them, became unmanageably large. Tidlund more generally notes the prevalence of Åland maps in public places, contributing to the Autonomy becoming imaginable as a distinct and identifiable community.

She also shows how “border pop-ups”, that is, the impingement of territorial and judicial boundaries on everyday life, contribute to contemporary Ålanders’ sense of living in a distinctive shared space. For example, the small size of the Autonomy means its inhabitants often travel beyond it, or obtain goods from elsewhere, meaning that they frequently have to deal with the consequences of its current position outside the EU tax territory (but within the EU customs border). Sending or receiving items by post across Åland’s border, including into or from mainland Finland, requires them declaring their value and possibly paying duty. Internet purchases may become impossible if firms outside the islands are unpre-

pared to deal with convoluted regulations, whilst bringing goods bought in Helsinki or Stockholm back to the islands in one’s own car involves deciding how scrupulous to be about mentioning this on return. “Pop-ups” can also occur without any physical border crossing, when decisions have to be made as to which set of laws are dominant in particular circumstances. Tidlund reports policemen on patrol complaining that they lack the time to laboriously check whose laws they should be applying in every case and being tempted to improvise their choices. Whilst Ålanders seem extremely sensitive about the formal content of regulations, they can also be pragmatic when deciding how or whether to apply them. Maybe this connects to their being well practised in what Tidlund calls “hodological navigation”, where people have to continually negotiate the range of sometimes conflicting factors they need to take into account in order to reach their primary goal. Borders and an island location often necessitate these kinds of calculation and a continual alertness to possibly changing circumstances. What route, for example should a fishing crew choose to get its catch to market in Stockholm quickly enough to keep it in prime condition, that will also allow a stop-off at Mariehamn for a customs check whilst avoiding stormy weather?

Tidlund’s analysis suggests that the other side of the Ålanders’ apparently increasing sense of common identity is decreasing knowledge about, and a growing feeling of difference from, the Finnish “Other”. Stronger internal integration and greater sense of external threat seem reciprocally inter-related. Today’s islanders are reported as showing little interest in mainstream Finnish politics, tending only to watch Swedish television or follow local newspapers and news channels, whilst simultaneously being perpetually alert for perceived disrespect or provocation from the Finnish national state. “Pretty much everything,” says Tidlund, “can activate an underlying friction” and sense of their autonomy being challenged. Unsurprisingly the Finnish government’s nationwide Covid rulings have not gone down well in Åland. As might also be expected, given

its cultural significance, language is a particularly potent source of tension. A television film subtitled in the “wrong” text or a sign in Finnish in a municipal office may be interpreted as at best uncaring, at worst a hostile act. Any communication from a Finnish authority not sent in Swedish, as legally required, is likely to cause anger (even though this failure may be due to the declining number of mainland Finns with Swedish language competence, rather than any deliberate desire to provoke). This all makes things particularly tricky for Finnish speakers in the Autonomy, (“a minority within the minority”) whose children (unlike Swedish-speaking youngsters on the mainland) are offered minimal opportunities for learning or using their home language in school. Respondents told Tidlund they need to self-censure use of their mother tongue at work and in other public places. She creates the impression that the islands are not a particularly relaxed place either for them or the majority population. Her methodological reflections note the great care she took to avoid offending or appearing partisan – one of the reasons for presenting her work in English. Ensuring absolute anonymity for her own interviewees and those in the archive was also imperative in a small interconnected world where individual and kinship reputation is important and respondents frequently asked about her own family background. Even I, as an outsider from Wales, have become anxious when writing this review, lest I accidentally mistake or misinterpret some piece of data about Åland and unintentionally cause offence!

However, though the research shows how tense and threatened Swedish-speaking Ålanders can *feel*, I’m less certain how far their way of life is *actually* in danger. Tidlund points to the functionality of expressing threat, to legitimate an Autonomy initially established to protect minority rights. But her understandable reluctance to embark on an extensive analysis of the Åland islands from the perspective of the Finnish state is one factor making evaluating the real degree of objective peril hard to judge. However, total hostility to Ålander interests doesn’t seem to be suggested by, for example, the Finnish government’s stance

in the negotiations for EU entry. Here it supported arrangements to ensure the Ålanders maintained their existing special rights (not least the right of domicile which contravened existing EU legislation). It also supported Åland being able to join the EU without becoming a member of its tax union. This allowed tax-free sales on the ferries linking it to Sweden and Finland to continue and Mariehamn to remain an attractive port of call for international cruise ships. Some estimate that the islands’ economy would have shrunk by about 50% had this particular arrangement not been made. (*Åland in the European Union* ET-100004-EN-v1582203622006.pdf (accentuate.io).)

What may actually be more troubling than Finnish governmental antagonism, and less easy for Ålanders to acknowledge, are potential contradictions between retaining cultural distinction and otherwise developing the economy. More detail would be interesting here, but Tidlund begins to suggest a growing difficulty in filling professional vacancies from within the Autonomy, with potential immigrants from the mainland deterred by the islands’ relentless monolingualism which affects both day-to-day interaction and their possibilities of gaining the right of domicile and also land ownership. (In 2006, 92% of the islanders had Swedish as their mother tongue, reduced slightly to 87% by 2018.) Further, whilst population isn’t overall declining, there seems to be some anxiety about young Ålanders leaving for higher education failing to return. (The Autonomy’s age structure is not discussed.) Tourism might also possibly be a two-edged sword, economically important but perhaps a little dangerous? The prohibitions on non-domiciles owning land/property presumably prevents the kind of cultural dilution by “outsider” second-home owners, which, for example, nationalists in Wales find so worrying. But what about holiday lets and all those bi- or multilingual tourist brochures I find on the web? Finally, I also wonder about internal divisions within the Swedish-speaking Åland population. Are there any? If so, do they tend to cross-cut or mutually reinforce each other and how far do they threaten stability? We learn nothing about differ-

ences in the policies of the Autonomy's political parties. Is there general consensus that "now we just need to protect the autonomies we have", or do some hope to move towards even greater separation from Finland (perhaps with some economic support from the European Union)?

Nonetheless, despite possible lacunae, this is a well written, often subtly argued book and a useful contribution to understanding micro-nationalisms and bordering, particularly in maritime contexts. Managing to travel through different time periods and navigate between the discussion of international and national political structures on the one hand and the character of day-to-day life and interpersonal relations on the other, it clearly shows the inter-connection of many types of "bordering". Its stress on the latter's complexity is particularly timely, when, as Tidlund herself points

out, assumptions about the inevitable decline of inter-state divisions in Western Europe now seem questionable. Her emphasis on the work that has to go into not just creating but maintaining boundaries seems apposite at a time when Brexiteers find their desire to "take back control" of Britain's borders less straightforward than expected, when barbed wire is erected to block the journeys of refugees and we daily observe new regulative attempts (and failures) to prevent viruses moving between states.

Postscript: This review was written before Russia's invasion of Ukraine raised new questions about the security of borders in the Baltic region, triggering Finnish and Swedish moves to join Nato and debates about changing Åland's demilitarized status.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea University

Book Reviews

Hygiene as Ideal and Practice

Med tvål, vatten och flit. Hälsofrämjande renlighet som ideal och praktik ca 1870–1930. Johanna Annola, Annelie Drakman & Marie Ulväng (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2021. 284 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-88661-97-5.

■ In this new volume of essays, historians, ethnologists and philosophers from four Nordic countries come together to answer the following questions: *How were cleanliness and health connected in the Nordic countries between 1870 and 1930? What were the ideals? What practices were performed? By whom and with what purpose?*

In 2020 when the Covid pandemic hit us, we found ourselves battling an invisible enemy, and governments all over the world began the work of installing a new ideal of cleanliness in their populations. Cultural habits and everyday truisms had to change drastically in a very short time. The handshake and the hug were a thing of the past. The ubiquitous threat could not be seen, felt or tasted, but it questioned our everyday lives and habits.

Yet even though we needed to be reminded of the importance of handwashing, it is evident and need not to be said that washing hands and cleanliness protects us from infections and diseases. This practice, however, is founded in a historical process that began around the 1870s. The aim of this volume is to exemplify how this process unfolded on a practical level during the period 1870–1930 in the Nordic countries. What were the prescribed ideals and how were they implemented? Who cleaned? With which tools and why? The book explores how ideas become truisms in this period – not just through spectacular breakthroughs in science, but in everyday practices in the general population. It offers refreshing and at times delightfully quirky examples and new perspectives on how cleanliness and health became interconnected, not only at a governmental disciplining level, but also in the everyday lives and practices

of the general population. It does so with a wealth of example studies in ten chapters divided into three different levels of society: 1) the state and municipality level; 2) NGOs; 3) private homes and persons.

Chapters 1–3 focus on the cleansing of the body. In chapter 1 Karolina Wiell, associate professor at Karlstad University, examines the emergence of public baths and bathing in schools, and how they changed the general practices concerning cleanliness. Annelie Drakman, researcher at the University of Stockholm and author of chapter 2, explores the process from smoke to water as the primary cleaning substance amongst provincial physicians in the late 1800s. In chapter 3, Johanna Annola, researcher at the University of Tammerfors, delves into the different perceptions of dirt and cleanliness at a Finnish poorhouse. She shows how ideals of cleanliness were used as a distinction and a weapon in the class struggle against the staff.

Chapters 4–6 focus on households, homes and families. Marie Ulväng, external lecturer at the University of Stockholm, shows how farmers' wives become homemakers in the period 1850–1910, when cleaning and decorating becomes part of their new workload alongside increased economic resources and cultural ambitions towards bourgeois goods and habits. Ingun Grimstad Klepp, professor at Forbruksforskningsinstituttet SIFO in Oslo, explores perceptions of cleanliness in Norway through the cultural history and cultural perceptions of the kitchen cloth and its uses. In chapter 6 Josefin Englund, associate professor at Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan in Stockholm, sheds light on men's and women's ideals of cleanliness when searching for a partner in the newspaper personals. She shows how especially the female writers portray themselves as domestic in the 1930s, but focus more on bodily properties in the 1940s.

The last four chapters consider organizations, associations and meetings between different groups in society. In chapter 7 Minna Harjula, researcher at the university of Tammerfors, examines the relation between the individual and the society in the early 1900s seen through the

Finnish national health organization. Why did they fail to create a united umbrella organisation? She shows that different actors had different ideas as to whether the main responsibility should rest with the individual or the state.

Inger Lyngdrup Nørgård, researcher at the city archives of Randers, explores how local organizations worked (differently) to improve hygiene and health in a Danish community during the first half of the twentieth century. In chapter 9, Karin Carlsson from the University of Stockholm writes about the ideal kitchen in Sweden in the 1920s–1930s, comparing the normal kitchen at the time with the ideals for the future kitchen. How was this wonder of a new modern kitchen communicated and to whom?

In the last chapter of the volume, Hanna Lindberg (researcher at the University of Tammerfors), Eija Stark (researcher at the Finnish Literature Society) and Ann-Catrin Östman (lecturer at Åbo Akademi) show how Finnish market-places changed during the early 1900s because of new perceptions of dirt and cleanliness. The authors demonstrate how these new ideals classified this line of work as a female profession and how cleanliness was equated with femininity.

With this approach the authors seek to make a Nordic-based contribution to the research field. It is a contribution with new perspectives and unexpected new study material highlighting under-explored places and groups. As the examples show, the main focus is on the practice-oriented approach and the tensions between ideal and practice. They argue that historically change is a consequence of the negotiations between these different levels.

Line Jandoria Jørgensen, Copenhagen

Collecting Scrap Cars

Anders Björklund, Skrotbilar – om hängivna samlare och deras fordon. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2021. 155 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-8906-351-8.

■ Anders Björklund's book about collectors of scrap cars and their vehicles has been a joy to read,

for many different reasons. The book conveys a very good sense of this environment and the people he has interviewed. The text brings the material to life, nicely expressing both the joy of collecting and the satisfaction of researching and writing about culture – a joy that is sadly rare today in the increasingly instrumental academic world with its fixation on production, but which fortunately still lives on in the subject of ethnology.

The book is divided into fourteen short chapters in which the focus alternates between the scrap cars and the collectors. We meet the Mechanic, the Fixer, the Specialist, the Antiquarian, the Historian, and the Enthusiast, who are all different personality types with the scrap cars as a common factor. Throughout the book, pictures and quotations are interspersed with the author's reflections, and the different approaches cross-fertilize each other and contribute to a deeper understanding that the book as a whole conveys of the phenomenon of collecting scrap cars.

This study may seem modest to an untrained eye. The knowledge conveyed here is easily accessible but it is not in any way trivial. It is rather like a sampler of the diversity of ethnology. There are folkloristic elements in the stories told about the cars and the people who collect them, and scrap car collecting as a cultural phenomenon is investigated by placing it in its social context. Moreover, the author undertakes a praiseworthy analysis of the form of the artefacts, along with their function and symbolic meanings. This is a study of a social movement, which also considers aspects of popular culture in the studied phenomenon. All in all, the author provides a thick description of scrap car collecting. Björklund certainly makes good use of his ethnological glasses and his analytical gaze to unlock this culture and reveal its hidden meanings. The study is not purely empirical; it is well grounded in relevant previous research and makes use of interesting theories, resulting in more profound knowledge and further perspectives. My final verdict is that this is an ethnological study of the best kind, a well-written book that brings the people to life, vividly describing the culture that has developed around

the cars and the collecting, and highlighting the knowledge that the study has generated.

Björklund presents the results of his study in the classical ethnological manner, which makes it unique in today's academic world, where the article format predominates and where we researchers are expected to publish our findings in international scholarly journals whose standardized format, together with the fixation on bibliometric data and the increasingly widespread obsession with performance, risks killing or at least impoverishing academic culture. Björklund's book is a text in which one can immerse oneself, and it describes an environment and people that arouse wonder, largely thanks to the author's skill in conducting curiosity-driven and knowledge-seeking research on culture. While it is satisfying to read the book, it is also painfully clear, since Björklund's presentation of his work differs so much from how scholars are expected to present results today, how much academic culture has been impoverished and standardized in recent years. Some ethnologist, perhaps Björklund himself, would really need to investigate the university world and the culture that has emerged there.

Eddy Nehls, Lerum

Norwegian Studies of Broadside Ballads

Skillingvisene i Norge 1550–1950. Studier i en forsømt kulturarv. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Karin Strand (eds.). Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2021. 672 pp. ISBN 978-82-3040-318-1.

Arven fra skillingvisene. Fra en sal på hospitalet til en sofa fra IKEA. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Bjarne Markussen (eds.). Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2021. 454 pp. ISBN 978-82-3040-319-8.

■ These two edited volumes are the result of a research project on Norwegian broadside ballads. The project has been led by Siv Gøril Brandtzæg and Karin Strand, who also edited the first book together. Twenty-five articles by seventeen different scholars present various aspects of the history of broadside ballads in Norway. The researchers

come from different fields, such as literature, linguistics, musicology, history of ideas, and library studies. This is thus a broad interdisciplinary study presented in two volumes. The two books are intended to complement each other, with a historical perspective in the first volume and a description of the use of broadside ballads in the twentieth century and down to our own time in the second. In the introduction to the first volume, Brandtzæg describes her mission as an action to save an important genre from oblivion and extinction, and to demonstrate the diversity of the broadside ballads. Despite the large amount of preserved material, with more than a thousand different broadside ballads in Norwegian archives, this material has still gained little attention in research. In practical terms, Brandtzæg also emphasizes the importance of digitization in making the comprehensive material available.

An interesting problem for research on broadside ballads is the fundamental question of how a broadside ballad should be defined. The simplest and most common definition, "printed rhymed verses intended to be sung" is not as exhaustive as one might first think, and the definition of broadside ballad is therefore discussed at length in the introduction to the first volume. Here it is emphasized that *skillingstrykk* is the printed medium itself, the broadside or broadsheet, while *skillingvis* is the ballad or song printed on it. But one difficulty with this definition is that it does not take into account that the broadside ballad exists in both a written and an oral tradition. The volume therefore argues that the topics of the songs must also be taken into account in the definition, and above all the connection of the songs to contemporary events and news is emphasized as important for what is perceived as a broadside ballad. It is this broad definition of broadside ballad that is the foundation for the entire research project.

The first volume, "Broadside Ballads in Norway 1550–1950", is divided into two parts. The first consists of articles that primarily deal with the texts of the ballads and the second is devoted to the context of the ballads. The eight articles dealing with the ballad texts together present a wide selection and provide interesting examples

of the breadth of the material. In each of the articles, a couple of ballads are selected for close reading, with a particular focus on the content of the text. There is a study of “Ridder Brynning”, a narrative comprising about 105 verses. It was spread from about 1700 until 1900 in many places all over the Nordic countries. An overall question for the study is why this ballad achieved such popularity. Another ballad, from 1865, where a man sings about how his three children have died within a relatively short period of time, serves as an example of a song about death and mourning, in an article based on studies of about seventy songs of grief. All the selected ballads are about close relationships, often with a faith in salvation. A popular motif in broadside ballads from the nineteenth century is shipwrecks. One of the ballads subjected to a close reading is the story of a shipwreck in 1842, related in 31 verses. This was a major event at the time, and the ballad both informed about what had happened and expressed thoughts about mankind’s struggle against superior powers. One chapter is devoted to broadside ballads about natural disasters. Singing about such events was a way of processing the emotions they aroused, and the ballads were widely spread thanks to their important dual function of warning against sin and providing comfort in grief. Similarly, stories about comets and other celestial phenomena could appear in broadside ballads from the late sixteenth century to the 1770s. Interest in dramatic events is also expressed in nineteenth-century ballads about criminals, where the offender is allowed to express his perception of himself. Purely linguistic matters are also discussed, as in the article based on an early twentieth-century navy ballad. The study focuses on three different broadsides, primarily examining the variation between Danish-Norwegian on the one hand and Swedish on the other. Finally, an article focuses on portrayals of “the Other” in broadside ballads. Here it is mainly texts about “Turks” and “Jews” from the end of the eighteenth century onwards that are of concern, as well as examples of how whiteness as an ideal is also depicted in a large number of ballad texts.

The second part of the first volume deals with the context of the ballads. The publisher and printer Peter T. Malling of Christiania (Oslo) is the subject of one article. His activities from the 1840s onwards are discussed in detail, as regards economic aspects, licences, and sales methods. A specific broadside from 1697, which deals with dramatic events in Hamburg and which was spread in Stockholm, is the focus of one article. Knowledge of broadside ballads from earlier times is limited, not least when it comes to the actual production and sale of the sheets. For this selected broadside ballad, however, some legal documents are preserved, which tell us both who bought the broadside and who produced it. One article discusses a number of examples of how ballad sellers were portrayed in literature from the early eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. Another article considers pictures in early broadside ballads, that is, from the end of the eighteenth century. A number of general questions are raised, such as the problem of interpretation when many images were reused for different broadside ballads. Natural disasters and “monsters” have at times been popular motifs in the broadside ballads, and a number of examples of this are shown in the chapter and discussed in terms of contemporary religious and political aspects. The collector’s perspective is treated in one article, based on a special collection from the nineteenth century with over 750 broadside ballads. Finally, an article discusses the work of today’s libraries to preserve the collections of broadside ballads and make them easily available.

The second volume, “The Heritage of the Broadside Ballads”, gives a number of examples of how the old ballads were used in the twentieth century and performed again in new media, for example on revue stages and in recorded versions. There is a discussion about the possibility of using the term *skillingsviser* despite the fact that the selected songs were not all disseminated via printed sheets, which is otherwise regarded as an important criterion for broadside ballads, but via stage performances and phonograms. The editors believe that criteria other than the medium of dissemina-

tion are also relevant to the definition of broadside ballads in the twentieth century. It is highlighted here that the common denominator of the material is that it enjoyed a wide spread among the less well-off in society, because the price was low. In addition, aesthetic aspects must also be included in the criteria for a broadside ballad. This possibly becomes even more important in the twentieth century, when earlier functions, such as songs in work situations or ballads as the only news outlet, disappeared. A distinction is also made with respect to the “folk ballad”, in that broadside ballads often have an individual author, whereas folk ballads are said to have been collectively composed. Broadside ballads are also primarily written products, while the repertoire of folk ballads has for the most part been orally transmitted. Finally, the texts of the broadside ballads are clearly related to contemporary events. Taken together, all these aspects make it possible to demarcate a repertoire of broadside ballads, even though they do not occur in print in the same way as the broadside ballads of previous centuries.

Three parts are devoted to different aspects of broadside ballads during the twentieth century. In the first part, the focus is on the broadside ballad as a “tradition bearer”. One chapter has a detailed and interesting account of Alf Prøysen’s great importance for the collecting and archiving of ballads, for a knowledge of the context and the dissemination of this repertoire. This particularly highlights the social origin of the ballads among the less well-off, as well as the importance of the story and the drama in the ballads, as expressed in Prøysen’s definition of the genre as *almuens opera*, “the opera of the common people”.

Special categories such as *rallarviser* (navvy songs) and *tattarviser* (tinker songs) are covered in one article each. A long article is devoted to *Sinclarvisan*, with its roots in the eighteenth century and in widespread use until our time. The author discusses how the ballad has been linked to different political contexts through the ages.

Part two, “The Transformations of the Broadside Ballad”, contains close readings of a cabaret song from the 1920s, as well as a number of

songs released on disc in the 1970s. Both articles highlight the great popularity and spread of the songs, which has resulted in a great many variants and performances. This part also discusses practical aspects of performances today. The third part studies contemporary political songs and their connection to the broadside tradition, with a couple of examples from Norwegian media, as well as from Anglo-American tradition with examples from Bob Dylan’s repertoire.

In recent years the scholarly study of broadside ballads has increased in Sweden, for instance with studies by Eva Danielson, Hanna Enefalk, Märta Ramsten, and Karin Strand. It is interesting and valuable that such an extensive research effort as the one reviewed here has now been carried out using material from Norwegian archives. The broad approach, which has been fundamental to the project, clearly shows the wealth of the studied material. The study declares that this is the first major research project on Norwegian broadside ballads, which perhaps also explains why a descriptive perspective predominates in both volumes. The articles are well-written and informative throughout.

The first part of the first volume, which deals with the texts of the broadside ballads, reveals a large number of texts expressing views about morals, values, and political opinions. The focus in the study on the texts of the ballads is reasonable, since they are narrative songs, where the events in the text have to be presented and conveyed to the listeners. The project’s claims about the broadside ballads as comments on contemporary events and conditions are well substantiated. The close contact with the material resulting from the close reading is important, but it also means that each article is a stand-alone study, and although it is good that the articles can be read independently of each other, it makes it difficult for the reader to form an idea of what is shared and what is distinctive in the different types of ballads considered. The extensive presentation of the project (the two books together comprise just over 1,100 pages) is detailed and thorough. Let us hope that this project will serve as a basis for future studies also

focusing more on structural, overarching perspectives, for instance elaborating on the ideas about the social affiliation of broadside ballads or their importance for the dissemination of knowledge in society.

The second part, with its focus on the context of the ballads, gives interesting examples from a more general perspective, although the dividing line between the first and the second parts is not so easy to draw, as is also emphasized in the introduction to the book. There is nevertheless a clear difference in that the articles in the second part look beyond the individual ballads and ask questions about the material other than those concerning the textual content and the popularity of the selected ballads. In particular, the questions about publication and dissemination are of general interest. Here the article about publishing operations in the nineteenth century and the article based on legal documents from the late 1690s are interesting for research on musical life in general and not just relevant for research on broadside ballads.

The starting point for the project as a whole is the Norwegian archival material that has so far seen little research. The focus on Norwegian matters is therefore a given. Some articles relate briefly to international research in the field, but this does not happen generally throughout the volumes. Linking up with international studies and relevant research in the field would have been desirable, for example in an introductory or concluding article.

The second volume deviates from the earlier definition of broadside ballads by arguing that ballads not disseminated via print can also be broadside ballads. Both aesthetic and thematic criteria are also significant for the definition, as it is argued in the introduction to the volume. A distinction is made between the broadside ballad and the folk ballad with the claim that the latter is a collective creation, unlike the former, which often has a known author. The argument about a collective origin is scarcely valid today, nor are the aesthetic criteria for what should count as a broadside ballad really clarified. On this point the discussion could have been expanded. The prac-

tice of using borrowed tunes for the lyrics, which also usually counts as an important criterion for broadside ballads, is only briefly touched upon, but in my opinion it would also have been worth a more detailed discussion.

The articles in the second volume clearly illustrate how the studied ballads belong to the repertoire that Alf Prøysen called “the opera of the common people”. The connection between repertoire and performance situations is highlighted from a societal perspective, which is positive. One article also focuses on practical performance, thereby emphasizing the importance of the music. The latter is important not least in view of the significance that the tunes have had for the performance of the lyrics.

All in all, these two volumes report on impressive research work. The articles are consistently well written and grounded in archival material. Although the references to previous research are often brief, there are extensive bibliographies which put the studies in a broader context. The ambition to bring this repertoire out of the archives and into the light is laudable, and it must be said that the authors have succeeded. With their focus on the texts of the ballads, the authors have shown the important uses of the ballads and their ability to survive through the ages.

Karin Hallgren, Växjö

Robots and Future Working Life

AI, robotar och föreställningar om morgondagens arbetsliv. Daniel Bodén & Michael Godhe (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2020. 287 pp. ISBN 978-91-88909-52-7.

■ Advances in technology brought the world close to a radical change that required not only a social and economic transformation, but also a mental one. Trade unions, politicians, and employees have generally nourished a firm belief that technological development would lead to economic growth, prosperity, and cultural progress.

Social changes are perceived as being very subtle, fragmentary, and slow. Development is the

result of people's active choices and concrete actions. The edited volume reviewed here seeks to regard and understand automation as an ongoing and protracted historical process. The aim is to investigate automation with the help of researchers from different branches of the human sciences and to contribute historical and cultural perspectives on a matter that is otherwise dominated by technological, scientific, and economic theses.

The authors offer different approaches to the issue of automation and, by extension, the development of AI in order to allow new interpretations and to show that things that are taken for granted as true, timeless, and fated are actually products of chance and capable of being changed. What it might mean to live in an automated future is considered from four perspectives. Firstly, automation and robotization can be studied from a scientific and technological perspective; secondly, there is the way technological advances are represented in the press, television, and popular science. The third perspective is that the dividing line between fact and fiction is blurred in popular culture, while the fourth considers people's everyday understanding and interpretation of the existence of "intelligent" machines.

The opening essay on "The Trade Union Movement and the Automation of Industry" is by Maths Isacson. Automated systems and robots in the workplace have given rise to many investigations that predict future job losses, but not everyone is convinced. What has happened is a restructuring of jobs.

The introduction of the microprocessor brought changes for employees, as Isacson illustrates with several examples. A fraught question in the engineering industry concerned who would do the programming of numerically controlled machine tools: white-collar staff or machine operators? In the printing industry there was conflict between printers and journalists at the transition to photo-composition. Optimism waned in the 1970s. The development of technology was expected to lead to the impoverishment of many jobs, as creativity and problem solving disappeared and jobs became monotonous, with health problems as a result.

The decline in industrial jobs since the 1980s is partly a chimera because many tasks in industry are now carried out by service companies. Digitalization leads to the loss of some jobs and the creation of new ones. Despite positive opportunities on the labour market, the author warns that the new technology could lead to the development of an A team and a B team among the workforce. The author also warns that the development and sale of robots has stagnated and productivity is falling, which could lead to more surveillance and exclusion based on ethnicity, age, and gender.

"Robots of Teamwork? An Ethnographic Account of Automation in Working Life" is the title of a chapter by Daniel Bodén. It concerns how the Coop supermarket chain decided in 2008 to acquire 32 self-driving trucks for the work of picking goods in a central warehouse, the aim being to increase productivity and speed up the throughput of goods. It was estimated that 500 warehouse workers could be laid off. For Coop, the introduction of self-driving trucks was a prestige initiative, but the new technology failed. It was based on calculations that were too simple to be applied to the ever-changing and somewhat chaotic reality of order picking. The trucks were used for a few years and then replaced with a streamlining of the workforce, and since then warehouse work has become more demanding. The author, who has worked in the warehouse, says that in the old days it was possible to have a breather and swap a few words with workmates. His conclusion is that technological development is not an evolutionary and linear process. The way automation affects work must be determined on a case-by-case basis.

In "If Joseph Schumpeter Has Any Say: The Economic Dimensions of Automation" Mats Lindqvist proceeds from the belief that AI and automation are creating a new class society. The gap between the high-paid and the low-paid is widening as classic paths of promotion for the middle class are disappearing. The author's understanding is rooted in the theories of the economist Joseph Schumpeter about creative destruction. Schumpeter saw the importance of the en-

trepreneur in the process of growth; in his view, stability equals stagnation and is devastating for capitalism. Lindqvist writes that the final step in the development of the conveyor belt is robots and AI. The robot does not have the limitations of a human being. We are witnessing increasing demolition and renewal in our neoliberal society so that companies can enjoy bigger and quicker profits. The author questions whether the quality of the job always improves. The question is justified, but I would add the question of whether certain products, such as electronics, can be manufactured without robots.

The chapter on “Learning to Live with Robots: On the Normalization of Robots and AI in Twenty-First-Century Media” is by Michael Godhe. He discusses the normalization process that can be seen in media reporting on robots and AI, which gives the impression that the development is fated by destiny. The risk of portraying it as mundane normality is that it obscures the societal challenges. Other important issues are sidelined, such as the development of surveillance systems that are also part of AI. Technological development has been accompanied by hopes that it would reform the world, unite people, revitalize democracy, eradicate poverty, and simplify our everyday tasks. Robots and AI must be brought down to an everyday level and the most utopian visions or horrifying scenarios must be called into question so that the true impact of this technology can be seen more clearly.

Anna Dahlgren writes about “A Device for Modern Art: The Visuality of Mechanization and the Mechanization of Art in Sweden 1920–1930”. The article is about how mechanization as a phenomenon was received and discussed in the visual arts during the first decades of the twentieth century. The author seeks to nuance our understanding of the harsh criticism that met the abstract modernist art styles of cubism, futurism, and suprematism in Sweden. In art, what was copyable was considered preferable to the unique, inspired by factory-made products. Just as workers are interchangeable, it was believed that modern art could be achieved by people with limited professional

efforts. Critics questioned whether this should be considered art because it was an expression of machine culture.

“I Am Not a Robot: The Aesthetics of Soul Work Online” is the title of an essay by Karin Hansson. Developers of AI want to access our consumption patterns. In this text the author looks at techniques for guiding our souls and extracting humanity online, methods that are used for control, transcription, and machine learning. The author ends by discussing how we can use technology to understand ourselves better and as an aid to identifying prejudices and structures that make a difference. The social media giants want to control and use the data we generate. Software robots work systematically for them, programmed to behave like human beings and gain friends and followers on social media.

Human visitors and robots can be distinguished by analysing user patterns, such as mouse movements. Interpreting texts is a sensory and cognitive human ability. Advertising companies hire people to bypass robot filters. The author takes a rather negative view of the situation when she writes that technology has made us digital serfs, without property, capital, or control, but with access to a wide range of Internet-based services. Through constant online entertainment, we try to distance ourselves from our boring and powerless lives. Personally, I think people find compensation in other things, such as experiences of nature and other leisure activities.

The chapter “Life, But Not As We Know It: On Artificial Intelligence and the Popular Imagination” is by Luke Goode from New Zealand. He highlights the power of narratives that we tell each other about AI and its role in the future. Films and series have been used to illustrate a future with highly developed AI. The films encourage us to think about what makes us humans, with themes such as power, inequality, and social stratification.

Novum is a term used by science fiction researchers to denote an intelligent machine that automatically comes to “life”. People feel fascination, optimism, and anxiety about how quickly

technology is evolving. The term “technological singularity” is a hypothesis based on the idea of exponential and dramatically accelerating technological progress. It is a metaphor deriving from astrophysics, where it refers to the centre of a black hole where the laws that govern time and space do not apply. Advocates of the idea argue that we are approaching a tipping point in 2045, when superintelligence will make its entrance. They say that people’s abilities can be developed if we are prepared to be united with technology. The problem with AI is that it is presented in a narrow technological way that does not consider questions such as ownership, control, fairness, and public or legal oversight of the technology. The author draws attention to the importance of folklore in that the singularity is a myth for the digital age. Myths help us to deal with the complexity and mystery of the world, but they conceal as much as they reveal. To justify a public interest, stories must fire the imagination.

The general public feel that there is a lack of transparency in the new technologies, hidden behind corporate secrecy and technical complexity. The field of AI and robotics is easily portrayed as a kind of spectacle where development is inevitable. This does not give any opportunity for lay people to participate actively in shaping the future of AI and robotics.

“A Conversation about AI and Science Fiction” is a text written by Jerry Määttä together with Daniel Bodén and Michael Godhe. The science fiction genre is an arena where people can discuss and bridge the gap between research and the public and help engage people in issues related to technology, science, and contemporary society and the future. One risk is that people will not discuss the right issues and that the science fiction genre will produce misleading images.

It is commercial publishers and film companies that produce, publish, and distribute science fiction. There are certain stories that are expected to be appreciated by the audience. Much of what appears in media coverage of AI, climate change, terrorism, drones, algorithms, surveillance, etc. is just science fiction clichés. There are also cultural

differences. Japanese robots are cuter than their American counterparts, which are more like the Terminator.

In “Automatic People and Automated Professions: Real Humans and the Labour of Time (to Come)” Johan Hallqvist considers how a number of reports have sounded the alarm about threatened professions. Robots are already being used in factories, but now other parts of the labour market are being robotized, and the definition of what it means to be human is being challenged, since work is regarded as crucial for people’s lives, identities, and survival. The human-like hubots in the Swedish television series *Real Humans* raise the question of where the dividing line runs between humans and hubots. The author seeks to analyse *Real Humans* as an arena where possible future relationships between humans and robots are tested. His main question is how human-like technology portrays and challenges ideas about work. The action is on two levels: a political one with a focus on the struggle between opponents and advocates of hubots; a second level where humans and hubots meet and integrate. The author writes that one can replace hubots with immigrants. The loss of humanity is portrayed in *Real Humans* through hubots that undertake caring tasks. A hubot becomes a combination of maid and home help. Hubotization also comprises unpaid housework.

The articles range from more theoretical to more concrete analyses, giving different angles on AI, robots, and tomorrow’s working life. These texts are important and interesting because they encourage us to take a stand and discuss how we want robots and AI to be used and what kind of future we want to live in. The authors argue that development is not as self-evident as it is generally portrayed. They show that automation does not always succeed as well as its initiators had hoped. They also warn us that the development of robotics and AI can create problems for people and society. Myths are interesting as examples of contemporary folklore (although many stories continue a long tradition). Having conducted some 90 in-depth interviews to hear narratives about tech-

nology, I can confirm that people use television series and science fiction to exemplify what they think the technological future might be like, but in the same breath they say that it will probably not turn out like that at all. The informants also say that the development is driven by technologists who want to develop and test the possibilities. The role of individual technologists from a humanistic perspective is something I miss in the book. They appear in the texts, but only in passing.

Göran Sjögård, Lund

The History of the Future?

Henrik Brissman, *Framtidens historia*. Natur & Kultur, Stockholm 2021. 259 pp. ISBN 978-91-27-16620-2.

■ What does it mean to write the history of the future? In his book with this title, Henrik Brissman describes what he calls the encounter with tomorrow that has preoccupied people's minds from the very oldest times until the present day. If one thinks about the future, one tends to think of gadgets and inventions, he writes. But these are just an extension of an ideology or a mental climate; ultimately it is a matter of people's beliefs, visions, desires, fears.

What Brissman undertakes in his book is simply a journey in time, from some of the oldest extant thoughts about the future to the very latest ideas. The structure of the book, as one can quickly conclude, is reminiscent of a series of lectures about different eras, different periods in human history, which are named and delimited in keeping with a chronological mode of thought. These lectures can be characterized as descriptive rather than analytical, aiming to provide a kind of basic orientation on this topic, with the different future horizons that have appeared all through human history.

This means that we are given a timeline in the presentation that may appear teleological, an explanation of how human thinking about the future has taken place and evolved from a primitive phase to an increasingly sophisticated one. The

first proper chapter of the book is entitled "The Religious and Philosophical Future", dealing with a period almost from "the beginning of the human era", when astrology, the art of interpreting signs and movements in the firmament, was important for human thought and action, and then examining some of the early creation myths and philosophies, and on to prophets and oracles in relatively early human societies such as ancient Israel and Greece. The next important station on the road is Plato's ideal state, after which the story moves to the Roman Empire and what was formerly called the Middle Ages, with the Black Death in the thirteenth century as an important chronological landmark.

The future history of humanity is thus envisaged as having evolved in phases that partly overlap but also form a clear sequence, a continuous story from yesterday to tomorrow, from what once was to what is to come. And what is to come, what we perceive as the future, can be of very different kinds. Brissman's account is based above all on a rather traditional periodization in which the key to the history of the future is found in the gap where the religious and philosophical (speculative, metaphysical) future encounters what is to come. The chapter headings are telling: "The Scientific Future 1600–1850", "The Organized Future 1800–1920", "The Promising Future 1850–1950", "The Terrifying Future 1900–", "The Calculable Future 1945–", and "The Ecological Future 1965–".

As can be seen, these period divisions are rather fixed and established as explanations for how human history and self-awareness have evolved over millennia and centuries. It is a paean to the growth of knowledge, complexity, and the scientific method, and at the same time it implies an inexorable logical course towards more and more writing, to a mass of knowledge that in its final phase seems to lead to a kind of warning about our seeking and gathering of knowledge, including the forms of organization to which the development of humanity has led during the past, say, five centuries, thus, a belief in ever-increasing knowledge, an expanded social organization, and

a greater understanding that everything is connected, that the fate of mankind is linked to that of the earth.

In pace with the increasing mass of knowledge and complexity of human societies described here by Brissman, the question of the future becomes a salient point, leading him to the conclusion that one must increasingly begin to conceive that there is not just one future but several possible futures or scenarios competing for space and attention. The warning consists in the fact that today's scientific-technological-economic-political stage involves considerable risks, complexities, and possibly insoluble paradoxes.

When he ends his book, or at the moment he has intended to do so, a situation arises, tellingly, a crisis in which we find ourselves at the time of writing, a future that has become a reality that came as a surprise to most people: the pandemic. This means that he is forced to write an epilogue to the epilogue he has already written, about how pessimism and optimism about the future constantly alternate in human consciousness, as they really should in order to achieve some kind of balance in our future-gazing.

For Brissman, the different ways of looking at the future become a kind of key that can be used to open what actually ends up appearing to be the core, the most important project in his book, more than the future itself or an analytically oriented discussion of the concept of the future. It is the question of which structures of thought apply at different stages of human history. The Archimedean lever in the presentation, as I said, is the swing from the religiously and philosophically delineated future (one could also say the mythical or metaphysically coloured future) to a knowledge-based, rational, or even rationalistic conception of the future. But various watersheds and side-tracks occur, as he notes with considerable interest. They arise in the wake of the extreme rationalism that Enlightenment thinking risks leading to (think of the French Revolution and its reset of history) reactions whereby a more irrational mentality – for example, in the form of romanticism, including the literary tradition of the

Gothic novel – creates a powerful counter-current to what is described in the book as a kind of surging intellectual, epistemic mass of thought. This surging mass of knowledge and technology is above all a Western story, but it carries in it the seeds of the increasingly globalized form of existence we find ourselves in today, where the combination of science, technology, and capitalism has led to structures that appear almost invincible or unshakeable. This is in contrast to other future-related issues that may concern everything from democracy and identity to fantasy and science fiction, which stand out as a kind of counter-image to the (ostensible) superiority of the rational mode of thought.

Henrik Brissman shows in his book, and this is perhaps one of its greatest merits, how much Anglo-American thinkers have focused on future issues, possibly with a peak sometime in the middle of the last century; their thinking has been distinctly pragmatic, often even technocratic, a kind of social engineering with the intention of leading to greater economic, political, and social well-being, for the benefit of humanity, reducing various health problems and bringing well-being, even happiness, although paradoxically, the latter is increasingly questioned the longer the development towards a high-tech knowledge society has proceeded. That is not to say that the alternative history that Alasdair MacIntyre plays with in his book *After Virtue* is not a real threat today, namely, the idea that we might suddenly lose all the knowledge that humanity has accumulated through history. Such a loss of memory would, of course, be fatal, tragic. We can only speculate as to how far an anti-knowledge project, if we may call it that, can be achieved by the populist and authoritarian wave in today's societies. But the former US President Donald Trump with his political agenda is undeniably a cautionary example demonstrating that there are such obvious risks today.

When we now find ourselves, as Brissman asserts, in a situation where so much seems to be at stake, perhaps even the survival of human civilization and the planet, he seems to think that it is through a careful evaluation of knowledge and

imagination, and through a balancing act between optimism and pessimism about the future, that we have a chance of long-term survival in the age of approaching environmental disaster. It may also be noted that, as in this review, the author places himself, albeit indirectly as part of a “we”, in his text and increasingly so the closer we get to the actual present in the future history he describes. It is all of us living now, but also those who will come after us in the future, who always have to write about this future history.

When he writes about thinkers such as Karl Marx, Karl Popper, Mikhail Bakunin, Yevgeny Zamyatin and many more, Brissman does his best to avoid taking an ideological stand in his discussions about the different periods in the book. But perhaps his interest in the American discussion of future scenarios nevertheless shows a greater affinity with liberal than with socialist thought. One form that seems to interest him very much is what one might call the anarchist or roots-based current known here as community, i.e., alternative societies, almost always on a small scale, arising as a result of crises, movements, new starts, especially the American examples that were, as he says, possible only in a more open world than that which existed at the same time in Europe. These communities, where religious and social ideas often coexist, point to alternative models of the future where some of the structures of the surrounding society – such as family, the monetary economy, and largeness of scale – have been questioned by people with a focus on social experimentation. Consequently, it is also about experiments with questions of what is central to human experience and our perception of the world and our place in it. The idea of the Israeli kibbutz is one of the models he describes, with an obviously positive interest in the phenomenon in question.

Framtidens historia is a clear, readable introduction to further thinking about the future, futures, alternative futures. It could possibly be argued that the author fails to grapple seriously with the very complex of ideas about yesterday, today, and the future, but perhaps that could be the matter for a different book.

Somewhat surprisingly, the discussion in the book of AI, artificial intelligence, is extremely brief. The same applies to the issue of future fuels in a world with increasingly scarce resources. Some names I miss in the otherwise detailed account are Dante (*The Divine Comedy*), Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*), Rousseau (*Émile, or On Education*) and more recent narratives with thoughts about alternative futures, including dystopias like Ayn Rand’s *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*, Herbert Marcuse’s *An Essay on Liberation*, and Anthony Burgess’s *A Clockwork Orange*, or even Martin Hägglund’s *This Life: Secular Faith and Spiritual Freedom*. One can also think of the imaginative stories by Borges and Calvino and Frank Herbert’s great sci-fi series of novels *Dune*, now a Hollywood blockbuster by the French Canadian director Denis Villeneuve, who previously created cinematic future fantasies such as *Arrival* and *Blade Runner 2049*.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, *Vasa*

Fashion’s Photographic Market

Fashioned in the North. Nordic Histories, Agents, and Images of Fashion Photography. Anna Dahlgren (ed.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2020. 204 pp. ISBN 978-91-8866-193-7.

■ It was 1977. I was 16 years old, and after a trip to Italy I had a summer job for a few weeks in a nursing home. There was a photographer working there too. He said it was just a temporary job. He said I should get out into the world. He could help me with that.

A few weeks later it was time for a photo shoot. I greeted him with newly washed hair and no face make-up. I sported a short fringe as proof of which side I was on. But the white second-hand lacy slip was freshly ironed and I didn’t hesitate to brush my fringe backwards when the camera flashed. He smeared Vaseline on the lens and promised to give me copies of all the pictures. Some would be sent to Jane Hellen and some would be sent to Kerstin Heintz, who was constantly hunting for new models.

When I look at the soft-focus photographs many decades later, I am struck by the magical ability of the Vaseline to create an aura of classic timelessness around a young girl's open face. The gentle transitions between warm light and dark shadows place the subject, the girl who is me, in a dreamlike room with no windows. In the light from the camera, the subject tries out different poses along with the hairbrush and the slip.

A desire to be part of fashion's photographic market was nothing to flaunt openly during the radical 1970s in Lund. Fashion was considered superficial and commercial. The fashion market was something to reject, to distance yourself from. My recollections of the photographer and my later meeting with Kerstin Heintz are multifaceted and almost shameful. To have agreed to do not one but several test shoots was embarrassing in some contexts. But it all came to an abrupt end after a visit to Kerstin Heintz when, after a few hours of shooting and a run through photo albums of all the girls she had "discovered", she observed that I was "good raw material" with a natural look.

"Feel free to come back when you've lost five kilos!" she said, sticking the newly taken instamatic pictures into one of her albums.

"And I would never think of doing that," I would say defiantly to anyone who wanted to listen when I told the story later. But at least I had been for a test shoot, forever immortalized in one of Kerstin Heintz's photo albums.

My personal experience of fashion's photographic market takes on a much deeper meaning in the light of this volume, *Fashioned in the North: Nordic Histories, Agents, and Images of Fashion Photography*, well edited by Anna Dahlgren, professor of art history at Stockholm University. The book challenges previous research on fashion photography and asks new questions about how, by whom, and in what way the photographic history of fashion has been presented. Here we meet a more or less unknown landscape of fashion history, with fascinating stories about fashion images, photographers, and publications. One might wonder why it has taken so long for this history to be written, but since fashion studies is a newly awakened field of

research, it is perhaps more relevant to be impressed by the degree of maturity that characterizes the book as a whole and the majority of the contributions.

When *Vogue Scandinavia* listed the top ten books about Scandinavian style, this volume was number one, and Isabella Rose Davey described it as "hugely insightful". A consistently expressed perspective as regards both the reception of the book and its content is that so much was previously unexplored and underexposed. This is also discussed in the book. An important ambition for the authors is to challenge traditional fashion research – although it is somewhat unclear exactly what traditional perspectives are referred to here – and to approach fashion photography through new empirical examples, new methods, and new perspectives. The eight chapters in the book are written by researchers from all the Nordic countries, with an aspiration to highlight formerly unknown actors and images. How can we understand fashion photography as materiality, as a phenomenon, and as a practice? How can we interpret and analyse a fashion picture?

The book also provides detailed reports on the status of the Nordic countries in terms of education in fashion studies and the museum connections of fashion photography in 2020. This detailed survey gives good insight into an area that has only recently achieved some of the scholarly legitimacy that fashion as a phenomenon has long lacked, but it also risks rapidly becoming outdated with the development of the subject. Fashion studies is a history in constant change, but it also seems to carry a narrative that is nourished by positioning and shortcomings. When the map of Nordic fashion studies is to be drawn, it simultaneously becomes a topographical story about differences in altitude, underexposure, and different degrees of illumination when it comes to fashion research. At the same time, this topography reveals the palpable absence of systematic collections and documentation. Here the book serves an important function for future choices of direction in the field of research and education in fashion studies. Unfortunately, however, the interest in fashion photography as a research object is not reflected in any great interest in the editorial work with the almost fifty images

included in the volume. The pictures are very well chosen, but with the exception of the cover photo, they do not get anything like the space one might expect in a book about fashion photography.

Fashion images find themselves in an interesting way in a kind of nervous in-between space in the fashion market. The different practices of fashion often require the interaction of culture and business. The link between fashion as a social system, as cultural practice, and as a symbolic product therefore generates important components in fashion's photographic market, where the constant interplay between different logics, between culture and economics, demonstrates the urgent challenge to study the organization of fashion and the working life in the business. Semiotics and image analysis have not infrequently guided artistic and culture-theoretical interpretations of representative fashion images. But the fleeting practices of fashion photography have rarely been documented in terms of more systematic or historical ambitions. For fashion photography, it often seems that the focus has been on the garment or product, not on the model. The fashion image has been a perishable commodity, used (at best) and then forgotten. As a commercial image, the fashion photograph has rarely had any photographic value. Working as a fashion photographer was for many a temporary livelihood, a job to do while waiting for something else. The upgrading of the work began cautiously in the 1970s, but it was not until some time into the 1990s that Swedish fashion photography took its place in the salons of fine culture at Moderna Museet's exhibition "Catwalk: Six Swedish Fashion Photographers Show Their Photographs" in Stockholm in 1993.

The book approaches fashion photography as a transnational phenomenon, as a material object, and as a historical object with its roots in a specific media and archive system. The different texts make for a cohesive whole, nicely linked to each other and to common themes and conceptual discussions. The book also contains several lesser-known or completely unknown examples of fashion images, photographers, and references that, according to the authors, have not previously

gained any attention in fashion research. The authors discuss, as already mentioned, the possible reasons for this "underexposure", and they have a clear aspiration to update the field of fashion studies through new empirical examples based on the history of ideas and socio-materiality.

Ideas about a specific Nordic fashion are joined together in different ways in the specific aesthetics of fashion photography and the staging of a kind of Arctic landscape. The notion of the Arctic is particularly visible in the pictures by the photographer John Cowan from 1964, "The Girl Who Went Out in the Cold", published in the American *Vogue* the same year. Here the Icelandic art historian Æsa Sigurjónsdóttir shows how ice, cold, water, and light are linked together into a narrative about a timeless place in the marginal lands of the Cold War.

The ability of fashion to materialize a place or a zeitgeist is said to be one of the fundamental techniques of fashion. Fashion organizes our attention in a way that Georg Simmel long ago called a "self-dynamic", which can be both obvious and surprising. The ability of fashion to channel the currents of the age is often held up as part of the argument for the cultural and social importance of fashion. Fashion is not just fashion – fashion is more than fashion. Fashion as a catalyst means that it also has the ability to influence and change. Perhaps it is time to revive the sociologist Herbert Blumer's definition of fashion as a social event, with the emphasis on the ability of fashion to channel the zeitgeist. This volume shows how fashion and fashion photography in different contexts organize our way of perceiving and defining the world around us. But fashion images are also, in an interesting way, located in a kind of permissive no-man's-land. The photographic market of fashion is a network of actors and objects that are bound together in different ways in a forward-looking field of force characterized by the opposing logics of artistic and commercial ambitions.

One of my favourite chapters is the ethnologist and museologist Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl's fantastic story about the museum director Tor B. Kielland and his wife Edle Due Kielland at the Museum

of Decorative Art and Design in Oslo. Here, in the mid-1950s, the couple produced a number of fashion photographs with themselves as models. Hjemdahl shows how the complex relationship between private, public, and museum documentation activates contemporary notions of fashion, photography, and aesthetics. Basic questions are also asked here about the different practices of fashion as business, design, and a forum for scholarship.

Since several of the contributions to the book apply different historical perspectives to fashion photography, it is important to also look forward and into our own time. What does the fashion picture look like today? Who is the fashion photographer and what or who is the focus in the images? The concept of “selfie museum” has recently spread internationally, and at the new Instagram-friendly selfie museum *Youseum* in Solna, visitors can photograph themselves staged in different settings. How can we understand a phenomenon like this?

Finally, my reading of *Fashioned in the North* has enriched me with new knowledge about an overlooked phenomenon in fashion research. The texts have also made me curious about long-forgotten personal experiences. Who was Kerstin Heintz and how can I know more about her life and her choices? Often mentioned as a legendary fashion woman, she appears to have gone under the radar since she made her name as a manager of young and promising models. In recent times, however, Kerstin Heintz has been acclaimed for her style-setting fashion drawings in the Swedish press over many years. Her book from 1952, *Jag vill bli modetecknare* (I Want to Be a Fashion Illustrator), will soon arrive in my mailbox and my next research project has already begun.

Cecilia Fredriksson, Lund

Exhibiting Death at Sea

Simon Ekström, Sjödränkt. Spektakulär materialitet från havet. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2021. 271 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-348-7.

■ Simon Ekström is Professor of Ethnology with a double connection to Stockholm University

and Swedish National Maritime and Transport Museums. This connection to both an academic institution and a group of museums is central for the origin and the character of his book *Sjödränkt: Spektakulär materialitet från havet* (“Drowned at Sea: Spectacular Materiality from the Ocean”). The aim of the book is to examine how a couple of museums approach and relate to the presence of death in their collections and exhibitions, more precisely death by sea. It discusses death as a cultural heritage and the musealization of disasters at sea, as well as the more general theme of exhibitions as media forms with their own history. The book thus focusses on *deathscapes*, the different kinds of staging of the presence of death – sometimes, death is demonstratively placed in the foreground, sometimes, it is discreetly moved away from the scene it has been offered (pp. 16–17, 21). The motto of the book, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s words that “Exhibitions are fundamentally theatrical”, is illustrative of its focus.

In his selection, Ekström mainly focusses on Swedish cases – the only exception is the *Titanic*. The target group is defined as students, scholars, museum staff at maritime museums, as well as everyone interested in the topic (p. 10). It is clear that he intends to write both for an academic audience and for people working with exhibitions at museums.

The first case study of the book (chapter 2) discusses the sinking of the steamer *Per Brahe* in 1918, when twenty-four people died, and its salvage in 1922. At several points it works as a type-case, since many themes which recur in the later chapters are introduced here. One such theme is the ethical discussion of exhibiting a ship which in practice had been the place of death and the grave for many people. Ekström quotes contemporary voices from the newspapers after the salvage, when the exhibition of the wreck was often condemned as profiting from people’s death, and where the exhibition was described as a disgusting public entertainment (pp. 43–45). Another topic also recurring in the following chapters is the use of specific objects to represent the disaster in the exhibition. In the case of *Per Brahe*, one of

the few objects which is now in a museum is a sewing machine from the ship. It is charged with meaning, not least since the judicial investigation after the disaster showed that the steamer had been overloaded, and a large number of sewing machines was especially mentioned in this connection; parts of these sewing machines were also sold as souvenirs after the salvage, something specifically mentioned by the critical newspapers in 1922. The sewing machine in the museum is thus connected both directly with the cause of the disaster and with the contemporary ethical debate (pp. 58–59; also 42–43).

Apart of the chapter concerns the collective memory of the *Per Brahe* shipwreck. Among the victims of the disaster were the young artist John Bauer and his family. This fact formed a subordinate part of the contemporary reports of the disaster. In his lifetime, Bauer was certainly a popular artist, but he had not gained the position he later achieved as one of the most famous Swedish artists. Ekström convincingly shows that one reason the *Per Brahe* disaster survived in the collective memory is that it is so closely connected with Bauer's death, which in our time has become the famous fact of the disaster, and that the fame of Bauer has also increased because of the tragic death of the young artist and his family (pp. 51–57, 60).

At the end of the chapter Ekström notes one important difference between the exhibition of the *Per Brahe* in 1922 and museum exhibitions of today: a remarkably short time had passed since the disaster (p. 62). This aspect of temporal distance is followed up in several of the following chapters.

The exhibitions at the Vasa Museum have a special status in this context, since they belong to the most popular museum in Sweden, whose exhibitions reach more people than any others. The background is well-known: the large warship *Vasa* sank in Stockholm in 1628 and was salvaged in 1961. Ekström's focus in chapter 3 is on the museum's treatment of the actual remains of the dead sailors, which are exhibited in the museum. The aim of the chapter is to discuss "what kind of meeting between the visitor, history and the re-

mains" is arranged by the museum (p. 65). The exhibition of the skeletons from the ship is staged in a way different from the rest of the museum. It is found on a separate floor, with dimmed lighting; the skeletons are placed in coffin-like show-cases, without any written text. On the opposite wall, the dead are presented by (invented) names and with information about them; some of the faces of the dead have also been sculptured in a way that makes them look alive. The atmosphere created by this staging is characterized by dignity and respect.

The rest of the chapter problematizes this exhibition of skeletons. Ekström notes that the authenticity of the real bones makes them more attractive than, for instance, photographs or copies of them. However, he also notes that human remains constitute a very special type of museum material. He places this particular case in the context of the current ethical discussion about human remains at anatomic and ethnographic museums (p. 75–76, 85–87). He notes that the view of what is ethically acceptable regarding native Swedish bones has changed over time. When the ship was salvaged in the 1960s, the skeletons were actually buried in a real grave, but later they were taken up and made part of the museum's exhibition. The former taboo of exhibiting "Christian bones" had lost its power during this period (76–77). The museum had, however, long internal discussions regarding the ethical problems. The solution was to exhibit the skeletons in the special atmosphere presented above, together with texts which clarified the scientific information they provide. This would make clear that the museum did not want to use the dead for an entertaining spectacle (p. 78). Ekström notes that the combination of skeletons and realistic reconstructions of individual faces minimizes the emotional distance to the dead, but also activates the ethical problems that were so central in the debate about the collections of the ethnographic museums (pp. 86–87).

In 1945 the Swedish submarine *Ulven* sank after a collision with a mine. Twenty-three people died. Later the same year the entire boat was salvaged with all the dead bodies. This disaster is the

subject of chapter 4 of the book. The special theme of the chapter is the fact that the *Ulven* disaster resulted in exhibitions at two different museums, one in Stockholm (2002) and another in Karlskrona (2014). Ekström tries to identify the distinctive characteristics of these two exhibitions in comparison to each other. The exhibition in Karlskrona does indeed include objects from the wreck itself – such as the flag and the metal wolf symbolizing the boat – which directly represent this particular boat itself and at the same time the Swedish navy. But the exhibition also showed a different type of objects: some personal belongings of one of the boat’s engineers, Gustav Roslund, such as his wallet and his driver’s licence. The – earlier – exhibition in Stockholm showed primarily objects with a direct connection with the boat and the disaster – such as a lifebuoy with the name *Ulven* etc. – all clear metonyms for the boat and the disaster. Personal objects are lacking. Ekström argues that this is a fundamental difference between the two types of objects: objects belonging to a crew member mark the individual, while the objects belonging to the boat represent the Swedish navy, military forces, and nation (p. 105). In Karlskrona, both types of objects are exhibited, and the visitor can choose to identify with one or the other; in Stockholm, only the latter option is possible. Ekström argues that the difference represents a change over time: the earlier (2002) Stockholm exhibition promotes ideas about the nation and its military forces, while the later (2014) Karlskrona exhibition moves towards a framing of the individual, the family, and the loss (pp. 109–110).

The chapter on the *Titanic* discusses an international exhibition, arranged by a Spanish event enterprise, which came to Gothenburg in 2019. In the opening part, Ekström provides a number of reflections concerning the always relevant issue of authenticity. He notes that “*Titanic*” usually refers to the disaster rather than the ship, with the consequence for an exhibition that it seems to matter if an object from the ship is from before or after the disaster: the ship that was built in Belfast is not exactly the same as the one which sank a few months later in the North Atlantic (pp. 116–117). Many of the objects in this particular

exhibition are quite trivial in themselves, such as a blanket and a pair of a child’s boots, but since they were used during the shipwreck, they carry a strong authenticity. This type of objects provides the exhibition with a personal dimension of the same kind as Gustav Roslund’s wallet in the *Ulven* exhibition (pp. 121–123). Ekström also identifies a clear message of the exhibition: it was human hubris, a modern version of the Tower of Babel, that caused the disaster.

The *Estonia* disaster in 1994 is still a trauma in Sweden (as well as in Estonia, it may be added). Many people have strong personal relations to it. Chapter 6 focuses on the special challenges for Sjöhistoriska Museet in Stockholm when they opened an exhibition on the *Estonia* only eleven years after the disaster. Ekström reflects on the importance of the short time between disaster and exhibition and contrasts it at this point to the *Vasa* and *Ulven* exhibitions (pp. 140–141). With the help of a number of internal documents from the planning of the exhibition, Ekström follows and analyses the precautions taken by the museum to avoid potential criticism. There was free entrance to the exhibition and no *Estonia* souvenirs were sold in the shop (p. 140). By such decisions, the exhibitions could avoid the accusations of making profit and public entertainment of human disaster, as occurred frequently in the *Per Brahe* case. The short time since the disaster also gave the exhibition a therapeutic effect. In his analysis, Ekström pays special attention to the “White Room” for contemplation, which formed an important part of the exhibition. Ekström reflects on the “different versions of death” presented by the exhibition, the particular death of people in the stormy sea during the *Estonia* shipwreck and the existential death, concerning everybody, which were combined by the creation of the White Room (pp. 147–149). The chapter also connects with the previous discussion of authentic objects from the disaster: the bow visor from the *Estonia* has a uniqueness that authentic objects from the other ships in the book lack, since the damage (and loss) of this particular object was the direct cause of the shipwreck (pp. 160–162). Another interesting reflection is that

the Estonia exhibition chose to focus on the survivors, rather than the dead, which is in contrast to the focus in the *Titanic* exhibition, and again Ekström connects this with the short time that had passed between disaster and exhibition.

In 1952 a Swedish DC 3 was shot down by the Soviet air force. In 2003, its wreckage was found at the bottom of the Baltic Sea, and the following year it was salvaged. The chapter in the book on this case discusses an exhibition in 2010. The exhibition focussed on the political context: leading politicians lied or misled the Swedish people regarding the military mission of the DC 3 and Swedish security policy in general. Ekström is, as usual, primarily interested in the fact that the wreckage shown at the exhibition was also a grave for several humans for many years. Just as in the *Ulven* exhibition in Karlskrona, this exhibition showed some personal belongings of the dead. But Ekström notes a difference: in the *Ulven* exhibition, this served to enhance the personal, individual aspect, while the DC 3 exhibition rather focusses on the dead crew as a collective (p. 174). The chapter concludes with reflection on the use of life jackets as symbols of disasters.

The last chapter, “Dark Matter”, provides synthesizing reflections on some of the topics discussed in the book: the problems connected with the fact that museums contain human remains, the relationship between experience and knowledge, and the importance of the material objects for the human death which the museums aim to communicate (pp. 189–215).

Now some comments on the book as a whole. It is clear that the different chapters all differ partly in their focus and main questions. The distinctive character of each case has governed both the analysis and the structure of them. However, there are recurring themes in all the individual studies: the ethical aspects of exhibitions connected with human death, including the importance of the degree of distance in time, the staging of the “deathscape”, and the handling of the potential accusation of making entertainment and profit out of human death; the choice of objects to show, including the focus on individual belongings or

objects directly connected with the disaster; the importance of authenticity; the choice of focus or the message of the exhibition.

The analyses of the different exhibitions might be described as reflecting discussions rather than scholarly inquiry: they are neither rooted in strict theoretical models – although theoretical concepts are sometimes used – nor in clearly defined criteria or categories. It is more an essay than an academic study, despite the theoretical introduction and the extensive footnote references. But this is only an advantage. While theoretical models in much recent scholarship are short-lived fads which often lead the scholar to press the material into frames where it does not work, Ekström’s relatively impressionistic observations and reflections are probably more sustainable over time. They increase our understanding of both the collective memory of specific traumatic events and our understanding of what museums aim at and succeed with in connection with the delicate phenomenon of *deathscape*. The theoretical concepts which in fact are mentioned are all used in the concrete analyses, supporting the argument. They shed light on the material – in far too many cases in recent academic works the opposite is the case, and the material is just a means for the scholar to show his knowledge of the most fashionable theory. Here, Ekström instead provides a good example of how theory in academic studies should work. My general conclusion is that Ekström’s book is a valuable work which deserves a large audience among academic scholars as well as everybody working with museum exhibitions.

Daniel Sävborg, Tartu

Animals: Touching Encounters and Cultural Pain Points

Djur. Berörande möten och kulturella smärtpunkter. Simon Ekström & Lars Kaijser (eds.). Makadam, Göteborg/Stockholm 2018. 270 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-260-2.

■ In recent years, human-animal relationships have received a lot of scholarly attention. This

edited volume gives examples of such relationships from one particular perspective: a focus on touching and painful human meetings with animals. The general idea is that not only are we surrounded by animals – wild and tame, farm animals and pets, live and on television or in children’s books, but they are present even when we are not conscious about it. They are everywhere; in the cold counter in the supermarket and on the dining table at home. We imagine futures with or without them (and their meat). We think, feel, and experience with animals. Domesticated animals have not only formed our physical landscapes but our mental ones too, as it were. Animals are, as was stated many years ago, not only good to eat but good to think with; we categorize, describe, and put into order with animals. We touch and are touched by animals.

The pun upon “touching encounters” in the subtitle, pointing (in English as well as Swedish and Danish) to the double meaning of concrete mee(a)tings with the animals (caressing, killing etc.) and the emotions evoked by animals, run through the chapters of the book in a clear and productive way. *Djur*, focusing in particular on non-domestic animals, deals with how humans meet (other) animals in particularly touching relations, where animals evoke strong but often also difficult or painful and ambivalent feelings.

The book opens with a well-written and informative introduction to the theme and to Human-Animal Studies and Critical Animal Studies, thereby inscribing itself in the field of posthumanist studies. The introduction serves as an easy-to-read introduction to the field as well to the general idea of the book, and the perspectives introduced permeate the whole collection, stressing the intimate entanglement of humans and animals, nature and culture.

In eight chapters, this theme is explored from different angles, each of them investigating diverse assemblages of humans, animals, and materiality. In the first chapter (by Elin Lundquist) we meet the dedicated volunteers opposing an extensive local hunt for small birds in Malta, letting informants put into words the affective logics

that motivate them. Mattias Frihammar, in his article, deals with a remarkable private collection of (dead) animals and artefacts, forming a mixture of nature and culture, at first glance presenting itself as a sort of pre-modern curiosity cabinet. On closer examination, however, the collection negates any division of nature and culture, establishing instead another division: the Swedish countryside as opposed to urbanity.

Along the same lines, Lars Kaijser discusses the presence of sharks in a series of public aquaria, the point being that they are produced as, on the one hand, threatened by human exploitation of resources at sea, and on the other – leaning on images from the entertainment industry – as threatening murder machines. Species-protecting entertainment or science-based tourism, as it were. In another museum context, Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius deals with partly human-constructed or reconstructed animals, and Susanne Nylund Skog takes up birdwatching again. She focuses on the ticking off of species that creates a special form of collector, and analyses the birdwatcher’s narratives that clearly show the importance of touching meetings with birds.

A very specific theme is taken up by Simon Ekström, who writes about lobsters in cartoons that often change roles with humans in carnivalesque forms. Using interviews and other materials, Helena Hörmfeldt discusses the fear provoked in humans by different species of animals – in mediated and standardized forms, and finally, Michell Zethson argues that although in modernity the transformation of animals to meat has been based on the absence of the animal in the meat, there seems to be a new tendency – a “neo-carnivorism” – in which the animal comes to the forefront. Zethson especially focuses on a combined hunting and eating event arranged by a Swedish restaurant, which is unfolded interestingly and productively with the approaches of “meat theorists” like Derrida and Vialles, but ends somewhat unfocused and with the addition of yet other perspectives, detours, and repetitions to the analysis.

In that sense, the chapter is typical of several of the chapters in that they produce successful

and thought-provoking analyses but tend to add additional analytical perspectives in the process, with a tendency to become unfocused and repetitive. However, the book as a whole has a clear focus: how animals evoke involvement, love, fascination, and fear, but do so in mediated and conventional ways. The contributions are well written and make for good reading, and the book can be recommended to readers interested in human-animal relations. A selection of the chapters could fit in nicely into a syllabus.

The well-known, not to say world-famous, giraffe Marius, an excess animal that was dissected and cut up in front of an audience in Copenhagen Zoo in 2014, enters the introduction as well as the conclusion of the book, to illustrate the ambiguity of human-animal relationships, and it is only fair that he should embellish the cover in an origami-like portrait. The design of the book is topped with similar small animal illustrations in the header of each chapter. Nice!

Signe Mellemegaard, Copenhagen

Viewpoints on the Use of Alcohol

Anders Gustavsson, Improper Use, Moderation or Total Abstinence of Alcohol. Use of and Opinion on Alcohol Especially in the Western Swedish Countryside and Coastal Regions during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Strömstad Academy. Nordic Institute of Advanced Studies 2021. 79 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89331-05-1.

■ For quite a long time Anders Gustavsson has dealt with the use of alcohol from diverse points of view. This book can be described as a summary of his earlier studies with the addition of a more detailed investigation of memorial drinking. Given this structure, the texts cannot avoid repetitions concerning the cultural background to drinking alcohol in different situations.

To begin with, Gustavsson states firmly that there are a great many studies about how people in Sweden drink, but he also underlines that his aim is not to write about legislative matters but, as an ethnologist, to see how people regard and

handle alcohol in practice. Yet he cannot avoid telling about the society in which he works, which means that there is some information about the administration of alcohol in the relevant parts of the country. He starts with an autobiographical perspective, describing some memories from his own family and their use of alcohol through several generations. This perspective does not return in the study but is supplemented with several other approaches and types of material, mainly archival records. There is a general view of Sweden as a whole, but mostly the research concerns the south-western parts of the country. Some international sidelights broaden the perspective.

Gustavsson's main aim is to explore the relationship between moderate drinking, complete abstinence, and excessive consumption of spirits. He formulates several questions about the contacts between the groups of users, the conflicts between them caused by their views on alcohol, the roles played by honour, decency, and shame, gender differences, and the understanding of limited, acceptable drinking, among other themes. Readers learn about the attitudes of clergymen and physicians, and about the divergent opinions on aquavit, wine, beer, and liqueur.

It goes without saying that too much drinking may be disastrous for those involved, this. More interestingly, we see a form of moderate drinking, when guests were offered a dram, no matter whether they were invited or just popped in. It was an obligation to offer them alcohol, but if it was known that the guest would not be content with a moderate number of drinks, the host would empty the bottle in advance so that only a small amount of liquid was left in it to be consumed.

The temperance movements in south-western Sweden are the subject of a special chapter in the book. They were influential in many ways, not only that they prohibited their members from drinking, but they also caused them to live in a way that made the non-members lead their lives on the members' terms and conditions. A shopkeeper who belonged to a temperance movement could thus refuse to sell alcohol at all, which certainly was inconvenient to many people in the

community. Due to this severe attitude to alcohol, people drank clandestinely.

A long chapter is devoted to about memorial drinking, and here Gustavsson takes his readers through history from Greece and Rome through the Middle Ages until the present day. He describes the custom and tries to find out why it was quite common to take a toast – without mentioning the word *skål* which refers to “cheers”, drinking, and sinning – when saying farewell to a friend, neighbour, or family member. Gustavsson suggests that reasons for the drink were solidarity and remembrance.

Considering that the book is only 79 pages including many illustrations and references, it is quite comprehensive. I recommend it to those who want a quick summary of drinking habits in Sweden, especially among rural people in the countryside around Gothenburg.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

Ambulatory Schoolteachers and Literacy in Norway

Gry Heggli, Omgangsskolelæreren i allmueskolen. Leseopplæring mellom tekster og talemål. Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo 2021. 195 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-3040-286-3.

■ There are many possible ways to read this book on “The Ambulatory Schoolteacher in the Common School”. The author Gry Heggli is a researcher in education at the University of Bergen and has a special interest in literacy practices in research and education. In this book her research on reading, writing, and also speech practices concerns the period 1800–1860, when special legislation for rural schools was established in Norway. The first law came as early as 1739, but it was during the period 1800–1860, especially the 1830s, that the occupation of schoolteacher with professional training took shape.

The book shows that Norway was in a turbulent period of transition when the union of Denmark-Norway was dissolved in 1814. Children’s access to school was an important element, first of all in

maintaining the union with Denmark and later in the establishment of a Norwegian national identity. Above all, the school was very closely connected to the church, as part of its main mission. School was thus almost exclusively an institution for teaching Christian doctrine and religious education.

Language became an important factor in this time of transition. Here Heggli highlights the difference between Norwegian, the dialects spoken in rural areas which encompassed a wide range of variants, and Danish, the language that was formalized and used in translations of the Bible and other Christian texts, such as Luther’s Catechism. The author also gives a brief account of the switch from Gothic to Latin letters during this period. Norway at this time was a country with major differences – economic, cultural, and social. The school reforms implemented in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were established relatively quickly in the towns but did not have an impact in the countryside until several decades later, which Heggli describes as a period marked by lack of synchronicity.

However, to understand reading, writing, and speech practices in this time of transition is not Heggli’s primary goal; her interest is directed towards the teachers who made the school reforms possible in rural areas all over Norway, namely, the ambulatory schoolteachers (*omgangsskolelærer*). The ambulatory schoolteacher is initially presented in the book as a rather miserable and slightly ridiculous figure that many biographers and local writers have made fun of in their accounts. Based on a rich array of source material, which is divided into three categories, Heggli seeks to understand this malicious image, but also to question it. The first category consists of a number of autobiographies and biographies where the authors talk about their own and other people’s experiences of being ambulatory school teachers. The second category comprises descriptions that were recorded afterwards and which can be found in folklore literature, books by local writers, and local school history. The third category is archival material in the form of reports, minutes, and correspondence from the time.

All in all, the material enables Heggli to portray the ambulatory school teachers from different angles: their own personal experiences, from the perspective of the church and the clergy, and from the viewpoint of the rural population, for example former pupils and parents. Heggli combines these perspectives throughout the book, often clearly highlighting the point of these shifting perspectives. One point is to problematize the somewhat condescending ridicule that seems to dominate, which she does by putting the teachers in a clear context characterized by conflicting ideals and practices.

The text of the book is based to a large extent on excerpts from the sources. It is the dynamics between these quotations, that is, how they are put in relation to each other, that propels Heggli's exploration of the teachers, the emergence of the common school (*allmueskole*, a "poor school" for the peasantry), the time of change in which this took place, and the possibilities for learning to read. This is a good way to do justice to the rich material, but it places great demands on the reader, who has to switch between Heggli's meta-narrative and a large number of narratives and anecdotes presented in different styles and languages from different times.

Heggli attaches great importance to a thorough description of the people who took it upon themselves to work as ambulatory schoolteachers in rural areas, and also why. It was often boys and men from families in the peasantry itself, which meant that they were close to the pupils, but at the same time distant from the employer: the priest and the bishop. This resulted in a somewhat ambiguous position in a hierarchical and patriarchally structured society. Furthermore, Heggli describes in detail the teachers' precarious working conditions: the poor salaries, the journeys on foot over large distances, often in harsh climate and rough terrain, the poor training, and the substandard teaching conditions in the peasants' homes. One chapter is devoted entirely to the teachers' knowledge and another to different reading practices.

As I wrote at the beginning, the book can be read in many ways depending on one's interests.

I read the book as a story about an ambivalent position and profession in the making, where the ambulatory teachers find themselves in different intermediate positions. On the one hand, it is about their own role positioned between the rural people and the church, and between religion, with its interpretive priority, and the practices and chores of everyday life. Above all, I read this as a very interesting story about a kind of para-professionals operating in a politically charged multilingual context. The ambulatory teachers manoeuvred and mediated between the religious written language which was also Danish, often incomprehensible to the peasantry, and the practical vernacular of everyday life, consisting of variants of Norwegian. They bore a heavy responsibility for the literacy that the lawmakers hoped it would be possible to spread among the rural population. Based on this, I would have liked to see Heggli give more prominence to her analysis of the literacy project and also to the theories and the few previous studies that she refers to at the end of the book. These can be invoked to underline the importance of understanding the school reforms and the standardization of teaching language and reading as a part of European colonialism, with all that it entails.

Kristina Gustafsson, Växjö

With Camera and Suitcase

Med kamera och koffert. Resefotografier före mass-turismen. Sanna Jylhä & Marika Rosenström (eds.). SLS Varia nr 7. SLS, Helsingfors/Appell förlag, Stockholm 2021. 178 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-985486-9-3.

■ It feels rather like going on a journey to make one's way through this beautiful book, which is based on photographs taken by early travellers abroad. No fewer than 160 photographs by amateur photographers, preserved in the archives of SLS, the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, make up the backbone of the book, which also contains a whole range of other pictorial material such as postcards and diary entries. The two edi-

tors of the book are archivists at SLS. To enable an understanding of the photographs in their context, the editors have made sure to surround them with other material. In this way, written texts give a clear voice to the travellers.

The book begins with a chapter by Laura Hollsten and Maria Åsvik about developments in travel since the seventeenth century. Special landmarks here came in the middle of the nineteenth century when the first tour operators were established in Finland, and in the 1920s when a number of international air connections were established. The authors note, however, that for a long time the pleasure of travel was confined to those who had plenty of money and leisure. They also highlight the importance of classical travelogues and the guidebooks that later became available. After the turn of the twentieth century, travellers began to take an interest in unknown peoples, countries, and cultures as the subject of anthropology emerged. At the same time, more efficient transports were developed and people were able to explore the world more independently and take pictures of their own. Mass tourism did not begin until the 1970s, and since the book concerns travel before that time, it ends with the 1960s. In an interesting analytical chapter, Hollsten and Åsvik show how colonialism created a kind of infrastructure for travel to other continents. Colonial goods such as coffee, tea, and cocoa led travellers to the countries where these were produced, and with the camera at the ready they took pictures of their visits. A concluding discussion in this chapter notes how, although the camera can be perceived as creating objective images, the photographs are in fact never objective. The technical development of the camera itself and the importance of its easy portability are also covered in this chapter.

The part played by the two editors in the book is presented rather too modestly. They are not mere editors but also authors of interesting texts and responsible for a rich body of pictorial material. Each of their chapters begins with a long text, for example, presenting aristocracy on the Riviera, plantation owners on tours or people on

trips to the remote Samarkand. The reader also learns how artists in tropical helmets voyaged to Japan and China, as well as how lumberjacks lived in Canada, what life was like aboard sailing ships to Australia, and how a textile expert commissioned by the United Nations portrayed Iran under the Shah. Each of these introductory presentations also names the individuals behind the photographs and texts and how their material ended up in the SLS archives.

For a long time travel was a privilege of the upper strata of society, and this was also the case in Finland. High society, for example, gathered on the Riviera for the beach life there, and we meet the Finnish travellers in hotel gardens and in the streets. An image from around 1900 showing Valborg Wallensköld cycling is particularly interesting in that it is accompanied by Valborg's description of her bike Bessie, on which she becomes "a different person".

On the way to Samarkand there are pictures from the Nyberg family archive, for instance depicting the Nobel company factories in Baku and some stately Turkmens. Quotations from the travellers' diaries make the images come alive and give a deeper understanding of the life that is portrayed.

Artists at this time usually travelled to Paris or Rome, but here we meet instead the artist Harald Gallén on a trip in Japan and China. The pictures, however, were taken by the ship's doctor with whom he was travelling. Gallén's long, detailed diary entries record the many sounds he experienced, as well as the colours that could not be rendered in the black and white photographs. As a reader, one can almost dream oneself away with him to Imperial China, as he sits on the large marble ship in the Summer Palace in Peking.

A nice little collection of photographs tells about life as a lumberjack as experienced by the son of a small farmer from Ostrobothnia in British Columbia in the 1930s. On a postcard from 1935 we read about his journey home on the Swedish American Line's MS *Gripsholm*.

A dark story is told by a young intern about her stay in the Third Reich in 1938 and 1939. On the

one hand, there are beautiful photographs from her social life in restaurants and dance venues in Hamburg. On the other hand, we also see pictures of Hitler's visit to Hamburg and how swastikas decorated buildings and shopfronts.

There is also room in the book for doctors' medical diaries and accompanying photographs. A paediatrician describes India as a land of contrasts. Here one can see everything from wretched poverty to extravagant parades and beautiful mansions. We have now reached the 1950s and the photographs are in colour.

The author Göran Schildt's Egyptian voyage in the 1950s naturally finds a place in a book like this. He has also described in one of his books how he sailed to Egypt. Here it is mainly people who can be seen in the photographs, but also his boat *Daphne*.

Journalists taking photographs have been common, and here we meet Margareta Norrmén (who wrote under the name Marcella) from the Helsinki newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* on a trip in 1958, when she produced a lengthy travelogue. She captured everyday life along with architecture and beautiful promenades in Nice, Madrid, and Lisbon.

Typically, the journey through this book ends with a group trip to Italy in 1967, depicted through photographs and diary entries by the nurse and secretary Werna Ulfve.

This well-crafted book with outstandingly well-reproduced photographs invites one to return many times.

Birgitta Svensson, Lund

Mournable Lives

Kim Silow Kallenberg, Sörjbara liv. Universus Academic Press, Malmö 2021. 226 pp. ISBN 978-91-87439-70-4.

■ The ethnologist Kim Silow Kallenberg's book concerns the "mournability" of human lives – that is, whether the dead, while alive, had value. A "mournable" person, in contrast to a "non-mournable", is someone who was worth loving, who is

worth grieving over and thus whose death causes legitimate grief.

Who is mournable and who is not, concerns power, and questions raised on this matter have not been raised many times before within ethnology as far as I know. The project is inspired by, amongst others, Judith Butler and Sara Ahmed.

Kallenberg presents two lives that for some could be considered non-mournable. They are Marcus and Noel, who grew up with the author. Both faced challenges with drug abuse and mental health and both died young.

The research material consists of field notes and reflections that the author had on the two men's lives and deaths, such as: "... both of them also had so many good sides. That it is easy to imagine an alternative future. Which was possible, but is not anymore" (p. 79). The author has also used interviews, especially with the young men's mothers, but also with friends and other relatives. The interviews were conducted over four years, from 2016 to 2020. Readers are presented with long, transcribed extracts from the research material.

Of particular interest is the author's choice of an autoethnographic approach, where her thoughts and fears claim considerable place. This choice is made because the author approaches the topic from the position of being a childhood friend of Marcus and Noel. Without this experience, a research project on mournable and non-mournable lives would probably have been planned and completed in a very different way. She emphasizes that autoethnography must be seen as a continuation of the many academic debates from the 1980s onwards: about the researcher as a creator of the material, a consciousness of one's own influence and self-reflection as necessary elements of a research process.

An autoethnographic approach may be viewed as theorized self-reflexivity, de-emphasizing the binary nature of the researcher and the object of research, and between the subjective and the objective: recognizing and acknowledging subjective experiences and emotions, and using them, rather than hiding them in analyses (p. 194). The

autoethnographic method emphasizes living the story, embodying the narrative, rather than telling it (ibid.).

Sörjbara liv is a well-written book, but an unusual academic text. I found reading it quite demanding, not only because of the content, but also due to the autoethnographic method. I only managed to piece together *Sörjbara liv* as an academic text after reading the last 20 pages, where I was presented with the project's research context, academic goals, research questions, and reflections on methodology and research ethical challenges. Personally, I would have preferred to have this framework presented first. This would have given a clearer context to the author's detailed narratives about, and portrayals of Marcus and Noel, and the sometimes introverted thoughts the author communicates.

This criticism aside, *Sörjbara liv* discusses a topic not often found in our field of research and the author experiments with the methodology. For these two reasons, I believe *Sörjbara liv* will have a large audience.

Tove Ingebjörg Fjell, University of Bergen

Analysing Father's Tomfooleries

Barbro Klein, I tosaforornas värld. Gustav berättar. Carlssons Bokförlag, Stockholm 2021. 463 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89062-95-2.

■ Recently, for the first time in my life, I attended an Orthodox funeral. The service was celebrated in the premises of the Baptist congregation, as the deceased belonged to both congregations. "In eternal remembrance" is the phrase uttered to the soul of the dead person and to the bereaved relatives. Why this talk about death in a review of a book about oral storytelling? It is because the author of the book, Professor Barbro Klein, was taken by death before she had completed her book about her father Gustav's storytelling. She had worked on it for forty years – the many recordings with Gustav, his wife and sister were made between 1977 and 1984, almost until her father's death in 1985. Although the most intense writing

period began in 2014, the recordings and the analyses and interpretations of them had been going on for a long time parallel to other research commitments.

Barbro Klein passed away in January 2018 after a brief illness, active to the very last. Several of her friends, former students and later colleagues, were well aware of her major project on her father's storytelling and had been following the work over the years. The manuscript of the book was almost finished when Georg Drakos and Marie-Christine Skuncke, assisted by Jonas Engman and Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, assumed the task of publishing the book posthumously – in itself a huge undertaking that became an act of love for a dear friend and appreciated colleague. Through death, one is affected by life, and in this case many people can now learn about Gustav's life in rural Småland and the people whose memory he kept alive through his often comic and sometimes burlesque stories about them. At the same time, we learn about Barbro Klein's life, especially her life as a folklorist through what she writes about her father. Through his *tosaforor* – roughly "tomfooleries", unpretentious tales about high and low – her own family history is replayed.

As Marie-Christine Skuncke notes in the nicely summed up epilogue, many people will have a sense of recognition as they read this book. And this recognition can function at many levels: stories about people in the countryside, valiant attempts to keep track of all the individuals in the stories one hears, a second-generation existence with a sense of shame about parents whose Otherness suddenly shines through the veneer, one's own upward mobility and the fear of appearing self-important in front of relatives. But also how, as a researcher, one grapples with deep-seated questions about *why* someone tells stories the way they do, and a sense of discomfort about what you understand when you put your ear to someone's heart and really listen.

When I was asked to review Barbro Klein's posthumously published book, I could not imagine that life and death would affect me through it. Nor did I know how to review a book written

by the person who laid the foundation for performance studies in Swedish ethnology, thus contributing to the renewal of folkloristics. And initially, I actually tried to repress my knowledge of the existence of the carefully transcribed and rendered conversations, which I find alienating even though the intent is the opposite. I flipped through the book, saw the transcriptions, and put the book to one side. Then I picked it up again, read the preface and the epilogue, and Barbro Klein's own introduction – and I was hooked. In the introduction we are given a survey of performance research, and the author's experiences of swimming against the stream as her talk of transcription as an analytical act initially fell on deaf ears. As I read on, it became clear to me that any ethical stance one takes is also an analytical act at the same fundamental level. In my hand I thus had a brief overview of the growth of interview studies in ethnology and an explanation of the importance of carefully reflecting on one's own choices and one's own presence in research. This is something that should permeate one's entire research and be seen in the works one publishes. After this, I read the book at one stretch, and saw how the author exposes her own anguish over family stories and family silences – this was not an emotionless performance analysis. It felt like a thoroughly honest account of the fieldwork and the subsequent process of analysis. Throughout the book, we follow the seasoned ethnographer's accurate gaze while at the same time we follow the emotional reactions of Barbro the daughter as she listens repeatedly to the cassettes she recorded. Every time she listens, she delves deeper into the family secrets, deeper into her understanding of her father – an understanding that should not be confused with acceptance, as she herself also stresses and discusses. And at the same time, her understanding of herself is deepened through her ethnographic work.

One has often been advised to learn how to skim through books, to quickly sift out nuggets that can then be used – not very many of the books that are included in reference lists have been read from cover to cover. But this is a book

that needs to be read from beginning to end because the author is able to transform emotional anguish, warm-heartedness and tomfooleries into pure wisdom. In my hand I hold a future classic, which, like Mozart's Requiem, was completed by others. To anyone about to read Barbro Klein's book *I tosaforornas värld*, I can say, in the words of the Orthodox priest before he reads the sacred texts: "Wisdom – stand in awe!"

Sofie Strandén-Backa, Åbo (Turku)

History as a Tourist Attraction

Wiebke Kolbe, *Geschichtstourismus. Theorie – Praxis – Berufsfelder*. Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, Tübingen 2021. 180 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-3-8252-5645-6.

■ The historian Wiebke Kolbe has been professor of history at Lund University since 2012. One of her major research interests is the history of tourism. She has edited a volume on the topic, *Turismhistoria i Norden* (2018) and she chairs the Nordic Network for the History of Tourism, which started in 2015.

This book reviewed here is not about the history of tourism. Instead, it focuses on the aspect of tourism and the tourist industry that concerns visits to historic memorials such as buildings and sites associated with famous historical people and events. The closest equivalent to the German word *Geschichtstourismus* is the term *heritage tourism*. Until the First World War, tourism was a prerogative of the well-off. It was not until the interwar period that mass tourism began to develop.

Kolbe's study focuses in particular on Germany and its historical attractions. The author divides heritage tourism into three areas: visits to cities, visits to regions, and dark tourism.

First the author considers tourist visits to cities (pp. 15–49). Historic buildings are important, but also special events and famous historical persons. It is especially significant if a city is inscribed on Unesco's World Heritage List. Several cities call themselves "Luther cities", primarily to Wittenberg, Eisleben, and Mansfeld, but also Coburg and Worms. When it comes to historic

buildings, the town hall in Münster, where the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, has pride of place. Historical museums and exhibitions are also important destinations. This is particularly true of the European Hansemuseum in Lübeck, which opened in 2015. Among open-air museums, the museum village of Cloppenburg, founded in 1934, is well known. Many cities provide guided tours of important historical sights. Some cities are the venue for famous annual celebrations, the Oktoberfest in Munich being a prominent example. *Kieler Woche* in June is also well known. History makes itself felt particularly when cities hold medieval markets in the style of Medieval Week on Gotland. In 2009 there were more than 900 such markets in Germany. Medieval food is an important feature on these occasions, served in special medieval restaurants. In northern Germany, as in Stockholm, there are also Viking Age restaurants, even though there are no known accounts of meals or recipe books from the Viking Age.

The next chapter deals with heritage tourism in regions outside the cities (pp. 49–65). Castles are important tourist attractions, which often arrange events such as medieval-style tournaments. There are also historic hiking trails for tourists, such as the 400-kilometre *Route Industriekultur* in the Ruhr area.

A third chapter, the largest (pp. 65–135), is devoted to a special category of tourism known as dark tourism, a term coined in England in 1996, geared to places with a dark history of death. These include battlefields, war graves, concentration camps, disaster sites, and so on.

Many of these places have to do with the Nazi era, such as Jewish cemeteries and concentration camps, particularly Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, which was added to the World Heritage List in 1979 and has over two million visitors annually. In Germany there are memorial sites at Buchenwald, Dachau, and Sachsenhausen. Not least among Jews in Israel, there has recently been an expansion in visits to places with a former Jewish population. This has become a form of pilgrimage. An example is the city of Worms, which

had one of the oldest Jewish communities in Germany before the old synagogue was destroyed on the pogrom night of 9 November 1938. A new synagogue was opened in 1961. Since the 1980s, several German cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich have invited persecuted Jewish families to visit the places where their dead relatives once lived. For several years, survivors of death camps also participated in these trips and were able to act as witnesses to the Holocaust for the other people on the trip.

Underground bunkers from the Second World War have also become interesting places to visit. They were built by forced labourers and concentration camp prisoners. The huge Valentin bunker in Bremen was built to house the manufacture of submarines in sections. It opened as *Denkort Bunker Valentin* in 2015. The act of turning bunkers into museums began in Germany only after the fall of the Wall in 1989. The first of these, Bunkermuseum Emden, an air-raid shelter, was opened in 1995. Tourists are shown around the underground passages.

Several places in the former German Democratic Republic are also visited as dark tourism since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. *Museum Haus am Checkpoint Charlie* documents the history of the wall and the many attempts to escape over it. GDR prisons for political prisoners have also become historical memorials for tourists.

A special category of dark tourism in the post-war era concerns memorial sites of terrorist attacks such as that against the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001. Memorial Plaza was opened in 2011 and now has about 6.8 million visitors annually. The names of the 2,983 victims of the attack are engraved on a bronze plaque.

Another special category of dark tourism in recent times comprises the sites of nuclear accidents. The most recent example commemorates the Fukushima disaster in Japan in March 2011. For the last few years there have been organized trips there for foreign tourists. Following the meltdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power station

in Ukraine in April 1986, strict exclusion zones were established that made tourism impossible until the early 2000s. Chernobyl Tours were started in 2008, mainly for foreign tourists.

Because there has been no war on Swedish soil for over two hundred years, since 1814, it is understandable that Sweden does not have the same conditions for dark tourism as Germany and other countries that were involved in the two world wars. Memorial sites from these two wars occupy the major part of Kolbe's survey.

Kolbe's book succeeds in its ambition to inform and instruct. It also mentions future fields of research for students in the field of tourism. The language is clear and explicit, making it easy to follow the author's reasoning. There could have been more pictures of historic tourist attractions, preferably in colour. The book concludes with an extensive international bibliography and a detailed index of topics and places.

The author has produced a comprehensive survey that will be helpful in future research on the history of tourism. The long sections on dark tourism are particularly innovative. As a historian, the author has used written sources throughout, whereas an ethnologist would have conducted field surveys with interviews and observations among tourists to gain information about their intentions and experiences.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Predators and Humans in Historical-Ethnological Light

Teppo Korhonen, Karhuverkosta susipantaan. Karhun ja suden pyynti keskiajalta 2000-luvulle. Summary: From bear net to wolf collar. The hunting of the bear and the wolf from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 21st century. *Kansatieteellinen Arkisto* 62. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 2020, 392 pp.

■ For some fifty years now, Teppo Korhonen, associate professor of ethnology, senior lecturer in Helsinki, has covered many different sectors of Finnish folk culture as a museum researcher, teacher, and author. He combines a careful pres-

entation of historical sources, records in folklore archives, and objects in museums with cultural-analytical aspects of the role of traditions in social change.

He has a great many interesting things to say. The focus is on everyday culture and customs from a functional point of view, but he also considers ideas with a magical and religious background. The historical-comparative method also provides perspectives on present-day culture through the study of various rural themes, such as landscape and ecology, economics, technology and tools, building practices and housing, hunting and trapping culture, but also rituals such as greeting ceremonies. Above all, Korhonen can provide an analysis of the traditions underlying conflicts and decision-making processes where folk customs meet societal practices in a legal and ethical context.

One such topic is the hunting of the large predators in Finland: bear and wolf, lynx, fox, and wolverine. The hunting of these animals is still highly topical today. This is especially true of wolf hunting, which has become a highly politicized and emotional issue, where economics and nature conservation are opposed to each other. The time covered ranges from the Middle Ages to the present, and Korhonen also looks beyond Finland to the rest of Scandinavia and Europe.

In this new book on bear and wolf hunting, Korhonen has structured and analysed a body of material that has been collected over a long time. To some extent that sets its stamp on the book. The study begins as a classic historical ethnography, a rather comprehensive description of the origin and biological context of hunting, the age and spread of hunting methods. It develops into an analysis of the human-animal relationship in contemporary material and mental contexts. Bear and wolf are described here in parallel.

Five themes are highlighted: the character of traditional hunting, the motives for hunting, individual hunting, collective hunting, and the conditions for coexistence between big game animals and humans. The parallel Nordic perspective enriches the text.

There is no shortage of data from earlier times, Korhonen has combed parish histories, statistics, reports, newspapers, oral traditions and folklore, taking in the period from about 1500 to the late nineteenth century. Fictional texts in particular, from fairy tales to novels, could offer material for a separate analysis of how truth, horror, and fantasy are combined. In folk belief, human characteristics are often attributed to animals, as naming practices testify. Hunting stories are a classic literary genre.

The predators are pests that have been a constant nuisance both for rural people and for the local and state power. Known examples of the issue can be found as far back as the royal hunting rights, as in King Kristoffer's national law of 1442, in other legal documents such as court records, in Olaus Magnus's *Historia* from 1555 and Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* from 1678. For the first Finnish ethnographic researchers, with names such as Theodor Schvindt and U. T. Sirelius, hunting was a natural topic. This research led to the definition of active and passive trapping methods, and generated representative museum collections.

The book contains a wealth of details that can make the reading laborious, but it is possible to discern specific lines in the development. The important role of implements and the continuous improvement of techniques, hunting as a male achievement, and the struggle between animals and humans are recurring themes. Korhonen describes nine different hunting methods, from stabbing and slashing weapons to firearms and traps, to poisoning and surrounding.

Another cultural field opened by the book is hunting as a manifestation of power. The social significance and organization of hunting reveals an extensive pattern of state regulations challenged by inherited folk customs and habits. On the question of compensation for losses and bounty payments, the state and local authorities are confronted with the individual hunter and the hunting team as a collective. Hunting as a hierarchical order and folk customs as practice in wild nature are examples of the two different ways in

which power is portrayed: the institutionalized legal system and the symbolism of male achievement. Women have not participated in hunting in the Nordic countries; their task has been to take care of the quarry and prepare the food. On the other hand, teenage children of both sexes have played an important role in herding domesticated animals, a task that has heightened the image of dangerous predators.

In a broader perspective, the struggle for territory stands out as the central theme. Here the animals become a danger to man. Throughout the book there are examples of boundaries between the physical and the mental territory. This also reveals profound mechanisms in the relationship between nature and culture. In ancient times, predators were able to displace entire settlements. In agrarian society, however, the beasts of prey were primarily a danger to cattle, as a map of the amount of cattle killed in 1878 shows (p. 42). In pre-industrial times, people viewed the predators as an inevitable part of the forces of nature that simply had to be accepted. The bear has been regarded as an equal of mankind, and thus viewed more positively than the wolf. Yet the bounty paid for killing bear was larger than that for wolf. It was especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century that people began to see the wolf as a danger to man, an attitude that has created wolf hysteria in modern times. One reason is the articles in the early newspapers about attacks by wolves and accounts of wolves abducting children, narratives in which the wolf takes on almost mythical forms.

In the concluding chapter Korhonen looks at how attitudes towards predators in the twentieth century affected legislation and the discussion of coexistence with nature. The large regional differences in Finland have made the relationship between hunting and nature conservation more problematic. The first hunting ordinance was issued in 1898. A new hunting act came into force in 1934, when biological environmental issues were already being raised. Bear hunting was banned in 1962 and bear become a protected species in 1981. Wolf became a partially protected species in 1974. A new hunting act was passed in 1993

and adapted to EU directives in 1995. Today's issues concern the conservation and regulation of animal populations, hunters' interests, and tourism as a source of livelihood in rural areas. The number of hunters in Finland is about 300,000, or 6% of the population, and about 18,000 of them are under 18. Hunting is still a test of masculinity. Boundaries show the gap between urban and rural; the fear of the bear is greatest in the densely inhabited south-western Finland, smallest in eastern and northern Finland. The place of predators in the material and mental culture has not disappeared, and shifts in the semantic field offer new challenges for ethnological research. The knowledge conveyed by Teppo Korhonen's book provides a stable foundation.

Bo Lönnqvist, Helsingfors

Cultural Heritage Management in Wartime

Mattias Legnér, Värden att värna. Kulturminnesvård som statsintresse i Norden vid tiden för andra världskriget. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2021. 452 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-368-5.

■ On 25 February 2022, the day after Russian forces entered Ukraine, Sveriges Radio reported that staff at the National Museum in the capital Kiev were going to “take the objects, put them in special crates, and carry them down to the basement”. As I was in the process of reading this book, “Values to Protect: Cultural Heritage Management as a State Interest in the Nordic Countries at the Time of the Second World War” by Mattias Legnér, professor of conservation at Uppsala University, the news sounded alarmingly similar to the content of the book. In several respects the Swedish museums acted in the same way then as the Ukrainians are doing now – they took the objects, packed them in crates, and carried them down to the basement. In his study Legnér is interested in how and why cultural heritage came to be perceived as a matter of national interest, the idea that the state has a responsibility to preserve and protect material remains, in connection with the Second World War. What was singled out as especially deserving pro-

tection as war threatened, the process by which particular objects were identified, and the thinking and motives that lay behind this, are questions that, according to Legnér, have only received limited attention in previous research.

The study is based on a broad range of archival material, with the Antiquarian Topographic Archive and the National Heritage Board's archive as the main sources. Of the eight personal files examined, that of Jonny Roosval dominates, and Roosval is the person who recurs most often in the analysis, closely followed by other well-known names in this context such as Sigurd Curman, Andreas Lindblom, Carl Axel Nordman, and a few others. Since Legnér's investigation thus relies heavily on the official heritage authorities' own archives, this reader would have liked to see a reflexive discussion about how the cultural heritage policy of the period, which has resulted in these archives, dictated the conditions for and influenced the cultural heritage analyses that can be performed today.

The book is nicely designed and richly illustrated with well-chosen images. The 452 pages are divided into 15 chapters. A traditional introduction presenting the problems, basic concepts, the state of research, the sources, and so on, is followed by the chapter “Preparations for Aerial Warfare”, which describes the background by outlining the development of the principles of international law and the increasing destructive power of military technology; it was above all the ability of bombers to reach far behind enemy lines that was perceived as a new type of threat to cultural property. The chapter also describes how the Stockholm Museums' Aerial Protection Committee was formed in 1939 with the task of coordinating and leading the work in the capital, as a direct response to the bomb threat. The next chapter, “The Activation of Monument Protection in the Autumn of 1939”, discusses the development of cultural heritage management in Sweden, and the central role that the art historian Jonny Roosval was given, or perhaps rather took upon himself, in the work of protection. The identification of the most valuable objects to be preserved in the

museums is investigated under the heading “The Elite Collections – Defining a National Treasure”, while “Gotland – a Vulnerable Island” describes the great interest that was devoted primarily to the churches on the island by the National Heritage Board and by Roosval himself. The ecclesiastical theme recurs in the chapter “Protective Measures in Ecclesiastical Environments”, where it is very clear how Roosval’s own ecclesiastical interest highlighted the importance of protecting medieval churches. A great deal of space is also devoted to the debate about the statue of Saint George and the Dragon in Storkyrkan in Stockholm. The situation in Finland and the interest that Swedish archivists and museum people showed in this is the topic of chapter 7, “Finland’s Cause 1939–40”. The latter theme is explored in more depth in chapter 9, “Dreams of a Greater Finland 1941–44”. Between these chapters focusing on Finland comes what this reader thinks is the strongest chapter in the book, “The Use of History in Times of Crisis”, which clearly shows how the past was mobilized under the threat of war, in the name of the nation and of Swedishness, based on different ideological and academic stances. The chapter also gives a nuanced description of the ambivalent attitude towards Germany that characterized the art-historical academic environment during the war. The chapter “Urban Buildings and Manor Houses” follows Roosval’s interest in these kinds of settings. In the chapter “Occupied Norway” we see that the Nazis’ positive attitude to what was perceived as Norwegian cultural heritage both complicated and contributed to the shaping of cultural heritage management. The situation was partly different in neighbouring Denmark, which is discussed in the chapter “Cultural Heritage Management in Occupied Denmark”, where Legnér argues that the museums resisted Nazification through civil resistance. The book concludes with the three chapters “Private Collections and the Aerial War”, “Experiences Drawn from the War”, and “Concluding Discussion”.

One merit of the book is that it offers a thorough and detailed account of how a group of people involved in cultural heritage management act-

ed during the period in question, and what the corresponding situation was like in Norway, Finland, and Denmark. The language is polished and the source material is well presented and summarized. The descriptions of the events are meticulous and detailed. The strength of the book lies primarily in the fact that new source material is presented and analysed, and I understand that Legnér’s goal is to provide a thorough survey rather than to discuss method or theory. There is relatively little in the way of direct references to or dialogue with other research, but when it occurs – for example, with Alf W. Johansson or Regina Bendix and Valdimar Hafstein – it helps to deepen our understanding of the material.

Legnér convincingly shows how the emerging cultural heritage management was shaped by a few dominant men, whose room for manoeuvre and influence were strengthened by the threat of war. I also find it interesting that Legnér notes that (in Sweden) it was in reality the protective measures themselves that often entailed risks and actual damage to the objects – dismantling and moving the objects involved some wear and tear, and often the climatic conditions were substandard in the shelters and other places to which the objects were evacuated. There are really fascinating discussions showing how different notions of what was Swedish were invoked in support of different preservation and protection strategies. Contacts across Nordic national borders also deserve their place in the survey, as a constructive contribution to the historiography of cultural heritage management.

The presentation stays close to the sources and often the author acts as an interpreter for the various actors, which gives colour and a sense of presence to the text. A marginal objection is that this stylistic device sometimes makes it difficult for this reader to determine what is the source’s attitude or opinion, and what is Legnér’s own position. A more general objection is that the author’s account sometimes becomes so detailed that it obscures the bigger patterns. In some cases one gets the impression that it is the material, rather than the questions, that guided the investigation.

For example, is it important that we should be told the name of the only employee at Skansen trained to drive a lorry, just because it is included in the sources? More analytical preparatory work and a more pedagogical and filtered presentation of the material would probably have brought out the point of the different examples more clearly.

There are some repetitions in the text. Perhaps the repetitive element can be blamed on what is described. The cultural heritage people acted under the threat of war on the basis of a couple of simple set principles: it was essential to identify an elite collection, to find a safe place for it in the museum building or evacuate it to distant places or nearby shelters. Built environments deserving protection had to be documented by surveying and photography and/or barricaded with sandbags or other protective material. All this had to be done to a tight schedule and with scant financial resources. How these principles were translated into action is described in a range of examples, which in the long run becomes somewhat repetitive.

In other cases sentences can recur almost word for word. On page 34, for example, we read: "It turned out not to be sufficient to establish a convention. The monuments also needed to be actively protected and respected if the convention was to have any effect", while on page 65 it says: "It was thus not sufficient to establish a convention – monuments needed to be actively protected and respected if the convention was to have any effect." In this and several similar cases, the text would have benefited from more attention on the part of the editor, which might also have made the now voluminous text a little more manageable.

In the academic debate there is a dividing line between considering cultural heritage management as an institution that, through its structures, ideas, and actors, so to speak, produces cultural heritage, and a perspective that views the cultural heritage (preferably in the singular) as more or less given and the importance of cultural heritage management is investigated and assessed according to its ability to protect this heritage. It is difficult to clearly place the present book in either of

these camps. Despite references to representatives of the former outlook, such as Regina Bendix and Valdimar Hafstein, I regard some of Legnér's interpretations as belonging to the latter. As an ethnologist, I would have liked Legnér to dwell even more clearly on the performative aspect of the actions of those involved, i.e. that the actors produced certain objects and phenomena as cultural heritage through their observation, evaluation, and use. It would also be interesting if the author had considered what was *not* selected as elite cultural heritage.

The outcome of an analysis depends heavily on the concepts that are applied. Those presented in the introduction are "monument", "cultural property", and "cultural heritage". "Monument" was the term used at the time to describe buildings and archives and libraries, while "cultural property" has been borrowed from the later convention terminology employed by UNESCO to describe material expressions – "objects, documents, and books" – representing a group of people. "Cultural heritage" is used as a broader concept also including traditions and customs. The source of the above criticism is possibly a result of the fact that it is this conceptual apparatus, sticking close to the practice, that has shaped the study. By basing the study on the terms used by cultural heritage people themselves, the perspective becomes to some extent that of these individuals and not of the critically reflective cultural analyst.

An important point in the book is that it shows with the aid of concrete examples how the threat of war accentuated what has been described by Laurajane Smith as an authorized heritage discourse, i.e. a mindset (and the healing practices that accompany it) that primarily identifies Western, material, privileged, and white masculine values as cultural heritage. In Legnér's analysis, the nationalistic aspect of this is very clear. On the other hand, aspects of power such as race, class, and perhaps above all gender are considered to a limited extent, which is a pity. In the few examples where a gender aspect is mentioned at all, it is about women, and the interpretations are unfortunately rather flat. Without insisting that all

research should be based on well-developed gender theory, one could have wished for a slightly more updated and nuanced approach by a professor of conservation.

To return to the news reports on 4 March 2022, the main story in the culture news programme “Kulturnytt” on P1, Sveriges Radio, with a clear reference to the war in Ukraine, is that Sweden is not well prepared to protect cultural heritage in the event of war: only one in four museums has drawn up a disaster plan. History is often cited as a source of knowledge about how contemporary challenges can be faced. In the concluding chapter Legnér notes that “propaganda, looting, vandalism, and terror” were a greater threat to the objects and buildings that were identified as worthy of protection than aerial warfare, and that it is probably the same today.

Despite the criticisms I have put forward, Legnér has undoubtedly written an ambitious, relevant, and up-to-date book that will certainly deserve a place on reading lists for courses in cultural heritage management all over Sweden for a long time to come.

Mattias Frihammar, Stockholm

Fifty Shades of Class

Britta Lundgren, Hildur Kalman, Ann Öhman & Annelie Bränström-Öhman, Möjligheter och mellanrum. Berättelser om genus och akademiska livslopp. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2020. 277 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-327-2.

■ Is it a collection of autobiographies? Is it a case study collection? Is it a research anthology? After reading Lundgren, Kalman, Öhman and Bränström-Öhman’s book I am tempted to say “yes” to all these questions. The title can be translated as *Opportunities and in-between spaces: Stories about gender and academic life courses*. It consists of five parts. First, the introduction sets the stage. Here, the authors present themselves as professors at Umeå University different academic backgrounds, with a common interest in gender studies. After collaborating on the project

Challenging Gender, the four of them continued to meet up to discuss their own experiences as women academics from northern Sweden.

The rest of the book consists of four essays, one from each of the four writers, all of them ending with a corresponding bibliography.

Britta Lundgren, like the other three, uses personal experiences to highlight and explore changes in society. Lundgren begins her journey with old skis on very young feet, imagining herself as a child, thus illustrating how we always tell stories about the past through lenses of today. Through an auto-ethnographical approach, her own experience becomes raw material for the study of a career trajectory. She situates her theoretical position to use herself as source and research material, carefully making sure it is useful for and grounded in the research project. Through this, she implies a certain criticism of the cultural analysis approach, indicating that drawing big lines can be supplemented by individual experience.

Hildur Kalman employs the notion of the alternative curriculum vitae in her approach. What has led her to the place she is now, which is not usually listed in a CV? This notion, combined with her reading activities, sets the stage for her account of life. She has gone where her interests have taken her, while also seeking wages, “att ha ett arbete [to have a job]”, as she writes, ever so pragmatically (p. 92). Like Lundgren, Kalman was born in the 1950s and describes growing up, reflecting on her memories through academic tools. Her Icelandic connection is important to her, and tales of her long-gone relatives indicate how the stories we share shape our experiences in the present. She seems to take it for granted that her Icelandic background is known by the reader. However, I would have liked to see it spelt out more clearly early in the text.

Like Lundgren, Ann Öhman begins with a tale told in the third person. But she begins with the ceremony where she became a professor in 2013. Images of class are evident, when she draws on her parents’ pride combined with awkwardness in the situation of the ceremony. Her perspective is explicitly, like the others, that gender and class

provide lenses through which her personal account is described and analysed, but also the changing phases of life give insight and understanding. In one example her working-class parents helped the young Öhman and her boyfriend redecorate their new apartment in a style not to her parents own liking. Looking back, Öhman concludes this section of her story with her mother's embroidered picture of red farmhouses and sheep. It still hangs on Öhman's wall as she writes.

Annelie Bränström-Öhman's essay is organized with a prologue, two main parts and a very short epilogue. In the prologue she continues situating the project and the theoretical perspective she writes from, much like the others. In the first of the main parts, she describes her time as a child and young woman in school, using separate paragraphs to describe memories from her childhood, but in first-person narratives instead of third-person as used by Lundgren and Öhman. The materiality of clothing comes through in the description of her mother's sewing. In the second main part, Bränström-Öhman focuses on items of clothing. Some represent class journeys but also gender, for example her father's and grandfather's farmer's and working-class clothes that she used as a student. Later, other items of clothing say something about the life of women academics, such as a pair of black pumps inherited from the previous owner of her office and the French feminist and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir's red bathrobe that Beauvoir often wore while writing. Through these items Bränström-Öhman reflects on choices and experiences, on gender and class.

Through individual and collective memory work Lundgren, Kalman, Öhman and Bränström-Öhman have drawn on their own life trajectories combined with research literature and theory to understand academic life for women during their lifetimes, often beginning with their primary school years and their family backgrounds. Gender and the class journey, or rather the nuances class may play, is a common topic in the four chapters. They display their stories with the larger narrative of the class journey close at hand and show how categorizations such as gender and

class provide opportunities and lack of opportunities.

Lundgren and Öhman include short stories with third-person descriptions of selected childhood memories in their essays. It felt a little strange to begin with, and I worried that these passages of the texts would become awkward. However, both have incorporated the different genres – voices, so to speak – well, drawing on the experiences described, both as illustrations of set moments in time (Lundgren skiing as a preschooler, Öhman as a young adult and student) and drawing lines throughout their careers.

Some paragraphs are rather pregnant with meaning, such as Öhman's four sentences about avoiding conflicts in academia without acting cowardly. Between the lines this is clearly meaningful! Further, Lundgren and Kalman explicitly state that they have chosen to write about certain topics and not about others. The life of women academics from the 1970s onwards include me-too situations and locked doors due to gender, class and background. But most of these situations and locked doors are merely hinted at, a conscious choice made by the four women. Personally, I would have liked to hear more about these experiences, but this book is limited in size, and I understand the decision to mention without detailing that their journeys also contain these kinds of episodes. Like their actual pregnancies, they are briefly mentioned, but not very important for the plots in the essays.

If I could have wished for one change, it would have been more information about *when* they did what they did, and in what order. Sometimes I find myself confused. They all have some kind of chronology in their essay within sections, but in the transition to the next section it is not clear when that happened in relation to the section before. I am left wondering and long for dates.

I do not long for dates in Bränström-Öhman's text, though. She spends more time on each section, and under each headline, and meanders through the points she makes. Chronology is not as important here, and when she jumps in time I follow because the connections she makes are not

as dependent on when something happened as in the other essays.

Belonging to another generation of women academics, for me the stories told here are both familiar and unfamiliar at the same time. They have taken their own time – to think, to remember, to discuss and reflect in a project driven by their own reflections. They have been able to reflect, to discuss, to write together and to write differently according to their own voices and their own life choices, making a clear case that stories of individuals taken together give a potentially thicker description of the topic in question.

Line Grønstad, Bergen

A Hundred Years of Nordic Ethnology at Åbo Akademi, Finland

Nordisk etnologi 1921–2021. Ett ämne i rörelse. Fredrik Nilsson & Anna-Maria Åström (eds.). Åbo Akademi Förlag, Åbo 2021. 447 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-765-998-7.

■ Finland was proclaimed an independent nation by the Finnish Diet on 6 December 1917. The Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority (about 13 per cent at the beginning of the twentieth century) were granted equal rights. A Language Act of 1919 made Swedish an official language alongside Finnish. To meet the needs of higher education for Finland's Swedes, Åbo Akademi was founded in 1918 and inaugurated in 1919. Nordic cultural history and folk-life studies became a separate university subject in 1921. The chair was named the Kiseleff professorship after the donor, Feodor Kiseleff (1852–1922), with Gabriel Nikander as the first incumbent. The important ethnologist journal *Budkavlen*, published at Åbo Akademi, celebrates its centennial in 2022.

The volume reviewed here presents and analyses the evolution of the subject over the last hundred years, down to the present day. The designation of the subject was changed to Nordic Ethnology in 1974, which means that the title of the book, *Nordisk etnologi 1921–2021*, is slightly

misleading. When I first heard about the book, I imagined that the authors would elucidate the development of ethnology in the Nordic countries and not just at Åbo Akademi. The title ought to have indicated that the book is about Nordic ethnology as a university discipline at Åbo Akademi.

The volume is edited by Fredrik Nilsson, professor of Nordic ethnology since 2019, and Anna-Maria Åström, who was professor 2000–2015. These two editors have written four essays each and two essays together. In addition, there are contributions from a further thirteen authors who have been associated with the subject of ethnology at this university, as teachers and researchers.

During the hundred years of its existence, the subject has had five full professors, namely, Gabriel Nikander 1921–1952, Helmer Tegengren 1953–1971, Nils Storå 1972–1999, Anna-Maria Åström 2000–2015, and Fredrik Nilsson 2019–.

Fredrik Nilsson has written a long article about the pioneer Gabriel Nikander (pp. 293–323), whom he calls a socially oriented ethnologist. After Finland gained its independence, it was natural to assert national aspects in a subject like ethnology. Nikander himself was politically active, working to safeguard the position of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. At the same time, he tried to keep scholarship and politics separate in his research. He combined ethnographic field expeditions with historical studies. The everyday life of the peasantry was at the centre of his studies, but he would also explore manorial culture. He found it important to collect extensive empirical evidence and practise source criticism. Nikander was at once a positivist and a diffusionist. In his view, culture was shaped by economic conditions, not by hereditary predispositions or any supposed national character. Nikander was ambivalent about racial biology, which gained some inroads into ethnology in the 1920s and 1930s.

Helmer Tegengren's research as professor of ethnology is analysed in an essay that Fredrik Nilsson and Anna-Maria Åström have written together (pp. 35–50). Whereas Nikander had worked closely with the Archives of the Swedish Literature Society (SLS) in Helsinki, from 1937

the Archive of Folk Culture, Tegengren started his own archive in 1953 under the name of the Department of Cultural History at Åbo Akademi University (Kulturhistoriska institutionen vid Åbo Akademi, KIVÅ). The archive built up a large network of local informants in Swedish-speaking districts. Today it is called *Kulturvetenskapliga arkivet Cultura*. Tegengren was a diffusionist like Nikander, and took part in the work on an atlas of folk culture that was being done in Sweden. In addition, he introduced studies of early Sami culture.

The third professor, Nils Storå, has written a chapter on the growth of ethnology at Åbo Akademi until he himself became a professor in 1972 (pp. 51–74). He divides the development of the subject into five main spheres: antiquarian ethnology, linguistic ethnology, regional ethnology, cultural-historical ethnology, and anthropological ethnology.

Storå continued Tegengren's research on Sami culture when he wrote about the funeral practices of the Skolt Sami. He also showed great interest in the archipelago and actively participated in the work of the Archipelago Institute at Åbo Akademi, founded in 1977, which publishes the journal *Skärgård*. There was also active cooperation with the Maritime Museum, founded at Åbo Akademi in 1936 (since 1999 a university institute), during Nils Storå's time as professor (pp. 235–256). Fieldwork was carried out in collaboration. I myself participated in this fieldwork in 1980 and 1983, when the topic was cultural encounters between summer guests and the permanent residents of the archipelago. In 2003, Storå published a book about fishing and its culture in Åland.

The fourth professor, Anna-Maria Åström, has written three chapters on research interests and teaching during her time at Åbo Akademi, 2000–2015 (pp. 75–110, 111–138, and 401–433). She draws attention to new theoretical approaches in research and the increased focus on urban culture, as well as on cultural heritage, contemporary studies, and to some extent ethnicity. A central publication in these areas was the volume *Stadens hjärta: Tätta ytor och symboliska element i nuti-*

da nordiska städer (The Heart of the City: Dense Spaces and Symbolic Elements in Contemporary Nordic Cities), edited by Åström and Jonas Lillqvist in 2012.

One scholar who has studied ethnicity is Anna-Liisa Kuczynski, who has written a chapter about cultural encounters and ethnic identity (pp. 349–360). In 2017 she presented her doctoral dissertation on Polish immigrants and their families in the Åbo area, entitled *Minoritetsgrupper och möten i trängda situationer* (Minority Groups and Cultural Encounters in Tense Situations).

Anna-Maria Åström has written a chapter about the manorial studies that were initiated by Gabriel Nikander and continued by his daughter Ragna Ahlbäck, along with Irja Sahlberg, Bo Lönnqvist, and not least Åström herself (pp. 325–348). Her doctoral dissertation from 1993 is entitled *Sockenboarne: Herrgårdskultur i Savolax 1790–1850* (The Parishioners: Manorial Culture in Savolax 1790–1850). The focus was on the social environment of the manors, particularly highlighting the living conditions of the labourers (*statare*).

Since 1926, the subject of ethnology at Åbo Akademi University has had folkloristics as a very close neighbour. Fredrik Nilsson devotes a chapter (pp. 173–193) to the intersection of these two disciplines. In a chapter written by Nilsson together with Blanka Henriksson, the authors examine the collaboration that has occurred. They speak of the “twin souls of tradition studies” (pp. 195–214). The journal *Budkavlen*, for which Åbo Akademi has been responsible since 1927, has been shared by both subjects.

Helena Ruotsala, professor of ethnology at the Finnish university in Åbo/Turku, Turun Yliopisto, raises the question of what it means that there have been two disciplines of ethnology in the same city since 1958 (pp. 257–267). Ilmar Talve, who was educated in Sweden, became the first professor of Finnish and comparative ethnology in 1962 and occupied the chair until 1986. He focused on a form of social ethnology oriented to the present day. Urban ethnology, along with cultural heritage and border studies, as well as cultural analysis,

have recently been important ethnological topics at both the Finnish university and Åbo Akademi.

In the final chapter, Fredrik Nilsson proceeds from the subtitle of the book, “A Subject in Motion” (pp. 435–444). He shows that there has been long-term continuity during the past hundred years, but also change. Against this background, I think that the subtitle is somewhat misleading and should instead have been “Continuity and Change in a Subject”. The word “motion” does not include continuity.

To sum up, I would say that this thick yet highly readable volume gives very good insight into how a university subject develops over a long period of time while still retaining some of its original roots. I am reminded of my own fieldwork in Swedish-speaking coastal areas of Finland with Nils Storå, Bo Lönnqvist, and Anna-Maria Åström. I also became acquainted with the scholarly work of Anna-Maria Åström and Fredrik Nilsson when I was external expert for the appointment of professor of Nordic ethnology at Åbo Akademi in both 1998 and 2018.

One thing that I lack in the book is information about the international contacts with German-speaking ethnology that have been significant, not least for Anna-Maria Åström but also for Ulrika Wolf-Knuts in the Department of Folkloristics. I have met them at several of the biennial German ethnological congresses. Åström, like myself, has written several reports from these congresses.

It is pleasing that the history of ethnology in the Nordic countries now has an important contribution through this volume.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Interior Decoration Culture in Hälsingland

Hälsinglands inredningskultur. Ingalill Nyström, Anneli Palmköld & Johan Knutsson (eds.). Kriterium vol. 23. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2021. 338 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-356-2.

■ This volume of studies on Hälsingland’s interior decoration culture came about as a conse-

quence of the inscription of seven Hälsingland farms on UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 2012. The book is the result of an interdisciplinary research project “Decorated Interiors in Hälsingland Farms: A Holistic Study of a Cultural-Historical World Heritage”, funded by the Swedish Research Council 2014–2017.

The stated aim of the project is to gain new knowledge about paints, dyes, pigments, painting techniques, and the surfaces to which paints were applied, as well as patterned textiles in the Hälsingland farms. The preface states that the common thread in the volume is paints and dyes, and that the aim is to identify objects and implements, to elucidate craft techniques and contexts, and to gain a better understanding of the trade in raw materials and access to painting supplies at the time.

The volume has three main editors: Johan Knutsson, art historian and professor of furniture culture at Linköping University and Nordiska Museet, Ingalill Nyström, associate professor and lecturer in conservation at the Department of Cultural Conservation at Gothenburg University, and from the same place Professor Anneli Palmköld, an ethnologist who has especially studied the textile cultural heritage. In addition, there are contributions by six scientists and conservators as well as two local professionals, Anders Assis from Ljusdalsbygden Museum and Lars Nylander from Hälsingland Museum. Not least of all, many individuals, cultural heritage institutions, and local history museums have contributed information in the field.

The volume is divided into three main sections. In section I, “Introduction”, the three editors present the topic of *Hälsingland farms*, the designation for two-storey farmhouses with lavishly decorated interiors, which were a consequence of the good income to be made from growing flax in the years 1750–1850. The term has been used by tourist associations, ethnologists, and museum people since the beginning of the twentieth century, when distinctive Swedish regions, folk-art provinces and characteristic mentalities, *själsarter*, were important ingredients in the creation of a common national identity.

These particularly ornate farms caught UNESCO's interest. The nomination as a World Heritage site states that the farms "constitute the peak of this cultural expression, are outstanding examples of how independent farmers within a small geographical area combined a highly developed building tradition with a rich folk art tradition in the form of decoratively painted interiors especially for celebrations" (p. 32). The selected farms fit into the taxonomy of the World Heritage Convention, which seems to correspond to the paradigm in early folklife studies that focused on the oldest, most spectacular and aesthetic forms of expression in peasant culture. In the description here of the ten-year-process of becoming a World Heritage site, leading to the nomination in 2012, however, it is pointed out that the Hälsingland farm should not only be seen as a decorated farmhouse, but as a complete square farmyard, an agricultural property. There were otherwise decorated log-built double-houses, *parstugor*, in Hälsingland before 1800 and decorated farmhouses after 1870. Also, the Hälsingland farms do not in fact represent a uniform pictorial culture. This is an interesting dilemma that is probably common when UNESCO nominates particularly interesting examples of folk culture as material and intangible cultural heritage. Remarkably, one effect of UNESCO's nomination of the Hälsingland farms was that this particular focus was used in identity politics and served to benefit regional and local development!

In subsection I.3, the three editors outline humanistic theories of folk interior decoration culture and folk art. Where researchers were previously interested in patterns of diffusion, cultural boundaries, and cultural fixation, the focus in this volume is on network relationships between craftsmen and what the history of consumption tells about trade relations with new possibilities for paints and materials. Compared to previous almost deterministic classifications of interior decoration, the project emphasizes that what humans create is unpredictable and that the influence of materials, techniques, and functions must be balanced against the significance of "free will". It is

stated that both the producers' and the consumers' attitudes and values are relevant to the book, indeed indispensable where folk art is concerned, the art of people *in* the countryside *for* people in the countryside, implying that provenance and context are almost non-existent. Other methods in the history of style, concerning stylistic combinations and anachronisms, must then be used when the information has to be sought in the object itself. "By proceeding from a craft perspective, we have focused in the project on the actual doing and what happened when the interior decoration culture was created and shaped. [...] Because we ourselves have personal experience of practising handicraft, we have been able to change perspectives between researching in, through, and about craft." This is called *connoisseurship analysis* or *tactile seeing* (pp. 42f, 70f).

In Section II, "Aesthetic Expressions in Painting and Textiles", the three editors identify different schools and the different known craftsmen, whether trained in the guild or not. The methods of cultural history and art history are employed within the different genres in both churches and farms. This concerns wall and ceiling decorations with figurative painting, but also painted furniture and patterned textiles. Professionals from Hälsingland's museums then present known and unknown painters on the basis of the stylistic features of the different parishes (fig. 6, p. 268). There is particular focus on links between craftsmen, also in other parts of Sweden, especially Dalarna, and it is suggested that the distinctive "Dalarna painting" actually originated in Hälsingland (pp. 118f). We hear about Gustav Reuter and his wife Brita Johansdotter Klingström from the Dellen area, who formed a school where Erik *Snickarmålarn* Ersson was the most famous. His works in 1750 are nicely listed in Table 1 (p. 90). There is a fascinating elucidation of "traditions" such as *Ädelmåleri* as well as works by *Blåmålar*en, who may in reality have been Måx Jonas Andersson and his wife Karin Matsdotter from Dalarna.

Subsection II.7 presents textiles from private and public collections: weaving, lace, and embroi-

dery in the form of cushion covers, hanging sheets, bedspreads sewn or woven from rags, and so on. A characteristic of the large collections, which especially the pioneer of textile handicraft Lilli Zickerman accumulated, was that the interest was focused on how they were actually made, i.e., the various patterns and local techniques; in the case of embroidery the different stitches, such as birch-bark stitch, cross-stitch, tassel stitch, and long stitch, the later known as Järvsö stitch and Delsbo stitch. The section concludes that there was not only an early focus on pattern types as an expression of female skill, but also on the individual woman's ability to create variation through available techniques, materials, and colours (pp. 190f, 216).

Section III, "Material and Technique", presents the possibilities of actually identifying paintings and textiles using advanced scientific methods through ATSR, Art Technological Source Research (p. 221). This section is very important, although it requires considerable prior knowledge to understand. However, good information is provided about materials, such as the properties and uses of different types of wood, and about the acquisition and production of textiles and paper. In addition, subsection 3.3, about the manufacture, distribution, and use of pigments, informs us about the occurrence of inorganic pigments such as earth dyes, mineral dyes, and organic dyes. There is a particularly interesting account of the use of madder to produce Turkish red, and a description of blue pigmentation with woad, and after the seventeenth century also with the exotic indigo. Surprisingly, both woad-indigo and madder-lake were used as paint pigments. Also interesting is the presentation of a range of paint-related goods sold by merchants in Hälsingland in the period 1780–1850, which have been tested in the analyses and dating methods of the research project (table 2, pp. 271f). Analyses of pigments are also cited as some of the main achievements of the research project for the identification of objects. For example, that the pigments of the eighteenth century were primarily earth dyes such as ochre, and vegetable dyes such as indigo, in addition to lampblack and chalk, perhaps also cinnabar, red

lead, white lead, massicot, and Prussian blue. The nineteenth century brought additional pigments: chrome yellow, cinnabar green, Schweinfurter green, and ultramarine blue.

Subsection III.5 presents the results of the art-technological studies of the decorative painters and the schools in Delsbo, Ljusdal, Forsa, and Järvsö, so that they can be more exactly identified in antiquarian work, for example, at the farm moved from Delsbo to Skansen in Stockholm (p. 303). The different practices are distinguished with the aid of ATSR. This can show, for example, whether the decoration was done by trained painters using advanced colour variations and techniques such as marbling, graining, and gilding, or whether the painters used templates, painted in demarcated colour fields, and used easily available pigments. It is interesting that hitherto unknown painters are brought to light on a par with the better-known names to whom a great many works have been "attributed" over the years.

This book is packed with interesting and up-to-date information, especially for museum people who work with concrete objects for purposes of conservation or mediation. It is good – and rare in today's specialist literature – to be able to read about concrete topics such as materials, shapes, colours, crafts, and stylistic features and, not least of all, to be shown the pitfalls and useful tools in the identification of objects. The book gives a good impression of how complex and resource-intensive it is to pursue *holistic* research on artefacts, and how nuanced it ought to be when other sources are limited. However, the combination of the two methods of analysis, each with its own "language", does have the disadvantage that some repetitions occur, despite good summaries in places amidst the wealth of detail. The in-depth interdisciplinary studies are performed somewhat at the expense of the broader foundation in cultural history and the context of human lives and living conditions in Hälsingland as a background to the special *culture* of interior decoration which the title suggests.

The book is thoroughly illustrated, primarily with photographs of the individual objects and

relevant models that are discussed. In addition, there are photographs of work tasks and close-ups from the conservation workshop.

All in all, this is an important interdisciplinary introduction to nuanced object studies in a limited field, with up-to-date and new methods and viewpoints – and with broader perspectives.

Mette E. Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Ærøskøbing

Collaboration in Arctic Research

Collaborative Research Methods in the Arctic. Experiences from Greenland. Anne Merrild Hansen and Carina Ren (eds.). Routledge Research in Polar Regions, Routledge, Abingdon 2021. 159 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-0-367-46755-5.

■ With interest in the Arctic and Antarctic growing, this specific but timely book is a worthwhile read even for those whose research interests do not directly concern the polar regions. Why so? Because it challenges conventional ways of doing research, insisting on using collaboration to foreground new voices and to highlight the concerns and practices of local actors. Power is a recurring theme as well. On the book's first page, the book's editors – professor of planning and impact assessment in the Arctic, Anne Merrild Hansen (Aalborg University) and associate professor of tourism and cultural innovation in the Arctic, Carina Ren (Aalborg University) – state:

“Research-driven knowledge is informing decisions worldwide on actions and the prioritization of investments, strategies, attitudes, and approaches to the Arctic. While this interest might be seen as a positive development in learning more about the region, this knowledge is by no means ‘innocent’. Those who define the research topics, methodologies, interpretations, and conclusions hold the power to influence decision-making” (p. 1).

In other words, knowledge, methods, and collaborations are tools of power. Because the polar regions are contested geopolitical territories, an awareness of this fact is all the more important, not least because local actors may not have any-

where else to go if they cannot participate in the negotiations that will determine the future of their regions and living conditions.

The worst offenders, as all the book's contributors agree, are research methods that endorse “hit-and-run” or “fly-in/fly-out” practices in which academics arrive at the unexplored periphery to collect data from the “exotic” field, then return to the ivory tower to process the gathered data, propose hypotheses, deliver lectures for their peers, and ultimately utilize the knowledge gained for the imagined benefit of humanity.

The book seeks to present a range of collaborative alternatives to this widespread methodological practice in the hopes of consigning it to the past. In the Arctic regions of Canada and Alaska, collaborative practices are now widespread following the introduction of the First Nations OCAP policy – ownership, control, access, and possession – around the start of the 21st century. These principles enshrine the rights of indigenous people to their data, their stories and their future in the territories to which they belong.

As the book explains, the situation in Greenland is different, because the OCAP policy does not yet apply. Thus, the authors' mission is to bring attention to how new research methods can be implemented in Greenland, using collaboration to make arctic research truly relevant.

The book consists of eleven chapters written by scholars interested in understanding Greenland from various fields of study – medicine, environmental assessment, tourism studies, ethnology, law, business management – all with a common affiliation to Aalborg University and its Centre for Innovation and Research in Culture and Living in the Arctic (CIRCLA).

Aalborg University's role in bringing the book's contributing scholars together is explained by its embrace of problem-based learning and collaborative research that dates to the institution's founding in 1974. Furthermore, the university has long-established ties with the country, strengthened by Aalborg's historic role as the Greenland shipping harbour in Denmark as well as its status as a sister city of Nuuk, the nation's capital.

In the course of the book, the reader is introduced to various experiences of collaborative research methods. Concepts such as critical proximity, life mapping, action research, Arctic auto-ethnography, and co-creation are highlighted, and the authors demonstrate how these can be valuable approaches for generating important knowledge that can be used to inform the decisions that will affect the future of Arctic communities.

The most striking chapter of the book, however, is one entitled “Telling the good story: A conversation with Minik Rosing on research collaboration and research in Greenland”. Rosing is a respected Greenlandic geologist and professor at the University of Copenhagen. His conversation with Anne Merrild Hansen explores topics like the nature of research, the role of the engaged researcher, how research can shape the future, and the importance of indigenous knowledge.

Rosing declares in a very honest way that the primary reason we do research is to satisfy our curiosity. In this way, he argues, research is not first and foremost about power – an idea that was refreshing to read. To Rosing, curiosity is a key part of human nature, and research ought not necessarily to be done to accomplish a specific purpose. But when researchers discover something of importance to others, they should feel obliged to pass it on – to tell the good story. And according to Rosing, the good story requires engagement, interaction, the ability to look and listen with an open mind, and the desire to explore and seek further understanding of the world.

The reason this chapter is so striking may be its simple conversational form, and Rosing’s way of talking about research that makes it clear how it must rely on an ethos of respect, a belief in curiosity, and the innate value of having and sharing knowledge.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Settlers of the Swedish Wilderness

Eero Sappinen, Värmlannin metsäsuomalaiset. Asutushistoriasta, agraarista kulttuurista ja muutoksesta. Siirtolaisinstituutti, Turku 2019. 354 pp. Ill.

ISBN 978-952-7167-63-2 (print). ISSN 2343-3485 (online).

■ The Finns who emigrated from Finland (mostly the Savonia area) to the forests of Central Scandinavia during the late 1500s and until the mid-1600s are referred to as Forest Finns. The main livelihood in Savonia was slash-and-burn agriculture, which in the 1500s led to the formation of a large group of poor workers who lacked sufficient income and had a lower social status than regular peasants. As the number of the poor increased, overcrowding started to unravel into different directions and fuelled a mass migration to Sweden. Other factors that have been seen as obvious reasons for migrating include incessant wars, bad harvests, epidemics, and the decreasing number of forests suitable for burn-clearing. The Swedes also practised some burn-clearing, but the vast Swedish forest wilderness still provided better opportunities for the livelihood than Savonia. However, there is no consensus regarding the interpretation that the Forest Finns were induced to migrate by the pro-settlement policies of the Swedish central government (especially Charles IX, 1550–1611). The migration did begin during Charles IX’s rule and continued during the reigns of Gustav II Adolf (King of Sweden 1611–1632) and Queen Christina (1632–1654). According to Eero Sappinen, who has researched the Värmland Forest Finns, the commonly expressed idea that the peasant uprising (1596–1597), the Cudgel War, kicked off the migration is false. Migration already had started about twenty years before the war.

In Sweden, the Savonian settlers spread out from the central and northern parts of the country all the way up to Swedish Lapland. Sappinen’s research focuses on Värmland, which housed the largest population of Forest Finns and where their language and culture were preserved longest. Sappinen recounts that his enthusiasm for studying the Värmland Forest Finns was sparked after he delved into the extensive oral history material compiled and gifted to the University of Turku Department of Ethnology by Ilmar Talve. Most of

the material consists of copies of oral history material collected in the 1930s and stored in Swedish and Norwegian archives. Additionally, Talve himself also collected comprehensive fieldwork material in Värmland in the 1940s and 1950s.

Only rough estimates can be made of the exact number of Forest Finns throughout different times. Sappinen mentions that Finnish historian Veijo Salonheimo concluded that 1,660 Forest Finns migrated from Finland during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and of these, 484 headed to Värmland. Estimates of the number of Forest Finns and their descendants during different centuries range from several thousand up to 40,000. According to Sappinen, only a few thousand of them were present in the early nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of Finnish-speaking Forest Finns was down to 600–700. Sappinen states that estimating the number of Forest Finns is made problematic by the definition of a Forest Finn; is knowing the Finnish language enough of a criterion or should other specifically Finnish characteristics be used as well?

Carl Axel Gottlund (1796–1875), an innovator of the Finnish language and collector of folk poetry and folklore, is credited as the “discoverer” of the Forest Finns living deep in the woods. He highlighted the poor financial and social standing of the Forest Finns and tried to improve the status of the Finnish language. Finnish linguists and ethnologists took an interest in Forest Finns in the late nineteenth century, attempting to use their culture as a means to determine the age of different cultural phenomena. It was considered that this method could show cultural characteristics of Forest Finns already appearing in Savonia in the seventeenth century. Subsequently, research has been conducted in Finland on the history of Forest Finn settlement and from where in Finland their ancestors started out for Sweden. Surname research has been used as a method to locate Forest Finns’ ancestral regions. Thanks to Gottlund, information on the surnames of many Värmland Forest Finns has been preserved. As he travelled around Värmland, he recorded the Finnish sur-

names of known Finns in parish registers, next to their Swedish names.

According to Sappinen, much has been written about Forest Finns, but the amount of academic research is unfortunately small. He refers to Ilmar Talve, who states that Swedish and Norwegian studies on Forest Finns have concentrated on the differences between them and the native population. Sappinen also wanted to describe the everyday life of Forest Finns, changes in it, and the societal shifts that influenced those changes. My understanding is that Sappinen also wanted to parallel the characteristics of the Forest Finns’ lifestyle and culture with the cultural heritage they brought with them as they emigrated to Sweden. Sappinen’s book is a comprehensive, thorough, and detailed description of the Forest Finns’ cultural features of burn-clearing, animal husbandry, hunting, field cultivation, construction, traditional food culture, magic, and beliefs. Since the book’s contents are diverse and abundant, I will focus on just a few of the cultural characteristics that describe and distinguish the Finnishness of the Värmland Forest Finns.

The most significant prerequisite for the Forest Finn migration was the skill of burn-clearing coniferous forests. The Finns brought this burn-clearing method with them to Sweden. When the Finns arrived in Värmland, significant iron production was already present, providing a major source of income for the government. The Finnish immigrants were first regarded as welcome taxpayers who could populate the wastelands filled with coniferous forests. Attitudes began to change when the ironworks started requiring increasing amounts of charcoal, which created competition with the Finnish burn-clearers. In the seventeenth century, the Swedish government issued several forest ordinances prohibiting burn-clearing in regions of mining and ironworks. The punishments for unauthorized burn-clearing were strict and could lead to evictions, confiscation of crops, or even destruction of crofts. Keeping one’s croft required, among other things, a sufficient amount of connected arable fields and meadowland. This was done to make the Finns settle in one place and earn

their livelihood by tillage and animal husbandry. Slash-and-burn agriculture became more difficult, and its prohibition around the Värmland ironworks fuelled migration to western and northern areas of Värmland as well as later to Norwegian woodlands. Some Värmland Forest Finns emigrated all the way to America already in the 1600s. By the mid-1600s, migration from Savonia to Värmland came to an end completely. On the other hand, ironworks, mines, and the timber industry also employed Finns, some of whom even made a fortune through timber trading. As slash-and-burn agriculture died out, the Finns' main livelihood started coming from animal husbandry.

Slash-and-burn agriculture has been seen as an ethnic hallmark of the Forest Finns, distinguishing them from the Swedes. Likewise, the typical dwelling of the Värmland Forest Finns was the *savutupa* ("smoke cottage", a log cottage with a stone oven for heating and no chimney). These were still common in Värmland in the early 1800s. Having a sauna and bathing in one also distinguished the Forest Finns from the Swedes. The sauna could even serve as accommodation if needed. Moreover, the sauna was used for drying grain and flax, smoking meat, making liquor (moonshining), and sometimes the sauna even served as a grain-threshing cabin. Still in the late nineteenth century, the Forest Finns in western and northern Värmland bathed in the sauna weekly. Conversely, in the eastern and southern parts this habit had all but disappeared. In Sweden, sauna bathing was associated with Finns and looked down upon by most Swedes. External pressure led to people completely abandoning sauna bathing. Later in Värmland, sauna culture started to revive and became a habit that reinforced Finnish identity.

Sappinen states: "As time passed, Finns and Swedes interacting created a distinct Värmland culture consisting of traditional Finnish and newer Swedish elements." The process of changes had the result that there was not really a specific Forest Finn culture anymore in the late nineteenth century. Only some singular characteristics stood out as specific identifiers of Forest Finns. For example, in the early twentieth century there were

roughly 700 Finnish speakers among the Forest Finns, but by the mid-twentieth century, only a few dozen remained. This was partly caused by the Swedish state having a negative view of the Finnish language already in the seventeenth century. Later, policies to Swedify inhabitants as well as compulsory education worked effectively to erase Finnish language skills. Finnish was not allowed in school, and parents were even sometimes reminded not to use the language when talking to their children. On the other hand, there was also resistance against the Swedification policies, and ordinances were not always followed.

Many unpleasant features were associated with the Forest Finns, including drunkenness, immorality, uncleanness, laziness, and poverty, which was seen to be self-inflicted. However, Forest Finns were commonly known as hard-working people. When issues of race and racial hierarchy started gaining ground in Sweden in the nineteenth century, Finns were regarded as being of a clearly weaker race than Swedes. Finns were indolent, ungainly, and conservative, whereas Forest Finns were ugly and blessed with meagre intelligence. In the late 1800s, tensions between Forest Finns and Swedes began to dissipate and attitudes towards the Forest Finns started changing. According to Sappinen, this was caused by the low number of people remaining in Värmland who spoke Finnish and observed Finnish customs and traditions. However, prejudice against and stereotypes about Forest Finns did not completely vanish; they still pop up in a history book published in 1921, where Forest Finns are described as immoral, ignorant, violent drunkards. As is well known, during recent decades respect for Forest Finns has grown and their descendants have gained pride in their history.

In this detailed and diverse study Eero Sappinen sheds light on Forest Finns' cultural background and lifestyle as well as their changes from the seventeenth all the way to the twentieth century, when assimilation to Swedes had taken place. The book is an example of "classical ethnology", where the big picture is built according to the traditional model and an ethnologi-

cal-historical research approach concentrating on material culture is emphasized. The chapter “Taikuudesta ja uskomuksista” (On magic and beliefs) and briefly mentions of intangible culture and oral history in other chapters liven up the text. The final chapter “Kulttuurin muuttuminen ja assimilaatio” (Cultural change and assimilation) is an interesting presentation of the change in Forest Finns’ culture and reasons for it, as well as their assimilation to the Swedish way of life and culture. Sappinen has thoroughly familiarized himself with the topic. There is an abundance of archival and oral history sources, and a 28-page list of source literature. Unfortunately, the work does not have a summary in Swedish or English. All in all, I found reading the book to be a good review of the history of Forest Finns and of the basic premises of their material culture.

Pirjo Korhokangas, Jyväskylä

Perspectives on Fashion

Modevetenskap. Perspektiv på mode, stil och estetik. Emma Severinsson & Philip Warkander (eds.). Appell Förlag, Stockholm 2020. 384 pp. Ill. Indices. ISBN 978-91-985485-6-3.

■ A cross-disciplinary field and its Southern Swedish department presents itself. In short, this is what the editors rightly claim the anthology *Modevetenskap* to be.

The study of sartorial artefacts, fashion and its context is by no means strange to European Ethnology, in fact it is one of the oldest and empirical constitutive subjects of the discipline. Yet in the US, to some degree in France and the UK, all countries where European Ethnology is hardly known, a bit in Germany but certainly in Sweden since the centre formed in 2006, later the Department of Fashion Studies in Stockholm, the field of fashion studies has gained new attention in academia. In 2012 the University of Lund followed suit and founded the second Swedish Department of Fashion Studies, which now presents itself and its first decade of work in *Modevetenskap*. Whereas in other countries

such cross-disciplinary efforts usually find their outcome in temporary research centres standing next to the established university disciplines with chairs, educational programmes and obligations towards to society – an example could be the Copenhagen-based and mostly though not exclusively archaeologically oriented CTR, Centre for Textile Research – the Swedish way has been different and, hence, two departments in the fields of fashion studies have been formed. The one in Stockholm affiliated to Art History and Media; the one in Lund to Cultural History and European Ethnology as the leading disciplines. The anthology thus revolves around the question of “the subject’s identity in order to explain how it is formed through a decade of fashion research” (p. 10).

This affiliation to European Ethnology in Lund is clear in the anthology and it is generally difficult to distinguish it from a volume which might have come out of Ethnology itself with guest researchers from other disciplines. In her chapter, the ethnologist Cecilia Fredriksson states – and this might stand for the whole book – that fashion studies “contain both historical and contemporary perspectives on material and visual culture” and that fashion is likewise a “figure of thought ... an important tool to reflect with and about and to judge different phenomena through” (p. 149). I can only welcome fashion studies of this sort in the bouquet of contemporary cultural (ethnological) studies in Scandinavia! Another token of the affiliation is the publisher’s house, which is no stranger to ethnological volumes.

Hence, for European Ethnology there is much to learn from the different chapters too. Next to the informative introduction, written by the editors, there are fourteen of them, organized into three sections. The first and biggest deals with historical perspectives, ranging from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The next deals with fashion as a market and the third with fashion as an industry and, hence, a workplace. Generally, the chapters are easily read, well organized and, judging by this volume, perhaps its core readers will number students not only of fashion studies and European Ethnology but in the broad-

er realm of Cultural Studies as well as Business and perhaps even Environmental Studies. Apart from one chapter on men's hats, where photographs serve as source material directly analysed in the text, there are no pictures, which seems a pity for this topic, although of course it keeps the price down for the (if I am right) intended student readership. I believe, however, that a broader audience is lost through this choice. To be fair, at the beginning of each chapter, below the heading, there is an artistic hint based on a photo of, for example, a scarf, but I must admit I am not quite sure what purpose these pictures serve.

Another theme directly addressed by the two Swedish departments and the anthology is to make a more humanistic-based approach less informed by the Anglo-American sociological tradition and focused more on Scandinavian, especially Swedish material. The latter is a success; it is a very Swedish volume and there is nothing to object to that choice and frame. For the first interest, though, the editors could easily have included more of French sociology's keen and long-standing interest in fashion, but this is not visible apart from a few places not really constitutive for the volume. Neither is there any awareness of the old sociological and ethnological German tradition of fashion and clothes, costume and textile studies. The same goes for the rest of the Nordic world, which seems only a vague shimmer. In fact, when one has finished with the chapters and (as reviewers do) browses through the bibliography, it overwhelmingly adds up to Sweden plus the Anglo-Saxon world.

Shouldn't we on both sides of the Sound and elsewhere in the Nordic countries do something about that? In fact, I judge the lively and broad milieu of Fashion Studies in Lund/Helsingborg behind this book *Modevetenskap* a good place to start both for students of fashion in Sweden and for broader co-operation between countries, both when it comes to fashion studies in the perception of the anthology and, indeed, in European Ethnology with its long-standing tradition of studying textile and dress, fashion and accessories.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

The Legacy of Ernst Manker

Eva Silvén, Friktion. Ernst Manker, Nordiska museet och det samiska kulturarvet. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2021. 320 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-88909-90-9.

■ Recently, the scholarly gaze has been increasingly turned from the Indigenous subject to researchers who study the Indigenous, and to the societal processes that have regulated the production of such knowledge in the past and the present. *Friktion*, is one such important scholarly gaze. "Research on research" and the recognition of the deep inter-connectedness between research and society were the focus areas of the research project "Societal Dimensions of Sámi Research" (SoDiSámi) at the Arctic University Museum of Tromsø (2017–2020), which gathered an international and multidisciplinary group of researchers, among them Eva Silvén. As a researcher within this project, I had the pleasure of getting to know Silvén's works, and it is through the lenses of the SoDiSami project that I have read the eight chapters that together make up the researcher biography, *Friktion*, about Ernst Manker, ethnographer and curator at Nordiska Museet in Stockholm.

Silvén holds a PhD in ethnology from Stockholm University. She has worked as a curator at Nordiska Museet and is currently an independent scholar of ethnology and museology. The book springs from the research project "Konstruktionen av ett samiskt kulturarv: Ernst Manker och Nordiska museet" (The Construction of a Sámi Cultural Heritage: Ernst Manker and Nordiska Museet), financed by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (2009–11). In other words, this is a project which has been close to Silvén's heart for a long period of time and about which she has also published several articles. The book serves to gather Silvén's findings, but it also opens for new and broader perspectives.

The book is divided into eight chapters starting with an introductory chapter that thematizes the scholarly basis for Silvén's study; research questions, methodology, ethics, as well as the chosen theoretical and analytical tools. Actor-network theory, whose origin is usually attributed to the sociologists Bruno Latour, Michael Callon, and

John Law, is Silvén's main theoretical-methodological perspective. It is a perspective and tool that Silvén masters to the utmost and that through the book's chapters serves to reveal how both human and non-human phenomena are intertwined and become nodes that build and preserve networks. In other words, it shows how Manker, through his fieldwork, his camera, exhibitions, archives, publications, and Sámi and non-Sámi co-researchers, becomes part of what Silvén refers to as "the mountains' socio-material network" that plays a role in the construction of Sámi history, Sámi cultural heritage as well as identities.

Chapter two presents a biographical survey of Ernst Manker's (1893–1972) life and occupations. In 1939, Ernst Manker was appointed the first curator of Nordiska Museet with special responsibility for the museum's Sámi collections. With the purpose of creating "A central museum of Lapland culture" he began intensive research, documentation, and collection, and in 1947 he opened a new exhibition, "Lapparna" (The Lapps), which remained a permanent exhibition at the museum for thirty years. While Manker is often presented as an academic with a so-called Lappologist orientation, Silvén asks in which ways the societal context and his networks influenced his research methodologically and theoretically.

The three following chapters are devoted to explorations of Manker's main fields of activity; fieldwork and photography, materialities, and exhibitions and performances. The chapters captivatingly show how various media such as the notebook, the camera, the collections, and the exhibitions communicate Sámi cultures in different and sometimes opposing ways. While the exhibition "Lapparna" presents Sámi culture as a reindeer culture with few references to other livelihoods, and where distinct cultural symbols such as the reindeer, the lavvu and the gákti appear as an unchangeable core of Sámi identity, the camera on the other hand reveals what the exhibitions conceal, namely the diversity of Sámi cultures, and that the Sámi were tightly connected to modernity.

Chapter six, "Sammanflätningar" (Intertwinnements), and chapter seven, "Skuggspel" (Shadow

Play), open for a political and scholarly contextualization of Manker's works. By focusing on Manker's background, interests, contacts, publications, and the specific political and ideological climates in which they were set, knowledge of the contexts of Sámi research and its dissemination at Nordiska Museet is revealed. In the chapters crucial nuances are highlighted regarding the construction of gender, politics, agency, and asymmetric power relations. The chapters are packed with stories about Manker's Sámi and non-Sámi co-researchers and their associated frictions – cooperation, competition, and conflicts. As a reader I would have loved to dive even deeper into some of the examples that are only touched upon in these chapters, as is the case with the stories about forced relocations as well as research and gender relations.

"Att gestalta det samiska" (Constructing Sáminess) is the title of the book's concluding chapter. The chapter focuses on the changing balance of power between the explorers and the explored, as in recent studies where Sámi experiences enter into a dialogue with the historical archive material. Silvén highlights how scientific and political paradigm shifts contribute to questioning and challenging the legacy of Manker.

Based on detailed knowledge of Manker and his works, through the eight captivating and richly illustrated chapters Silvén highlights the impact of Manker's legacy that, as Silvén thoroughly argues, in a mutually dynamic and productive friction, contributed to an essentialization of Sámi cultures as well as a forward-looking Sámi emancipation.

Trude Fonneland, Tromsø

Everyday Superstition

Fredrik Skott, Vardagsskrock. Från abrakadabra till önskebrunn. Polaris Fakta, Malmö 2021. 319 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89215-66-5.

■ Superstition seems to be something that concerns everybody. At least, this is what Fredrik Skott maintains. He has published a book which he calls *Vardagsskrock* (Everyday Superstition) in which he tries to come to grips with the concepts

of religion, magic, and superstition, and goes on to present more than a hundred instances of everyday “magic” rituals. Most westerners know that it is dangerous to walk under a ladder, or that something horrible will happen if we leave our keys on a table or that luck and happiness are connected to four-leaf clovers. Skott would like to be able to answer questions such as “why?”, “how old is this or that tradition?” or “where did this or that idea come from?” We all would like to find answers to such questions. However, Skott is extremely careful when he searches for information and answers. It is one of the best characteristics of the book that Skott is extremely rational. In 1982 Carl-Herman Tillhagen, a colleague of Skott’s, in his book, also called *Vardagsskrock*, published his attempts to unveil the age and other kinds of origin of superstition and ritual but he was much more generous in making use of less exact facts.

Skott’s book starts with a short chapter about what superstition is. His starting point is that in our society there is a discrepancy between the modern underlining of the importance of science, i.e., scientific truth, and the superstition that is found nearly everywhere in popular culture. For quite a time scholars thought that various forms of enchantment were disappearing, but nowadays they have seen that that process never came to be. Today, they rather speak about re-enchantment, which means that thoughts about a supernatural world return, but in a new shape. Scholars even speak about “occulture” to describe the importance of occultism in our highly technical society. Indeed, Skott is right. To my mind, it is worthwhile to ask what went wrong in the channels of communication between universities, schools, and the general population. Even more to the point: what allows strict scientists and scholars to practise everyday superstitions without criticism, as they certainly do? However, this question is not new, for supernatural factors in the shape of established religion were always something to consider, even for the strictest scientists.

Skott goes on to provide a rapid and rather condensed overview over the relationship between magic (to which he obviously connects

superstition) and religion according to the classical students James G. Frazer, Émile Durkheim, and Bronislaw Malinowski. Indeed, today we can maintain that this was a central issue in the history of the study of religion. The answers oscillated between stable statements about the two being one another’s opposites and being two sides of one and the same coin. To find a balance, Skott accepts the concept of “half-belief”, but one should ask whether this notion is of any use. In cases of danger and hardship, it is known that people often start to pray, when otherwise they do not give many thoughts to God. Is this behaviour of importunate prayer in a pressed situation magical, religious, or superstitious?

In Skott’s view of superstition a central concept is control. According to him, superstition (like religion!) thrives in critical situations and can help to give a person control over insecure conditions in the same way as it adds self-confidence, optimism, and peace, and ensures a better outcome. Here he mentions George Foster’s concept of the limited good, which means that the amount of good things was regarded as being regulated so that if one person received something good somebody else would lose his share. Skott maintains that modern sport is an expression of that idea. He also tries to find other characteristics typical of the way superstition functions. For instance, he mentions passive and active methods to presage or predict what is to come. He considers events that just happen as passive. However, it is worth asking if there is such an issue as a passive method of superstition. If you see two branches on the ground, you can interpret them as a cross which can predict a misfortune. However, if you change your behaviour the method is active, according to Skott. There is a belief that a catastrophe will happen if you tread on the cracks between paving stones. Consequently you cannot walk normally, but you have to pursue superstition and tread very carefully to avoid the cracks. This, certainly, is one way to regard superstition, but in both cases, you need to trigger your activity of thinking and making decisions and act accordingly.

Another function of superstition is communication. Skott maintains that superstition helps us

to communicate and, sometimes, even to compare our feelings to those of the other. If I avoid walking under a ladder, which is regarded as dangerous, I communicate my feeling of unsafety to those around and I can see that they also refuse to walk there, or that they ignore the alleged danger and consequently also disregard traditional experience. Certainly, one sort of communication is laughter. This means that people can observe superstitions and, more or less seriously, laugh at their own behaviour. Entertainment is one important function of superstition.

A third function is educative. When, in my family, a person ate a boiled egg without taking bread at the same time, he or she was said to get a black neck. Partly this was a way to teach a child that eggs were not basic food, as bread was, partly it was a hint that eggs were more expensive than bread and were not meant to fill you, only to add a value to the bread. Superstition was a way to teach the ruling norms.

It is interesting to read how superstitious thinking has changed over time. Many a ritual exists almost in the same form as a hundred years ago but has received a new meaning as society has changed. Skott refers to the interesting, and well known, fact that people often ask for the origin of superstitions and are happier the older the source is. However, he is extremely sensible and avoids all sorts of romantic explanations. Instead, he states that the source material limits the possibility to arrive at exact information. Certainly, there is some material from the eighteenth century, but mostly the records are much younger, from the nineteenth, even the twentieth century. He also avoids pointing out any particular place of origin but mentions that superstitions came to be in the encounter between individuals sometime and somewhere, and because they were flexible they could change according to the needs in specific situations. Nowadays many of them have landed in children's folklore, but a surprisingly large and increasing number of adults also cultivate them.

The second part of the book is a catalogue explaining a good hundred superstitions. Obviously Skott is acquainted with Iørn Piø's corresponding

book *Den lille overtro: Håndbog om hverdagens magi* (The Little Superstition: A Handbook about Everyday Magic) from 1973 and Tillhagen's already mentioned study, but he supplements them with information from other, non-Nordic investigations and from Norse religion. In these explanations he offers a good number of possible ways to understand what people are doing, but rather often he admits that we cannot know for sure how these pieces of folklore have developed. Yet, well aware of how often folklorists find parallels to Nordic cultural phenomena in German folk culture, I really do miss references to the comprehensive encyclopaedia *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Handbook of German Superstition). Moreover, I also miss some kind of discussion about Skott's choice of title for his book. What might Sunday superstition be? I am also a little surprised by Skott's use of the word *skrock* as a common gender word (*en skrock*). According to the normative dictionaries in Swedish *skrock* is a neuter word (*ett skrock, skrocket*).

All in all, when this book was published just before Christmas 2021, it was a success and was reviewed in many newspapers and journals. This was due not only to its nice shape, fine illustrations, and good paper quality, but also as an example of what people want to read and know more about. This is what they expect folklorists to occupy themselves with, whatever research outcomes the scholarly community might want to obtain. Anyway, the book is very informative and balanced and should be widely read by those who lead everyday lives in the western world.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

The Paris of the North

Susanna Strömquist, Nordens Paris. NK:s Franska damskrädderi 1902–1966. Nordiska museet, Stockholm 2021. 239 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7108-619-8.

■ Made-to-measure walking costumes, cocktail dresses, and evening gowns as a central component of the well-off Swedish woman's wardrobe

belong to a bygone era. It was moreover an era when hours were spent in the department store *Nordiska Kompagniet* (NK), to acquire the correct apparel for a fashionable lifestyle, what most Swedes coveted as the epitome of the good life. But that world has been brought to life again for a special exhibition at Nordiska Museet, “The Paris of the North”, on show from 17 September 2021 to 18 September 2022, accompanied by the book with the same title. Susanna Strömquist, a fashion journalist working for *Dagens Nyheter* and other periodicals, has delved in the archives of NK and Nordiska Museet, has talked to former employees and relatives of former employees in order to piece together this story of NK’s department of French Women’s Tailoring, with each dress as a piece of the big puzzle. The result is elegant. This is a richly illustrated book using original black-and-white press photos of the fashion salon’s many creations from the beginning of the 1900s to 1966, when the department closed, along with new colour photographs of preserved dresses, which are also displayed in the museum’s exhibition. The exclusivity that surrounded NK’s French fashion salon is further illustrated by the choice of thick gold-edged paper for the book, almost as if it were a bible for those who are passionately interested in fashion and glamour.

The story of NK’s French department is told chronologically. The book is divided into three acts, broken up by smaller entr’actes. The theatrical metaphor has been used to describe the fashion world, and here it signals that this world, like the world of theatre, tells stories by means of spectacular staging.

The story begins in 1902, when two of Stockholm’s leading retailers – Karl Lundberg and Josef Sachs – join forces to establish *Nordiska Kompagniet* (The Nordic Company), initially at Stureplan in the heart of Stockholm. For Sachs, the vision is quite simple: the department store, the company, will function as a “commercial and cultural theatre, a stage for its time” (p. 14). In *Nordiska Kompagniet* the customer will always meet an up-to-date range of goods that is modern and trendy.

In Paris in the late nineteenth century, Sachs had met Madame Suzanne – the milliner Suzanne Pellin – who came to Stockholm and established her own studio, before being hired by NK in 1902 to build the store’s French fashion department, where her own hat designs were sold alongside hats purchased from Paris. At this time hats were an important fashion item. Big hats were in vogue as eye-catchers, topped with flowers or tall feathers or other ornaments. In the French department, Madame Suzanne also began selling Parisian couture – what was referred to as “Paris originals” – made by the ladies’ tailoring department at NK from original designs purchased under license from a selection of fashion houses in Paris.

In 1913 new forces arrived at NK’s French department. Madame Suzanne, who was reportedly homesick, left Stockholm for Paris. Her successor was then working in Paris as a volunteer with the fashion house of Edward Molyneux, where well-known French fashion creators also served their first apprenticeship, among them Pierre Balmain and Christian Dior. Now NK’s French department was to be led by this man, Kurt Jacobsson (1892–1969), who had also worked for Madame Suzanne before going to Paris.

Kurt Jacobsson was made of the right stuff. For the next five decades, until 1965, he was head of NK’s French department, from 1923 joined by the highly creative fashion designer Pelle Lundgren (1896–1974), who had been an apprentice in Paris at the Callot Sœurs fashion house. The two men were able to develop the department and turn it into a modern Mecca for their primarily Swedish clientele. They went to Paris several times a year to find inspiration and buy new models from the exclusive Parisian fashion houses. Back home, the new fashion was presented to the press and regular customers at mannequin parades, which became a widespread phenomenon in several Scandinavian countries in the years around World War I.

Press photos were also introduced in the same period as a new and important marketing tool, which is precisely the reason why it was possible to produce the exhibition and this book about

the Paris of the North. The preserved press photos serve as crucial source material, all of them taken by the photographer Erik Holmén from the beginning of the 1920s until 1966. But the newspaper reports from fashion shows are also central sources for the knowledge that exists today about the fashion production and fashion culture that unfolded around a place like NK's French department.

Towards the end of the 1950s, Palle Wikström was appointed to succeed Kurt Jacobsson and Pelle Lundgren. In 1960 Palle Wikström spent one season working for one of the finest fashion designers in Paris, Cristóbal Balenciaga. That NK just six years later would choose to close the French department and Palle Wikström (1933–2015) would be given the responsibility for *NK Boutique*, selling ready-made fashion garments, was far from obvious at this time. But in 1960 the old world was vanishing and a new one saw the light of day, a world where fashion clothes were now supposed to be mass-produced, simple, and youthful. In this context, there was no longer room for NK's French department and thus for a Nordic fashion Mecca that reflected the fashion houses of Paris. Fashion was in the process of being democratized, and it was in Sweden that a concept developed, Hennes & Mauritz (H&M), which today is considered the epitome of this development. The fact that this also led to accelerating consumption, which poses a threat to the world's climate and environment, is another story that seems irrelevant to this book about the Paris of the North.

In the 64 years that NK's French department existed, it focused on exclusive French fashions. This fashion salon cultivated its customers, who were educated in the exclusive French clothing tradition. Being a piece of Paris appears to have been the salon's stamp of quality, according to the book. The department store lived up to its vision of being an experience, a dream universe, where beauty and good craftsmanship, thoroughness and precision were cultivated as part of a higher consensus. At the same time, it also presented itself as a place with a good atmosphere, where customers

liked to spend time, taking as long as they wanted to try on clothes, having garments altered and new ones made.

The book *Nordens Paris* provides a focused introduction to NK's French fashion universe and the history of style. The place is described as an institution that the reader either already knows, or is willing to be convinced of the importance of knowing. The entr'actes, as a kind of asides in the book, lead the reader further into how a fashion salon like NK's French department is connected to the rest of the Swedish and French fashion system. Here one can read about haute couture, the fine craftsmanship, the workflows between *frou* (draping) and *tailleur* (tailoring) in the sewing studio, about the re-establishment of French couture after World War II and the marketing event *Théâtre de la Mode*, and the like. In this way, the book is extremely informative, delivering testimony to a part of the retail trade that once occupied a large space in the public consciousness, but today has all but disappeared.

The book thus takes its place on the bookshelf next to books about other countries' fashion houses or salons, as an addition to the many publications by fashion researchers who since 2006 have been working at the Centre for Fashion Studies at Stockholm University. If the source material is there, one can only wish, from the point of view of fashion research, that the study will be expanded to provide further insight into the role this fashion department played in the department store as a whole. For it is still unclear after reading the book: Why was a French department established at all in 1902? How did the economy of the department evolve over the years from 1902 to 1966? And finally, what were the arguments for closing the department in 1966? The fashion houses in Paris did not disappear, as we know, but have changed character with the passing of time. In other words, a more critical approach to understanding NK's French department would have been desirable if a fashion researcher were to decide what is to be communicated.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Animals in the City

Liv Emma Thorsen, Dyrenes by: Hover, klover og klør i Kristiania 1859–1925. Forlaget Press, Oslo 2020. 352 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-328-0301-9.

■ The urban environment is a fascinating ecosystem where humans and domesticated animals live in intimate interaction. Nowadays it is mostly pets we keep in our immediate vicinity in towns and cities, almost like members of the family, but in the rapidly expanding urban environments of the nineteenth century there were also animals of various kinds that were important for production. Horses were a significant element in the city. Based on the existence of domesticated animals and how they related to humans in nineteenth-century Kristiania, the ethnologist Liv Emma Thorsen returns once more to the topic of animal-human relationships. Nineteenth-century urbanization was entirely dependent on the presence of animals, which were very closely linked to the economic, social, and cultural life of the city.

The rapid growth of Kristiania in the latter half of the nineteenth century meant that people and animals were brought together in a way they had not previously experienced. Statistics show that the capital was teeming with horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and hens. The smell of animals and their droppings was pervasive in Kristiania. The animals made noises that are no longer typically heard in Nordic cities. Dogs and pigs roamed freely around the city; cows and small livestock grazed on small patches of grass and roadsides. They produced nitrogen which stimulated the growth of plants and trees. The urban fauna and flora were influenced in many ways by the presence of domesticated animals.

Just as in Stockholm at the same time, the issue of animal welfare arose, contributing to a change in attitudes towards animals. In the early stages of the modern city from the middle of the nineteenth century, horses, pigs, and dogs played a very important role, which has rarely been taken into account by cultural historians studying this development. When animals disappeared from the modern city, they also disappeared from history. The animals in the city were reduced to a curiosity

that is not given the place in our cultural history that the topic deserves.

Although the animals are forgotten by today's historians, they are present in contemporary sources: photographs, stories, memoirs, and literature. Data can be found in both scientific and popular literature, as well as in various statistical surveys. The veterinarians of the time reported on the work they did, and some people towards the end of the nineteenth century were organized in animal welfare associations, whose publications also contain interesting pictures of the period. It is the same kind of data that we have used in studies of pets in Sweden. For researchers interested in cultural history there are rich and useful sources of many kinds if you just search for them.

Thorsen's presentation is divided into parts that differ considerably in size. Part 1, titled "Hooves", devotes several chapters to the importance of the horse in and for the city. The number of horses in Kristiania grew during the nineteenth century. It was primarily horsepower that was required, i.e. the horse as a draught animal, for instance for horse-drawn trams (which went out of use in 1899), for the fire brigade, and for transports of various kinds. Horses undoubtedly had important and versatile uses in the city. The horse population in Kristiania grew from 1,061 individuals in 1855 to 3,001 in 1891. Around 1900 there were no fewer than 3,746 horses. Large breeds of heavy horse were imported, but the domestic Dole (Norwegian *Dølahest*) seems to have been preferred as a work-horse in Kristiania. The Norwegian Fjord Horse also occurred, used especially in winter for pulling carriages and clearing snow.

With the new century, however, horses gradually began to disappear. Motor vehicles and motorized trams were too tough competition for horses. When the horseshoe nail factory in Kristiania, famous for its quality-good nails, was closed in 1926, it was a clear sign that horses no longer served any important function in the city. That same year, the fire brigade stopped using horses. The sanitation authority and the brewery industry also finally phased out the use of horses in the mid-twentieth century. The last hospital

horses were put down in 1961. I may mention that when I came to Uppsala in the early 1970s, the streets and parks department in the city still used horses when sanding streets and pavements in the inner city in winter. “The Dehorsification of Uppsala” was one of Wolter Ehn’s suggested essay topics for his students in ethnology, but I don’t think anyone took the bait, unfortunately.

Part 2 is devoted to the cloven-footed animals. Telemark cattle in the city supplied the population with milk. But cattle also gave meat and they were transported alive by train to the city to be slaughtered. An impressive modern slaughterhouse was established in the early twentieth century, which ensured food safety and control of animals and meat. The book reproduces a large number of pictures that give interesting insights into the butchery business in the city.

The third part is devoted to “Claws”, that is, birds. Wild birdlife, which was rich in the mid-nineteenth century (220 observed species) in and around Kristiania, changed as a result of densification and increased urbanization, which destroyed the birds’ habitats. Hunting and egg plundering contributed to the decline of birds, not only in Kristiania’s surroundings but also outside the city. The zoologist Robert Collett at the city’s Zoological Museum and later professor at the university, became engaged in bird protection. In a book from 1864 we learn not just about the bird fauna in the surroundings of the city but also how they were caught and which species (thrush, woodcock, hazel grouse) were sold at markets. People cooked thrushes by frying them in butter and then pouring cream over them. Birds of prey were pests for people who kept hens and pigeons in Kristiania.

Aviculture did not gain any foothold in Kristiania in the same way as in Copenhagen and Malmö during the nineteenth century. However, the schoolman Oskar Guldberg published a couple of writings, one about caged birds in general and one about canaries, but he was forced to admit that interest in the hobby was low. Guldberg keenly advocated the keeping of songbirds.

Associations were also formed to protect bird life from marauders and egg thieves. In 1910 collaboration was initiated between the schools of

Kristiania and the animal welfare movement to teach schoolchildren to protect birds. This part ends with a chapter on the resistance to the use of imported bird feathers in women’s fashions in the early twentieth century, which makes for interesting reading about a style of urban dress that is little known today.

“What is a city?” the author begins by asking. Is it buildings, monuments, streets, parks, fountains, and sewers? Or is it the life between the houses, the traffic, the lights that come on and go off, the sounds and smells of bodies in motion, sweat, perfume, dirt, and wet fur? The answer is that the city is of all this. Animals have been an essential part of the urban environment, and the relationship between animals and humans has been significant, as Thorsen shows with all desirable clarity in this rich book, which the review above can only hint at. It is a well-written and interesting book, without the tiresome jargon that often characterizes today’s activist-oriented human-animal studies. On the contrary, this is an exemplary study, based on comprehensive and broad empirical evidence that gives us a deeper knowledge of the coexistence of animals and humans in Kristiania in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A large range of illustrations have been included in the book, which gives interesting insights into the keeping of animals, not least the horses in the streetscape. The bibliography is extensive, with numerous titles that I would like to explore further. The only thing I miss is an index. Being more familiar with conditions in Sweden, I note that there are many similarities to Stockholm, and it would be interesting to see comparative studies of other Nordic capitals.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

When the Tide Turns

Charlotte Ulmert, När vinden vänder. Adèle Sylvan och Charlotte Rosenkrantz – adelskvinnorna som gick sin egen väg. Ekström & Garay, Lund 2021. 280 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-89308-50-3.

■ “The last ladies of the manor” Charlotte Ulmert calls the two women and sisters-in-law, of whom

she draws a detailed double portrait, and whose stories she follows from birth to death. In fact, the portraits start even before the two ladies' respective births, with presentations of their lineage and context, and end after their deaths, with a follow-up of the aftermath of the bereaved relatives, the family houses and the legacy. Charlotte Rosenkrantz (1844–1913) and Adèle Sylvan (1845–1923) are portrayed as the last ladies of the manor in two different ways. Firstly, in a very concrete sense. Both ladies suffered the fate of becoming the last generation of wives and mistresses on the families' Scanian manors, before the houses had to leave the families' ownership at the beginning of the twentieth century. Secondly, in a more symbolic sense. According to Ulmert, the ladies Charlotte Rosenkrantz and Adèle Sylvan must also be understood as a generation of women who were brought up with a certain traditional lifestyle and self-understanding in aristocratic elite circles. This way of life was rendered out-of-date by the development of society and by new social and gender ideals – in other words, when the tide turned.

Charlotte Ulmert, who is a researcher in literary studies, but with a degree in ethnology and qualifications in history, reconstructs using varied source material the life course of the two women with connections to the nobility in Scania from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. For the two women, for the manors and the old order they represented, and for society in general, this period has often been described as a time of change. However, Ulmert takes her overall interest further, stating that her book also seeks to shed light on gender issues. The period was also the first period of women's liberation where the first steps towards gender equality were taken, but Ulmert wants to shed light on how women in the portrayed environments continued to be subject to formal, practical and socio-cultural constraints. The purpose of the book is thus also to examine how these privileged women met and tackled changes and challenges associated with the new winds that blew in the time.

Charlotte Rosenkrantz and Adèle Sylvan were both born into the elite and upper class of the time

but into two different types of environments. The first was rooted in a traditional Danish manor environment, as she belonged to the Danish branch of the very old noble family of Rosenkrantz. The latter, on the other hand, had grown up in an extremely rich and fast-growing Swedish bourgeois environment. Her father, Tage Sylvan, is portrayed in the book as an entrepreneur and man of the world – a man of the new age. Charlotte and Adèle, however, ended up in the same family, each of them marrying one of the two brothers Børge and Holger Rosenkrantz, who were part of the traditional Scanian estate environment in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and whose lineage had roots that stretched far back in both Danish and Swedish noble circles. The book therefore starts with a presentation of the family and its manors in Scania, including an introductory portrait of the two brothers' mother and grandmother as powerful noblewomen and – in their husbands' absence – competent landowners and managers of the manors Gårnsnäs and Gyllebo. As old school manor ladies.

Next, Charlotte Rosenkrantz's Danish roots and family are presented, and on page 63 she herself is brought into the picture with her birth in 1844. Her childhood and background are presented as marked by her father, Gottlob Rosenkrantz's strong personality and values, which may best be described as the ideal of the paternalistic nobleman with responsibility for all family members and subordinates under his wings. The feeling of kinship and rank is also, according to Ulmert, reflected in Gottlob Rosenkrantz's desire to see his daughter married into the Swedish branch of the Rosenkrantz family – a desire which was a decisive factor in Charlotte's marriage to Børge at Gyllebo.

Adèle Sylvan also had a powerful father who was to shape her course of life. He is described as one of the richest and most enterprising bourgeois merchants and officials of his time in southern Sweden. In time, he also became a manor owner and sought the company of other landowners in the area. According to Ulmert, Sylvan was strongly preoccupied with being admitted and recognized

in the circles of the old noble elite, in the hope of being included in the social status which continued to attach to it. The upbringing and education that Sylvan's daughters received – including extensive travelling and introduction to Europe's joys at the highest level of luxury – is presented as an expression of his ambition to get them married into the nobility. It was therefore perceived as an extremely lucky match, as the somewhat older bachelor at Örup, Holger Rosenkrantz, chose Adèle Sylvan as his bride. This was also the case for Holger Rosenkrantz, not least because his finances were heavily challenged, and his young wife and her family were well-off.

Charlotte Ulmert's book then follows the two women through the ups and downs of their marriages – and apparently there were mostly downs – through childbirths and the inevitable deaths of both infants and older children and through daily life on the estates. And not least through the financial problems that quickly started to pile up in both families because both Rosenkrantz brothers proved hopeless as landowners and heads of the families. In Ulmert's account, the misery was due in part to the fact that the two brothers maintained a traditional but outdated aristocratic approach to money, estate, and estate employees, and that their insistence on a particular lifestyle became the family's misfortune. A special problem associated with this is that both Charlotte Rosenkrantz and Adèle Sylvan, despite their very different personalities, had in common that they – in Ulmert's assessment – were more talented than their husbands when it came to the finances and management of the family business. But as women, due to both norms and limited rights, they were prevented from acting on their own and were instead subject to the administration of their husbands, fathers and brothers. Both marriages ended in separation and more or less financial disaster.

The two women thus each ended up standing on their own without their husbands. However, their last life chapters were not the same. Despite the changed circumstances – the marriage had ended, and the manor had been sold and replaced with a stately rental home in Lund – Charlotte

Rosenkrantz continued in many ways her previous practice, socially accepted in the environment as a gathering point and female head of the family network. Adèle Sylvan, on the other hand, played an eccentric and self-willed role as landowner and farmer and staged herself beyond the limits of normality as the lady and protector of the medieval castle of Glimmingehus – until this manor also went out of the family's possession. As the life stories and narratives progress, they increasingly take the form of a history of decay. Not just the decay of the ageing women and their families, but also the decay of the noble lifestyle and the end of the golden days of the great estates.

With her book, Charlotte Ulmert tells a chronologically progressing history of individuals and women, but also the story of a social group, the manor house owners, at a time when their previously more or less undoubted role as a status-bearing elite group was up for negotiation. The case study is interesting, and Ulmert also manages in many contexts to expand it to a period description by backing the biographies with contextualization in relation to the historical development of the time and the cultural environments described. Among other things it is interesting to see how the fate and movements of the two women illustrate the social and cultural boundaries of the manor environment and the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. The book is well written, well told, communicated in an empathetic style, and as such it perhaps reflects its author's background in literary studies. The level of detail is generally high. It is an advantage because it brings the story to life and provides the experience of getting close to the people described. It is also in some ways a disadvantage, as the level of detail is high in almost all contexts and descriptions, and it can therefore challenge the reader's ability to keep track of the main point. In that regard, it is also worth mentioning that an outline of the many lineages and family members that the reader is asked to keep track of would be a useful tool.

The book is thus fascinating reading but a bit difficult to place within a genre. It is based on a rich array of source material, contemporary pres-

entations, and research literature on the subject. At the same time, it moves to some extent away from the research publication as a genre, perhaps first and foremost through the fact that in large parts of the book there is not a particularly high degree of transparency in relation to the use of source material and analytical considerations. It seems that Ulmert masters a source-combining method well known to ethnology, where the impression of a historical reality is approached from different angles and types of source material. It is an effective and suitable method for the purpose. However, it is again a bit unfortunate that the book is not characterized by more methodical transparency, e.g. either via a transparent note system or via indications in the text of where the information originates. The captivating and personal style

of writing can, without these indications, lead to some uncertainty for the reader in relation to distinguishing between the source-based and the interpretation-based information and conclusions. This is especially true where subjective motives and feelings of the people portrayed are involved. To be fair, there are also sections and passages where Ulmert includes the source material explicitly – when for instance letters are quoted or clearly referenced – and that is, in the opinion of the reviewer, often these passages which appear most convincing, and in which the persons depicted appear most vividly. Perhaps it is even here that Ulmert most convincingly achieves her fine ambition of producing as true a description as possible and of giving a picture of how these women reasoned and acted in a time when the tide turned.

Signe Boeskov, Randers

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should be sent by e-mail to the editor or one of the members of the editorial board. Manuscripts should be in English. Articles will undergo peer review and language review.

Articles should not be longer than 50,000 characters (including spaces). Please aim for clear and concise language, remembering that you are writing for a non-Scandinavian audience. If the manuscript is intended for a compilation thesis, the editor should be informed of this.

Captions to figures should be written separately and clearly numbered. Illustrations – photographs, drawings and tables – should be clearly numbered. Credits should be stated at the end of the caption. The author is responsible for the publishing rights of figures. The placing of the figures in relation to the text should be marked. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

Notes should be avoided as far as possible. References should be included in parentheses at the relevant place in the text. Notes should only be used for comments, clarifications or discussion.

The list of *References* should include sub-headings like Archives, Literature, Internet and Fieldwork. Literature should be presented as follows.

Burke, Peter 2009: *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fjell, Tove 2014: Sterke kvinder – svake men. *Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning* (03–04:302–318).

Lowenthal, David 2015: *The Past is a Foreign Country. Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Löfgren, Orvar 2018: Mitt eller vårt? Hemmets moraliska ekonomi. In *Mitt och ditt: Etnologiska perspektiv på ägandets kulturella betydelse*, ed. Karin Salomonsson. Lund: Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 17.

Reviews of new dissertations and other books of broad general interest should be 8,000–14,000 characters (including spaces). A review should consist of a brief presentation of the content and method of the work followed by a contextualization and a personal evaluation. Reviews should be written in English and submitted by e-mail.

The author will have an opportunity to proof-read and make necessary changes. Deadline for article manuscripts is 1 November. Deadline for reviews is 1 December. These dates must be observed. Authors of articles receive two printed copies of the journal. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is an Open Access journal and is published in a free digital version parallel to the printed volume. By agreeing to be published in the journal, authors also give their permission for Open Access publishing (CC BY-SA).

This, the 52nd volume of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, treats the reader to articles on varied and timely themes. Cold War heritage, vaccination reluctance, different takes on applicability as well as cultural communication and sustainability are a few of the topics processed here. All this is accompanied by an extensive section with biographical notes and reviews.