Ethnologia Scandinavica

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Cover illustration: Lamps from the 1950s and 60s displayed in a shop.
Photo: Emil Palmsköld.

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By Lars-Eric Jönsson

In her recently published novel *The Son of Svea*, the Swedish author Lena Andersson starts with a situation where one of the main characters, Ragnar, is rejected by an ethnologist who is about to investigate the history of the Swedish *Folkhem* or the welfare state. While sitting in a café drinking their coffee, eating their buns and pastries Ragnar is asked about his everyday routines, in particular his very regular coffee-drinking, or *fika*, habits.

After a while the ethnologist leaves a message that Ragnar won't fit in her project. Why? He is told he is too ordinary, too common. He is rejected but does not understand why. As the novel continues, he is presented as a typical – and very common – representative of the rationalistic Swedish project called the *Folkhem* (People's Home). He has strong beliefs in science, development, the state and the common good. And in most senses he lives in accordance with these beliefs.

Andersson's novel is not about ethnology but about Ragnar's life. Still, it is not a coincidence that our discipline is used at the start to say something about being ordinary, or too common. As a reader I was somewhat shaken by the fact that my, our, discipline was used to illustrate how cultural sciences were supposed to distance themselves from ordinary everyday lives. The self-understanding of many ethnologists – as far as I am concerned – is not seldom expressed through words of interest like "ordinary" and "everyday life". But when reading the novel and pondering on these well-used words of ours, I get a slight feeling of uneasiness that we have left them behind, letting them floating around in an indefinite pool with words of consensus.

One could claim that ethnologists have studied, at least since the 1990s, ordinariness via perspectives on deviance, marginalization and such. That is, through its opposite we have claimed certain access to the ordinary. And those are valid arguments. Yet I would argue that our view of concepts like "ordinary" or "everyday life" is left unproblematized and undeveloped. I may be wrong. And in a certain sense I hope I am. If so, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* welcomes contributions that develop and argue for the idea of ordinary and neighbouring concepts.

A quick look at this year's articles in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* gives some support to the above observation. On the other hand we find crucial themes or concepts like materiality, gendering, performance, identity, power and citizenship. They are all examples and signs of where ethnology has been heading in the last few decades.

Beate Sløk-Andersen starts with her fieldwork in the Danish army, focusing on the uniform and how the wearer makes the uniform, and vice versa. She shows how the uniform is a producer of, and not only a sign of, rank and discipline, but at the same time also creating uniformity. It was supposed to conceal some differences, such as gender, and to emphasize others such as rank. In a truly bodily situation Sløk-Andersen observed and experienced how uniform and body, together in practice, underlined and produced gender.

In her article Susanne Nylund Skog focuses on identifications and storytelling, not only via language but through materiality and practices, for example through eating and drinking.

In the specific situation of telling the story, the teller navigates between posi-

tions, producing identification, each and every time. Anneli Palmsköld investigates another aspect of the production of history, that is, the recycling of things in terms of vintage, retro and shabby chic. Daniel Svensson follows with an investigation of the transformation of landscapes in the Swedish 1970s. From his example he shows how a rural landscape was transformed into an industrialized one, a process based on rationalistic arguments, true to their time. Svensson shows how unarticulated memories of and in the landscape have turned into what he calls a movement heritage such as small-scale agriculture and human and animal trails or paths. Nylund Skog, Palmsköld and Svensson develop people's relations to the past, relations that cannot be reduced to "use" of history but must be considered more active and productive. Recycling, performing or production of history seem more accurate terms for describing such processes.

Karine Aasgard Jansen writes about how Norwegian public health authorities handled a pandemic and the subsequent mass vaccinations. How was this met and understood by lay people and how did their understanding relate to the official information about the pandemic? Authorities tended to focus on biological perspectives on diseases. For decision makers it all seemed very reasonable to conduct vaccinations despite the risks of side effects and the questionable level of dispersion. Aasgard Jansen's case illuminates themes like asymmetric rights and responsibility in the relation between professionals, authorities and lay people, that is the citizens.

The medical theme is also pursued by Jonas Winther as he investigates randomized controlled trials (RCTs) for testing interventions targeting people's behaviour and lifestyles. Through the concept of roadworks he observed and tracked participants in trials and how they tried to follow protocols that sought to change their everyday lives. Winther describes and analyses how protocols collided with everyday life measures and demands, as life happened and met scientific ideals of uniformity, measurability and standardization.

Katarzyna Herd follows with a study on gendering processes. Her case is the Swedish elite football scene and how women are perceived and written about in the football context. How do processes of gender coding work in this environment? Herd highlights both the problems of escaping gendered categories, not the least for the researcher herself, and masculinity as a context-specific construction.

Tiina-Riita Lappi and Pia Olsson investigate encounters of cultural and social diversity in urban spaces. That is, the places studied were public or semi-public. Lappi and Olsson shows how different places were avoided by their informants due to the risk of conflicts but also how other places, such as the limited space on a train, were unavoidable. The article underlines the importance of social practices rather than the built environment when experiencing risk, fear or safety.

In the following article Helena Hörnfeldt interviews children about how they view the end of the world. To these children the apocalypse seemed to be understood as the collapse of nature. One of Hörnfeldt's main points is how fears have changed from a few decades earlier when

nature was the cause of fears rather than an object of concern as seems to be the case now.

Hans-Jakob Ågotnes ends the article section with an investigation of the debates about the right to vote in Norway 1814–1913. Why were some entitled to vote and others not? A main point made by Ågotnes is that the modern concept of citizenship is not unproblematic to transfer in all its senses back to the early nineteenth century. Ågotnes shows how the question of suffrage was connected to assumptions about autonomous and dependent citizens rather than rich and poor, or, by extension, man and woman. People dependent on autonomous men – crofters, servants, women and children – were not considered full citizens with the right to vote.

So how about the ordinary? Does it mean anything in these articles? I guess it does, more or less explicitly. Jonas Winther is perhaps the one who uses the neighbouring concept of everyday life as an analytical starting point, in contrast to the scientific protocols that interfered with his informants' daily life. Even if this were the only example, I suppose that all of our writers, in some sense, would subscribe to some interest in ordinary and everyday life. My initial issue, however, concerned how we deal with and activate these concepts. Not that I wish that all our contributors should comment on the issue. But sometimes we perhaps could give it a thought and ask ourselves what we mean when we utter the words "common" or "ordinary" or refer to "everyday life". And, of course, what they are good for.

How Good Soldiers Become-with Their Uniforms
An Exploration of Uniformity in Practice
By Beate Sløk-Andersen

"Sløk, you look like shit! You're a soldier, for God's sake – look like one!" (Field notes, week 12)

This was the reaction I received early one morning during a four-day military drill I was participating in as part of my fieldwork in the Danish army. Like the rest of the platoon, I had spent the night sleeping in a simple tarpaulin tent-like construction in the woods and was now getting ready to start a new day. I figured that it would make sense to fetch some water for the daily 'field shower' before getting my uniform in order. Thus, my jacket was unbuttoned, I was wearing neither hat nor helmet, and my weapon and my combat belt (containing ammunition and other at-hand essentials) were lying on the ground next to my tent. But as the quotation indicates, the platoon's second-in-command, Sergeant Bolt, did not agree with my assessment of the situation. If I had remembered the words he uttered months earlier – "The first thing people see when they look at a soldier is the uniform" (field notes, week 1) – I would probably not have left my tent without my uniform being in order.

A uniform makes members of the armed forces recognizable. This attire camouflages differences by downplaying marks of individuality and stressing – well, uniformity. In this article, I explore how this is not only apparent in literal terms but also how we might understand the uniform as a materiality that is embedded in a performance that makes its wearer recognizable as a military subject. Based on empirical material from the Danish army, this article offers insight into the uniformity that uniforms are expected to constitute, while it also challenges this same uniformity by examining the seemingly mundane, embodied routines of conscripted soldiers. The article hereby utilizes an ethnological approach to explore the productive effects of such attire; specifically, by asking how the uniform constitutes and negotiates the becoming of military subjects through everyday routines. The article pays particular attention to the material-discursive entanglement of matter that takes place when the uniform is 'done' by these young soldiers.

Exploring Uniforms from the Perspective of Everyday Life

When I decided to conduct participatory fieldwork among conscripted soldiers, I had anticipated that a superior might yell at me; however, I had not foreseen the difficulties that came along with wearing the uniform. I had embarked on this part of my fieldwork three months earlier to explore how young Danish citizens are transformed into soldiers through the entanglement of elements such as physical training, disciplining measures, social interaction, and materiality. At the time I was planning my fieldwork, Sweden and several NATO member states had abolished this compulsory military service, and the outlook for the Danish conscription system did not seem very good. Nonetheless, it has persisted despite recurrent debates on alternative structures and reductions in the Danish Armed Forces – albeit in a reduced form of four months of basic training for most of the 4,200 conscripts doing military service each year. I was intrigued by the system's perseverance, which was strengthened when Sweden reintroduced conscription and Nor-

way expanded its draft to include women (the latter has brought about new research efforts, see e.g. Lilleaas & Ellingsen 2014).

Scholars before me have been curious about conscription and the ways in which the subject is disciplined within a military context (Goffman 1968; Damsholt 2000; Wollinger 2000; Foucault 2008). In this article, my intention is to expand upon these studies by drawing upon perspectives from post-humanism and post-feminism in order to emphasize the effect of materiality in this process. Specifically, I move beyond the body of the soldiers to explore how the materiality of the uniform is involved in constituting recognizable military subjects. Through this lens, my analysis unfolds how this can be understood as a process of constant work and negotiation, particularly because the conscripts' willingness and ability to be recognizable as a military subject varied, in part due to the uniform. While, at a glance, the importance of the uniform

could appear to be a *visual* uniformity, a broader perception of uniformity allows for a more complex exploration of how the uniform participates in the becoming of *good soldiers*; I return to this figure later in the article.

Within the field of ethnology, studies of military issues have been "surprisingly" scarce (Engman 2013:114), especially when narrowed down to projects with a contemporary focus. In Scandinavia, the main contributions are Jonas Engman's work on the Swedish navy (2002, 2013) and Susanne Wollinger's close detail of conscripts in the Swedish army (2000). Like them, my work takes an everyday – life approach to studying the military setting; however, I pay greater attention to the uniform and the daily *routines* in which it is embedded. In particular, I have been curious about how practices and rationales that at first seemed exotic became new norms during the four months; how "strange" practices became unnoticed everyday routines. In

The author literally in the military field.

this regard, I draw inspiration from ethnologists Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn, who have argued that it is through everyday routines "anchored in the body" that tasks and actions become almost invisible to us (2010:82; see also Ehn 2011 and Löfgren 2014).

Dress scholars also support an analytical approach that focuses on routines. Ingun G. Klepp and Mari Bjerck (2014) have for instance argued that, when gathering empirical material for an analysis of uniforms, methods such as interviews or textual analysis alone should not form the basis of the work, as they are insufficient to capture the automated routines and *tacit knowledge* essential to dressing. Following this argument, my analysis draws upon interviews along with auto-ethnographic experiences and observational studies, primarily from my fieldwork at one particular military camp.[1] Using the empirical material that these methods generated, I explore how we might understand the 'production' of military subjects in relation to embodied practices and routines connected to the uniform. Or how, in the words of Donna Haraway (2008), the becoming of good soldiers can be seen as a *becoming-with* the military uniform.

Previous Studies of Uniforms

The essential role of the uniform in the being and becoming of soldiers has been emphasized in earlier studies. According to the historian Karsten Skjold Petersen (2014), the introduction of uniforms in the Danish-Norwegian army in the seventeenth century served two main purposes: a practical and a tactical purpose. The practical function was to protect the soldier against all types of weather, and the tactical function was for the soldiers to be recognizable; e.g., on the battlefield or as an authority. Expanding on this question of authority, the anthropologist Erella Grassiani has argued, based on her empirical studies of Israeli soldiers, that "[t]he uniforms they wear and the weapons they carry materialize the power that soldiers have" (2013:85). While I recognize the authority that a uniform implies, I challenge the static conception of uniforms that Grassiani presents. In her definition, the uniform becomes an external representation of a pre-existing power relation, and it is interpreted as having one fixed meaning that applies to everyone who wears the uniform. As an alternative, I provide greater detail as to how uniforms come to matter in different ways through practice, and how the implied authority that is typically associated with the uniform is the result of entangled matter and routines.

In non-military settings, uniforms have been described as being entangled with issues of hierarchy, discipline, and the diminishment of individuality (Craik 2005; Larsson 2008; Neumann *et al*. 2012; Leilund 2015), presumably due to the military origin of uniforms (Larsson 2008: 14–15). And indeed, military uniforms have influenced the design of non-military uniforms as well as fashion trends in a broader sense (Black 2014). This relation between military uniforms and non-military apparel supports a broader scepticism about making clear distinctions between separate military and civic spheres (Enloe 2000). In this article, I focus on the use of military uniforms but also reflect on what happens when these uniforms "travel" beyond the military setting.

Within ethnology and related fields, we have already seen a more practice-oriented approach to the study of uniforms. For example, in her doctoral work, Marianne Larsson (2008) examined the development of uniform practice within the Swedish postal services from the seventeenth century until today, specifically exploring how uniforms work to establish and negotiate uniformity. Utilizing a variety of empirical material, Larsson describes how the uniform creates docile bodies that should contribute to the ongoing durability of the postal services while simultaneously constituting internal power relations. Larsson stresses how the uniform has participated in disciplining postal workers and, related to this, how the wearer of the uniform came to "carry the institution with him" (2008:12). My analysis builds upon these findings by describing how the disciplining enabled by the uniform depends on specific situations; the uniform entangles with many other elements that change its matter from one setting to another. Thus, my contemporary perspective prompts new understandings of uniforms in practice.

Using a similar approach, Helle Leilund (2015) has also challenged ideas about the uniform as an object that is able to "do something specific" to the wearer. After conducting ethnographic fieldwork among nurses, postal workers, and train conductors, Leilund describes how uniforms can be 'done' in different ways – despite formal regulations and the uniformity of the design – thus making it a "complex phenomenon that *is* something different, dependent on [the] practice the uniform is done in" (2015:100). Following this conceptualization of the uniform,

Leilund argues that there is a mutual relation between the uniform and its wearer, in which both parties 'do' each other. This reflects the idea of the military subject becoming-with the uniform that I attempt to unfold.

Being Recognized as a G*ood Soldier*

During my fieldwork, conscripts as well as sergeants[2] articulated the image of *the good soldier* as something to aspire to in everyday situations. For instance, it was often repeated that "a good soldier is a lazy soldier", implying that a good soldier does things correctly the first time around instead of being sloppy and having to do the task over. But as the quotation opening this article suggests, this not only requires an internalized desire to do things correctly but also knowledge of what "good" might imply in a given situation. I should have known and wanted to do the right thing: A good soldier should not need correction but would instinctively know what is the correct thing to do (as also argued in Damsholt 2000). As the company's second-in-command, Lieutenant Olsen, had told us: "We're nice when we explain something the first time, but after that, we expect you to know it" (field notes, week 1).

In my analytical approach, I take the good soldier to be more than a mere expression; it is an agentic figure constituted through everyday routines. My initial inspiration for this approach came from the post-feminist scholar Judith Butler's conceptualization of *recognition*. Butler argues that humans can only be recognized as subjects if they live up to certain (gendered) patterns (1990; 1993). As she describes it, these patterns are defined via

the heterosexual matrix in which compulsory relations between one's sex, gender, and sexual desire are defined (1990). For instance, a male individual should act masculine and desire women – and vice versa for females. This way, the matrix (re)produces gendered patterns by regulating how one's gender and sexuality should be performed. Following Löfgren and Ehn's definition of routines (2010), we could see the gender performances as expressions of *tacit knowledge* and a sort of "autopilot mode" within us that organize a *shared choreography*. If the consistency of the matrix is not reiterated through our performances, Butler argues, then we cannot be recognized as someone worthy of, for example, having rights or being treated equal to others. As such, Butler writes that recognition is "a site of power by which the human is differentially produced" (2004:2).

I am adapting this conceptualization of recognition in the way that *the good soldier* becomes the matrix through which soldiers are recognized through the performance of acceptable patterns for how to be a good soldier. Through this lens, I will explore how the figure of the good soldier – just like the gender categories in Butler's case – is practised and reconfigured through speech, materialization, and embodiment. Just as a certain gender uniformity is established via the heterosexual matrix, so too is the figure of the good soldier perceived as participating in the establishment of a certain uniformity among conscripts. However, as Butler has been criticized for neglecting any materiality beyond that of the body (Barad 2003; Mol 2002), I also draw on the philosopher Annemarie Mol's concept of agency as a distributed practice arising through the entanglement of (material) actors (2002; 2008). Reflecting how I intend to approach the figure of the good soldier, Mol and John Law suggest that "[i]n complex, mundane, material practices 'the good' tends to figure as something to tinker towards – silently" (2002:85).

Linking Butler and Mol, I will explore how uniforms are done – or become-with – the enactment of good soldiers, as this ties to the *performative* 'nature' of recognition that Butler argues for as "that power of discourse to produce effects through reiteration" (1993:20). This definition indicates a processual approach, as the reiterations are constant work; the recognition of someone as a good soldier is never secure. The recognition needs continuous enactments because "a signifier, rather than simply naming something that already exists, works to generate that which it apparently names" (Ahmed 2012:92). And while terms like "enactment" and "performativity" might imply a certain optionality or detachment, the very real consequences of failed recognition may emerge as a lost opportunity for a military career, an absence of appraisal, or a negative evaluation. By using the uniform as an entry point, I unfold this process of becoming – or not becoming – a good soldier.

A Question of Uniformity

On the first morning of the conscription period, we were given orders to remove all obvious signs of individuality: beards had to be shaved off, make-up was not allowed, loose hair was to be pulled back in a tight bun, bangs had to be tucked in under the beret, jewellery was not allowed

(except for wedding rings), and visible piercings were to be removed if possible. "You need to be alike," we were told.

Sergeant Wilson, who was training his fourth cohort of conscripts, elaborated on this requirement during the interview I conducted with him. Arguing for the usefulness of conscription as a way to teach people about cohesion and collaboration, he linked this to uniformity:

And this is already introduced on the first day, where we kinda rip people's clothes off and then put all of them in the same uniform. Without earrings and nose piercings and all of those things that constitute the individual and signal "who I am as a person". We tear people away from that a bit and say, "You are part of a unit now, and you have to cooperate as a unit. You are not done before the last person is done". (Interview with Sgt. Wilson)

As this quotation illustrates, the camouflage pattern of the conscripts' uniform is intended to camouflage individuality; minimizing overt differences in appearance is thought to enable cohesion, collaboration, and collective responsibility. The belief seemed to be "The less individuality, the stronger the military unit". And through this belief, the uniform – as well as the entailed absence of markers of individuality – was positioned as crucial to the creation of a combatant platoon. Reflecting the work Mol, the interview quotation supports the argument that "[a] lot of *things* are involved" in the performance of identity (2002:38).

The transformation of a diverse group of civilians into a homogeneous platoon was pursued by first "breaking down" and then "rebuilding" conscripts, as I was told during my initial meeting at the military camp a few days before I embarked on the journey of becoming a soldier myself (field notes, week 1). And while much has

undoubtedly changed in the armed forces since the sociologist Erving Goffman wrote *Asylums* in 1961, I could not help but associate this description of breaking down and rebuilding with Goffman's description of *total institutions* as "the forcing houses for changing persons; each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self" (1968:22). Sergeant Wilson's words are even echoed in the following snippet: "Uniforms are issued on the first day […] The role of the cadet must supersede other roles the individual has been accustomed to play" (ibid.: 25).

The perception of *cohesion* as an essential element in the efficacy of a military unit is widespread in military studies (King 2013). For example, the issue of cohesion has been a recurrent concern in debates about integrating women into combat troops: Opponents have insisted that cohesion would be difficult, even impossible, if the 'band of brothers' was disrupted by the presence of women (for an outline of the opposition, see MacKenzie 2015). For Sergeant Wilson, it was precisely the concept of cohesion that attracted him to the armed forces in the first place; something he now honoured via his uniform, "making sure that it is always in order" because, by doing so, he believed that he was "representing all other soldiers, the entire armed forces" (Interview with Sgt. Wilson).

As the following excerpt from an interview with one of the conscripts suggests, the uniform seemed to have the desired effect of creating a feeling of cohesion *through* the uniformity of our appearance. This was brought up when I asked Madsen to explain what she felt when she put on her uniform:

Madsen: It differs, actually. Because there are times when I think, "This is actually pretty cool." But that's because I'm thinking about the social aspects […] this thing where you have a lot of great friends, but you don't really know them. You know nothing about them, you just become really good friends.

Sløk: How do uniforms relate to this thing about being best friends?

Madsen: It's this thing about everyone being similar in some way. There's no one you look down on or anything like that because we're the same, y'know, in the context of the armed forces. (Interview with Madsen)

To Madsen, the social aspect of doing conscription was important. She was one of the conscripts with whom I spent the most time, as we were both in the same dorm room and the same squad during drills. And although I felt that the uniform did not fully conceal the fact that my presence in the platoon was motivated by a different purpose than the other conscripts, Madsen did not seem to mind. In general, the uniform did indeed make it easier for me to fit into the platoon be-cause it made all of us more similar, as reflected in Madsen's quotation above. By not standing out, either by wearing different apparel or by physically standing on the sidelines, it was mostly forgotten that I was there for different reasons than my fellow conscripts – as long as I acted in a way that made me recognizable as a good soldier (Sløk-Andersen 2017). Even if some of the sergeants wanted to be cautious around me and treat me differently because I was 'the researcher', it was often difficult for them to tell us apart. This became particularly clear on the occasions where I was called by the name of one of the male conscripts in my squad (we were the same height, and our small buns of blond hair on the back of our heads apparently made us look similar from behind). In this way, the uniform enabled my becoming as a military subject while it also – as I illustrate in the following – constituted a collective self through disciplining mechanisms connected to the uniform.

Telling one conscript from the next could be difficult due to the uniformity established with the uniform. Here, the platoon is lined up one early morning during a drill.

Control and Correction

While uniformity may be considered highly important to the creation of a combatant platoon, keeping track of the various uniform parts in a dorm room with eleven other people was a challenge. Each of us had five pairs of khaki-coloured socks, which meant a total of 120 similar socks in our dorm room. Imagine the confusion. But while this material uniformity might not have seemed very practical to those responsible for keeping track of the uniform parts, the uniform seemed to enable certain disciplining mechanisms that made us recognizable as military subjects.

At first, the uniform felt neither comfortable nor empowering. As I wrote in my field notes on day two, "it does not feel familiar at all", followed by comments about all the small details to which I had to pay attention: Are the shoelaces sticking out, are any of the pockets open, is the beret placed correctly on my head? The process of getting accustomed to the uniform was, however, pushed by practices of *control* and *correction* that were a recurrent theme throughout the conscription period. While still in this highly insecure period of feeling estranged by the uniform, some of the sergeants took joy in 'helping' us get our uniforms in order:

In the canteen, two sergeants from another platoon are seated further down the same long table as us, having lunch. They are talking across the table but their conversation is interrupted numerous times as one of them calls out to many of the conscripts passing by. He yells at them to point out that their uniforms are not in order and to correct them at once. Unbuttoned pockets, missing nametags on jackets, curled-up collars. The sergeant is clearly enjoying yelling at the conscripts, giving them orders to stop and correct their uniforms. Out of fear of getting the same treatment, the two conscripts I am having lunch with and I stay seated until the two sergeants have left. (Based on field notes; Tuesday, week 1)

Routines of control were a recurrent part of the day at the military camp. It started every morning at 07:25 when we had our first contact with the sergeants; they would enter our dorm rooms to inspect the room as well as each of us. Besides making sure that we had all of our equipment in order, they would also check the room's cleanliness, the order of things in our closets, and our individual appearance. This would be done by a sergeant standing in front of each of us, only one or two feet away, while we stood *at attention*, looking to the right. Standing like this, the sergeant would inspect us, making sure that the uniform was in order and no camouflage face paint, earrings, or stubble was visible on the neck or face. These situations of being put on individual display often resulted in nervousness and silence in the room.

Discipline, as Foucault has argued, is often centred on "the detailed control" (Damsholt 2000:61), not only by others but also by oneself (Foucault 2008). For us, the sergeants' external gaze was quickly internalized as we were encouraged to control ourselves and each other before standing in front of the sergeants – as a way of "helping each other", we were told. Not only before this morning inspection, but continuously throughout the day: When lining up, when entering or exiting buildings, before drills, before parades, and so on. We would ask the person next to us, "Did you remember your helmet?" or yell out in the dorm room "Does everyone have their maintenance gear?"

This control amongst ourselves was further encouraged through the concept of *collective responsibility*; if someone forgot a glove, no one else was allowed to wear gloves because we were all responsible for the actions of others in the platoon. As when Bisgaard, the quite confused conscript with whom I shared a bunkbed, lost his folding knife during week six, and those of us sharing a dorm room with him became responsible for him not losing any more of his things. After that incident, it became part of our daily routine to ask Bisgaard if he had remembered all of his equipment, especially the folding knife. This became yet another part of our *shared choreography* that was never planned or discussed between us; it just became a pattern of daily routines that were embodied as tacit knowledge. According to Ehn and Löfgren, the advantage of routines lies in their ability to "liberate us from energy-demanding choices such as whether to first put on the left or the right shoe, and whether to boil, fry, or scramble the breakfast eggs" (2010:91). In much the same way, the routine of controlling each other's uniforms became part of a collective autopilot that integrated these routines in our daily life without us thinking much about it.

As an almost natural addition to these disciplining mechanisms that installed control as a practice between conscripts, we also *corrected* each other's uniforms. This was done not just by pointing out that something was out of order but by actually correcting it; straightening a collar, tucking in a shirttail, or closing a pocket. In this way, the clothing on my body, which I would normally consider to be within my personal sphere, became a collective space for control and correction. Not just by sergeants but also by other conscripts. These routines did not only participate in disciplining us as military subjects, they also installed both an individual and a collective internalized gaze (Foucault 2008), which constituted a form of collective self.

Both conscripts as well as sergeants justified these routines of control and correction – which made the armed forces seem exotic to me at first – as a consequence of the potentially fatal outcome of errors when you are a soldier. Following this rationale, Lindberg had no problem making sense of the continuous control of buttons and other tiny routines that were part of our everyday life at the military camp:

Well, Sgt. DC is my squad sergeant and he doesn't care much about cleaning and stuff like that. But the pockets on our combat belt [containing ammunition, water bottle, etc.] better damn be closed! Because if you lose something, it might be what ends up costing someone else their life. A comrade. (Interview with Lindberg)

As this quotation illustrates, uniformity and control related to the uniform was not just a question of creating cohesion or a way of disciplining. It was also a matter of being able to do the best job possible; of being a good soldier able to keep your comrades alive. As such, the control enacted through daily routines and shared choreographies of correcting each other meant protecting the collective self in the potential line of fire.

While many conscripts did not consider themselves to be 'real' soldiers, the idea of being in *the line of fire* was the backdrop for much of the teaching and doctrines. For example, the hierarchal structure in

the armed forces was understood as a completely natural way to organize the military sphere because being under attack does not allow time for an unclear or ambiguous power structure. As the colonel in charge of the regiment explained to me: "We don't hold back, we tell it like it is. But that has an operational reason: If we debate for too long and [are] too unclear, we will die" (interview with Col. Johnsen). In this way, the disciplining measures related to the control and correction of the uniforms were entangled with being a good soldier in imagined (or, to some of the sergeants, actually experienced) life-or-death scenarios of a real soldier. Through the performance of daily routines of control and correction, most conscripts tried their best to perform as good soldiers – while knowing that they were far from being real soldiers.

The Entangled Matter of Uniforms

With regard to the uniform, the ideal of always being able to save a comrade's life was not the only aspect of what it means to be a good soldier that appeared. During my fieldwork, I had a couple of one-on-one talks and interviews with our platoon commander, Lieutenant Petersen. In the following scenario, I was asking him questions about the ranking system, and how strictly it applies to everyday situations. This led to the following reflections:

Lt. Petersen: We wouldn't have had the same possibility to discipline, I think.
Sløk: If it hadn't been for the rank system? How are the two connected?
Lt. Petersen: There is no doubt about who is in charge because you can *see* it. And you can see how they are ranked in accordance with each other, those who are in charge […] I think that when you have the ranking system, then you are

more prone to accept what is said. (Second interview with Lt. Petersen)

The lieutenant went on to provide an example of how people outside the military camp would react differently if he gave orders wearing his uniform versus his 'civilian' clothes; the uniform would no doubt make people more prone to follow his orders. We might say that the uniform makes him recognizable as a military subject entitled to give orders; a good soldier that can claim authority.

Through Lieutenant Petersen's description, it becomes clear how authority and discipline are entangled and done through the materiality of the uniform and the routines of which it is a part. While everyone wearing a military uniform might seem alike to those not familiar with the small details inscribing information on the uniforms, these details matter among the wearers. Without the ranking system inscribed in and on the uniform jacket, the authority that is distributed accordingly would entangle in a different way. But the differing matter of the uniform is not merely dependent on the signs on its surface, as distinctions and medals inscribing information about rank and previous deployment experiences. Rather, it comes to matter through the material-discursive entanglement of elements, such as the ranking system, disciplining mechanisms enabled by military law, the fabric of the uniform, the tone of voice in which orders are given, and certain ways of moving and standing (for the latter, see Sløk-Andersen 2017). All of these elements are entangled when Lieutenant Petersen's uniform comes to matter, and the effect of the uniform would be different if even just one of the entangled elements was absent.

This shifting entanglement of matter in the uniform was obvious if we travelled home during the weekend while wearing it. We were granted this opportunity after a couple of weeks; at that point we were considered to be able to act "properly" outside the military camp – which meant something along the lines of sitting up straight and being polite to others. And even with the sergeants and their disciplining measures out of sight, the imperative to have our uniforms in order and to act properly when wearing the uniform was already embedded in us; this was a part of our performance as good soldiers that we carried with us. The embodied routines kept us within the limits of recognition: Taking off the beret when entering a building, rolling it up and putting it into the pocket by the right knee happened without thinking much about it. Even those who grew discontented with doing military service seemed to still act properly when we went to the train station together on Friday afternoons – or they just did not wear the uniform home.

However, the uniformity and the feeling of 'being in this together' that were established with the uniform slowly disappeared when we left the military camp. Outside the camp's fence, we were seen as "representatives of the entire Danish Armed Forces", as Sergeant Bolt had told us (Field notes, week 5). Here, the hierarchal differences that put sergeants in a position to control and correct our uniforms receded as elements entangled differently in the uniform. Outside the military camp, the uniformity of our attire made us recognizable as soldiers rather than conscripts, which made the military ranking system disappear. The authority that had, up until now, been associated with the uniforms that our sergeants wore was hereby enabled for us to perform – if only for a short while. This concurrently made a shift in what it meant to be a good soldier, as obedience at the bottom of the hierarchy inside the military camp was exchanged for authority outside the camp's fence.

Despite the changing matter of the uniform, it seemed as though it came with a certain way of acting, of moving, of talking, of thinking: a certain pattern for how to perform, which I argue is informed by the figure of the good soldier, even if the routines tied to this performance shifted depending on the elements that were entangled in the uniform.

Challenging the Idea of Uniformity

While the uniform did indeed participate in creating uniformity, it simultaneously seemed to make other elements more visible. I discovered that, over the course of the four-month conscription period, good soldiers did not need to be completely similar after all. While a basic requirement for being recognizable as a good soldier was still to have your uniform in order and keep track of all of your equipment, some conscripts seemed to stand out from the crowd more than others.

While promoting the recent introduction of gender-mixed dorm rooms at the camp, our company commander (who was called "Boss", as he was at the top of the local hierarchy) initially told us:

We do not evaluate due to gender, but due to competences […] To me, you are not men and women, but rather competences that I can use to solve tasks. Some are really smart, and others are really strong. (Field notes, week 1)

The uniform was believed to conceal gender differences; it was expected to make us all non-gendered soldiers, which echoes Sergeant Wilson's aforementioned argument that the uniform removes the elements that signal "who I am as a person". Competences, however, were seen as differing from one conscript to the next. They were apparently not camouflaged by the uniform – quite the opposite, I would argue, as they affected one's ability to be recognized as a good soldier. To illustrate the way in which this is entangled with the uniform, I next present an example centred on the highly ordinary act of peeing.

Being a conscript was strongly related to the feeling of being in a hurry: Everything always had to be done as quickly as possible. We were given a specific number of minutes for most tasks, and it almost always felt like too little time. This was also the case when needing to urinate, which was particularly challenging during drills. Here, having to wear a belt with two small buckles as well as pants with both a zipper and a button made peeing a time-consuming task for some of us. Before I had even got my pants down by my ankles and squatted, those who could easily just zip down the fly in their pants and pee standing up had almost finished. Having a male squad sergeant meant that breaks during drills or patrols were timed based on how long it took him to pee. And because he peed standing up, he was quite fast at getting it over with and calling on us to line up again. By the time this happened, I would still have to stand up, zip and button my pants, close the two buckles of the belt, and put on the rest of my equipment. And while those standing up to pee often just took one step to the side, I would go looking for a bit of cover before exposing my entire lower body to the world. Needless to say, it was usually a woman who lined up last after these breaks.

Exploring the material-discursive enactment of gender in academia, the ethnologist Tine Damsholt (2013) has argued that uniformity in the materiality that covers the body can make other elements visible, including gender, due to the material-discursive entanglement in a given setting (see also Mol 2002). It appeared the same in this scenario, where female physiology, the design of the uniform, and routines designated by a male squad sergeant entangled in a way that made it very difficult for women in particular to meet the requirements for being punctual. Because being on time was presented as an essential part of being a good soldier, this entanglement made gender appear in the performance of being a good soldier. I could not recognize myself as a good soldier in these situations due to the routines that were established around the recurrent act of peeing. While the uniform was meant to camouflage gender categories, it simultaneously made gender present in these situations.

Yet uniformity also challenged the performance of certain competences. An example of this appeared during drills and exercises when the platoon was divided into four squads, each led by a squad sergeant and supported by a second-in-command. The latter was appointed among the conscripts in the squad and was referred to as an *alpha*. The alpha would help manage

the rest of the squad, which included supervising the routines of control and correction; the squad sergeant thus 'lent' authority to these conscripts. It was never explained to the rest of us why some were appointed for this role, so I made sure to ask about it in my interviews with the squad sergeants. As Sergeant DC explained how he used the alpha role to test conscripts' potential for advancement to sergeant after the conscription period, he told me:

So here we make sort of an assessment of how the person works in relation to this group. Does this person command respect? Or, "command respect" that sounds quite harsh, but can this person actually get the group to do something without the rest of them going "Sure, sure, we'll just do it later," y'know? (Interview with Sgt. DC)

However, the alphas experienced that it can be difficult to stand out from uniformity. When trying to perform the routines of our sergeants – e.g., ordering us to go through each pocket of our combat belts to ensure that everything was where it was supposed to be – the alphas were often met with arguments, complaints, or even someone giving them the finger. Those who were not considered to be particularly good soldiers by the other conscripts had the hardest job; why follow orders from someone who is not considered to be good at their job? But "commanding respect" was to some degree a challenge for all the alphas, as their uniforms were not inscribed with a change in authority; they showed the same rank as those conscripts the alphas were trying to lead. Shutting up and doing what we were told without arguing or resisting came naturally when sergeants gave us

orders, even the sergeants we did not know – like the one who was correcting uniforms in the canteen – because their uniforms revealed a rank higher than ours. But with these conscripts who wore uniforms identical to the rest of us, the uniformity that was supposed to ensure cohesion now challenged their attempts to perform leadership. The authority that came to matter when travelling home while wearing the uniform was now absent. In the role of alpha, the entanglement of the uniform challenged attempts to prove themselves as good soldiers through routines that were otherwise unnoticed when performed by the sergeants.

However, when gender was added to this entanglement, it seemed as though some alphas were more challenged than others. After already observing how the one female sergeant in our platoon seemed to struggle with being accepted as an authority, the issue also appeared during an interview with Nielsen, the only female conscript in our platoon to be appointed alpha. When I asked what it was like to give orders to other conscripts, Nielsen told me about her struggle to carry out the role of alpha because her male colleagues "might think it sucks being bossed around by a 20-year-old girl". This impression was based on a sense of not always being "taken seriously" and having to "prove [herself] more" (interview with Nielsen). She hesitated when explaining this to me, perhaps a bit unsure if this was a valid assessment of the situation, but when I later interviewed one of her male colleagues, Christoffersen, he said:

I respect her. I think she's a good alpha, and I understand why she's alpha instead of me and all that, whereas many might think, "Oh, but she's only alpha because she's a girl" […] It's not like that. I can sense that she's fighting for it. She's passionate about it. She wants it. And that's why I just have respect [for her] instead. And I think it's too bad that she isn't getting the credit that… sometimes should be given. (Interview with Christoffersen)

While "commanding respect" was challenged by the uniformity established through the uniform, leadership simultaneously seemed to bring gender to the front. Building on Damsholt's argument that uniform attire might bring other differences to the front, I question the assumption that a military uniform always camouflages gender. Rather, gender differences were reiterated and brought to the front through the entanglement of uniformity, authority, and leadership. In this way, the alpha role transformed the matter of the uniform. While the uniform made it difficult to stand out, the uniformity it established simultaneously made some conscripts stand out; for instance, by constituting gender differences.

When Recognition is Challenged

While the struggle for most alphas to be recognized as good soldiers was primarily tied to their attempts to claim authority, other conscripts were challenged in a broader sense by seeming to do few things 'correctly'. One of these conscripts was Hajjar. As he was often positioned right in front of me during marches and line-ups, I knew about the continuous corrections, yelling, and sighing that he encountered from sergeants as well as other conscripts (including my-

self). Hajjar had signed up for military service to make his father proud but had discovered that the job was "too tough" for him. Nevertheless, he persisted in his attempts to be a good soldier, thus illustrating the processual and performative nature of military subjectivity. During my interview with him, Hajjar also pointed to the felt experience of (his attempted) becoming-with the uniform:

Well, you have to look good when you're a soldier and travel home [for the weekend] in your uniform. Then you need to look nice and be an adult. You shouldn't *act* like an adult; you should actually *be* an adult. (Interview with Hajjar)

The quotation suggests that the military subjectivity enabled and enacted through the uniform is not just a detached persona that can be switched on and off; rather, it is a question of the self. The performance of the good soldier is about becoming a specific self through the entanglement of elements such as disciplined bodies, life-and-death scenarios, and uniforms. For Hajjar, this feeling of recognition failed to appear: Neither he nor others in the platoon recognized him as a good soldier, despite the fact that he wore the uniform throughout the four months. As such, his hope for a career in the armed forces slowly disappeared.

For others, the desire to be recognized as a good soldier was not as present as it was for Hajjar. Some conscripts ended up regretting having signed up for military service and tried to avoid the uniform as much as possible; one conscript attempted to be classified as a conscientious objector halfway through the four months, while others seemed to push the limit of how many sick days could be accepted.

Dalgaard, who was in my dorm room, had given up on the idea of a military career after the first two drills in the forest. Being cold, exhausted, and far away from any fast-food vendors had made him realize that maybe being a soldier was not his dream job after all. Following this realization, Dalgaard seemed to use any excuse to make a minimal effort or to not participate at all, while avoiding any formal punishment. Being sloppy when it came to keeping the uniform in order could be an example of this. As I wrote in my field notes:

Meanwhile, Sgt. Kleinmann controls our attire. He always finds mistakes. "Come on, look yourself up and down before I do," he yells. In a sharp and loud tone of voice, Dalgaard is told that he is "a fucking loser without any self-respect". I find out later that this outburst from Sgt. Kleinmann was a reaction to Dalgaard not having buttoned his jacket. (Field notes, week 5)

From his performance, it was clear that Dalgaard did not want to be a good soldier, and the sergeants picked up on that. And while this is one of the harsher reactions from a sergeant, it is a vivid example of why most of us eagerly tried to avoid being corrected; we felt embarrassment and discomfort when a sergeant scolded us for not performing in a way that aligned with being a good soldier. But Dalgaard did not change his behaviour accordingly. Rather, he seemed to care less and less – which was somewhat frustrating to those of us who shared a dorm room with him, as we were still bound to the concept of collective responsibility. By not wanting to be recognized as a good soldier, Dalgaard stopped being part of our shared choreography, which then challenged *our*

chances of being recognized as good soldiers.

Reflecting on the theoretical basis for this analysis, the question then becomes: What happens when someone is not interested in being recognized as a good soldier? When someone does not practise the routines that were initially motivated by a desire to be recognized? This might indicate a shortcoming in the theoretical approach applied in this article, while also underscoring the emergence of a military self that goes beyond the individual.

Not Being a *Real* Soldier

Enacted the right way, the uniform participates in making conscripts recognizable as good soldiers. Yet the uniform can also become a source of annoyance when it obstructs the desire to be recognized as a *real soldier*. At the time of my fieldwork, the army was changing its uniforms from a green to a khaki camouflage pattern.[3] This was said to be due to the Danish Armed Forces' engagement in missions to countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq where the environment is warmer and less fertile than the green and often cold Danish woods for which the old uniform seemed to be designed. The introduction of the new uniform thus materializes a change in Danish foreign and defence politics, while also marking differences in hierarchy, as the new uniform was implemented in a way that prioritized those soldiers closest to "the front". As a result, conscripts and volunteer members of the Danish Home Guard were the only service members whose uniforms were still green when I did this participatory fieldwork in the spring of 2016.

Conscripts lined up in their green uniforms, with commanders in khaki uniforms moving more freely in the background.

While many of the conscripts at first wore their uniform home on weekends, the excitement in this ultimately wore off for most of them. A few weeks before being discharged, I asked Christoffersen if he travelled home in his uniform, and he explained that he did not feel pride in "wearing a uniform that anyone gets to put on if they just pass the medical check [at the draft]" (Interview with Christoffersen). The previous three-and-a-half months in the armed forces had taught the conscripts to decode (and reproduce) this entangled matter of the uniforms: Our green uniform became less prestigious, as it reflected holding the lowest possible rank and revealed that we had not been anywhere close to the line of fire.

While the uniform had participated in the becoming of these young soldiers, it was simultaneously pushing back through the entangled elements that were made visible to the conscripts themselves. Explaining why he had stopped wearing his uniform while travelling home, Buster told me:

At first, I thought it was cool […] But it's just that now *I know* that to be a real soldier you wear that [khaki] uniform. And the rest of the world doesn't know that, but I know that now when I look at us. I know that this [green] uniform… You might as well be part of the Home Guard to wear this. And I'm not that big of a fan of the Home Guard. (Interview with Buster)

References to the Danish Home Guard were made numerous times throughout the four months and did not have positive connotations, likely because members of this volunteer service were perceived as being even further from 'real' soldiers than the conscripts were. Thus, having the same uniforms as the members of this service was considered to be a drawback, decreasing the pride that many had felt when first wearing the green uniform. Here, the uniformity established through the green uniform became an obstacle to recognition. In this way, the uniform not only functioned as an element in the enactment of recognizable military subjects but equally as a materialized obstacle to these conscripts being able to recognize themselves – because being *a good soldier* did not necessarily mean being *a real soldier*.

A good soldier, as illustrated throughout this article, is someone who has the tacit knowledge of unwritten or unspoken expectations and rules, and who can instinctively apply them in changing sit-

uations; someone who can quickly read situations and translate them into an acceptable performance. The figure of the *real soldier* appeared during the conscription period as a sort of abstract potential lurking on the horizon. When asked during interviews if they would define themselves as real soldiers, most conscripts distanced themselves from this category, as it was associated with the possibility of actually being in the line of fire (see also Pedersen 2017). Yet, while being in the line of fire was considered to be miles away from being a conscript, the daily routines of control and correction still entangled the military uniform with this prospect of becoming a real soldier. Being a good soldier meant always being ready for the line of fire – just in case this possibility ever appeared with its promise of reconfiguring us into real soldiers. As one of my room-mates wrote on the first page of his notebook: "Be ready, all the time." (Field notes week 1)

To return to the quotation that opened this article, when I was yelled at for looking "like shit" that morning in the woods, it was not only a comment on my unbuttoned jacket or my missing hat. It was a comment on me not being ready, all the time. It was the visible absence of daily routines that should have assured me (and the collective self) that I had everything in order. I would never have walked around in such disarray inside the military camp where the routines were well-established and the collective self would have controlled and corrected me before standing in front of the sergeants. But in the woods, the routines and shared choreography that I knew from the dorm room

had changed. And, as it turned out, I did not have the tacit knowledge of how the uniform should be practised in this setting, which resulted in a moment of failed recognition.

Conclusion

Conscription seems to give the armed forces the possibility to create the good, disciplined soldiers they want and need – at least in those cases where the conscripts are willing subjects who enact recognizable subject positions. The uniforms worn by conscripts as well as sergeants play a key role in this process, as they enable not only a sense of cohesion but also disciplining practices of control and correction. To Sergeant Wilson, this was "just a test of their discipline" (Interview with Sgt. Wilson) but as my analysis has suggested, uniforms participate in a more complex processual becoming of good soldiers.

As I illustrated in the first part of this article, uniformity helps create cohesion between conscripts by downplaying traits of individuality. This showed itself to be further emphasized by routines of control and correction that established not only military selves but also a collective self. The disciplining mechanisms tied to the uniform not only enable the disciplining of individual soldiers, but concurrently constitute the recognition of good soldier as dependent on a collective self. Being a good soldier is therefore not only up to the individual conscript to perform: Sharing a dorm room with someone who always lost equipment or who had no desire to be recognized as a good soldier affected the rest of us.

Conscripts need to wear a uniform to be recognizable as soldiers, yet simply wear-

ing the uniform is not sufficient; it needs to be practised in certain ways that make the conscript recognizable as a military subject. But as the uniform's entanglement changed, matters of rank, authority, discipline, cohesion, and gender also shifted. The required adaptation in the performance of good soldiers would sometimes challenge recognition as a conscript's gender or lack of hierarchical status could stand out all too intrusively. Ascribing greater agency to it than much previous research has done, the uniform seemed to push back and participate in the negotiation and work that went into the becoming of military subjects.

Previous studies of uniforms have already shown how their matter can change. Leilund's (2015) ethnographic work on the use of uniforms within three different professions, for instance, suggests that the matter of the uniform is dependent on the practice of which it is a part, and that the uniform and its wearer are mutually co-constitutive. Adding to this argument, I would emphasize that the professional becoming-with the uniform – in this case, within the armed forces – is crucial to the becoming of the profession itself. Larsson (2008) discusses how a uniform makes an employee "carry the institution with him" (2008:12), but based on my analysis, I would add that the institution is not only "carried"; it is constructed, negotiated, and practised through the use of uniforms.

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Notes

1   I draw on a total of 35 interviews with conscripts and commanders who were all part of the same platoon. Interviews were conducted during the last few weeks of the four-month conscription period. Additionally, I draw on a week of observations from draft examinations (*session*), smaller contrasting bits of fieldwork at other regiments in the army, a few additional interviews, as well as reports and other written materials. All persons mentioned in the article have been given a different name to cover their identity.

2   To make this an easier read for those not familiar with the military ranking system, the term "sergeants" is used to refer to superiors, who were often non-commissioned officers (NCOs), while a few were corporals or sergeants in training.

3   The new uniform was described as "beige" in my first draft, which provoked strong reactions from some military scholars; beige is apparently not a colour to be associated with the armed forces.

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The German Language, Preiselbeeren and Orange Juice
Processes of Identification in a Swedish-Jewish Woman's Everyday Storytelling
By Susanne Nylund Skog

In this article I examine the relationship between storytelling and processes of identification. The purpose is to analyse how a Swedish-Jewish woman uses storytelling as an identification device and a strategy to avoid marginalizing preconceptions. With the concept of "positioning" I attempt to demonstrate the tension between the different social and cultural positions that individuals are forced to take and the ones they choose freely, as well as to show how they move and navigate between them by the use of storytelling (Anthias & Pajnik 2014; Taylor 2012).

In response to discussions on identity politics and methods for investigating identity I will show that social identifications are the results of how people interpret, position and encounter one another and of how individuals position themselves as answers to these. Furthermore, I argue that through analysis of everyday storytelling, it is possible to explore how categories are connected with languages and genres and how these connections offer some possibilities of identification and exclude others (see e.g. Andrews 2007; Jackson 2006; Shuman 2005, 2006). In that respect such analyses offer a gateway into the complexities of power and agency in performances of everyday life.

Identity, Identification and Positioning
The sociologist Erving Goffman's work on identity has had great influence on the disciplines of ethnology and folklore, an influence that still pertains and inspires to analysis of identity formation in everyday, small-scale social engagements between people (1974, 1990). In this paper, Goffman's inspiration is clear in my choice to conduct a study of the complex question of identity by studying its expression in storytelling. Goffman has argued that it is in such situations that identity emerges cumulatively, between front regions and back regions, successful performances and failures, close role distances and far (1974; see also Young 1987).

Goffman's view of identity has challenged research where identity is treated as innate or fixed, as a private set of attributes, either chosen by the individual or culturally or biologically given (Törrönen 2013:81). However, it has also attracted criticism, not least from his fellow sociologist Alvin Ward Gouldner (1971), who has criticized Goffman's analysis for being ignorant of prevailing power structures. In this article, I make an effort to adapt Goffman's concept of identity to this critique and to the demands from identity politics to incorporate analyses of power and agency in identity studies (see e.g. Anthias & Pajnik 2014; Taylor 2012).

I understand identity as "changing discursive constructions that receive their temporary stability and meaning in concrete contexts and situations" (Törrönen 2013:80), but prefer the term identification rather than identity, since identification draws attention to "complex (and often ambivalent) processes", while the term identity designates a "condition rather than a process" (Brubacker & Cooper 2000:17). Identification also directs attention to the one doing the identification, be it a person or an institution. Also important is that self-identification takes place in dialectical interplay with external identification, and the two need not converge (Brubacker & Cooper 2000:15–16). In order to highlight this aspect of processes of identification I use the concept of positioning.

The concept carries an implicit critique of the simplified concept of identity and is an attempt to create a concept that elucidates all the different social and cultural positions that individuals are forced to take, as well as choose freely and move between. The concept is from the sociologist Floya Anthias's discussions of migration, transcultural processes and intersectionality (see e.g. Anthias 2002, 2012, 2013).[1] Different types of limitations and hierarchies are at work at the same time and positioning can be considered an identification process that includes both activity and passivity; the individual is both exposed and marginalized as well as actively seeking to transgress boundaries set by others and by circumstances (Anthias 2012:108). The concept also captures the fact that individuals do not always inhabit the position they are ascribed or offered, since some positions are more attractive than others and offer more freedom and power. In that respect the concept of positioning offers a theoretical framework for analysing identification processes in, and by, everyday storytelling.

I use the term everyday storytelling, including a broad spectrum of all oral and written forms of storytelling that we use in daily communication (Tracy & Robles 2013). It could be life stories or parts of life stories, as well as personal experience narratives, reports, jokes, anecdotes and legends. I presuppose a connection between form, content and meaning. The style, structure and form of a story are resources for knowledge about social and cultural conditions. For the teller they serve as flexible tools useable in different ways for different purposes (Bauman 1992:58). In addition, they also function

as signals that give meaning to content for the listener or the reader (Arvidsson 1999: 196). As such, stories are positioned as well as positioning, meaning that there is a tension between what the teller can achieve by telling a story and what is required of a teller in order to be believed.

In the following, I will introduce the material of the study, followed by a short historical description of some important aspect of Jewish life in Sweden. This part will then form the background to the résumé of the Swedish-Jewish woman Rachel's life story that is the empirical focus of this article. When writing about Rachel's life I also discuss the impact of genre on positioning and processes of identification. Thereafter I turn to analysis of how languages are connected to and create images, as well as feelings, of home and belonging. As such they serve as tools in processes of identification. Finally, I turn the analysis towards aspects of food, eating and drinking in Rachel's stories, and argue that these aspects are also to be seen as ways of positioning. The article ends with a short concluding discussion, where I pose the argument that even though the connection between languages and identity needs to be explored, it is not enough since there are other practices involved in processes of identification that also need to be included and further investigated.

Interviews, Biographies and Memories

The analysis in this paper is based on four bodies of empirical data. The first contains (1) recorded and transcribed interviews with 20 young adults on anti-Semitism (Nylund Skog 2006, 2014a); the second involves parts of (2) the Jewish mem-

ories at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (Nylund Skog 2009, 2010).[2] The third body of material contains (3) Jewish biographies, written testimonies, films and documentaries on the Holocaust, and finally, there are (4) repeated interviews with nine Swedish-Jewish women above the age of 55 living in Stockholm (Nylund Skog 2011, 2012a).

From this body of material I have chosen to concentrate the analysis on the interviews and memories written down by a woman I call Rachel. I have interviewed Rachel several times and met with her in other circumstances. In this article, I will analyse parts of these interviews and conversations, as well as parts of the memories Rachel wrote in English to her children and grandchildren.

I have chosen to concentrate the analysis on Rachel's stories for two reasons. The first one is that I want to create an accessible text that allows the reader to engage with storytelling as a multifaceted process of identification. Secondly, and mainly, Rachel's stories are chosen since they highlight and accentuate the arguments I want to make in this article. During her life, Rachel positioned herself in between being Swedish and being Jewish. She did not belong to any of the Swedish-Jewish families with a long history in the country, or to the groups of Jews that fled pogroms in Eastern Europe or the Second World War. Instead, she began her life in Sweden by accident and free will and together with her husband, who was of another Jewish affiliation than hers. Rachel's background, life and relation to Jewishness was complex and contradictory and consequently her stories highlight many important aspects of Jewish life in

Sweden as well as offering an analytical gateway into processes of identification (Nylund Skog 2012b, 2013, 2014b).

Swedish Jews

The number of Swedish Jews is estimated at somewhere between 18,000 and 25,000. The difficulty in offering exact numbers is related to the fact that only one third of the Swedish Jews belong to a Jewish congregation and it is difficult to define who is a Jew. The term describes both a person who belongs to the Jewish cultural or ethnic group and a person that belongs to the Jewish faith. These definitions do not always correspond to one another, and as a consequence there are atheists that define themselves as Jews and that fulfil the traditional biblical definition of a Jew as a person born of a Jewish mother or someone who has been converted by a rabbi to the Jewish faith (Andersson & Peste 2008:25–27).

Rachel was of Jewish Ashkenazi heritage and her husband an oriental Jew. Mizrahi, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews represent three main group of Jews. Sephardic Jews are of Portuguese descendant. After their escape from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century, the Sephardic Jews spread through northern Africa, the Ottoman Empire, parts of South America, Italy and Holland. A quarter of a million Jews are estimated to have left Spain and Portugal at the time, bringing a highly developed culture with its own traditions and liturgy to the societies where they settled. Over time, the Sephardic Jews mixed with Jews from North Africa and the Orient. Mizrahi is a collective term for oriental Jews from the Middle East and North Africa with rituals and traditions similar to those of the Se-

phardic Jews. Mizrahi are often included in the group of Sephardic Jews. Ashkenazi Jews originate from Germany. The Ashkenazi cultural landscape include various dialects of the Yiddish language, as well as rituals, traditions, liturgy and architecture. Globally the Ashkenazi Jews are the largest group, numbering approximately 84 per cent of the Jewish population, while the Sephardic Jews are estimated at around 6 per cent and Mizrahi (oriental) Jews somewhere round 10 per cent.

Within Judaism there are three major orientations: orthodox, conservative and reform Judaism. The latter dominates in Sweden and is the orientation that Rachel and her family were engaged in. It is a modern movement that attracted a lot of followers in the mid nineteenth century, driven by a wish to integrate and to be treated and met on the same premises as other Swedish citizens. In Sweden, Jews are also one of five national minorities, defined as a group with close affinity and not exceeding the majority in numbers. The affiliation should be cultural, religious or linguistic and in at least one respect radically different from the rest of society. In addition, and in order to be defined as a national minority in Sweden, the group needs to have long-standing historical ties with the country, as the Swedish Jews do.

The first Jewish family to settle in Sweden was the engraver Aaron Isaacs from Mecklenburg in 1775. In 1782 official regulations regarding Jews were established, giving Jews permission to settle and engage in trade in four major cities. Full citizenship was not given to Jews until 1870. During the first hundred years of immigration, mainly Ashkenazi Jews from northern Germany arrived in Swe-

den, although some families also had a Sephardic heritage. The Jews that came were often well off, since the Swedish state demanded a very large sum of money in order to attain a letter of protection. After 1860, there was a large group of Jewish orthodox immigrants from tsarist Russia, the Baltic countries and Poland. The number of Jews in Sweden increased from 3,000 in 1870 to more than 6,000 in 1910. These Jews were generally poor and had a religious and cultural appearance that the Swedish majority and the already established Jews experienced as alien. The number of Jewish immigrants increased again during and after the Second World War, but also because of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe (mainly Hungary and Poland) and the downfall of the Soviet Union.

The reason Rachel came to Sweden was neither anti-Semitism nor escape from war or pogroms. When Rachel, her husband and their two oldest children came to Sweden in the 1950s, they were travelling for pleasure and business and had, according to Rachel, no plans to stay. At first they lived in an apartment owned by one of Rachel's husband's business acquaintances, but the apartment was not suitable for children and instead they rented a small house for the family of four. They felt welcome and safe, and within the year they had bought a house of their own.

Rachel's Life Story

Rachel grew up in Vienna with her mother, father and a younger sister. Her father owned and managed a pharmaceutical factory; her mother was a piano player. German was the everyday language of the family, and the daily life was

in many respects that of a well-established Austrian bourgeois family. It was only on special occasions, such as the most important Jewish holidays, that the Jewish heritage of Rachel's family was visible and celebrated. Growing up, Rachel therefore considered herself an Austrian.

In accordance with many Holocaust survivors, she described her childhood as a very happy one (see e.g. Rosen 2008). She told me about moments with her bearded grandfather under a peach tree, her mother playing the piano behind glimmering glass doors in a large Vienna apartment, her dedicated father by her sickbed when she was suffering from a minor cold, as well as hours of ice-skating to music.

When Rachel was in her teens, her life changed dramatically because of the *Anschluss*, when Hitler annexed Austria in 1938 and made the country part of the Nazi Reich. Overnight Rachel was forbidden to enter certain places, sit on park benches, travel by bus, or go to the theatre and to school. After some time of growing misery and marginalization in Vienna, Rachel and her sister were given the opportunity to escape from Austria with a children's train to England. Some years later, they left England and continued to Palestine where the family was reunited. In her life story, Rachel writes that her life began when she was twenty-three. By that time she had met Aram, the man of her life and the father of her children. In the 1950s it was Aram's business that brought them to Sweden, where they came to settle in Stockholm.

Despite the fact that Rachel, when she died in 2015, had lived in Sweden for many years, she did not consider Sweden her homeland. She never had any wish to return to Austria, Israel or the Middle East. She told me that she felt at home in London, England, where several of her husband's relatives live, as well as in New York, USA, where two of her children have settled, but she did not want to live anywhere other than Stockholm. Despite this, she did not feel Swedish or at home in Sweden. Home for Rachel was not a geographical place, but a feeling of belonging connected to her family. In that sense, Rachel gave voice to experiences that she had in common with a growing number of people all over the world. In Sweden there are more than one million people born in other countries.

When I first contacted Rachel some twenty years ago, she initially argued that she did not have anything to tell me, since her experiences of the Holocaust were not typical. In that, she alerted me to the fact that she did not automatically belong to the category of survivor. This was since she had escaped to England from Austria early enough to avoid the worst cruelties. Her experiences of the Second World War and the Nazis could not be adapted to the genre of the life story of Holocaust survivor, as she understood it. In other words, she did not identify as a survivor, nor did she want to be categorized as one.

This is an example of the intimate connection between the formal and the thematic expectations of a teller. What we see here is that, if a person says she is of Jewish heritage, as Rachel did, and has survived the Holocaust, as Rachel's age and place of birth indicated, this person is required to have a story of survival. In addition, the story is expected to be recognizable as such a story, and should display aspects connected to the genre, such as

claims of authenticity and suffering, as well as dramatizing life and death (Rosen 2008). A connection is presupposed between a story's form, content, meaning as well as the storyteller's experiences. It is also presupposed that the teller identifies with the categories attached to the genre.

When I made Rachel understand that I was not primarily interested in the Holocaust and the Second World War, but rather in Jewish life in Sweden, she claimed to have so much to tell me that I would have to move in with her. It would take her several days, she argued, to tell me her life story. She then positioned herself in relation to another genre, namely the life story of an elderly Swedish woman with a Jewish heritage and experiences of migration.

Ice-skating and Silence

It is not only by examining genre-specific expectations, conditions and conventions that it is possible to gain knowledge about how a person positions herself with and by storytelling. In addition, the language spoken, or spoken about, can function as a communicative tool.

In the following, I would like to discuss the languages that Rachel used (and did not use) in her stories.

When growing up Rachel spoke German, also in her Jewish family. As an adult, she avoided speaking German since she associated the language with the terrible times in Vienna and with what the Nazis did to the Jews. Occasionally she dreamt in German and it made her very angry (cf. Rosen 2008:104–106). As history shows, one way of dominating a group of people is to conquer or forbid their language. With such strategies, the group is colonized (Schwarz 1999:25). On

two occasions, Rachel told me a story that illustrates this theme.

I went ice-skating. I loved to skate. I came to the skating place and there in big letters it said JUDEN VERBOTEN. It is forbidden for the Jews. It was such a shock. It is a trifle, but it was such a shock. You can't imagine.
Susanne: What did you do?
I just looked, stared at it and went home. But I was, I couldn't speak for several days. And then, the same thing started in school as well, but the ice-skating was first. Directly after the Anschluss, actually. I went with my skates and I loved music and dancing to it. So it was very hard. It is strange that it was so hard, when you think about what others have experienced.

Here Rachel reflects on how it was so hard for her to be denied the chance to skate, a "trifle" she says. In the written memoirs, Rachel does not mention the ice-skating incident. In general, she wrote and spoke very little about these years in Vienna and the events that took place during this time. Maybe it was too painful for her to address the period. All through her life Vienna as a place was linked to what happened then and what Rachel felt at the time. She did visit Vienna a few times after the war but the city was forever a reminder of "what the Germans did to us", she said. This seems to be the case for many Jewish Holocaust survivors (see e.g. Lomfors 1996:236; Kaplan 2003:249).

Not being allowed to skate is perhaps a trifle, as Rachel says. Seen in relation to all the restrictions and prohibitions directed against Jews at the time, the ice-skating incident stands as a symbol of the whole process of being robbed of the possibilities of free movement, and as a consequence, the right to an free and independent life (cf. Frank 2005:211; Kaplan 2003: 141ff). "You can't imagine", she told me,

and I think she was referring to everything that happened to Jews at that time in history. Rachel does say that she couldn't speak for several days, after she had encountered the JUDEN VERBOTEN sign. She was silenced and became silent. She shares the experience of being silenced with many survivors. Of the few Jews that survived the Holocaust, most survived by hiding and keeping silent, by being forgotten. In order to survive they could not be heard or seen (Kaplan 2003:193ff).

The culture theorist Sara Ahmed writes that the world is accessible as a room for action, but that only the right bodies in the right places at the right time can move without friction (Ahmed 2011:130). In the story above, Rachel, suddenly and without warning, is transformed into a wrong body in the wrong place. Ahmed remarks that the action is not dependent on any kind of inner ability, or even willingness or habit, but instead on whether the world is accessible as a room for action for the bodies we have. If we do not possess the right bodies, the room is closed to us, as well as a reminder of our flaws, despite our own intentions. In this case, Rachel is no longer able to position herself as a young Austrian ice-skating woman. She is instead positioned as a Jew not allowed to skate, and it does not matter how she self-identifies at the time.

Languages and Home

Even though the Nazis did not forbid Rachel to speak German, they indirectly occupied it and made the language so uncomfortable for her that she no longer wanted to speak it (cf. Doron 2011:72–73). In that respect, when Rachel fled Austria with her younger sister she did not only flee her country but also her language. Her only way of protesting against being positioned and marginalized as a Jew was to stop speaking the language of the oppressors. During one interview, Rachel told me about when she and her sister arrived in England. They were to live with two different families.

Then came my sister's family to me and said, "Your family is gone." I did not know English and did not understand much. "They are gone for the weekend, and we have promised to take care of you as well." And when the weekend passed, they wanted to keep me as well. They had a big argument with the other family and said to me, "One condition, you may not speak German with your sister, only English." […] That I could promise, but it was not easy. (Laughs loudly.) I think I could say "yes" and "no", "thank you very much", "good morning", "good evening". About that and a little of "Can I have this?" But it went well. After two months, I spoke fluent English.

Here it is obvious that Rachel was forced to abandon her mother tongue to be able to live with her sister. The choice was between the language and the sister. She chose her sister and the new alien language, and since then she has been positioned in and with English. She has embodied the foreign and created a room of belonging in the English language.

According to Rachel, her husband Aram spoke several languages: Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, French, English, Spanish, Russian and Swedish. As has been pointed out by many, it is possible for a person to feel at home in many languages, and to switch effortlessly between them (Gunew 2003:41–42). Some of the languages can of course be more familiar and automatic than others, and they can be used for different purposes and on different occasions, as well as given different

values (see e.g. Rosales 2010; Runfors 2009, 2012). For Rachel's husband there were business languages, such as Arabic and English, home languages, such as Swedish and Persian, and Jewish languages, such as Hebrew and languages with mixed functions, such as English.

Like her husband, Rachel also used different languages for different purposes. As mentioned, she wrote her memoirs in English, the language she also spoke with her sons, her husband and her sister. During the interviews, she spoke Swedish, the language she also spoke with her daughters. When she mentioned that she used different languages when speaking to her daughters and her sons, she herself seemed surprised, as if it came automatically. From one perspective, English is the language where she and her husband met and their Jewish heritages united. She had Ashkenazi heritage and he was from a family of oriental Jews. On the other hand, in Jewish circumstances English is a new and foreign language with a colonial history in conflict with Rachel's Austrian Jewish heritage and Aram's Arabic Jewish. Despite this, the English language seemed to have offered them a sort of new beginning that started when they met and Rachel's "life began". And as such, the English language offered them acceptable identification and carried their Jewish heritage into the future.

It often falls upon women to create homes and homeliness; this also seems to apply when it comes to imaginary spoken homes (Taylor 2012). The term mother tongue indicates the important connection between language, home and motherhood (Gunew 2003:48). According to this logic, the mother gives the child its language.

We know from Rachel's narrative that she was forced to abandon her mother tongue, German, and in that manner she concretely gave up her mother's language. Despite the fact that Rachel's mother kept speaking German her daughters continued to answer her in English. In genealogical research it has been argued that only certain connections and relations are given meaning while others are ignored and forgotten (Ahmed *et al.* 2003:13; see also Nash 2003). It is obvious that also Rachel does this, when she ignores her mother's language and Jewish European heritage and instead identifies with and celebrates her husband's lineage by speaking English and maintaining the male side of her kin (Nylund Skog 2013).

Despite the fact that Rachel abandoned her mother tongue, homeland and her mother, and despite the fact that she avoided speaking German, some sentences and short quotations in German occur in her stories, both oral and written. Rachel's father was at one point deported to Dachau concentration camp and Rachel's mother did everything in her power to get him out of there. At the same time, Rachel explored the possibilities of fleeing Austria.

I prepared to leave for England, while all this happened. When we received a phone call I answered when my father said "Rakelkind das ist Papa. Ich bin am Westbahnhof." My knees buckled under me and I yelled "Mutter, Mutter! Papa ist frei!"

The turning point in this short story from Rachel's memories is formally accentuated when Rachel quotes her father's words in German, the language in which they once were spoken. At the same time, there is a shift in tense (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 2006: 40). This shift in tense and language creates authenticity. It also shows that form, con-

tent and meaning are so connected that had Rachel's father's words been in English, the true meaning of the story would have been lost. At the same time, it is significant that Rachel placed the German sentences in the framework of the English language, and in that manner made the reader of her memories aware that she did not identify herself as a German-speaking person, but as an English speaker.

Everyday stories have in common that they are formally adjusted to be used on certain occasions, by certain people and in certain ways, such as in dialect or in a specific language (Johnstone 2006). In that manner the languages Rachel spoke were connected to different phases and places in her life as well as to having different functions. As such, Rachel used them as identification devices.

Preiselbeeren and Spit

Arrived 21st of April 1951 in Stockholm. We were enchanted by its beauty!!
Felt at home at once, when I saw and ate "lingon" (preiselbeeren which I loved) for the first time after 12 years!! The people calm and helpful (compared to the middle Europeans after the war).

This quotation is from Rachel's memories. It tells us that when Rachel for the first time arrived in Sweden, and she and her husband Aram were "enchanted" by the beauty of Stockholm, Rachel also felt at home. The preiselbeeren took her back to Vienna and her childhood. Rachel may have abandoned her mother tongue, but through the preiselbeeren some of this heritage did materialize. In that manner, she was able to hold on to her mother tongue without using the language. Instead, she used other embodied practices, such as eating preiselbeeren. As well as

the use of genre and language, this is a way of positioning and of identification (Nylund Skog 2012a:163ff; see also Taylor 2012:14ff). So is, for example, a Swedish radio programme called "Menu" (*Meny*), advertised with the words "Food is memories, food is identity". On the website of the radio channel it is pointed out that food "expresses who we are and perhaps foremost – who we want to be". Food says something about our connection "to the past, to parents and heritage".

In one of the programmes, the radio host interviews and cooks together with the 87-year-old Jewish woman Katerina Sylberszac and her daughter. The daughter points out that when her mother came to Sweden she had "absolutely nothing" with her. The recipes that the daughter has inherited were carried by the mother "within herself". During the radio programme, they cook together the courses that Katerina's mother used to cook in the village in Czechoslovakia before the family was shattered and brought to concentration camps (*Meny* 2012). In this case, food functions as material and embodied links to dead relatives and historical events. By cooking and eating, Katerina and her daughter are positioning themselves as persons identifying with a Jewish heritage.

Another illustrative example of such a process of positioning with the use of food is from one of the interviews with Rachel. She tells about when she and her sister in 1939 travelled on a children's train from Austria to England.

It was rather exciting when we went from Vienna through Germany and through the Netherlands. In Germany, the SS went back and forth and looked at us. I was the oldest girl, fourteen and a half

years, not even fifteen, that took care of the girls. A seventeen-year-old boy took care of the boys. We were so afraid. I remember we sat like this. The younger ones understood nothing, but we did. We exchanged glances, this boy and I. Then, we came across the border to the Netherlands and there stood Quaker women with warm orange juice. Susanne, it was the best I ever tasted. You know it was like, when I think back it is as if I almost cry. And then, all of us, we spat back at Germany.

Here Rachel and the other children mark the spatial passage from German territory to English by spitting in the direction towards Germany. They turn away from Germany by spitting against it. Symbolically they spit out what they have been fed by the Germans. The turning point of the story is embodied in the memory of the warm juice that almost makes Rachel cry. The juice bodily connects past (crying) and present (tells me it was the best she ever tasted). In the story, the juice is also a materialization and a promise of a better future for the child Rachel and perhaps a reassurance that paradise exists (cf. Rosen 2008:93). In the warm orange juice the past, the present and the future are united. In addition, the story offers Rachel a way to dis-identify with Germany and instead identify with England.

Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the relationship between storytelling and processes of identification and analysed how the Swedish-Jewish woman Rachel use storytelling as an identification device and a strategy to avoid marginalizing preconceptions. I have pointed out that by investigating genre-specific expectations, demands and conventions it is possible to create understanding of how Rachel posi-

tions herself with and through everyday storytelling. I have also shown how the language used, or spoken about, can be navigating and communicative tools in processes of identification. With the concept of "positioning" I have stressed the tension between the positions that individuals are forced to take and the ones they choose freely, as well as to show how they move and navigate between them by the use of storytelling.

One further point I have wanted to make is that it is not enough to investigate the use of language. There are other practices involved in processes of identification, such as drinking and eating, here exemplified with preiselbeeren and orange juice in Rachel's stories. Furthermore, those languages that are abandoned and seldom mentioned demand attention. We need to pose and investigate questions of why some languages are no longer used, and why others are avoided and at what cost.

By focusing on the languages that Rachel spoke and wrote, and how she related to them, my aim has been to show empirically that social identifications are not something that people have. Instead, it is the results of how people interpret, position and encounter one another and of how individuals position themselves as answers to these. Social identifications are in that respect created in the ongoing interplay between individuals and their surroundings and closely connected to representation and power. In refusing to use the genre of Holocaust survivors' life story Rachel showed that she did not want to be categorized as a survivor. It was her way of protesting while dis-identifying and at the same time creating greater freedom in telling about her life.

Through analysis of everyday storytelling, it is possible to explore how categories are connected with languages and genres and how these connections offer some possibilities of identification and exclude others. In that respect such analyses offer a gateway into the complexities of power and agency in performances of everyday life. Through such analyses it is possible to gain knowledge of how Rachel remained Austrian when refusing to speak German and how she continuously throughout her life felt Jewish without speaking Hebrew, without practising all of the religious traditions, without openly showing her affiliation and without having Israel as her home country or country of origin.

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Notes

1 Anthias uses the term positionality. As I understand her, this is in order to accentuate the dimensions of power and place, and to avoid being mistaken for using the concept of positioning in a more traditional sociolinguistic sense as is done, for example, by Taylor 2012 and Wetherell 1998.

2 The Jewish memories were collected during 1994–1998 and consist of more than 400 life stories, approximately 1,600 photographs, 600 valuable original documents, as well as 50 objects.

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Vintage, Retro, Shabby Chic
Concepts Used on the Re:heritage Market
By Anneli Palmsköld

The Re:heritage Market

In the last few decades the second-hand[1] sector has grown, at least in the western parts of Europe and in North America. Retro shops, vintage boutiques and antique shops, flea markets, design shops that are reshaping things in an upcycling process, and Internet barter and trade are some of the visible forms of this market (Appelgren & Bohlin 2015; Palmsköld 2013, 2015). Some aspects are common for the trade: first of all, second-hand shopping has moved from the outskirts of cities to centres of the urban spaces (Straw 2010; Palmsköld 2013, 2015); secondly, the consumer most often belongs to a broad middle-class group; and thirdly the growing market concentrated on "old stuff" has influenced the conventional industry to produce commodities that look old and antique or that involve design references evoking the past (Crewe, Gregson & Brooks 2003; Franklin 2011). When producing these kinds of products "oldness" is created by patina techniques that, for example, make a mirror or a chair look worn, as if it had been used for a long time. Some companies, for example the Finnish Marimekko and the Danish silversmith Georg Jensen, use their own archives for inspiration when designing new products or taking older ones into new production.[2] Others, such as the American company Ralph Lauren, sell what they call vintage items beside new collections in their flagship stores (Cervellon *et al.*

Lamps from the 1950s and 1960s displayed in a shop. Photo: © Emil Palmsköld.

2012:957). Values highlighted when marketing and talking about the commodities are, for example, "originality", "uniqueness", "nostalgia" and "authenticity" (Fredriksson 1996; Gregson & Crewe 2003; Delong *et al*. 2005; Reynolds 2011; Cervellon *et al*. 2012; Veenstra & Kuipers 2013). Some shops operating on this market offer a mix of newly produced commodities and old and second-hand ones that have had previous owners who sometimes have used them and as a consequence have left visible traces on them. Others offer commodities that have been remade and reshaped, often using second-hand objects as a basis for creating new design by crafting. Which second-hand products are sold depends on the character of the business, bought from flea markets, auctions, antique dealers nearby or from importers of second-hand goods from countries like the USA, Canada, Great Britain or Japan. Second-hand consumption is one more option that widens the possibilities for consuming things, rather than an economic necessity on this market driven by middle-class values of taste and aesthetics (Palmsköld 2013; Appelgren & Bohlin 2015).

In a research project[3] the phenomenon described is called the re:heritage market. The project explores and emphasizes these new forms of circulation and commoditization focusing on things with history. As the things involved circulate in, off and through the market, they are not stable entities but in motion, and as such constantly revaluated and recontextualized (Appelgren & Bohlin 2015; Hansson & Brembeck 2015). They are inscribed in and associated with different histories of the past that can be related to collective and personal memories, and to official and private heritage making. The cultural biographies (Kopytoff 1986) of specific objects and of categories of things are of importance as they can help to raise the prices and create economic value for the sellers. At the same time they can attract customers to the market, and the exchange that takes place involves elements of recognition of the history connected to the commodities (Appelgren & Bohlin 2015: 159). When recognizing and classifying things with history, sellers and buyers use different concepts to address the desired qualities of the commodities.

Most of the empirical studies in the research project have been conducted in the city of Gothenburg, Sweden, mainly focusing on companies and activities located in central areas. An overview to map the market in the city has been made, identifying categories and concepts used by the sellers to describe their business (Re:heritage map, October 2014). Over 80 companies in this sector were identified, most of them using the Internet to communicate through websites and blogs (ibid.).[4] When analysing official information about the companies as well as their communication activities, the categories and concepts most frequently used to describe their business were: second-hand, retro, vintage, antiques, creative reuse, shabby chic, flea markets and antiquarian (ibid.).

In this article I will discuss three of the concepts identified when mapping the re:heritage market in Gothenburg: *vintage, retro* and *shabby chic*. What they have in common is the associations of history and the past that they arouse, and as these styles are carefully planned and even

made by customers, creative elements are involved. The things that are addressed as vintage, retro and shabby chic are often transformed in one way or another before they are used. The concept of *making* will be used as an analytic tool and is to be understood in a broad sense: from activities connected to consuming, such as picking and combining things, to the actual adjusting, transforming, making or crafting things in order to create a certain style and/or to create "oldness". These kinds of processes are seen as parts of an ongoing creative practice connected to everyday life (Vachhani 2013), reflecting "genuine folk knowledge with fashion and high art" (Campbell 2005:36). They involve knowledge of different kinds: of history, fashion and design styles, aesthetics, craft techniques and materials. The focus on making places the article in the context of ethnological research on what people actually do in their everyday life (Löfgren 2014: 77; 84). In this case it is about their entanglement with materials and objects, and about the core cultural practice of making focusing more on "how" people do than on "why" (ibid. 2014:78). The main questions asked are what the concepts mean from a making perspective and how things addressed as vintage, retro and shabby chic affect people operating on the market in processes of creating and making.

From a theoretical perspective the making that takes place on the re:heritage market is studied in this article using theories of affect, craft consumption and the producing consumer, "the prosumer". One of the key points is that the things on the market are in motion as they are circulating, and not fixed entities or passive objects

(Appelgren & Bohlin 2015). In order to become part of the market sellers have inspected them, identified them as appropriate and interesting commodities and thereby given them agential capacities affecting people to act in different ways (ibid., Clough & Halley 2007). Within the circulation process transformations can be done in order to increase the economic value of a commodity, as for example when second-hand furniture is repaired or painted to become in better condition or when older electrical plugs are replaced on electronically devices. For those who are interested in making and crafting, the commodities on display can work as active materials, leading to ideas (and fantasies) about what they can become and be transformed into when bought (Palmsköld 2013; Ingold 2013:21; 28). If crafting is to be understood as "the engagement with materials" (Ingold 2013:22) the market is full of potential, opportunities and promises. The things circulating can be interpreted as raw materials, and as elements of forms and design to be used, reused and recontextualized in a making process (Palmsköld 2013). These "creative relationships" between the maker/crafter and the commodities have affective elements, as the interpretations of materials and design are based on sensuous experiences (Vachhani 2013:93). By touching, feeling and viewing, it is possible for consumers to imagine what can be made and created by using crafting knowledge.

Consumer practices involving craft dimensions have been discussed and what is called "craft consumption" has been identified as an important part of contemporary consumer culture, defined as an

activity in which individuals not merely exercise control over the consumption process, but also bring skill, knowledge, judgement, love and passion to their consuming in much the same way that it has always been assumed that traditional craftsmen and craftswomen approach their work (Campbell 2005:27).

The craft consumer transforms commodities and personalizes them by using their own individual and personal creative ability (ibid. 2005:28). Most often it is about putting things together in a certain way to achieve an intended aesthetic ensemble (or assemblage), as when dressing up in vintage or retro clothing (ibid. 2005:34). The term "prosumer" highlights consumers' creativity and agency to engage with the objects and the materials on the market in order to produce something (Knott 2013). Prosumption can be described as "participatory consumerism", that is, when "The designer-producer hands over a limited degree of productive power to the consumer." (ibid. 2013:53). One example of commodities designed for prosuming is paint-by-number kits and another is IKEA's furniture (ibid. 2013). What is in focus here is a rather controlled activity, at least from the designers "producers" perspective. On the re:heritage market, on the other hand, the "prosumers" are often involved in second-hand circulation where the commodities for sale have been produced for quite some time and therefore can be considered as things with a history connected to them. To consume in order to transform or personalize them is rather to act like a "hacker" and to "plug-in" by learning about the objects and materials on the market and building on them (von Busch 2008:59). The values of the commodities from the prosumers perspective are con-

nected to the opportunities opening up through making and crafting actions (Ottosson 2008:149f). This creative and affective relationship between the prosumers and the commodities on the re:heritage market requires knowledge about styles and about craft and crafting techniques (Palmsköld 2016). The prosumer belongs to the same broad middle-class group that are operating on the re:heritage market, with a special interest in how to transform materials and personalize commodities or use them in new ways. When determining what the things with history are to become in a making process, they have to be interpreted and valued, and questions asked are: What is possible? How can it be done? What is original, unique or authentic worth highlighting? What can be added?

The empirical materials used are, firstly, earlier studies that have been made using the concepts of vintage, retro and shabby chic as a starting point for analysing different aspects of consumer culture. These studies have provided insight into empirical areas and results as well as into theoretical and analytical discussions connected to the concepts and to making. Secondly, literature and blogs that advise readers and followers on how to create different styles and "oldness" have been analysed in order to understand how vintage, retro and shabby chic are made. Thirdly, Internet sites specialized in selling products categorized according to the concepts have been analysed, especially the discussion forums about how to determine whether something is vintage or retro.

The article starts with a discussion of different transformation processes con-

nected to making that takes place on the re:heritage market. The concepts of vintage, retro and shabby chic are discussed using previous studies as a starting point. How the styles are created, made and done is discussed using some examples. The article ends with a discussion of how the things and materials involved work as affective elements in the making of vintage, retro and shabby chic.

Transformation Processes

The things circulating on the re:heritage market are often reused "as is", or maybe they have been cleaned and reparations have been made in order to use them again. From a metaphorical point of view these subtle or major transformations make it possible for the things to live a second life (www.sustainabilitydictionary.com). These processes are driven by ideas on materiality that are linked to a certain kind of actions, sometimes referred to as reusing, up- or down-cycling (Palmsköld 2013, 2015). Recycling is when waste materials are used to create new products, as when, on an industrial level, materials such as used plastics are transformed into polyester (ibid.; McDonough & Braungart 2002). In a Swedish context waste and trash can be burned to create energy for urban district heating. Recycling processes also take place on a craft or design level when people make new things from waste ones. Among younger people an increasing interest in sustainability and how to live a fair life can be noticed, often connected to DIY (Do It Yourself) or DIT (Do It Together) tips and tricks on how to reuse objects or recycle material (see for example www.365slojd.se and www.

slojdhaller.se; Watson & Shove 2008; Åhlvik & von Busch 2009). Professional designers are sometimes involved in redesigning and remaking second-hand objects in an upcycling process which is a frequent part in developing business (Thorpe 2008; Grundström 2014; www.stadsmissionen.se/Secondhand/Remake/; www.beyondretro.se). The upcycling part means that discarded things or materials are converted into something of higher quality or value (McDonough & Braungart 2002; von Busch 2008: 82ff).

On a consumer/prosumer level, second-hand products may need to be fixed in some way or another before they can be used. Clothes might be mended; electronic devices might be repaired, and furniture parts might be stabilized. Other finds are parts and details that have been missing or broken, that customers buy intending to complete something they already have in their possession. Apart from repairing and mending second-hand commodities, there are other forms of circulation processes connected to creative actions that take place on the re:heritage market. The idea of vintage or vintage style, retro or retro style and shabby chic makes people want to be involved in creative processes of different kinds. When it comes to dressing in vintage clothing, there is an important dimension of creativity to mix and match authentic items and accessories from a certain period, and sometimes with newly produced ones, to achieve the desired outfit (Jenß 2004; Veenstra & Kuipers 2013). In fact, one argument for shopping for vintage items is "self-expression" (Guiot & Roux 2010:358). These kinds of dressing activities have been interpreted as expres-

sions of "aesthetic creativity" (Delong *et al*. 2005:26). Others say that dressing and mixing items from different style periods is a way to create an "eclectic assemblage of garments" (Veenstra & Kuipers 2013: 356). However, a strong desire for uniqueness has been identified as a driving force for those who consume/prosume vintage clothing, not only connected to certain items but also to the different possibilities to create a unique and personal outfit (Cervellon *et al*. 2012).

If choosing, mixing and matching is one creative aspect of the re:heritage market, another one is about people making or crafting their own versions of styles. These activities are parts of another kind of circulation process focusing on knowledge of how to make and craft, a knowledge connected to tricks of the trade, materials and techniques, often combined with an interest in history, aesthetics and style (Palmsköld 2016). Some of the second-hand textile prosumers are genuinely interested in using their finds as a starting point for different kinds of transformation processes (Palmsköld 2013). They are looking for certain materials, cuts and details, such as interesting textile techniques, buttons, lace or embroidery. What they do with the second-hand textiles differs, and there is a scale from making small adjustments and mending and repairing, to creating one's own unique clothing and interior textiles from used material, sometimes mixed with new. Prosumers are looking for commodities that can be transformed, fixed up and remade. They give them a new life and at the same time they express themselves as individuals and their creativity and crafting skills.

What is Vintage, Retro and Shabby Chic?

On the re:heritage market definitions of vintage, retro and shabby chic vary, and furthermore the use of them is changing. This is a contrast to concepts such as antiques and semi-antiques. A general agreement is that antique objects are supposed to be at least a hundred years old and in original condition (Cervellon *et al*. 2012: 957; Bogdanova 2011:103). The category of semi-antiques is used for objects that are at least fifty years old and in original condition. Which objects that circulate on the antiques market varies; most of them are of artistic and historical value but some are quite basic ones (Bogdanova 2011:103). Studies show that defining antiqueness is a complex process; not all objects classed as antiques or semi-antiques are of artistic and historical value (ibid.). Furthermore, certain themes, styles and epochs are preferred in the trade depending on trends and fashion (ibid.). As antique and semi-antique commodities are collectibles, the market tends to turn to collectors, but also to customers that are generally interested in cultural and art objects as well as things with history.

These exemplify rather distinct agreements, which is not the case when it comes to vintage, retro and shabby chic. *Vintage* is a concept originally used for wines.[5] In the 1990s vintage came into use "to distinguish the authentically old garment from the modern copy" (Jenß 2016). Sellers on the market of vintage clothing use hands-on definitions, such as Etsy, the "global marketplace of handmade, vintage and creative goods" (www.etsy.com). Their policy says that "Vintage items are 20 years or older" (www.etsy.com/). Ac-

cording to these rules, 1990s items are therefore considered as vintage when published on Etsy. In other contexts these are classified as "vintage to be or […] modern or contemporary fashion" (Cervellon *et al.* 2012:957). Second-hand and vintage consumption sometimes overlaps, as "vintage pieces might be second-hand and second-hand pieces might be vintage" (ibid. 2012:958). Consumers of vintage clothing are often looking for original pieces and even for rarities of very high material and craft quality such as haute couture or well-known labels and designers (Cervellon *et al.* 2012:961f). Vintage items are therefore often referred to as authentic, original and truly old. Traces of use can be present, as well as minor mends and alter-

ations that previous owners might have done. Highest valued, however, are items in "mint condition", which means that they have never been used.

Studies show that collecting, buying and using vintage clothing is a way to reappropriate and reinvent the past by constructing historic looks, sometimes in new combinations (Jenß 2005:179; Veenstra & Kuipers 2013:356). The consumers/prosumers involved are driven by emotions of nostalgia and their interest in fashion and style, as well as by their fashion involvement (Veenstra & Kuipers 2013). As vintage consuming is related to collecting, it is more connected to emotion than to function, even though customers tend to use their findings (Cervellon *et al.* 2012:

Display in a retro shop specialized in items in 1960s and 1970s style. Photo: © Emil Palmsköld.

964). Furthermore, the consumers/pro-sumers are driven by the aim of finding a unique piece (treasure hunting), rather than hunting for a good (low) price (bar-gain hunting) (ibid.). The vintage con-sumer/prosumer seems to differ from the second-hand one: cultural capital by edu-cation and connoisseurship is needed and comes from a historic or artistic back-ground (Cervellon *et al.* 2012:969). The motives are in both cases recreational and social (ibid.).

The term *retro* refers to objects relating to or imitating earlier trends, fashion, popu-lar culture as well as technology. Retro style objects are the result of a revaluation process that makes "items previously con-sidered old-fashioned and everyday" in-teresting to buy and to use (Baker 2012: 622). Retro objects can be of different kinds and are not limited to clothing (Jenß 2016). What they have in common is the time distance between contemporary use and the period that they relate to (ibid.). Some researchers say that there is no exact definition of the concept, as the phenome-non is complex and embraces multiple and sometimes even contradictory meanings (ibid.). Others use more accurate defini-tions of the retro style concept:

the dedicated revival of the 20th century in looks and things, most often from the period between 1950 and 1980. Being grounded in popular culture and the recent past, retro differs from previous re-vivals and historicisms with their focus on distant, idealized pasts through high culture (Handberg 2015:68).

Display in a shabby chic style shop, with enamelled trays and pots in front of a cupboard. Photo: © Emil Palmsköld.

Retro style is said to be a way of creating cultural memories based on a "common past and a cultural identity" (ibid. 2015: 68). Just as when buying vintage, customers taking part in consumer activities concerning retro have to be connoisseurs and to know a lot about periods and their material culture as well as their aesthetic expressions (ibid.). A distinction between vintage and vintage style or retro style, however, has to do with material and manufacture-based authenticity (Cervellon *et al.* 2012:958). Retro style objects do not have to be old, they can be newly produced, manufactured or hand-made referring to the past. Vintage, on the other hand, "carries the connotation of something that is truly old and aged, combined with the implication that it is special and distinct, if not expensive, precisely because of its age" (Jenß 2016). Another distinction is that vintage embraces a longer time period, starting in the early 1900s.

Shabby chic is referred to as a lifestyle concept, involving mainly home decoration but also clothing (Halnon 2002; Rolfsdotter Eliasson 2011; Fredriksson 2013). Shops selling shabby chic style objects often mix newly produced things that look old or refer to the past, with authentic old ones. The old looks are created by patina techniques; furniture for sale can for example have a worn painted surface and enamelled soap trays or pots can have visible spots of the metal underneath. The colour nuances of the commodities are chiefly white, bright or light pastels. The style is defined by the idea of a romantic and nostalgic country-like home, preferably executed by women (Fredriksson 2013:41). According to

websites and blogs about shabby chic that includes DIY tips and tricks, some of the style elements are: fleur-de-lis, royal crowns, angels, texts, the colour white and objects that have undergone different treatments to create the right patina representing oldness (ibid. 2013:41). Materials used are wood, cotton and linen. The shabby chic style has been challenged by bloggers interested in interior decoration, and it has been replaced by vintage (Rolfsdotter Eliasson 2011:44). This is an example of how definitions and meaning are changing on this somehow fluid market.

Rachel Ashwell, who runs a business selling products and arranging workshops on how to execute the style, is said to be the one who has developed the shabby chic style (www.shabbychic.com). Executing and doing the style involves creativity and craft knowledge, sometimes connected to the seller who makes commodities look old and shabby chic-like, and sometimes to the customer/prosumer who transforms objects according to the desired style elements. Often flea market finds are used for refurbishing (Halnon 2002:502).

Researchers have interpreted the style as one of many expressions of what is called "poor chic", which means the use of "traditional symbols of working class and underclass statuses" (ibid. 2002:501). The symbols in this case are the desired worn look of the objects. Studies show that for people living in meagre economic conditions, the appearance of newness, or at least whole and clean clothes and a home that is well taken care of, is of great importance (Palmsköld 2012, 2013, 2015). This ideal is challenged by the shabby chic

style, as from Ashwell's and her followers' point of view stains and cracks represent a charming version of history instead of poverty (Halnon 2002:510).

Vintage, retro and shabby chic styles have one aspect in common: they build on the idea of certain qualities in the past that are desirable today. When it comes to vintage, the "items symbolize uniqueness and authenticity: a distinctive individual look that is worn by nobody else" (Veenstra & Kuipers 2013:357). The authentic values are connected to the oldness of the items, and the fact that they represent certain fashion styles. Vintage items often had economic as well as fashion values when they were produced and sold. Retro style objects, on the other hand, refer to popular culture and the previous past. The objects, previously considered as old fashioned and everyday, have been revalued. The authenticity connected to retro lies in how things are created, in which colours, materials and forms, rather than in if they are original and from the intended period. The shabby chic style is about creating objects that look worn and old, as if they have a long history. Flea market finds are sometimes a starting point for DIY and DIT processes to create shabby chic, communicated through websites and blogs. Using patina techniques and choosing certain colour and material schemes, it is a style that you do.

Making, Creating and Doing Vintage, Retro and Shabby Chic

Second-hand objects are considered by some prosumers and craft consumers as potential resources for creative purposes (Palmsköld 2013:99ff). When it comes to textiles the material and stylistic qualities are valued, sometimes expressed in a beautiful patterned fabric, or interesting cuts and handmade details (ibid.). The items raise promises about what they can become when reused in a creative way. The planning and the actual transformation processes the textiles undergo are often described as a work of pleasure and enjoyment (ibid.). The same has been noticed when it comes to consumers/prosumers of vintage clothing, who seem to emphasize "fun, fantasy and emotions" when searching for items to buy and when creating their own outfits (Duffy *et al*. 2012:524). To be creative from a crafting perspective is associated with certain special competence and know-how. One has not only to know a lot about different craft techniques and when to use them, as well as the possibilities and limits that lie in them. Furthermore, knowledge about materials, their characteristics and how to handle them is required. Depending on what one wants to achieve, knowledge is needed about vintage or retro styles as well as fashion styles, contemporary fashion and clothing.

Jenß has investigated "dress practices involved in the construction of an authentic retro style" in a group of people belonging to "the Sixties scene in Germany" (Jenß 2004:388). Making their own garments is a common practice among the members (ibid. 2004:390). Attention to details is shown as original patterns are used, and fabrics are carefully chosen to create the best effect and expression of the sixties (ibid.). The versions created, however, are not like the clothes that were worn then; instead it is the stereotypical sixties that are preferred, for example space age and op art looks – it is a "dense concentration, pre-

senting a hyperversion of the decade past" (ibid. 2004:392). The same attention to detail has been recognized among members of the Swedish Facebook group "Vi som syr medeltidskläder" (We who make medieval clothing), in an ongoing discussion concerning historical accuracy in the making of the clothing (Karlsson 2014). The result of the study shows that members involved believe in the concept of true (100%) historical accuracy (ibid.). When put into practice, however, a credible interpretation of a historical garment is preferred to an exact copy (ibid.).

The most important aspect in whether a 1960s or a medieval dress is created seems to be that the new versions suit modern bodies, and that they fit the people who are going to wear them. Original dresses from the sixties have much tighter armholes and sleeves than contemporary clothes, and the newly created versions are adapted to modern demands (Jenß 2004:392). The original sewing patterns used, are therefore adjusted to fit a unique person/body and to contemporary ideas about how garments are supposed to fit.

There has been an increasing interest in using old knitting patterns to create vintage, retro and/or historical jumpers, sweaters, cardigans or other garments (see for example www.ravelry.com and www.etsy.com). Many involved in online knitting communities are not only interested in creating different styles, but also in recreating the processes that differ in some details from a contemporary approach to knitting. In earlier periods the knitting was made in pieces, generally sewn together, and based on dressmaking (Crawford & Waller 2011). Contemporary knitting is rather about avoiding sewing, to create a garment in one piece. The recreation of old processes to produce knitwear, however, is done using modern technology and knitting supplies, such as circular needles and stitch markers. The same difficulties as in when sewing 1960s dresses to fit modern bodies have been recognized when knitted garments are created. Some designers are therefore working to adapt original patterns to modern requirements (Crawford & Waller 2009, 2011). To achieve the intended style, it is important to study and recognize the characteristic style elements, and from a designer's perspective:

The shaping and fit of the updated patterns, whilst expanded to fit the modern body, retain the original proportions of these designs; so if a garment was designed to be worn fitted to the waist, that is where the "new" pattern is designed to fit also. Therefore, regardless of size worked, you should still achieve a garment with the correct vintage fit, but proportional to your body size (Crawford & Waller 2011:9).

The interpretations of the "vintage fit" vary, depending on which fashion period is in focus. Knitted garments from the 1950s, for example, were made smaller than the body they were supposed to fit. When recreating 1950s knitting patterns this "negative ease means that the garment is intended to be smaller than the wearer, and that it will stretch significantly when worn" (ibid. 2011:12). The characteristic style element here is to create garments that follow the body shape very closely.

Some creators are interested in making clothes connected to their favourite film or novel character, referring to popular culture and fiction. Jane Austen fans, for example, are invited to knit garments and accessories "inspired by Jane Austen

novels" in a magazine called *Jane Austen Knits* (www.interweavestore.com). These knitting patterns follow today's ideals, rules and methods for crafting and fitting, and the design is inspired by the early 1800s fashion – garments that Elizabeth Bennett or Emma Woodhouse might have been wearing if they were not fictional characters. Interested knitters are invited to create and to be inspired by: "30 knitting projects including sweaters, spencers, wraps, accessories and more" (ibid.). The aim is not to reconstruct historical period garments, but to have fun, and to imagine what it was like to be one of Austen's characters living in the early nineteenth century. Another example of the same phenomenon is the Harry Potter knitting patterns that have been published in magazines like *The Unofficial Harry Potter Knits* and on websites (www.the-leaky-cauldron.org/features/crafts/knitting).

Through the knitting patterns the world of Harry Potter is created, and knitters are invited to make Dumbledore's smoking hat and his warm socks, as well as Hagrid's sweater and Hermione's Time-Turner Mitts (www.ravelry.com). The examples mentioned are part of the phenomenon often referred to as fan fiction, defined as stories published on the Internet emanating from existing texts, developing characters, and exploring alternative perspectives (Lindgren Leavenworth & Isaksson 2012:77). The genre is often trans-medial and the characters can be recognized from novels, computer games, films and theatre plays (ibid. 2012:78f). Creating clothes is an important aspect of being a fan, leading to dressing practices connected to well-known fictional characters and collective cultural memories.

People who share the same interest in making, creating and crafting in a vintage, retro or historical style as well as doing shabby chic are connected in networks that make it possible for them to "communicate their shared interests" (Jenß 2004:391). The networks are created from blogs through recommendations, comments and collaborations with companies. The bloggers are often simultaneously active on Instagram, Websta, Facebook, on other blogs or in companies related to their interests. Apart from websites such as Etsy and Ravelry ("a knit and crochet community"), Rachel Ashwell's blog that goes under the name of *Rachel Ashwell Shabby Chic Couture* gathers many visitors and followers (www.shabby-chic.com/blog/). Through the blog, carefully chosen photographs and texts display the world of shabby chic according to Ashwell. In an entry posted on 24 June 2015, visitors are invited to follow her when shopping for second-hand and vintage goods, and reflecting on what she is looking for when it comes to furniture:

When hunting for wooden pieces, I am usually looking for authentic paint in the Shabby palette (white, ivory, pale pink & blue, grey teal or bleached raw wood) or pieces that can create a rustic vintage decor and on a rare occasion I will repaint. I get great joy when I see pieces come through our "restoration for reloving" process. Each piece is cleaned, shored up if wonky, drawers and shelves lined with vintage wallpaper, new glass, marble or hardware applied ... and when ready we proudly tack on our branded brass plaque (www.shabbychic.com).

In a Swedish context, DIY instructions on how to create shabby chic style paint on wooden furniture have been published on a website linked to a very popular home renovation and decoration televi-

A worn wooden door outside a shabby chic style shop. Photo: © Emil Palmsköld.

sion programme called *Äntligen hemma* (Home at Last). In five steps to be followed, one is advised to start by grinding the surface and sealing the knots (www.tv4.se). After grounding and before the paint has dried, one is instructed to pull the brush in the direction of the fibres to achieve stripes. The next step is to grind the surface again, down to the wooden structure. The next advice is: "To get the right look it is important to remember to just grind away the paint in places that would naturally be exposed to wear and tear, such as corners, edges and knobs". Now it is time to paint the surface choosing an effect colour, drawing the brush as before to create stripes. The next step is to grind again and to finish

the work by varnishing the surface. Other patina techniques are described on the website, for example how to create a crackled surface. Tips and tricks for making shabby chic furniture have the main goal to get them to look older and slightly worn, making them refer to a past history. Some think it is an advantage to do shabby chic when it comes to furniture. The result does not have to be perfect; imperfection is actually the point and sometimes this is considered as a relief (www.stureplan.se).

The same DIY tips and tricks as when doing shabby chic are present on the Internet for those who are interested in ageing or "relicing" their electrical guitars to "Achieve the Road Worn Look" (www. wood-finishes-direct.com/blog/art-aging-guitars/). To make the instruments look as they are naturally worn, the advice is to pay attention to spots where "playing, storing or transporting the instrument causes damage" (ibid.). Manufacturers of musical instruments sell worn ones: newly produced electrical guitars as well as guitar parts, such as microphones and tuners that look old and worn. Another category is artist models, exact copies including wear and damage, of famous musicians' guitars, which are often vintage instruments. Copies are very skilfully crafted in minute detail after the original and produced in limited numbers. The concept of vintage electrical guitars refers to old and authentic ones.

Conclusions

The concepts of *vintage*, *retro* and *shabby chic* are part of an informal classification system used by the sellers operating on the re:heritage market. The concepts can be defined in different ways and sometimes the lines between them are blurred, and under negotiation. When exploring the concepts in this study, however, we find some commonly agreed ways to define them. Vintage items or vintage style is associated with authentic clothes and accessories, old and original, and made in a certain fashion period. Buyers of vintage are often collectors, who desire to be unique and to express themselves by creating an aesthetic assemblage, mixing new and old details in their outfits. From a consumer/prosumer perspective body size, shape and fits are crucial points.

Retro, on the other hand, is a style that relates or refers to the recent past and to popular culture that has gone through a revaluation process. Imitations as well as authentic objects from certain periods are used to (re)create shared cultural memories in a faithful way. Retro objects can be created and crafted, often adapted to modern requirements. They can also be part of fan fiction, when fans and followers create garments referring to fiction. Shabby chic is rather a lifestyle concept, used for home decoration and clothing. It is about the creation of connections to the past through patina techniques. The ideal is to make things look worn in a natural way and methods to achieve this standard are shared through websites and blogs. Shabby chic is also associated with a certain palette of pale nuances.

The three styles are used in different ways to reinvent and re-appropriate the past, on a scale from selling or buying things with history; things associated and referring to the past or things that

have a worn look that have been created by patina techniques. The aim is to create either hyperversions of the past or credible interpretations. In both cases knowledge is involved, whether it is based on cultural capital, connoisseurship, knowledge in art, design and history or craft skills.

The study shows how the styles and the customers as well as shopkeepers and sellers operating on the re:heritage market are parts of a world of doing, making and creating. Some of the main forces behind are creativity and having fun and a common interest in materials, tools, techniques, craft, styles and design. Being a craft consumer and a prosumer on this market means interpreting commodities in a certain way that can be described as affective. Valuing objects from a creative perspective means using one's imagination and senses in order to come up with ideas and determine what the commodities can become through making and crafting. The creative relationships that are formed open up for different possibilities on a scale from mixing and matching things to transforming and reshaping commodities into something else. These creative processes often build upon existing products, that are circulating as second-hand objects on the re:heritage market. Yet they are all part of the prosumer culture that is worth studying further to see how the creative relationships are established and to follow the making processes.

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Notes

1 Second-hand is a concept used in this article for objects that have been used before (see Cervellon *et al*. 2012:958).
2 Marimekko's Unnikko print was originally designed by Maija Isola in 1964 for home decoration and bed linen. In the last decade it has also been used in other products such as clothing, porcelain, lamps and furniture (www.marimekko.com). The pattern has developed, the colours have changed, and it has been enlarged as well as reduced, and details have been highlighted. Georg Jensen has launched their Archive Collection, which provides "Carefully curated jewelry pieces from our fantastic archive, channeling the feel and design sensibilities of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s." (www.georgjensen.com).
3 The name of the project is *Re:heritage: Circulation and Marketization of Things with History*. Within the project five work packages have been identified dealing with different aspects of the market, such as: how material circulates; marketization processes and values; sites and localities as an infrastructure for the market as well as part of the circulation; the role of museums when everyday objects turn to cultural heritage. The fifth work package involves a study, resulting in this article, of key concepts used on the market and connected to the things circulating and to their reuse.
4 Since the map was made in 2014, many companies have closed down, and other new ones have opened up. This indicates that the market is changing quite rapidly.
5 "A vintage wine is one made from grapes that were all, or primarily, grown and harvested in a single specified year" (www.wikipedia.org).

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Making Place for the Future
Transformations of a Rural Village into an Industrial Area after 1972
By Daniel Svensson

Introduction

Viared, a small village outside the city of Borås in western Sweden, is today a thriving industrial and transport nexus, with more than 100 companies and 4,300 employees (Samuelsson 2015:7). As late as the 1970s, though, family farms with small-scale food production and forestry provided the main livelihood. The transformation of Viared is one of the largest and most dramatic removals of rural population in Sweden during the twentieth century. Over the course of the 1970s local authorities transformed the area into an industrial and logistic site, removing farms, farmland and farmers in the process. Some protested but in vain, by the 1980s the village was gone and replaced by large corporations such as Volvo and the mail-order firm Ellos. The goal of the transformation was to secure industrial development through "rational" land use. This article will analyse the transformation process, focusing on how the different actors articulated the landscape. The sources represent two sides – those who argued for the transformation and those who opposed it. For the first category, official planning documents from the city of Borås and interviews with the planners have been instrumental. For the resistance, interviews and articles from local newspapers are the main sources. While the availability of sources is uneven and this potentially could be seen as a problem, I see it rather as a strength as it represents the uneven power relations in the articulation process of Viared in the 1970s.

Forceful removals of people are in no way a rare event in the history of mankind, not even in recent years. Looking at major hydroelectric power projects in China, Brazil, India and many other countries, we see that people are ousted for the sake of a "greater good" almost on a daily basis. Those who support big projects argue(d) that it will lead to development (Josephson 1996:323), that it will only use lands which otherwise would be unproductive or at least yield much less (Willard Miller 1949:97), that it will make nature more manageable and profitable (Adams & Ryder 1998:689), that it will further stimulate industrialization and resource extraction (Barrow 1988:68 et passim), and so on. In Sweden, ousting people for the sake of rapid development has not been very common, at least not in the southern parts of the country and certainly not in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the most debated cases of relocation for industrial and development purposes is the ongoing transformation of the Kiruna area, first to make room for the mining industry but also to create a "space town" hosting the *European Space and Sounding Rocket Range*, ESRANGE. The process of turning Kiruna, once a core area for Saami reindeer herding, into a mining town and subsequently also a space town, built on logics similar to the transformation of Viared; growth, jobs, keeping up with national and international competition. It is also striking how the argument of state officials and others promoting the transformation of Kiruna and Viared are centred on how the landscape in question is ideal for transformation (Backman 2015), implicitly stating that current land use is inefficient compared to potential future uses.

A few questions stand at the core of this article. How was this removal of more than 600 people from the village of Viared

in the 1970s promoted? What ideas of rationality, speed and scale were used to frame this landscape as an ideal site for industrial development? What effect did the transformation of Viared have for local *movement heritage*?

The role and organization of agriculture has changed dramatically during the industrial and post-industrial eras. The number of people working in agriculture has decreased, while technological advances (machinery, pesticides, artificial manure, GMOs and the like) have encouraged larger farms, specialization, and rationalization. The yield per employee has risen dramatically. Simultaneously aspects of agricultural production have been outsourced from the west to developing countries and replaced first by industry and later by the service and IT sectors. Arable land has been claimed for industrialization and urbanization.

The case of Sweden is in many ways similar to the rest of the Western world. Structural changes in Sweden's economy and agriculture during the twentieth century have made small-scale farming uneconomical. As in most of the Western world, the number of farmers decreased and the size of the remaining farms increased. Agriculture was rationalized, industrialized and specialized (Myrdal & Morell 2011). Small-scale farms, where people were self-supporting and had a diversity of crops and animals, could no longer contribute to growth and were abandoned in favour of the industrial and service sectors. In this transformation, the interest of farmers has often conflicted with those of corporations, state officials and urban population. Structural changes in agriculture and economy have led many

farmers to lay down their shovels and move to the cities. This has been a fast transition compared to earlier transformations in human history. In Sweden, nine out of ten farms have closed down during the last 25 years (Lundell 2015). But it has also been a rather slow process compared to the more extreme cases where farmers (or others who have stood in the way of progress and growth as envisioned by state officials and large corporations) have been forcefully removed to speed up the urbanization process.

The transformation of Viared also raises questions about relations between man and landscape. Does history and tradition matter when it comes to the right of land use? Scholars in the field of environmental humanities have outlined theories of co-evolution, co-ecologies, embodied time and responsible inheritance which highlight the importance of human-environmental relations (van Dooren 2014; Rose 2012). This has been a key issue in northern Sweden as the Saami have traditional claims to land, while Swedish companies and even the Swedish state have argued that the relevance of such histories is exaggerated and that legal ownership has priority. One of the most recent examples is the conflict between the Swedish state and the Saami village of Girjas, where the efforts of the state to undermine traditional land rights have been heavily criticized (Allard, Avango, Axelsson *et al.* 2015). Can, and should, traditional land use and heritage be a relevant factor in decisions about future land use? The Viared case may help anchor such discussions in recent history.

Those who supported the development of Viared for reasons of industrialization,

primarily the planners and politicians of the city of Borås, argued that industrial jobs were much more vital for the city's development than a few farming villages (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). Those who worried about the ambitious development plans pointed to the potential loss of valuable arable land, and a future residential area. Sources include planning documents from the Borås city council, scientific studies from the 1970s, articles from local newspapers, and interviews with former residents of Viared and with politicians and officials involved in the process. These sources indicate that the ideas about how to best use the villages of Viared differed greatly.

Theory and Method

This paper will examine the ideas and arguments for and against the transformation of Viared in the 1970s. The central document describing the planned transformation is the so called "Blockplan" from 1971, passed in the Borås municipal council (*kommunfullmäktige*) on 15 June 1972 (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). The document is a visionary plan for the entire area around Borås, with optimistic estimated figures for population growth, housing projects, industrialization and traffic planning. It is in a sense the future of the city and its surroundings, as envisioned by the politicians and officials in the early 1970s. This document reveals the extent to which the planners and city officials saw an industrialized Viared as a common good that would guarantee economic growth, future development and progress. The document is a good representation of how the representatives of Borås understood Viared.

Interviews with the planners Forsberg and Jonson (who were the two most active in the writing of the planning document which is analysed in this article) have also been conducted by the author in order to get their retrospective view on the events in Viared. These interviews, and the interviews with current and former residents of Viared, were semi-structured. A number of prepared questions formed the basis for each interview, but there was also room for the discussion to lead in different directions depending on what was brought up by those interviewed (Wengraf 2001). A downside of this type of interview is that the answers are not fully comparable. In a qualitative study, I would argue that this is but a minor issue. With semi-structured interviews, the material becomes more diverse and better represents the voices of those interviewed than if I had stuck strictly to my pre-formulated questions. The interviews ranged between one and two hours, and were recorded. Jonson was interviewed at his office in central Gothenburg, while Forsberg was interviewed in his apartment in Borås.

The opposition (as often in these kinds of events) was more diversified and has left fewer written sources. The opposing voices analysed in this paper will therefore come mainly from interviews or the local press. I have used both current and historical articles from the local newspaper *Borås Tidning*. These have been found through the archive of the newspaper, found in the Borås city archives. I have also done interviews with four current and former residents of Viared. While this may seem like a relatively small number, not that many who lived in Viared at the time of the transformation would agree to

View towards Ek, taken in the 1960s. A picture from the same spot today would show the Volvo factory and other company buildings. The farm is no longer there. Photo: Viareds Natur- och Hembygds-förening.

be interviewed. There seemed to be a clear scepticism about discussing this issue, at least with an outsider. To get in contact with them, I approached the local heritage society. I eventually chose these four people because they represented different geographical parts of the old villages of Viared. All four were interviewed in their homes. The reason for this geographical diversity was to cover as much as possible of the pre-industrialized landscape of Viared, and get an overview of how the farms and villages used to be connected to each other through the paths, dirt roads and other discrete infrastructure for mobility. Since the transformation took place more than 40 years ago, and since those

that were interviewed all were of quite high age, I have been cautious about some details. Information about when and where a certain event took place has been cross-checked with other sources when possible. However, this is not primarily an article about the landscape itself but rather about the articulation process. Therefore, it is the narratives of each side that are in focus.

I also interviewed Per Olov Blom, a researcher who in the 1970s studied the impact of the local protests in Viared and other areas around Borås on the structural changes taking place. Blom also worked within Borås municipality at the time and is one of the best sources regarding the de-

bates that took place within the municipality as well as in Viared. This interview was conducted via telephone.

Finally, I also used an element of auto-ethnographic field studies (Allen-Collinson 2013). I walked around in Viared, visiting the places of importance brought up in the interviews. I tried to find remains of the paths, dirt roads and other traces of small-scale mobility. These field visits may not appear as references in the text but were nonetheless instrumental for my own understanding of Viared and its landscape history.

I consider the transformation of Viared as a form of rationalist and modernist techno-scientific disciplining on a landscape scale. It fits the general history of Sweden (and most of the Western world) at the time, when rationalization was a key factor in countering the economic crisis. The concepts of rationalization, scale and speed will be important throughout this article.

Research on the history of large-scale technologies and changes and how they transform landscapes will also be useful, especially literature on displacements of people due to a perceived greater good (dam projects, airports, roads and other such projects). I will specifically compare Viared to the city of Kiruna in northern Sweden, a place that both historically and in the present time has been physically altered to make room for industry (mining) and other job-creating ventures (rocket base) (Backman 2015). I will build on James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State* (1998), in which he outlines a history of state interest in rationalizing and optimizing landscapes, because I will argue that it was the state (represented by local offi-

cials in the municipality of Borås) that was the driving agent behind the transformation of Viared.

Sverker Sörlin's (1999) theory of *articulation of territory*, i.e. the process in which a landscape is articulated through written, oral, physical or visual means as a place for and by certain activities, will also be put to use in my analysis. The landscapes of Viared have been articulated in two distinctly different ways. From the rationalist perspective of the planners, it was articulated as an ideal site for industries. The values brought forward built on a rationalist approach, and the focus was on the location of Viared in relation to the highway Riksväg 40, the Gothenburg harbour and the low cost of development. The landscape was analysed more in relation to its potential in a techno-economic system than for its history.

The terms *rational* and *rationalize* will be used throughout this article to describe the ambitions of planners and other officials in Borås to transform the economically ineffective small-scale farming area into a more productive, profitable industrial/logistics site. The meaning of rationality advocated by the planners and politicians at the time was heavily influenced by economic ideas of efficiency, productivity, growth and development. In the rationalization movement of Sweden (strong from the 1930s onwards) efficiency and work intensity were means both to secure profits and opportunities for private companies, and to ensure a productive population that could sustain the welfare state (De Geer 1978).

This ideology of rationality did not take other values, such as heritage, history and memory, into account. The transformation

of Viared resulted in a dramatic loss of lo-cal heritage and history, especially the type of heritage that I together with fellow historian Sverker Sörlin have labelled *movement heritage* (Svensson, Sörlin & Wormbs 2016). This type of heritage is grounded in movements, and includes small-scale, low-impact human trans-formation of the landscape, such as paths, herding grounds and dirt roads. *Movement heritage* are traces of human activity which has had visible but small-scale physical impact on the landscape, but ma-jor impact on how that landscape is under-stood and framed, historically and by present inhabitants. The many centuries of rural life in Viared had produced a rich *movement heritage*, most of which was destroyed in the transformation. In this ar-ticle I will contrast the *movement heritage* and the close relation between inhabitants of Viared and their landscape, to the less romantic, more rationalist, economic lan-guage and ideas of the planners.

The way that residents in Viared fo-cused on tradition, personal knowledge of the landscape and its *movement heritage* represents a different form of articulation. It builds more on the emotional values of the landscape than the economic one. There are reasons to frame such traces of mobility as a heritage. Heritage signals a value that goes beyond personal attach-ment. When the heritage sector has ex-panded with previously neglected remains (such as industrial heritage, mining heri-tage, farming heritage) these remains have been protected to a larger extent than be-fore. By expanding heritage to include also traces of mobility in the landscape, the articulation of territory would include voices that have been silenced historical-ly. *Movement heritage* thus offers a criti-cal potential in articulation of landscapes. By re-framing a historical case such as Viared with this theoretical concept, I also aim to offer a method for how such critical perspectives could be included in current *articulations of territory* (Sörlin 1999).

In this article, the two attempts at *ar-ticulation of territory* will be analysed in detail. It will be evident that the means for articulation were unevenly distributed, as they often are when an urban centre enters into a conflict over land use with a rural periphery. While the planners of Borås had access to printed and broadly distrib-uted planning documents as well as estab-lished contacts in the local media, the resi-dents of Viared had to resort to informal communication at local protest meetings. Their version, their articulation, was not widely spread outside their own ranks.

The Agricultural Villages of Viared

Viared has long been a small-scale agri-cultural site. It consisted of five minor vil-lages (Viared, Ek, Lund, Ryssnäs and Västra Boda). Humans have dwelled in parts of this area since the Stone Age, but Viared's recorded history as an agricultur-al village dates to the fifteenth century when the forested area was partly trans-formed into fields through swidden farm-ing (Bondestam 1987:170). For centuries to come, the villages developed and more farms were built. A congregation, a school, a local grocery store and a few mi-nor businesses developed in the area, but in essence the rural farming identity re-mained. Not until the twentieth century, when electricity, phones and a small air-field came to Viared, did change acceler-ate.

View of Viareds Missionshus in the 1950s. A man named Fritz Gabrielsson lived in the adjacent farm. In the background are Lake Viared and Sjömarken. Photo: Viareds Natur- och Hembygdsförening.

About 600 years after the initial fires, Viared was once again transformed in fire when the area, by order of the Borås municipal council, was turned into an industrial site and many of the buildings were burned to the ground as training objects for the local fire-fighting department. The transformation of Viared was formally decided on 15 June 1972, when the municipal council passed a new development plan for Borås and the adjacent areas. The Municipal Board of Borås suggested that the passing of proposed development plan without major changes. A counterproposal was made in order to open up for keeping parts of Viared as residential areas, but

proponents of large-scale industrialization won the vote, 31–18 (Borås municipal council protocol, 15 June 1972). Of those who voted against, the majority represented the Centre Party, traditionally the party of farmers in Sweden.

In the years that followed, the city bought farms and land in Viared including some of the most fertile land in Borås. The farmers had no alternative but to sell, and the deals were signed under threat of expropriation. In 1975, the city had bought enough land to begin the physical transformation. During the years 1975–1977, some 300 buildings were burnt or torn down. Out of these 300, 87 were residen-

tial buildings, the rest were barns or other buildings related to farming (Samuelsson 2015:7). And in 1977, a new Volvo Buses plant opened. The first decades of the new industrial area were slow in terms of other companies establishing their business in the area, and the optimistic prognosis of the planners of thousands of jobs was not realized at first. Eventually, however, the area did become a success in terms of the number of jobs and companies with over 4,400 new positions and further expansion now under way.

The decision to transform Viared ended more than six centuries of agriculture. Some residents tried to resist the development, but in 2013 the last farmer gave in and sold his cows (Boersma 2013). There are now no active farmers left in the area, although some residential houses are still there. And the transformation continues. One of the last houses affected by the original development plan was destroyed in January 2014 (Rosenqvist 2014). Several old houses remain in Viared, but these were excluded from the development plan from the start because of their relative distance to the main road, Riksväg (state highway) 40. The areas where the first industrial complexes were built all lie closer to the main road, and the road itself was one of the major arguments as to why industrialization of Viared was so profitable. In 2012, the next phase of development began and the industrial expansion continued west and north along the highway Riksväg 40, a process that will result in another 88 hectares of industrial land (Samuelsson 2015:7). On the north side of the road, towards Lake Viared, such new factories opened during 2014 and 2015, and more are being built. South of the road, the industrial area is expanding to the west. But unlike when Viared was first transformed, this land is not easily flattened and made suitable for industrial buildings, as wetlands, mountains and forests have to be removed. There are not many houses in the area, but the few that are there face a similar situation as did the people of Viared in the 1970s – sell or have your farm expropriated (Hedenryd 2012). Apart from a few cows grazing between the industrial complexes, there is little rural about Viared anymore. It is now an area filled with expansive companies, and an important part of the growth of Borås in recent years.

Viared in Relation to Previous Research

As one of the largest and more recent displacements of people in Sweden, the case of Viared needs further attention in order to understand how such a large removal of people was possible and how it was motivated. Rationalization and technologization of landscapes in order to use it more effectively is a common theme in cases from many areas of the world (e.g. Worster 1982; Sörlin 1988; Barrow 1988; Qing 1993; White 1995; Karlsson 2009; Pritchard 2012). Agricultural landscapes have likewise gone through similar transformations (e.g. Fitzgerald 1991; Myrdal & Morell 2011). Research on issues and ideas about displacement and resource exploitation in other areas of the country (mainly in northern Sweden, especially focusing on the Saami) has been conducted that often indicated that the "greater good" of the country gained priority over the rights of individual citi-

zens, especially when water power was at stake (e.g. Sörlin 1988, Öhman 2010).

Few of these cases can be found in southern Sweden. The fact that Viared was transformed relatively late in the twentieth century also makes it stand out, at least when also considering that it did not cause any major debate. Compared to the debate about the possible domestication of Vindelälven for water power in the 1960s (which caused a massive debate in the whole country), the Viared case did not attract any major interest outside Borås. Why did so few people take an interest in preserving Viared? One possibility was the "ordinariness" of the landscape. Rural villages like this are found all over Sweden, but rivers like Vindelälven are quite rare (and many of them had already, by the 1960s, been domesticated by hydropower companies). Another possibility is the small number of people affected. Similar cases in Sweden, such as the historical controversies of Vindelälven or Stora Sjöfallet, or more recent examples such as the resistance to mining in Sápmi (the land of the Saami in northern Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia), demonstrate that resource exploitation and industrial development often result in protests from locals. But they have little chance of stopping the development plans if they do not manage to raise attention for their cause on regional, national or even international scale. Viared remained a local issue.

The debate about other areas of Sweden, especially Lapland and its resources and potential for industrialization, reveals that the case of Viared was not unique. The way in which Norrland was perceived as the land of the future has interesting connections to the transformation of a south-western Sweden rural village in terms of the conflict between tradition and economic development (Sörlin 1988). Histories of relocations of citizens, destruction of houses and appropriation of private lands (or commons) are well documented for the northern areas of Sweden. Similar processes in the more densely populated south of Sweden have been less studied by historians and other scholars. With Viared being one of the more dramatic events of this sort, its history deserves further attention. It can also serve as an example of how exploitation of forests, mires and farmlands for the sake of urban or industrial expansion is motivated.

Borås Blockplan – Long-term Planning, Long-range Effects

Borås blockplan outlined the future of the city of Borås and its surrounding municipalities Bollebygd, Dalsjöfors, Fristad, Sandhult and Viskafors. The five smaller municipalities had already in the 1960s, together with Borås, investigated the possibilities of forming a large municipality with Borås as its centre. This merger was part of the major overview of Swedish municipalities in the 1970s and was approved and realized in 1974. The blockplan was therefore written with regard to the needs of this new, and (for Sweden) large-scale, municipality of about 110,000 citizens.

During the years of unprecedented economic success in Sweden 1950–1974, Borås relied on the textile industry and mail-order companies for its economic growth. But in the late 1960s there were signs that the textile industry would not

withstand increasing competition from countries with low labour costs. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of people employed in the textile industry of Borås dropped from almost 19,000 to about 11,000, a major blow to the local economy (Berglund *et al*. 2005:151). City leaders saw the need to diversify the job market to reduce vulnerability in the event of further crisis, and determined to pursue the attraction of industry (ibid.:203–205). At the same time, the oil crisis hit the Swedish economy, causing even more trouble (ibid.:201–202).

As a solution, three men, Sten Forsberg and Einar Brandt, employees of the Borås municipality *Blockplaneenhet* (planning unit), and Sten Jonson, an architect who at the time worked as a consultant, produced the *Borås blockplan* (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). It was mainly Forsberg and Jonson who designed the plan. The work on authoring the plan had begun in 1970, as part of the preparations for the new *Borås kommunblock*, the new, larger municipality where Borås was to incorporate the surrounding, smaller municipalities (ibid.:1).

Already in the first pages of the document, there was reason for concern for those who lived in Viared. The authors Forsberg and Jonson reviewed the current and future land use in the Borås area, but did not mention Viared despite its high status as an agricultural area. They stated that "arable land that is situated directly adjacent to existing, larger densely populated urban areas will in some cases be in conflict with the urban expansion, especially as this land is attractive to develop from an urban planning-economic perspective" (ibid.:12). Viared was not men-

tioned here either, but it fits the underlying point that Forsberg and Jonson wished to make: that cities and economies need to grow, and that arable land may have to be sacrificed in order to secure this desired development. This is a rationalist way of thinking about land use that had been increasing in Sweden since the rise of the rationalization movement in the 1930s (De Geer 1978). It also resonates with how earlier industrial development in the area was tied to infrastructure and geography. The successful establishments of the nineteenth century textile industry along the river Viskan were dependent on the river for power. The best-known example is Rydal spinning factory, built in 1853 south of Borås. In the 1970s, Viskan had lost its role as a decisive factor for industrial expansion. Instead, it was the new road, Riksväg 40 between Göteborg and Borås, that presented the infrastructural argument for placing industry in Viared. The proximity to the new road meant easy access to the port of Gothenburg, lifting Viared from the microlevel and placing it in a macrolevel technological system including trucks, roads, ships and international trade.

Forsberg and Jonson also presented a "land requirement prognosis". They predicted that new industrial establishments would require more land than older forms of industry, because of the tendency to use one-level plants and serial production (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:34). Unsurprisingly the need for rationalization (of industry) in turn led to a rationalization of land use, according to the economic and ideological standards of the time. Further into the document, the planners outlined three potential solutions for

Viared. In options one and two they included both industry and housing, but option three (which they argued for) "means that the whole area is reserved for industrial purposes" (ibid.:68). This follows a certain logic that was not unique for Sweden. Rationalization movements across the world argued for increasing specialization, not least in cities and their surroundings, during the twentieth century (Scott 1998). The famous French architect Le Corbusier argued tirelessly for separating dwelling and working areas. His arguments, picked up by planners across the globe, framed the multifunctionality of landscapes as an obstacle for planning effectively. According to Le Corbusier (and many of his contemporaries and followers), a landscape should ideally serve only one purpose. When faced with a multitude of uses and user groups, planning becomes much harder (Scott 1998:109–111). A place like Viared, which had not been planned but rather organically and slowly developed into a multifunctional landscape, was a nightmare for the kind of high-modernist planning that Le Corbusier advocated. Forsberg and Jonson may not have been explicitly influenced by Le Corbusier, but their arguments follow in his footsteps. Both Le Corbusier and the officials of Borås built on a Cartesian dualism and ideas about order through division and specialization (ibid.: 55–56). In the *articulation of territory* done by the planners, Viared was framed as a monopolized landscape devoted solely to industry. Similar arguments were raised in Denmark and other countries around the same time – rural areas often troubled by unemployment deserved the right to be industrialized and developed,

with clear separation between living areas and industrial areas instead of the mixed landscape of rural Scandinavia (Engset Høst 2016: 128–129).

The prose of the plan is bureaucratic, but follows a certain rationalist logic that justifies the proposals. First, Forsberg and Jonson argued that urban expansion should be done in a manner that enables each urban residential area to support a lower secondary school (*högstadieskola*) (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:42). Once this prerequisite had been established, the alternatives to industrialization of Viared (like a mixed area with both industries and residential buildings) were judged unfit because the number of people would not justify a lower secondary school (ibid.:68).

In modernist thinking, dichotomies like the one between nature and culture are essential. The city and the countryside are another such dichotomy. Planning of rural areas is rarely done there, but often in urban *centres of calculation* (Latour 1987), where local knowledge is dwarfed by the overviewing ability of collected knowledge (Flygare & Isacsson 2011:219 et passim). In the Viared case, the focus of the planners who wrote the planning document was the city and its needs. They constantly justified the transformation of the village through the benefits for the city of Borås, as when they argued for industrialization of Viared as the only way for Borås to have a large and easily transformed industrial area with good communications (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:68). Tradition, history, emotion and movement heritage were not included in the calculations, and agriculture was reduced to the number of jobs it can result

in. Why did they not include it? How can anyone quantify history, heritage, beauty, justice? By leaving such values out, planning documents themselves therefore have an inherent political agenda.

Given that rationale, it was no longer feasible to keep Viared as an agricultural area, according to the planners. They argued that the number of jobs in agriculture in the Borås area was declining (from 2,200 to 1,700 between 1960 and 1965, a loss of 500 jobs in only five years) and that the kind of small-scale farms that dominated in Viared would exist "only during a transitional period" (ibid.:12). In summary, there were more rationalist ways to use this land, and the farms would not remain in any case due to their incompatibility with modern, rationalized agriculture.

In the concluding remarks of the plan, Forsberg and Jonson stressed the great need for industrial areas of 2,500 hectares. They stated that "Viared should be made fully available for industrial purposes. The area's location in relation to communications and suitability for construction should make it very attractive for industrial expansion and it will be a decisive factor in securing the municipality's industrial development" (ibid.:112). The first argument was one of logistics. Viared's location close to the new motorway between Gothenburg and Borås was a key factor, and the road was seen by Forsberg and Jonson as a corridor of expansion in which companies would be likely to invest. The other alternatives for industrial expansion did not have this advantage and that alone was enough to recommend Viared as the next industrial site of Borås. The second argument was also based on logistics and economy, but in a different

way. Viared was a flat landscape that could easily be rebuilt, and the costs per square metre could be kept to a minimum. Finally, Jonson and Forsberg argued that Viared was a vital part of the future industrial expansion (and therefore also the general expansion) of Borås. In summary, the planners Jonson and Forsberg argued for Viared as the most favourable location for industrial expansion from economic and practical perspectives. They were not insensitive to the protesting villagers but argued (and still argue) that the interests of the few must sometimes give way to the greater good of the many. Similar arguments are found in other urbanization-related environmental issues, such as sewage systems causing downstream disturbances (Rosenthal 2014).

Who were the two men behind this document, and how did they motivate the industrialization of Viared? Sten Jonson, a young architect at the time, had his own business in Gothenburg. He had already done similar planning work in other cities. Sten Forsberg was an economist, educated in Stockholm and employed by the city of Borås. Together they had the main responsibility for the content of the plan. As I have shown, their argumentation was based on rationalist ideas about effective and specialized land use, economic growth, and attraction of industries and jobs. Forsberg and Jonson were experts, and their job was to plan the expansion of Borås in the most effective and profitable way. They did this based on modernist arguments which fit into the general discourse of the modern Swedish state, where the city emerged as the ideal, rational way of living and the countryside was reduced to an old-fashioned, irration-

al remnant of the past. The argumentation echoes the frustration of dualistic philosophers like René Descartes over the seemingly chaotic diversity of medieval cities and land use (Scott 1998:55–56). Rural life was to be planned and engineered from the city, implicitly because the city experts had a much better overview (Flygare & Isacson 2011:219–220). To speak with Bruno Latour (1987), the *centre of calculation* was Borås, and it was Jonson and Forsberg who did the calculations. Engineering the landscape for arguably better use has a long tradition in Sweden, not least in the industrial expansion in Norrland from the late nineteenth century onwards (Sörlin 1988). Transformation of landscapes by mining, bridge-building, roads etc. was also one of the core aspects of early engineering education in Sweden, and as such a sign of the ambitions of the state to use scientific-technological expertise for the sake of growth and rationalization of landscape use (Sundin 2006: 245–249).

The work that Forsberg and Jonsson performed was in essence an *articulation of territory*, a way of framing Viared as something other than it had been, full of potential for future development. As Sörlin puts it, *articulation of territory* is "a process of differentiating one area from another, establishing communities of affection and memory" (Sörlin 1999:108). I would argue that the same process (articulation) can also do the opposite – obscure and break down such communities and replace them with other ideas of community based on the preferences of the articulating actor. In the Viared case, the traditional understanding of place was re-articulated in favour of industrial development.

The process was on a local level but the resemblance to the articulation of other, more iconic landscapes is striking. Articulating places like the French Riviera as tourist destinations was done with similar techniques to Viared's articulation as an industrial site (ibid.:107), namely, by writing the landscape of Viared into a narrative of specialization rather than the multi-functionality that had historically been the case.

Forsberg and Jonson down-played the traditional and historical aspects of the landscape in favour of its potential as home for industry. The planning document framed Viared as the best, maybe even the only, option for future industrial expansion in Borås. The counter-narratives from residents of Viared were not published or recorded, further underlining the demarcation between rationalistic (written, scientific, universalist) articulation and traditional (oral, experiential, local) *articulation of territory*. The power-relations between the urban centre and the rural periphery are clearly part of this articulation process. While the planners had access to all sorts of written and visual communication, the residents of Viared had to rely on personal communication. Their articulation reached a smaller audience, and because it built on personal rather than scientific knowledge it was not seen as relevant.

The Voices of the Village – a *Movement Heritage* Lost

Residents had been left in the dark about these early discussions. This fact was not even addressed in the planning process, which indicates that this was a self-evident way of doing things. The first official

informational meeting with the residents was held in early 1972. And by then, the plan had already gained significant technique-bureaucratic momentum, because it was part of a larger technical system including a major road, international trade and logistics (Hughes 1983). When city officials finally presented the plans to the people of Viared, so much time and resources had already been invested that, in practice, it would be too expensive to stop the development according to the planners. The plan had gained momentum.

One of the more persistent opponents of the industrialization plan was Sture Magnusson. Now over 90 years old, Magnusson has for decades run a museum in his barn where he displays tens of thousands of tools, memorabilia and other artefacts related to the old Viared. He has also produced a film about the landscape transformation, as well as a website that has the heading "Viared – the raped village" (Viared.eu 2015). Sture lives in one of very few farms that were not destroyed during the industrialization process. Most of his lands (south of the house) are still open fields, pastures or forests, but the view from his kitchen window to the north is dramatically altered. Where he once saw fields, a few farms and Lake Viared in the background, he now sees a large road and several massive industrial plants. Sture shows pictures of Viared in the 1960s, and points at a small dirt road where he used to ride a bike when he was younger: "That's where the Volvo plant is now, and the old road is gone" (Magnusson 2015). The roads are broader now, and bikes make no mark on the asphalt-covered road. The local knowledge that Sture has acquired over time is of little use

in the new Viared – his experiential knowledge about where best to walk, ride a horse or bike, go fishing or pick mushrooms has lost its practical application.

However, by articulating such knowledge (place-names, maps etc.) it can be turned into a *movement heritage*. As such, it has potential as counter-narrative to the official story of progress and economic growth. *Articulation of territory* based on personal knowledge and experience of moving through the landscape has historical roots. Nordic traditions of access to nature through *Allemansrätten* (Right of Public Access), emphasize personal effort (Kayser Nielsen 1997:87–89). Viared was no exception – it was full of paths that were a sort of commons, open to all who had an errand of any sort. In the transformed landscape, the industrial complexes are often surrounded by fences and the paths are not accessible in the same way as before. This fact constitutes a loss that is comparable to the loss of houses and other buildings. Experiential, personal knowledge of how to move through a landscape is important for our feelings about a place. As Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch (2011:111) has framed it: "The ability to find one's way and to know how to move within a place are significant factors for feeling at home." Massive loss of *movement heritage* would therefore risk of undermining such feelings of belonging and being at home.

Moreover, paths and small roads connected the farms of Viared into a community. As Tim Ingold (2016:3) has argued, lives are lived along lines and it is along paths and other such lines that "people grow into a knowledge of the world around them, and describe this world in

Monument at Viared Museum, run by local man Sture Magnusson. The inscription translates: "From time to time, from hand to hand". Photo: Daniel Svensson.

the stories they tell". This is probably one reason why the paths and dirt roads keep emerging in the *articulation of territory* by inhabitants of Viared, but are totally neglected in the planning documents. The planners worked with a "building" perspective, which in this case means planning and building comes first and is then filled with mobility (Ingold 2000:180–181). *Movement heritage*, on the other hand, is more based on a "dwelling" perspective that presupposes a long tradition of mobility in an area. That mobility is the very reason for the roads and paths being there at all (Ingold 2000: 185–187).

Across Viared, city officials treated local folk and their farms with hurried disdain. Lund Västergården was neither exceptionally large nor small, a mid-sized farm producing oats, rye, barley, wheat, potatoes, honey and vegetables. Livestock included cows, chickens, pigs and a horse. The city of Borås approached the owners in 1973 (when the municipal council already had passed the development plan meaning that Viared would be transformed), and the contract was signed in January 1975. The four sisters who then had inherited the farm from their parents got 590,000 kronor, a price that was reasonable in economic terms. Nothing in the deed of sale, which the politician Eskil Jinnegård signed as a representative of Borås city, reveals that the farm was sold under threat of expropriation.[1] And perhaps this is not surprising. It is a document regulating a deal, and not outlining how the deal came to be. But the farms in Viared were sold with the threat of expropriation lurking in the background.

In the spring of 1975 the house was burned down, followed by the rest of the buildings (barn, henhouse) in the autumn of 1976. One of the sisters, Ingegärd Davidsson, who had grown up on the farm and lived there as late as the to mid 1960s with her husband, her son Lars and her daughter Lena Davidsson, remembers the paths she used as a young woman. She went cross-country skiing from her home in Viared to the ski training sessions in Hestra (about 5 kilometres north), and says that "even at night with only moonlight to guide me, I knew exactly where the path was" (I. Davidsson 2015). Both Ingegärd and Lena stress the kind of experiential knowledge about the landscape that is dependent on years and years of land use. "It was a very free life. Dad cut firewood in the forest and our horse carried it, and where the horse couldn't go across the bog we carried it [the firewood] ourselves. That's why I was a good skier," says Ingegärd (I. Davidsson 2015). The memories are still there, but the small paths through the forests surrounding Viared are now mostly gone. Memories such as these have remained largely unarticulated. By articulating them now, by turning memories and personal knowledge into a movement heritage, the history of Viared may become a little less one-sided.

In the years after their family farm had been burnt down, the family gathered a few times in what used to be their garden. "We brought coffee and sat there in our garden and watched the motorway. We talked about our old memories. That was the purpose. We could never get it back but it is no use dwelling on that" (L. Davidsson 2015). A large ash tree, planted by Ingegärd's uncle, is still standing in the old garden, like a monument over Lund

Västergården. Maybe it will outlive even the industries?

Several churches and other social organizations also raised concern about the plan. The local congregation of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden voiced some critique toward the plan. Their church (or *missionshus* as it is called in Swedish) stood on the land that is now part of Volvo Buses plant, and they wanted to assure a new location for the church (which they eventually did, in neighbouring Sjömarken).

The so-called formal protest committee, *Viaredskommittén*, voiced critique against the development plans. They suggested that both industries and residential areas could be built in Viared (Blom 1972: 24–25). One of the committee members, Nils Alexandersson, was also a minister in the above-mentioned congregation. He wrote an article in *Borås Tidning*, basing his rejection of the development plan on historical and emotional arguments. He underlined the long history of the congregation (started in 1877) along with the suitability for residential expansion and ended with an "appeal to planning and decision-making authorities […] so that our congregation also in the future may fulfil its mission in Viared" (Alexandersson 1971). He clearly tried to emphasize the long history in a place as basis for right of use. Such claims have rarely been successful in Swedish history. Traditional land rights have been ignored in many cases when the greater good (or greater profit) of society as a whole has stood on the other side. Saami villages have fought tirelessly to have their traditional land rights (*hävd*) recognized legally, but 2016 a court decided in favour of a Saami vil-

lage against the Swedish state regarding hunting rights on Saami land (Heiki & Frygell 2016). In Viared, even traditional land rights *paired with* legal ownership of the land did not help.

With the emotional tone of the article, Alexandersson fits well into the dichotomy of history and future. The people of Viared represented history, according to themselves and to the planners. The development plan, on the other hand, was the future. Such was at least the articulation of this landscape in the media and in other written sources. Apart from being a minister, Alexandersson was a local representative for the Centre Party (traditionally the party of Swedish farmers), and several other members of the protest committee also had ties to the party. In the deciding vote on the development plan in June 1972, a majority of those who rejected it were members of the Centre Party.

In the spring and early summer of 1972, when the development plan was about to be passed and the villagers in Viared had finally realized that most of their village was about to be destroyed, there were some reactions in the local media. In the largest local newspaper, one farmer asked if the people of Viared "will be driven from Viared like the Finns from Karelia" (*Borås Tidning* 8 June 1972). Linking Borås municipality with the Soviet invasion in Finland was a strong statement, but even such a provocative argument did not cause any broad debate. This was on 8 June. A week later the answer from the municipal council was to pass the development plan. Apart from the few articles in local media, there was not much debate. Even those who protested had no illusions of keeping Viared mainly as an agricultur-

al area. Instead, they tried to convince the planners that there should be residential buildings alongside the industries. This strategy also failed. The clash between expert and local knowledge in the case of Viared is in many ways typical. Even if the issue at hand (industrial expansion) was important, there is also something about the rule of experts that is hard to legitimize in rural areas. From skiers who protested against scientific training advice (Svensson 2014), via British sheep farmers who distrusted the experts that forbade them to sell their products in the wake of the Chernobyl accident in 1986 (Wynne 1992), to the farmers in Argyll in Scotland who rejected the environmental protection agendas of experts (Lykke Syse 2010). There is an abundance of similar examples, which testify to the difficulties in direct interaction between local knowledge and expert knowledge. Viared was no exception, and the direct communication between locals and experts almost ended in a fistfight when the planners Sten Jonson and Sten Forsberg visited Viared in spring 1972 to inform the villagers about the content of the development plan (Jonsson 2015; Forsberg 2015). The plan would go through. Some still protested, but in a way that confirmed that the battle had already been lost. A resident of Viared went to Stockholm to attend a funeral on the day that her childhood home was burnt down, and she was relieved that she did not have to be there to see it for herself (Anonymous resident of Viared 2015). It has been pointed out that the concept of family land and the complex practices of succession at farms has played an important role historically, and has continued to do so through the structural changes in ag-

riculture over the last few decades (Flygare 2012). I would argue that it is not just the property as such (buildings, land) but also the paths and micro-landscapes across and between farms, what I here have called *movement heritage*, that gets lost when continuities no longer function. The transformation of Viared disrupted such traditional patterns of property transfer through inheritance.

The Relative Silence
Unlike such other environmental and displacement issues in Swedish history such as Stora Sjöfallet or Vindelälven, the Viared case did not cause a lot of debate, and in the years since the events this has not changed. In a three-volume history of Borås city, the transformation of Viared is barely mentioned. In a short paragraph the authors explain that the large-scale welfare society needed long-term planning and therefore land available for industrial and residential expansion, and that this could affect individual citizens or even whole areas, like Viared (Berglund *et al*. 2005:292–293). In a section where the authors discuss the need for land acquisitions and long-term planning, they do not even mention Viared (Berglund *et al*. 2005:310–312). And in a section that portrays the first chair of the municipal council of the new, expanded Borås municipality in 1974, Eskil Jinnegård, his role in the transformation of Viared is totally neglected (Berglund *et al*. 2005:307). Given the magnitude of the Viared events, even on a national scale, the lack of debate is surprising.

One potential explanation for the relative silence is the turmoil and anger created by other issues in Borås in the early

1970s. The merging of six smaller municipalities into a larger Borås municipality with 110,000 inhabitants led some people to protest against centralization (Blom 1972). However, these protests remained a local issue, and I have found no records of any serious attempts to organize a broader resistance against the new administration. The fears of a decline in the textile industry also caught the public attention. And the biggest issue in the public debate at the time was the proposal to build a road through the Borås city park, *Stadsparken*, the most iconic park in the city. Almost 25,000 people signed the petition to stop the road (Johansson 2008). Per Olov Blom, local politician and chair of the city's building department from 1974, argues that the public attention was drawn to other things.

The road through the park was seen as something that affected the whole city. Compared to this, Viared was seen as a much smaller, more local issue. Very few protested, except for those who lived in Viared (Blom 2015).

The focus of public debate turned to other issues and Viared was not debated in public except by people who lived there. In any case, it is clear that other issues caused much more public protests than did the exploitation of Viared. This is yet another example of what Arne Næss pointed out decades ago: local residents are rarely successful in protecting their environment if they cannot rally the support of other groups, such as tourists or environmentalists (Næss & Rothenberg 1990). Another reason for the failure to raise enough public opinion to affect the outcome of the planning procedure may have been the relative commonness of Viared. In Sweden in the 1970s, arable land was not seen

as a scarce or even very valuable resource. On the contrary, rationalization of agriculture was the way to go, producing more food with fewer people involved and on smaller areas. Fewer people were employed in agriculture and large parts of the rural population moved to the expanding cities. And the most fertile agricultural lands are in the same areas where there are most cities and towns (Flygare & Isacson 2011:236, 253).

As the planners Jonson and Forsberg had stated in the planning document, arable land close to cities was needed for industrial and urban purposes (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:12). And it still is. The local association of businesses aims at doubling the number of companies until 2022, underlining that the growth paradigm is still a guiding principle in the area (Viareds företagarförening 2017), and the history of Viared that they funded (Danielsson 2010) frames the transformation and continued expansion in a positive tone. This illustrates the different problems that rural areas face in Sweden depending on their distance or proximity to a major city. Rural landscapes in peripheral areas struggle with effects of urbanization, as people move out and services shut down. Rural areas close to cities like Borås, instead face the prospects of being incorporated into the city and transformed from rural to urban (Westholm 2013:57). Similar developments can be seen around other towns where the creation of new jobs is perceived as critical. The transformation of Viared shows how industrialization is often unequal. The need for industrial land was not distributed amongst the entire population but rather focused on a peripheral area with residents that had

little chance of making their protests heard. This aligns with similar experiences in other countries, where the poorest, most segregated or most peripheral (geographically and economically) are more often hit by the consequences of pollution, environmental degradation and industrial expansion (e.g. Pulido 2000; Guhathakurta & Wichert 1998). The distribution of environmental degradation (not least effects of climate change) is also a key issue on a global scale.

Discussion

The transformation of Viared into an industrial area was, in retrospect, a success in economic terms. And it was perfectly in line with the ambitions of the Swedish state in the 1960s and 1970s to rationalize and industrialize agriculture, i.e. to have fewer and bigger farming units and relocate the surplus workforce to the expanding industries of the cities (Flygare & Isacson 2011:231–232). For many of Viared's residents, however, the scars of this perceived injustice go deep. And the ongoing and ever-growing debate about how to balance small-scale rural life with urban expansion remains unsolved. The produce of Viared in terms of food production was marginal on a national and even on a regional scale. However, the growing demand for ecological, local food in Sweden and the increasing focus on sustainable food production may add a different, more critical perspective on the transformation of Viared.

Scale is an important issue here. Throughout this article I have framed the farming activities as small-scale. The centralized planning needed for the new, expanded municipality of Borås was not small-scale, but rather large-scale in both temporal and geographical terms. The need for space to grow became more evident as the smaller municipalities of Borås, Bollebygd, Dalsjöfors, Fristad, Sandhult and Viskafors merged into one large administrative area. Per Olov Blom, local politician and chair of the city's building department from 1974, recalls that the framework of the political agenda was changed. "It became much more large-scale, and the common understanding was that it had to be so in order to secure future jobs and industries" (Blom 2015). Large-scale technologies, as well as large-scale planning and development, runs the risk of being less transparent and less democratic (Scott 1998) while also causing severe effects on nature (Josephson 2002). It is striking that totalitarian regimes such as the one in Soviet Russia have been particularly fond of large-scale technologies and centralized planning (Josephson 1996:298–299 et passim). In a democracy such as Sweden, one would expect more dialogue with and consideration of local residents.

We may ask what is lost and gained when social and environmental change is directed from the outside. The gaze of the state official is simplistic and synoptic, promoting "state simplifications". Such simplifications exclude aspects of human existence that do not fit into the model of aggregate, utilitarian facts (Scott 1998: 79–80). In our case, the planners carefully counted on the potential number of jobs created in Viared while neglecting local tradition and heritage, because such local values could not make an impact in a universalist, rationalistic analysis.

By the western entrance to Viared, there is a sign with a map listing all the companies in the area. Signs such as this one are part of the articulation process, framing Viared as an industrial landscape. Photo: Daniel Svensson.

This way of thinking about landscapes and wanting to order them into specialized spaces of industry, living, leisure, nature protection, forestry and so on is typical of Swedish twentieth-century planning. It builds on a Cartesian dualistic vision where multi-use, multi-species, organic use and growth over time are problematic and ineffective (Scott 1998:55). Viared was in a sense the twentieth-century Swedish equivalent of a medieval town – used for multiple purposes (houses, agriculture, small-scale crafting and home industry, schools, churches, paths and dirt roads). It lacked a general plan – it was not rational but traditional. It had reached its current state through organic development over hundreds of years, rather than by a large-scale, fast remodelling.

Viared did not fit into a Cartesian divide between wild nature and artefactual, man-made, rationalized landscapes. It was both nature and culture, landscape use which affected the ecology and aesthetics of the place but did so slowly and sustainably. Such boundary places, called "gaps" by Anna Tsing (2015), threaten a rationalist world order. Viared was neither wild nature nor fully rationalized. It was both a residential and work area, both "natural" (forests, lakes, animals) and "cultural" (humans, houses, fields, crops, paths). To the planners pointing out the future of this place, specialization was badly needed. They argued for a transformation into an industrial area, where people could work. And their homes should be in another area, where they could live (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). It was a vision of separation and specialization, where no gaps were included. The now increasingly popular concept of the Anthropocene in-

volves aspects of this large-scale management approach. Humanity as a major force of change on a planetary, geological scale implies a need for more control, more human involvement and less unproductive wilderness or low-productivity farmlands. This has been heavily criticized by scholars who argue that previous human large-scale interventions have had disastrous effects (Crist 2013).

If local heritage was lost in Viared then the intended jobs were indeed gained, so far at least 4,300 of them. This has obviously meant a lot for the economy of Borås. The transformation was part of an ongoing exploitation of rural areas for industrial reasons across the Nordic countries. Turning farmers into wage workers and spreading industry and welfare services to rural areas was an important aspect of the social democratic ideology (Engset Høst 2016:132) and it was in this context that the planners in Borås worked.

What was lost is perhaps a bit trickier to answer. The homes of about 600 people are one thing but the most striking loss is perhaps that of heritage. The landscapes of Viared were shaped by many generations of farmers. Change occurred all the time, but it was slow and dynamic. The imprints (paths, grazing fields, dirt roads) are gone now, and part of the history of Borås was lost with them. Villages have typically been framed as static, and mobility has been seen as external to such (rural) communities (Uusitalo 2012:101 et passim). The small-scale mobility so important in many villages has been more or less neglected. In this article, I have argued that mobility and its heritage is instead a vital part of both historical and cur-

rent village community. Indeed, it is at the very core of such community as it ties the individual farms and households together through roads and paths.

Mobility heritage/movement heritage (Svensson, Sörlin & Wormbs 2016) is a concept developed to frame and analyse the remains of movement of different kinds in the landscape. In the Viared case, the *movement heritage* is the traces left behind by small-scale agriculture and movements by humans and animals (paths, pastures, fields, peat-bogs). This is almost eradicated. There are very few signs, monuments and other memorabilia to inform visitors about the history of Viared. As a final failure to recognize the historical importance of those that lived and worked in Viared over the centuries, the streets are named not with reference to local history but only to the new era. Streets such as Företagsgatan (Company Street), Bussgatan (Bus Street) and Stämpelgatan (Stamp Street) may be suitable for the companies, but they seem less related to those generations of people that dedicated their lives to work the earth in Viared. Such re-naming is an important aspect of the *articulation of territory* (Sörlin 1999), not least used in colonial efforts to incorporate new territories into the nation. The names on the maps and the physical signposts in the landscape all further the agenda of those articulating Viared as an industrial area, making its long pre-industrial history invisible in the process, to the grief of former residents (Anonymous resident 2015). A few of the old buildings are still there, but taking the complexity of human/landscape co-existence into account, pre-industrial Viared is gone.

Such practices differ radically from what the environmental humanities scholar Thom van Dooren (2014:19) has named *responsible inheritance*. Responsible inheritance pays attention to the diversity of a place and its history. It also means inheriting a place "as a dynamic and changing gift that must be lived up to for the good of all those who do or might inhabit it" (van Dooren 2014:19). In order to do this, more attention needs to be paid to the interconnectedness of humans and the landscapes in which they live. As certain species (e.g. plants, animals) or cultures (e.g. small-scale farming, reindeer herding) are diminished, or even extinct, the landscape will change. As discussed by van Dooren (2014:12), we are shaped by generations of co-evolution. Removing parts from these intricate webs of co-existence will affect our heritage, and our lives. In the case of Viared, most historical webs of co-existence were destroyed in the fast process of turning this area into something else. Speed is a key issue here. The long history of Viared was based on slow practices – farming without machinery, transport without cars, communication without phones. Large-scale technologies of high speed, such as the motorway, mechanized agriculture, buses etc., were part of an acceleration that left historical practices behind. It was a slow landscape deemed unfit for an accelerating world. This was partly due to necessity – Borås suffered from the decline of its textile industry. But it was also something inherent in the speed of technology itself – with large-scale mechanized farming, who needed small farms? Rationalization and large-scale solutions led to the abandonment of traditional practices, as well as the de-

struction of the traces of earlier, and slower, mobility. Paths and dirt roads vanished under the cars, and horse paths, school paths, church paths and other traces of traditional mobility became redundant in the process.

The past of Viared is hidden behind generic street names and massive industrial buildings, but it is still there. The farms and lands of those who were forced to leave are gone, but maybe more could be done to recognize their history and what it means in terms of moral, traditional and emotional claims to land rights. *Movement heritage* can in this respect be used as a counter-narrative, a counter-articulation. By recognizing remains of traditional patterns and practices of mobility, local heritage and experiential knowledge would thus be included in the articulation process. Articulating such remains through maps, signs and digital media gives voice to generations of people who otherwise are muted. Thus, there could be a critical potential in *movement heritage*. Paths, like other heritage, are political, and the eradication of such heritage is too. While the work of the local heritage society may not have changed anything in the development of Viared, they have at least articulated a heritage of trails, paths and place-names that would otherwise have been lost not only as physical remains but also from memory.

The changes in Viared relate to the ongoing issue of traditional land rights in northern Sweden. There is recent critique of the Swedish state's unwillingness to acknowledge traditional claims, and the significance of a long history of land use (Allard, Avango, Axelsson *et al*. 2015). Because Saami villages rarely have had legal documents supporting their claims, they have turned to arguments of history and tradition which they have had a hard time defending in court. In Viared, the villagers did have legal ownership, for which they were compensated as the city of Borås bought their land. But their traditional and historical claims to the land were not recognized. No extra compensation was paid for the loss of memory, heritage and culture. Like the traditional lifestyle of Saami reindeer herders, the traditional lifestyle of small-scale family farmers has been pushed back by industrial and urban expansion during the twentieth century. The number of farmers and farms has decreased, while the size of farms has increased (Myrdal & Morell 2011). Given that development, Viared would probably not have remained an agricultural area even if the development plan had been rejected by the municipal council. Still, the situation could have been managed differently to avoid causing such resentment among former residents. Tradition often loses in court, but the recent verdict in the Girjas vs. Sweden case, which gave the Saami village the rights to administer hunting and fishing on their traditional lands (Heiki & Frygell 2016), may prove to be a breakthrough for the juridical status of tradition and local history. In such a process, articulating a *movement heritage* may help to balance the *articulation of territory* to include aspects reliant on experiential as well as scientific knowledge.[2]

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Notes

1 Deed of sale for Lund Västergården, 7 January 1975, Borås City Archive.
2 Ongoing research by the author of this article together with Sverker Sörlin (KTH Royal Institute of Technology) and Katarina Saltzman (Gothenburg University), funded by the Swedish National Heritage Board, suggest that *movement heritage* may also be more actively used as a category of heritage in the coming years.

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What to Expect When You're Expecting a Pandemic

Public-Health and Lay Perceptions of the 2009–2010 Swine Flu Outbreak and Mass Vaccination in Norway
By Karine Aasgaard Jansen

In April 2009, the arrival of a new virus A(H1N1), more commonly known as swine flu, raised public concerns across the world. Norway was no exception. On the afternoon of 24 April, the Norwegian Institute of Public Health (*Folkehelseinstituttet*, FHI) was officially informed by the World Health Organization's (WHO) notifiable disease surveillance system of the disease's pandemic prospective risk (Interview with N1, FHI, 27 November 2014). The following day WHO's General Director Margaret Chan publicly declared the swine flu as "an international threat to human health".[1] Despite alarming reports of serious cases and even deaths in Mexico where the virus originated, it soon became clear to the FHI, however, that although the swine flu could have potentially severe consequences for a small number of people, on the whole the outbreak would be mild, that is, with lower mortality rates than during regular seasonal flu (Interview with N1, FHI, 27 November 2014). Nevertheless, based on the Norwegian preparedness plan for pandemic influenza (The Ministry of Health and Care Services, *Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet*, HOD 2006), general or mass vaccination was recommended as the main preventive strategy against infection. This would be implemented if the swine flu was declared a full-fledged pandemic by the WHO, which it was on 11 June 2009. Concomitant with the peak of the pandemic during the autumn of 2009, vaccination was thus widely offered at various public venues such as schools, city halls, gyms etc. across Norway. As a result approximately 2.2 million Norwegians were vaccinated against swine flu, that is, 45 per cent of the country's total population (The Directorate of Health, *Helsedirektoratet*, HD 2010:46).

In this article, I will compare and discuss public-health and lay perceptions of the swine flu pandemic in Norway in general, and the mass vaccination in particular. What was the reasoning behind the public health authorities' decision to mass vaccinate, and how was it received by lay people? The research methods and empirical material that inform the analysis consist of interviews with 17 public health stakeholders, and responses to 196 qualitative questionnaires sent out by the Norwegian Ethnological Research (*Norsk etnologisk gransking*, NEG). My argument is that insofar as there are differences in opinion about the events that followed in Norway after the declaration of the 2009–2010 swine flu outbreak as a pandemic, and mass vaccination as the main precautionary method, these can be understood to have been caused by so-called epistemic asymmetry, or uneven knowledge regarding an issue in which one party claims to "know" more than the other (Grimen 2009:28). This, in turn, can arguably be seen to reflect varying expectations of rights and duties accorded to Norwegian "health citizenship" as developed from 1945 onwards. While ideas of patient autonomy are generally seen to have replaced medical paternalism both internationally and nationally in the 1990s, in this article I argue that it is rather the continuing co-existence of these two "medical models" that appear to have contributed to diverging views between lay people and the public health authorities regarding the latter's handling of the swine flu outbreak in Norway.

Situating the Study: Governmentality and Health Citizenship

My objective with this article is to investigate the Norwegian public health authorities handling of the swine flu pandemic and lay people's views thereof, as part of an ongoing cultural historical formation of what health citizenship currently entails in Norway. The term health citizenship is here understood as a social contract that regulates benefits and responsibilities concerning health between the nation state and civil society (see for example Porter 1999; 2011). Vaccination may be seen as a particularly tested area in this respect (Alver, Fjell & Ryymin 2013:204). Although vaccination is voluntary in Norway today, this is neither how it is usually portrayed nor perceived. As pointed out by Alver, Fjell & Ryymin (2013:244), public health authorities appeal to patient participation and freedom of choice, but simultaneously encourage obedience by underlining the importance of vaccination as the "right" decision to make. Vaccination can as such be looked at as a question of "governmentality" as described by Foucault (see for example Foucault 1986 [1982]). By establishing a certain discourse or knowledge regarding what is right, governments are able to produce citizens who act in accordance with the government's views and policies. This form of social control occurs on all institutional levels, is internalized by individuals and ultimately leads them to self-govern.

In addition, through various means of bodily control such as risk reduction or population control, governments produce compliant, healthy and in turn economically viable citizens. Foucault (2004 [1976]; 2001 [1977]) describes such forms of governmentality aimed towards citizens' bodies as "biopower" or "body politics". This can include public vaccination programs as previously discussed in the case of Norway by Fjell (2005). In contrast to governmentality, the concept of health citizenship also attaches importance to the social relations between state and civil society, the main focus of this article. After all, decision makers within the public health sector form part of civil society as well. During the swine flu pandemic, public health authorities appear for example to have considered it their responsibility and duty to offer the Norwegian population vaccination. This decision was to a large degree based on what they believed to be lay people's expectations of how they should handle the pandemic. Instead many lay people, at least in retrospect, disagreed with this decision. In my opinion, this can be taken to illustrate discrepancies in understandings of health citizenship as it was communicated and played out during the pandemic, rather than issues of governmentality. My claim is that the Norwegian public health authorities to a large degree saw themselves, in a metaphorical sense, as "healers" and lay people as their "patients" during the pandemic. In order to discuss this, I will (re)turn to Arthur Kleinman's (1980) seminal work on the inner workings of health care systems, and the distinction between "disease" as a medical diagnosis and "illness" as a subjective experience. However, such a view also includes what Grimen (2009) describes as epistemic asymmetry in the health professional–patient relationship.

Research Methods: Interviews and Qualitative Questionnaires

The empirical methods and materials which are presented in this article are based on a combination of interviews and responses to qualitative questionnaires. During the winter of 2014–2015, I conducted a total of 17 semi-structured and recorded interviews with representatives from various public health departments and institutions, health care organizations- and facilities, and medical researchers. The informants were recruited on basis of their involvement in pandemic preparedness, decision-making, evaluation and care. The informants were either recruited due to their visible roles in the media during the pandemic, or for those who worked primarily "behind the scenes", through the snowball method. The research participants thus covered, in Goffmanian (1992 [1959]) terms, both the frontstage and the backstage of Norway's handling of the swine flu. In order to ensure that informants could speak freely even if their personal views were contrary to official governmental lines, most subjective information such as their positions as spokespersons, age, gender etc. have been removed according to agreement.

Although the majority of the informants represented the strategic level of so-called crisis management, that is, the political and administrative command level within the public health sector, some also belonged to the operational level, such as emergency medical personnel, district GPs etc. (McConnell *et al*. 2008, in Byrkjedal-Bendiksen 2012:34). The informants represented the Ministry of Health and Care Services (*Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet*, HOD) at the very top

of the strategic level, followed by the Directorate of Health (*Helsedirektoratet*, HD), the Norwegian Institute of Public Health (*Folkehelseinstituttet*, FHI), the Norwegian Medicines Agency (*Statens legemiddelverk*, SLV) and the Directorate of Civil Protection and Emergency Planning (*Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap*, DSB) which was responsible for the evaluation of the Norwegian public health authorities' handling of the pandemic. While HOD has the supreme responsibility for all matters of concern to national public health, in a pandemic it is HD, on the authority of HOD, which is in charge of crisis management (Byrkjedal-Bendiksen 2012:35). During the pandemic, HD worked closely together with FHI, which is the national public health competence institution. The FHI is, among other things, responsible for the national surveillance and prevention of communicable diseases, and Norway's public vaccination programme. Some of the informants also served in the national pandemic committee *(Pandemikomiteen)*. *Pandemikomiteen* is a national advisory board appointed by HOD, and consists of members from across the Norwegian health sector on both a strategic and an operational level. Of those who were interviewed, some also represented the special interest organization The Norwegian Medical Association (*Den norske legeforening,* DNL), Oslo University Hospital (OUS) and Haukeland University Hospital (HUS) in Bergen. I also interviewed researchers at Oslo University and the University of Bergen.

In addition to the interviews with public health actors, in this article I will also draw on 196 responses to the qualitative

questionnaire no. 251 "Cold and Flu" sent out by NEG at *Norsk Folkemuseum*, Norway's largest museum of cultural history. The questionnaire was divided into a total of five sub-themes. These were "Being infected by cold or flu", "Protection against contagion", "Treatment", "The 2009–2010 swine flu" and "The risk of future pandemics". Each of the sub-themes consisted of five to ten questions.

Qualitative questionnaires as research method- and data cover a wide spectre of various quotidian topics of everyday concern to many of us (Kjus 2013; Salomonsson 2003). In contrast to quantitative questionnaires, the qualitative ones are semi-structured and ask open-ended questions in order to retrieve respondents' reflections on the particular topic in question. The respondents answer in writing, and replies can vary from single words and sentences to longer coherent narratives. The respondents are made up of a fixed group of regular "contributors" on one hand, and one-time repliers who are provisionally recruited via social media such as Facebook on the other. This combination of regular contributors and one-time repliers thus makes for a rather heterogeneous group with various world views, experiences and practices. For example, the youngest respondents to the questionnaire "Cold and Flu" were born in the 1990s, and the oldest in the 1920s. Of the 196 respondents, 43 were men and 153 were women.

"It's the Pandemic, Stupid!" Defining and Diagnosing a Pandemic

So what is a pandemic? And does it carry the same meaning for public health stakeholders and lay people? If not, how do the various actors involved in the 2009–2010 swine flu outbreak understand pandemics?

According to the WHO, which bases its definition of a pandemic on the *Dictionary of Epidemiology* (Last 2001), a pandemic is "an epidemic occurring worldwide, or over a very wide area, crossing international boundaries and usually affecting a large number of people". This definition has, however, been criticized time and again for being vague, or elusive even, as it does not include factors such as novelty, explosiveness, contagiousness or severity (Morens, Folkers & Fauci 2009:1008). As a result the definition can also apply to other infections subject to global spread such as cholera and HIV. In the case of the swine flu pandemic, this too appeared in many cases to contribute to confusion as to whether what we were facing was a public health emergency and a serious cause for alarm, or rather a storm in a teacup (Briggs & Nichter 2009:190–191).

So how can we know a pandemic when we see one? Many respondents' answers did, in fact, resemble the WHO's definition of a pandemic:

I interpret the word "pandemic" as an epidemic that causes a large number of people to fall ill, maybe even across the entire world. A pandemic concerns the outreach of a disease and the number of affected cases, but not how serious the disease is (44978, M1938, teacher).

Other respondents rather questioned WHO's definition of a pandemic by making a deliberate point out of how a pandemic, to them, was still something highly contagious and potentially lethal irrespective of official definitions of it (44948, M1966, museum employee). Instead of

taking biomedical definitions of a pandemic as framed within the professional sector at face value, the respondent rather questioned its validity. Many respondents also expressed doubts regarding the characterizations of pandemics similar to those raised by Morens, Folkers & Fauci (2009): "The word pandemic makes me think of very dangerous diseases like Ebola or AIDS, but not influenza" (44952, M1988, student).

Uncertainty regarding the definition of a pandemic was not the case among the Norwegian public health authorities however. In the Norwegian influenza pandemic preparedness plan of 2006 (3rd edition), HOD defines a pandemic as follows: "Influenza pandemics are large, worldwide epidemics of influenza by a new virus which the majority of the population lack immunity against" (HOD 2006:5, my translation). In contrast to lay people, biomedicine and public health tend to focus on the biology of a disease (Singer 2009:202).

Similar to WHO's definition, HOD does not mention severity specifically. This has been changed in the revised and updated new pandemic preparedness plan from October 2014 which also includes a subsection on how the degree of severity is relational, and therefore difficult to predict (HOD 2014:8). For example, should estimates of and claims to severity be based on the total number of infected, the number of serious cases and causalities, the age of the deceased, whether effective vaccination can be provided in time, or the public health sector's capacity to adequately handle the outbreak (HOD 2014: 8)? In order to deal with, among other things, the question of a pandemic's severity, the pandemic preparedness plan as of 2006 outlines two different scenarios for public health response: A moderate pandemic scenario with a reasonably high number of infected, but low mortality rates, and a worst case scenario with both high numbers of infected and high mortality rates (HOD 2006:67). The swine flu pandemic was described as a "reasonable worst case scenario", thus merging the two scenarios in order to account for any eventualities resulting from the A(H1N1)-virus's new genetic make-up:

The point we wanted to make was that this was a new virus that could potentially lead to serious illness among some people. We didn't know exactly at the time who was at risk. For that reason we thought it was necessary to notify the public that some people would indeed die during this pandemic, and that some people would be admitted to hospital with serious complications. At the same time we made it clear that for most people the pandemic would in fact be relatively mild. We already knew this from an early stage, and could therefore set people's minds at rest by informing them that it was highly unlikely that we would end up with a worst case scenario. Then again, as the virus could change during the course of the epidemic similar to what happened during the Spanish flu, we also needed to make certain reservations clear since there was always a possibility [of it turning more severe]. So our message was somewhat mixed: On the one hand we needed to explain that the pandemic could be dangerous, but on the other hand that the pandemic wasn't really all that dramatic (Interview with N2, HOD and FHI, 12 December 2014).

As implied by N2, the severity of the pandemic appeared somewhat complicated to affirm. As an airborne disease, the swine flu was highly contagious, but for the majority of those who were infected the symptoms were mostly mild. An estimated 900.000 cases and a total of 32 deaths

were registered in Norway due to the pandemic (HD 2010:3). Part of the reason for such high numbers of infected was the A(H1N1) virus's new genetic composition consisting of swine, human and avian strains. Although zoonotic diseases, that is, diseases which spread between animals and people, are very common, in the case of the swine flu immunity in the population was generally low. Moreover, the A(H1N1) virus could cause severe respiratory symptoms on occasion among children, young adults and pregnant women. In contrast to seasonal influenza, elderly were less at risk than the younger due to a partial immunization caused by the A(H2H2) or Asian flu virus during the Asian flu pandemic of 1957 (Interview with N3, FHI, 18 December 2014). This apparent unpredictability of swine flu was something which consistently came up in the interviews with public health officials, and which led one informant to describe the disease as "Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde" (Interview with N4, FHI, 15 December 2014):

Although it [the swine flu] was mild and kind to most, it was catastrophic for a few […]. And some of those patients made a lasting impression. That was what was so paradoxical, you know. Very many of those who were infected didn't really fall ill at all, I mean, they hardly noticed it because they were so mildly affected. But then you talk to emergency doctors and nurses that tell you how teenagers and youth, who are perfectly fine one moment, are close to dying and in respirators in emergency care units two hours later.

In order to communicate the risk of contagion to the public, both public health officials and politicians therefore tended to opt for two rhetorical moves simultaneously, concern and reassurance (Briggs & Nichter 2009:191). Sometimes both

would occur in the same sentence. But how was this message received by its audience? Furthermore, how did the public health authorities come to the conclusion that mass vaccination was the best preventive measure against infection?

Pandemic Panic? The Unfolding of Swine Flu as Disease and Illness

Although the severity of the A(H1N1) pandemic may have been difficult to predict, and the WHO does not include severity in its definitions of a pandemic, this does not entail that the question was left completely off the table by various public health stakeholders. When the WHO declared that the swine flu had reached stage six, which is the highest level in its pandemic influenza alert system, the WHO simultaneously described the severity of the swine flu as "moderate" (DSB 2010: 77). As mentioned in the introduction, this announcement took place on 11 June 2009, thus almost two months after they had first notified public health authorities across the world about the potential global dispersion of the swine flu. The first Norwegian press conference on the pandemic, for example, was held on 27 April 2009 by the then Minister of Health, Bjarne Håkon Hanssen, together with the Director of HD, Bjørn Inge Larsen and FHI's press spokesperson during the pandemic, Bjørn Iversen. While presenting the public with the different scenarios for public health responses as outlined in the Norwegian pandemic preparedness plan (HOD 2006:84), the national newspaper *VG* picked up on one PowerPoint slide in particular: The slide that presented the swine flu as a "reasonable worst case scenario", the scenario agreed upon by the public health and med-

ical experts (Interview with N5, HD 11 December 2014). In order to explain a worst-case scenario, which the swine flu pandemic was not (Interview with N1, FHI 27 November 2014) the slide also presented, however, calculations from the much more severe Spanish flu, and showed in excess of 1.2 million infected cases and 13,000 deaths. This was confused by the tabloid press as relating to the current swine flu pandemic, and resulted in a headline that claimed that 13,000 Norwegians could die of swine flu (Skevik & Brenna, VG 27 April 2009). The press's interpretation of the information came as a shock to most central public health informants, some of whom had even been present at the press conference. Furthermore, in recounting the occurrence, some informants also pointed towards what may perceived as internal differences in the collaboration between the two stakeholders HD and FHI:

When I saw the newspapers the next morning, I was shocked […]. The image of the pandemic that the press chose to convey was something completely different from what we had tried to communicate in our report that very same morning. Our evaluation was that this wasn't a very bad pandemic. We're not there, so we thought that it was silly to bring up such a scenario. However, HD said that "It's better that we present it ourselves because the journalists will dig it out anyway" […]. It was what their public communication people had advised them to do. I thought it was silly, and believe that they should have presented the press with what we truly believed, which was that this [pandemic] didn't look that bad at all, and that it would most likely be both mild and with low mortality. That's what we wrote that very same morning as well. Instead, what came out [of the press conference] was "13,000 deaths"" (Interview with N1, FHI, 27 November 2014).

Although HD and FHI worked closely together during the pandemic, many informants within FHI mentioned that HD had been slightly too "trigger happy" for their taste, and that this press conference was an example of that (Interview with N2, HOD and FHI, 12 December 2014). According to FHI, the intention of the press conference had been to modify the international tabloid media coverage of the pandemic, and thereby lower people's fears of the coming pandemic. Instead the plan backfired as the Norwegian public health authorities were accused of ballyhooing and scaremongering. When asked what a pandemic is, one respondent answered, for example: "It is [a pandemic] when the devil's advocates appear on the evening news and try to scare the living daylights out of the ordinary citizens of this country" (44883, M1943, chief engineer). By devil's advocates the respondent here referred to the public health authorities, and not the press. However, other respondents rather targeted the press and media, as did some public health informants:

I experienced the authorities' information as well-balanced, while the media was hysterical. Every time there's an epidemic (the bird flu, the swine flu, Ebola), the media yells about the danger of a pandemic. It never happens. The risk is probably there, but I find the press's speculations to be a waste of my time, so I rarely bother reading any of it (44947, M1983, academic).

If you were present at the press conference, then you would see that this [slide] wasn't a big deal. It was one slide in a long session […]. It has still been used as an example of how the authorities blew it [the pandemic] out of all proportions. And that's actually a retrospective falsification

of history (Interview with N4, FHI, 15 December 2014).

All the same, the infamous press conference held on 27 April 2009 was also criticized in DSB's evaluation report for contributing towards the escalation of people's fears rather than reducing them (DSB 2010:43). Furthermore, Hornmoen (2013) claims that the Norwegian news coverage of the pandemic led to the development of a public "pandemic paranoia". Bjørkdahl (2015) claims, however, that this so-called "panic" can, arguably, be described as a "meta-panic" caused by an established mediated myth of people's anticipated fears of so-called "pandemic paranoia", rather than actual panic. Bjørkdahl (2015:119) argues that when lay people expressed themselves publicly about the swine flu during the outbreak, it was mostly to express concerns about its apparent over-dramatization by public health and media, and how such exaggerations led *other* people to be afraid. This is also the case in the majority of the accounts of the swine flu outbreak in the qualitative questionnaires which tend to point towards "meta-panic" rather than "pandemic panic". One respondent (44978, M1938, teacher) describes, for example, how "all the fuss" about the swine flu outbreak made him irritated rather than afraid. According to him, and many other respondents with him, both the public health authorities and the media cried wolf. Then again, some respondents also expressed genuine fear of the pandemic:

I was pregnant with my second child, and was panicking about falling ill. I read everything! The British authorities encouraged pregnant women to stay inside. Then I panicked. I kept my oldest daughter home from the nursery. I bought gloves, and lots of hand sanitizers and face masks. I was actually monitored by my GP… because of my fear. I cried my way to receiving the vaccine at a small office, rather than being mass-vaccinated at the football stadium where people shouted at pregnant women and those with new-born babies. It was insane. […] It is difficult to be in a risk group. I was pregnant during both the bird flu and the swine flu. Ha ha, no wonder my husband doesn't want to have any more children (44862, F1973, activity therapist).

Whether the respondent's anxieties were primarily caused by failing public health communication, sensationalist media coverage or something else is difficult to establish. All the same, to her the fear was tangible, and not imagined. As such the respondent points to the difference between disease as a medical diagnosis and illness as a subjective experience of it (Kleinman 1980), something I find to be missing in most discourse analyses of the pandemic as a disease *per se*. People interpret their symptoms in various ways based on personal experiences that are, among other things, formed in encounters with different healers in what Kleinman (1980: 50) describes as the inner workings of a local health care system. A local health care system consists of a professional sector characterized primarily by biomedicine or other established medical systems depending on the cultural context, a folk sector operationalized by complementary medical practices, and a popular sector made up of lay people's own perceptions, beliefs and experiences of disease and treatments. The sectors tend to overlap, and lay people's knowledge of disease can therefore be based on information drawn from all three of the sectors simultaneously. While the Norwegian public health au-

thorities as institutions are firmly placed within the biomedical sector, lay people are not. This can even include public health decision makers, although to a lesser degree based on their specialist knowledge. As a result understandings and experiences of illness can differ between the two.

Why Mass Vaccination? Divided Views on How to Handle the Pandemic

Diverging views among scholars, public health professionals and lay people not only concern the question of the severity of the pandemic, but perhaps to an even larger degree the Norwegian public health authorities' recommendation of mass vaccination as a preventive measure against infection. When the WHO declared the swine flu a fully-fledged pandemic, Norway's influenza vaccine supply deal from June 2008 with the pharmaceutical company GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) was released. FHI had opted at the time to buy two dosages of the influenza vaccine Pandemrix for all Norwegian citizens, that is, 9.4 million dosages at a total price tag of 730 million NOK (DSB 2010:12). The agreement with GlaxoSmithKline was not open for negotiation once influenza stage six was reached, meaning that all of the vaccines were either released at once, or none at all (Interview with N3, FHI 18 December 2014).

Vaccination of risk groups started on 16 October 2009 (DSB 2010:46). Upon learning that some of the smaller municipalities completed this task already within a week and were now sitting on a surplus of vaccines, FHI recommended HD on 23 October that vaccination of the entire pop-

ulation should follow suit (Interview with N1, FHI 27 November 2014). In late November 2009, SLV updated the recommended vaccine dosage from two to one in line with new clinical data (DSB 2010: 46).

As it was established early on that the pandemic would in fact be mild to most people, critics of the mass vaccination still question, among other things, whether the extended financial effects of choosing not to vaccinate at all were a determining factor in the public health authorities' decision to recommend mass vaccination (Interview with N6, HUS 29 January 2015). According to the decision makers that I interviewed within the public health sector, this was not the case. The agreement with GlaxoSmithKline entailed that, economically speaking, the vaccines would cost the Norwegian nation state exactly the same amount of money whether they were put to use or not (Interview with N2, FHI 18 December 2014). Nonetheless, an informant from DSB who took part in the national evaluation of the Norwegian public health authorities' handling of the pandemic still claims that the vaccine may in fact have been primarily used "just because they had it" (Interview with N7, DSB 27 March 2015). If disease is considered primarily as biology within the professional sector, then so is its treatment. Moreover, in order to control disease, particularly as a rapidly spreading pandemic, identifying so-called "medical magical bullets" becomes an urgent public health priority (Singer 2009:202). There is thus little room for illness, especially perhaps since in this case the so-called "medical magical bullets" or the vaccines were even dangling like a carrot in front of de-

cision makers. According to N7 everyone in the public health sector therefore appeared to have been somewhat "carried away" by the prospect of a mass vaccination, and illustrates this claim by criticizing the fact that no cost-benefit analysis was supposedly ever performed in this regard (Interview with N7, DSB 27 March 2014).

When it comes to the respondents to the qualitative questionnaires, some blamed the media for exaggerating the pandemic threat as previously described, while others rather blamed the public health authorities for recommending what they perceived as unnecessary vaccination:

None of us caught the swine flu […], but unfortunately I was vaccinated. I regret it bitterly. There are probably many epidemics that have been serious throughout the years, and that have required vaccination, but this mess of a swine flu and the authorities' more or less hysterical behaviour was crazy in my opinion (44922, M1952, real estate manager).

However, if the Norwegian public health sector did indeed get "carried away" as is implied by N7 and many respondents, they did so both in accordance with advice from the WHO and the Norwegian national pandemic preparedness plan of 2006 where mass vaccination is outlined as the main preventive strategy in the case of a pandemic (HOD 2006:47). In addition informants from HOD, HD and FHI all repeatedly insisted that the underlying reason for the decision to recommend mass vaccination was based on the fact that as the swine flu so severally affected some young people outside of the established risk groups, it was best to offer the vaccine to everybody. According to Grimen (2009:16), health professionals are social-

ized into seeing themselves as beneficial helpers, as they indeed also are. If public health authorities acted as healers, mass vaccination can also be perceived to have been considered the correct treatment of the swine flu diagnosis within the professional sector at the time. The decision to encourage mass vaccination was thus about ensuring that all of their patients would have access to the designated preventive cure for the disease. As N3 puts it, it was "the right thing to do" (Interview with N3, FHI, 18 December 2014).

To me this reasoning illustrates more than the "mentalities of rule" represented by governmentality, and rather reflects, as previously mentioned, the social relations between the nation state and civil society. For decision makers, vaccination during the pandemic was considered the right choice all around. Even with the unexpected discovery of the chronic neurological sleep disorder narcolepsy among children as a serious side effect of the Pandemrix vaccine,[2] all of the decision makers within the public health sector still thought that mass vaccination was rightful at the time. Never mind the criticism, it was their responsibility towards the Norwegian population. Some also mentioned that although a focus on individual choice and potential side effects would be more explicit in a coming pandemic, they would still continue to insist on vaccination as the main preventive precaution against pandemic influenza (Interview with N2, HOD and FHI 12 December 2014). It is, after all, both medical doctors' and public health authorities' job to assess what is risky to their patients, and not least of all eliminate that threat (Grimen 2009:20). While critics claimed that mass vaccina-

tion was used in order to avoid a public confrontation concerning the waste of millions of tax money for the vaccines (Interview with N8, UIO 18 March 2015), public health authorities rather argued that they potentially saved lives through vaccination. Then again, such reasoning also views narcolepsy as a side effect of vaccination as a very unfortunate, rare and unprecedented occurrence, while Pandemrix has been claimed time and again not to have been properly tested according to standard procedures before being put to use (Interview with N7, DSB 27 March 2015).

Epistemic Asymmetry and Health Citizenship: Framing Vaccination in Norway

Baked into such reasoning is a narrative of public health authorities as beneficial helpers. In addition to being beneficial helpers, health professionals are also gatekeepers and controllers of information, however (Grimen 2009). Epistemic asymmetry in the healer–patient relationship can as such be understood as a universal phenomenon since a modern society cannot, after all, function without uneven distribution of knowledge between health professionals and their patients (Grimen 2009:16). As pointed out by Grimen (2009:31), this is not necessarily a bad thing in itself. In fact, it would be rather worrying if those who treat diseases do not know more about them than their patients do. Nevertheless, epistemic asymmetry may harbour various national and regional institutional forms of inbuilt power differences that may be considered problematic from patients' points of view. For example can insisting on knowing

what is right for patients, or medical paternalism, create tensions regarding the question of patient autonomy. Medical paternalism legitimizes health personnel's authority over their patients on basis of their claim to superior knowledge. It illustrates as such the inbuilt power differences between disease and illness, and is an example of epistemic asymmetry (Grimen 2009).

In the case of Norway, the very foundation of the Norwegian social welfare system, as developed from 1945 onwards, is for example based on medical paternalism. The "Evang system", as it is described by the Norwegian sociologist Rune Slagstad (1998), refers to the previous Health Director and medical doctor Karl Evang's vision of a universal, egalitarian health care system for all Norwegian citizens. In order to achieve this, it was also necessary to have a strong public health sector (Heløe 2012). The welfare and health of citizens was thus ultimately considered the nation state's responsibility, and according to Evang it was professionals, particularly medical and public health experts, who were considered the most capable of securing this kind of health citizenship. After all, who was better suited to know the correct treatment for medical problems, or come up with the best solution to public health issues, than the experts on the subject (Alver, Fjell & Ryymin 2013:142–143)? Medical paternalism as epistemic asymmetry was not merely an idea, but also a practice. Central positions in the Norwegian public health administration, for example, were given to medical doctors, sometimes by Evang himself (Shiøtz 2003). Even in 2014 and 2015, the majority of those I interviewed

within the public health sector were in fact medical doctors.

With people's improving social welfare and health conditions, at least in the western world, lifestyle related diseases gradually started to replace infectious diseases as public health authorities' main concern from the 1970s onwards. This phenomenon is referred to as the epidemiological transition, and several public health informants mentioned how it affected their practice of medicine on one hand, and lay people's views of what to expect from them on the other hand. Rather than taking "doctor's orders" for granted, people now started to question their decisions instead (Interview with N2, FHI and HOD 12 December 2014). The epidemiological transition also gradually changed the public health authorities' focus from collective benefit to preventive personal responsibility for one's own health (Alver, Fjell & Ryymin 2013:185). With the introduction of new public management and the concept of patient autonomy in the 1990s, Evang's model of treatment was replaced by a model of patient rights in Norway according to Heløe (2012).

So how does any of this relate to vaccination in general, and the Norwegian mass vaccination during the 2009–2010 pandemic in particular? As previously mentioned, vaccination is one of the areas in which the question of state benefits versus individual rights has been particularly tested throughout Norwegian public health history (Alver, Fjell & Ryymin 2013: 204).Vaccination of children has for example been both obligatory and voluntary at different times (see for example Harthug 2014). Today it is voluntary, as is vaccination against influenza. Neverthe-

less, a central public health informant and medical doctor still mentioned how voluntary vaccination of children is not necessarily communicated clearly to the public: "The [public health] authorities' attitude on this matter is that when it comes to the children's vaccination programme, 'Yes, it's voluntary, but we don't say so'" (Interview with N9, SLV 12 December 2014).

Was this the case during the swine flu as well? Vaccines against influenza are usually framed as individual benefit, while children's vaccination programmes often draw on the argument of solidarity (Lundgren 2016). From a public health perspective, mass vaccination is desirable in order to achieve herd immunity, which requires 80–95 per cent vaccine coverage depending on the disease in question (www.fhi.no). By vaccinating you not only protect yourself, but also others around you. Lundgren (2016) claims for example that the solidarity argument was drawn heavily upon by public health authorities in Sweden during the swine flu pandemic. According to Norwegian public health informants, the solidarity argument was less outspoken in Norway, although still a contributing factor (Interview with N2, HOD and FHI, 12 December 2014). As one respondent puts it:

I thought there was intense pressure from the media about how dangerous the swine flu was, and how important it was to get vaccinated. I had a four-year-old and a one-year-old at the time. I swayed between whether we should vaccinate or not. We didn't belong to any risk group in my opinion, but obviously I understood the effect of vaccination, that is, if everyone does it, it [the swine flu] can't break out. And that we would sponge on those who vaccinated if we didn't (44914, F1973, researcher).

As brought up by this respondent, vaccination framed as solidarity speaks to collective responsibility as a health citizen of a welfare state. However, the solidarity argument resonates more with medical paternalism and the "Evang system" than with patient autonomy. My argument is therefore that rather than looking at the patient rights model as replacing the treatment model, both seemed to be operating at the same time during the 2009–2010 pandemic in Norway. To the public health authorities, encouraging vaccination was ultimately about identifying a risk, that is, the infection of swine flu, and offering the population a preventive measure to control it (patient rights model). At the same time informants appeared to a large degree to have considered mass vaccination a welfare benefit offered to the Norwegian population in a time of need in order to potentially save lives (treatment model). Moreover, N2 (Interview with N2, HOD and FHI 12 December 2014) mentions how public health decisions also draw on lay knowledge, not merely the other way around:

We tend to think that it's all about technical assessments. But technical assessments always depend on the generally accepted view in the population. If we, that is FHI, were to make our decision without taking this into consideration, we probably would have ordered much fewer vaccine dosages. But we knew that it would cause a terrible outcry if we ended up in a situation where we were facing a serious pandemic, and it turned out that there weren't enough vaccines for everybody. And we know that here, in the world's richest country, to defend yourself by saying that we wanted to save 1 million NOK, but put the population at risk; no one would understand that [...]. It's important to make a mistake in the right way so to speak. I mean, if you give too many vaccines, there's a risk of making a mistake. But the risk is much larger if you don't have enough vaccines and people die because of that.

According to N2, a decision not to offer vaccination to everyone during the swine flu outbreak would have been judged as much worse by the Norwegian population, and thus ultimately detrimental to lay people's trust in the public health authorities. In N2's view the public health sector was less "damned if they did, than if they didn't". Because of Norway's wealth, N2 claims that Norwegians no longer accept the risk of disease as part of everyday life. If there's money, and there is, then disease can be removed. However, Grimen (2009: 21) argues that health care professionals tend to think that patients think like themselves, but that this is often not the case. As mentioned previously, in order to make sense of disease, lay people draw on medical information from all three of the health sectors simultaneously (Kleinman 1980). Illness is not disease, and was, in fact, mostly considered a normal part of life by respondents: "I don't vaccinate, I hardly ever get influenza, and I believe that it's just good for you to get it [the flu] every few years" (44841, F1980, journalist). Even risk tended to be framed in a similar way: "Life is full of dangerous things, and if you try to protect yourself against everything, I think you will lead a poor life lacking in experiences" (44848, M1944, senior consultant).

Concluding Remarks

While public health informants claimed that the majority of those who vaccinated did so out of fear (Interview with N3, FHI 18 December 2014), this fear appears to reflect "meta-panic" (Bjørkdahl 2015) among public health professionals as well

as lay people. As healers, health professionals were afraid that their patients would be afraid. Moreover, they were afraid that young people could die on their watch, as 32 severely affected patients indeed did. While there is no denying the power embedded in specialist knowledge, public health does not purely represent the so-called medical gaze (Porter 1999). Although the governmentality perspective is highly useful in order to understand the subtleties of power and politics as a de-centred process, it can also fall short of capturing non-compliance with state discourses and policies. Moreover, I find that it lacks a focus on so-called acting actors on both sides of the government, while health citizenship on the other hand includes the negotiations and balances of policies and practices between the nation state and civil society. Who was, for example, ultimately responsible for the Norwegian population's health during the pandemic, and according to whom? If narcolepsy had not been established as a side effect of Pandemrix, and the pandemic had, paradoxically, been more severe, the well-planned Norwegian pandemic preparedness including mass vaccination might have been a success story. In most cases differentials in knowledge between health professionals and their patients, or epistemic asymmetry, is both necessary and desirable, also from patients' perspectives (Grimen 2009).

Health professionals possess different knowledge than their patients, and anything else would most likely be considered highly worrying by most of us. Sometimes our lives even depend on it, which was in fact the Norwegian public health authorities' main argument for mass vaccination

during the swine flu outbreak. However, in the case of the handling of the 2009–2010 swine flu pandemic in Norway, there also appears to have been a gap between how public health authorities and lay people conceive of benefits and responsibilities regarding protection against the risk of infectious diseases. While the public health sector as healers seems to have considered vaccination as lay people's rights, and therefore their responsibility to offer vaccination within the treatment model, lay people did not necessarily think it was their duty or their responsibility to be vaccinated in accordance with the idea of patient autonomy. Health citizenship thus appears to have somewhat different meanings for the Norwegian public health professionals and lay people, which may in turn have led to conflicting views following the events after the recognition of a pandemic threat to the country. By focusing on the inherent power imbalances in the patient–healer relationship while simultaneously paying careful attention to the range of various views on the pandemic, the objective of this article has thus been to challenge epistemic asymmetry by contributing to a critical epistemology (Farmer 1999; see also Lundgren 2015). The evolution of the pandemic, how it was handled and represented, and experiences with and perceptions thereof, were complex to say the least. A respondent summarizes it as follows.

I am positive to vaccines. But this particular case of mass vaccination was perhaps somewhat hasty? I don't know. A lot has been written about how the pharmaceutical industry used the opportunity to benefit from the situation, but I find this to be too speculative. The possibilities are always weighed up against each other. I don't know anyone who's

suffered from side effects [of vaccination] personally, but I've heard about it. At the same time we don't know how it [the pandemic] would have evolved without the vaccine. Maybe more people would have fallen ill and died? This is an equation with lots of unknown factors (44839, F1971, teacher).

Indeed it was, and to scholars, stakeholders and public alike.

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Notes

1   The statement was made with reference to the International Health Regulations (IHR) of 2005, 2nd edition, and 196 countries have agreed to its implementation, Norway included. As of June 2007, the IHR has been a binding instrument of international law regarding the management of transnational spread disease.
2   According to the Norwegian System of Patient Compensation (*Norsk pasientskadeerstatning*, NPE) 70 minors under the age of 19 have been diagnosed with narcolepsy after the vaccine as of February 2015 (www.npe.no).

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Routines on Trial

The Roadwork of Expanding the Lab into Everyday Life in an Exercise Trial in Denmark
By Jonas Winther

Introduction

In public health research, the randomized controlled trial (RCT) constitutes the "gold standard" method for testing and evaluating interventions that target people's behaviours and lifestyles (Craig *et al*. 2018; Holman *et al*. 2017). Such interventions may seek to improve people's health by encouraging them to change their diet or take up more exercise. At the heart of this endeavour lies the question of how to align requirements of social relevance and methodological rigour. On the one hand, trial designs and the interventions they seek to test must be socially robust and meaningful enough to be performed in everyday contexts. On the other hand, they must be stringent enough to meet methodological requirements of standardization, measurability, and control (Will 2007; Rushforth 2015). This challenge has led public health researchers to develop trial designs that might better accommodate the uncertainties, complexities, and dynamics of different societal contexts (Craig *et al*. 2008; Treweek & Zwarenstein 2009; Hawe *et al*. 2004). Also, process evaluation is increasingly promoted as a way to account for the practices of implementation, the influences of context, and the mechanisms and "active ingredients" of health interventions (Wells *et al*. 2012; Tarquinio *et al*. 2015; Clark 2013; Michie *et al*. 2011; Moore *et al*. 2015).

Though many trials now adopt elaborate designs that seek to consider the complexities of "the real world", social science researchers have questioned the firm commitment to the RCT within public health. Researchers have pointed out that the commitment to the RCT and quantita-

tive methods implies that questions of context and social practice tend to be omitted (Shoveller *et al*. 2016; Brives *et al*. 2016; Holman *et al*. 2017; Cohn *et al*. 2013; Broer *et al*. 2017). Others have highlighted that the methodological requirements of the RCT imply that interventions into people's lives are often modelled and designed according to positivistic ideas about the body, human nature, and context (Bell 2012). One consequence is that RCTs risk corroborating problematic ideas about agency, responsibility, and health (Cohn 2014; Blue *et al*. 2016; Bell 2016). However, while these critiques highlight important issues in the performance of trials in everyday contexts, they rarely provide ethnographic insights into the workings of specific behavioural trials (Bell 2016:94). Therefore, little is known about the particular ways in which people's everyday lives are imagined and accommodated in specific trials and about how trial participants, in practice, follow RCT protocols as a part of their ongoing lives.

In this article, I take up this agenda through an ethnographic account of an RCT in Denmark aimed at evaluating the health effects of three exercise interventions. In so doing, I draw on my involvement as an ethnologist in the trial and fieldwork with participants and researchers to engage with two overall questions: (1) How were people's everyday lives inscribed into the trial protocol? (2) How did participants routinize the exercise interventions in their everyday lives? In answering these questions, I argue that the design and protocols of the trial both presumed and produced particular everyday lives. The analysis shows that the en-

counters between the implicit norms of the protocols and participants' bodies and everyday lives were fraught with friction. The participants' work of dealing with this friction not only reconfigured their daily lives; it also reconfigured the experience of exercise. In other words, aligning the RCT with everyday life required work that both enabled compliance and challenged the basic categories and assumptions of the trial. This point raises questions about how we understand everyday life as a context for behavioural trials.

The article proceeds as follows. First, I develop the notion of "roadwork" as an analytical lens to understand the work the participants did to discipline their everyday lives and bodies according to scientific exercise protocols. Second, I present the trial protocol and its core ideas and assumptions. Third, I present three participant stories that show the work required by the protocol and the kinds of friction that emerged in following its trajectories in everyday life. Finally, I argue for the need to consider the situated effects and work entailed in protocol compliance in the evaluation of health behaviour interventions.

Roadwork

In this article, I am concerned with what Bruno Latour has described as extension of lab practices and conditions (Latour 1983:155). Using the infrastructural metaphor of railways, Latour has argued that the production, circulation, and spatial distribution of science relies on transforming the world beyond the laboratory: "Scientific facts are like trains, they do not work off their rails. You can extend the

rails and connect them but you cannot drive a locomotive through a field" (ibid.: 155). With this imagery, Latour highlights the work of constructing and reworking material, social, and political structures to allow scientific facts to travel and become effective outside the controlled spaces of the laboratory. In line with Latour's tenet of studying "science in action" (1987), many ethnographers have highlighted the significant amount of work trialists do to ensure the standardization of scientific practices in messy worlds. In doing so, studies have portrayed the RCT as a resourceful, effective, and standardizing experimental apparatus, whose effects go far beyond the relationships and entities within the focus of the experiment (Montgomery & Pool 2017; Brives 2016; Bijker *et al.* 2016; Montgomery 2017). While the work that trial personnel do to extend scientific practices has been well analysed, most studies of participants' work focus on pharmacological trials (Brives 2013; Wadmann & Hoeyer 2014). Notably, Melinda Cooper and Catherine Walby (2014) have conceptualized the contributions of trial participants as "clinical labour" to shed light on the precarious forms of bodily transaction and risk that lie at the heart of biomedical innovation and growth. Although behavioural trials rarely entail the same risks as drug development or feed into bio-economies, such trials similarly rely on participants' actively taking part in the production of data by changing their bodies, behaviours, and everyday routines according to specific research questions and protocols. The idea of trial participants as "labourers", in other words, broaches questions about the forms of work that participants in behav-

ioural trials must do to extend lab practices into their everyday lives.

Inspired by this body of literature, I propose the notion of "roadwork" to highlight the work trial participants in behavioural trials do to follow protocols that at once seek to change their everyday lives and bodies. In English, the word "roadwork" refers both to "work done in building or repairing roads" and "athletic exercise" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). It thus aptly highlights both the infrastructural work of creating conditions for science in everyday life and the physical work of performing a bodily routine. In developing the notion, I follow Charlotte Brives (2013) and aim to grasp participants' engagements and experiences with health interventions – not in isolation – but as entangled with the practices and standards making up the trial (ibid.:398). In what follows, I introduce a line of perspectives that highlight what extending lab practices into everyday life might entail in the context of a behavioural trial.

With an apt idea for this purpose, Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren have proposed that cultural analysts consider the etymology of *routine* and explore how everyday routines – like "small paths" – are made, unmade, and remade through continuous practice, use, and maintenance (2010:81). In this perspective, the establishment of new routines, such as taking up regular exercise, constitutes a construction work that concerns re-engineering the complex infrastructure of collective routines that make up everyday life. The image of everyday life as an infrastructure of routines also entails an analytical focus on movement and the body, and how people navigate through their everyday life. Here,

Jo Lee and Tim Ingold's (2006) discussion of Michel de Certeau's work (1984) in their study of walkers in Aberdeen can be a resource. With reference to de Certeau's idea of people's tactics as a response to the city's strategy, they discuss the dynamic relationship between the planned city and the map, and the pedestrian, who experiences, appropriates, and engages with the city on the ground. Unlike de Certeau, who situates urban walking within a system of binary power relations, Lee and Ingold suggest that the routes and routines people follow in everyday life are at once structured by the city and creatively improvised in the everyday: "It is not simply a question of 'domination' from above and 'resistance' from below, as de Certeau tended to suggest. The lines and routes of walkers are made through everyday choices and actions" (Lee & Ingold 2006:76). These perspectives broach questions about how participants succeed and experience establishing and following routines in their everyday lives that are planned according to research criteria.

Tine Damsholt and Astrid Pernille Jespersen (2014) have similarly proposed considering everyday life as practised and performed but focus on the norms and idea(l)s that structure and inform people's decisions, actions, practices, and routines. According to these authors, everyday life comprises social and material practices that are continuously performed, (re-)organized, and tinkered with in relation to various, and sometimes conflicting, versions of "the good life". As Damsholt suggests, everyday life not only comprises intimate routines and repetitive actions but it also constitutes an arena in which specific pub-

lics, politics, and issues unfold and take shape (2015). In so doing, she proposes that one follows Noortje Marres (2012) and consider everyday life as "a space in which multiple conflicting concerns, activities, and values must be juggled or somehow brought into alignment" (ibid.:529). From this perspective, a scientific protocol for lifestyle change becomes one of many norms, logics, and versions of "the good life" that participants must juggle and align as an integral part of their roadwork in a behavioural trial.

A distinctive feature of trial research is that participants are expected to follow and embody specific norms of standardization and measurement. The production of biomedical data, as Jespersen *et al*. (2014) have argued, requires that participants engage in various forms of "bodywork" aimed at aligning their bodies and subjectivities with practices of objectification. As Loïc Wacquant (1995) has argued in his work on professional boxers, bodywork concerns the careful disciplining, cultivating, and refining of the body according to specific cultural, social, or in this case scientific norms and practices. Bodywork, he argued, constitutes a transformative labour that changes both the bodies and the subjectivities of the practitioners through specific forms of "bodily asceticism" (ibid.: 76). It broaches questions about the ontological preconditions, requirements, and consequences of scientific norms about the body when followed in everyday life (Mol 2013).

To ensure participants' compliance, trials often involve intense forms of monitoring and control. For many participants, the opportunity to be monitored constitutes part of the attraction of trials (Wad-

mann 2013; Wadmann & Hoeyer 2014). Several studies have shown how following a biomedical protocol might constitute a viable way of attaining specific subjectivities and receiving otherwise unavailable care and treatment (Cussins 1998; Idvall 2017; Timmermans 2010). In this sense, one might understand trials as what Michel Foucault termed "technologies of the self" (1997). By engaging in trials and subjecting themselves to specific forms of objectification and surveillance, participants are presented with an opportunity to work on their body and selves in the pursuit of specific ideals and goals. However, through their enrolment in a trial, participants also enter a governmental apparatus (Brives 2016) comprising complex systems of accountability and power. While participants receive care and treatment, they are also made responsible for the proper collection of data and execution of the trial protocol (Idvall 2017; Brives 2013, 2016). Cheryl Mattingly *et al*.'s concept of "homework" (2011) captures what this might imply for participants. With this term, they focus on the border zones and friction that emerge when health professionals instruct and expect patients and their relatives to perform clinical tasks at home. While the extensions of the clinic into the homes and lives of patients might ostensibly resemble a form of biomedical colonization or governmentality, they seek to highlight the situated and creative ways in which particular forms of expertise, biomedical knowledge, and disciplinary practices are appropriated and re-imagined in the realm of everyday life. With the idea of roadwork, I similarly aim to highlight the relationship between trials and people's

everyday lives as a border zone, in which scientific standards and practices meet everyday norms and routines in ways that do not necessarily but might come to align through (road)work.

By using roadwork as an analytical concept, my goal is to highlight what Anna Tsing has called "friction" (2005). For Tsing, friction concerns the "grip of encounter", and the (e)motions and effects produced when "universals", such as forms of truth, science, capital or in this case RCT-based exercise protocols, encounter place, people, and particularity (ibid.:5). "A wheel turns because of its encounter with the surface of the road," she wrote, before stressing the importance of grip, contact, and encounter, "spinning in the air it goes nowhere" (ibid.). Importantly, friction, or "encounters across difference" (ibid.:3), may destabilize the course of action, but it does not stop momentum or bring an end to whatever is going on. Rather friction fosters creative and collaborative acts of cultural invention. Something similar applies to a trial and the interventions it seeks to roll out in people's lives. Like wheels, health interventions only work, if they "grip" (ibid.:5) their target subjects and their everyday lives. However, the trajectories and paths that are created when RCTs meet people and their everyday lives can be both compromising and empowering (ibid.:6). Friction and work, in other words, is both a precondition and a potential problem in the promotion, construction, and performance of new bodily routines in everyday life according to the tenets of the RCT.

With these perspectives in mind, my goal is to use roadwork to highlight the work and friction involved in the con-

struction and performance of new everyday routines according to scientific protocols that carry specific ideas about how one's everyday life is structured and how one should move one's body.

The Trial

The article builds on my engagement as a PhD fellow in an interdisciplinary research project at the University of Copenhagen called GO-ACTIWE (Governing Obesity – Active Commuting To Improve health and Wellbeing in Everyday Life). The project focused on physical activity as obesity prevention and health promotion and involved a group of researchers from biomedicine, public health, data science, and ethnology. Each researcher's project connected to a trial aimed at evaluating the health effects of three ways of meeting the recommended level of at least 30 minutes of physical activity per day (Pedersen & Andersen 2011).

The trial took place between 2013 and 2016 and involved 130 healthy, physically inactive women and men with moderate overweight, aged 20–45 years. The participants were randomized into four 6-month intervention groups: (1) moderate-intensity leisure time exercise, (2) high-intensity leisure time exercise, (3) active commuting by cycle, and (4) a control group.[3] Each exercise intervention prescribed five weekly exercise sessions, which the participants had to perform according to a standardized exercise protocol in the context of their everyday lives. During the trial, all participants underwent biomedical laboratory tests, performed various home measurements, and took part in questionnaire and interview surveys regarding their motivations, experi-

ences, and their sleep, eating and activity patterns. To support the completion of the trial, participants received exercise supervision, gym memberships, health assessments, heart rate monitors, and a modest reimbursement (see Rosenkilde *et al.* 2017 for full protocol description).

While the health researchers sought to evaluate the health effects of the interventions, my study was integrated into the ethnological part of the project, which aimed to study the social and cultural dimensions of the trial. My contribution comprised an ethnographic study of the practical completion of the trial protocol with a focus on recruitment, monitoring, routinization, and self-care. In that connection, I did several rounds of fieldwork from 2014–2017. In so doing, I shadowed and interviewed the four researchers, who managed the trial and did participant observations during recruitment, enrolment, monitoring, and testing activities at Panum at the University of Copenhagen. I also conducted over 50 interviews with 30 participants throughout the trial period. Each interview was semi-structured, lasted 1–2 hours, and took place at different points during their interventions in connection with laboratory tests, exercise sessions or in public spaces or their homes. Further, I conducted participant observations during the exercise sessions of ten participants and asked a subsample to document their experiences of following the interventions with photos.

Through these engagements, my overall goal was to explore the alignment of lifestyle change and biomedical research in the performance of an RCT in the context of everyday life. In my fieldwork with participants, I therefore sought to explore their motivations for participating, how

they tried to implement the protocols and how they experienced the interaction with the researchers and the experimental technologies (i.e. the exercise standards, the heart rate monitors, and the protocols). A key observation from my fieldwork was that the trial design and the exercise protocols carried several assumptions about the practice of exercising and the structure of the participants' everyday lives that variously influenced how participants routinized the interventions. As a starting point, I therefore unpack some of the core ideas and assumptions behind the trial protocol, after which I present three accounts of the roadwork that implementing it required.

The Protocol: Expanding the Lab

Standardization constitutes a defining feature of how evidence is produced in trials (Montgomery 2017:30). In RCT research, protocols constitute essential technologies in achieving this standardization, because they help to ensure uniformity across various sites and contexts by defining the objectives and design of a trial, as well as the procedures that must be performed to answer a particular research question. As Stefan Timmermans and Marc Berg (1997) have suggested, a protocol can be seen as a "technoscientific script" that specifies particular actions, settings, actors, and trajectories to ensure conformity across contexts. In so doing, protocols carry particular "hypotheses" about the entities which make up the world in which they will be mobilized (ibid.:275). The production of particular versions of everyday life might accordingly be seen as integral to the practice of designing trials. To stay with the infrastruc-

tural imagery proposed by Latour, one might think of a trial protocol as a roadmap; i.e. as the plan, the strategy, and the map of routes that participants, as well as researchers, must follow in the "extension of the lab" into everyday life.

In this context, the protocol had been designed to enable the measurement of the exact health effects of the exercise interventions. This ambition meant that the trial involved randomization and strict compliance criteria for participants. Usually, researchers prefer to perform such trials under "ideal conditions", i.e. settings that allow for rigorous monitoring and control. For this purpose, people's everyday lives are rarely considered ideal contexts; especially not for rigid and long- term trials. The stated idea in this trial, however, was that the everyday life of the participants could, in fact, function as an ideal setting for a stringent exercise trial. Here, the idea of "expanding the lab" was central, as one of the architects behind the trial described in an interview:

We know we create an everyday life for the participants in the trial, but we want the everyday life that we create to simulate the everyday life that might actually exist, instead of just asking them to either walk or run on the treadmills in the lab in this or that way. In most cases, we can recreate an effect in the lab, but can we recreate this effect by expanding the lab a little? You know, expanding the lab, so that we are testing a behaviour that people actually have.

As explained, demonstrating the health effects of specific forms of exercise is usually not a problem under controlled lab conditions. Results from such trials, however, often lack generalisability and social relevance, because the experimental conditions have little in common with con-

texts beyond the laboratory. While the researcher highlighted how requirements of testing, monitoring, and standardization inevitably influence the lives of those who participate in a trial, he also expressed an ambition to create an experimental situation that at once "simulated" people's everyday life and offered sufficient conditions for a controlled scientific experiment. In other words, bicycle paths, public parks, and gyms were imagined as "laboratory-like arenas" in everyday life, wherein the health effects of physical activity could be measured accurately. Thus, the trial built on an idea of "scalability" (Tsing 2015), i.e. the idea that a research framework can be applied at greater scales without changing the research questions, requirements, or project frames. In this context, the conviction was that the "laboratory" (and its norms and practices of standardization and control) could be upscaled and recreated on everyday conditions and that this process of expansion would neither impede meaningful routinization nor rigorous measurement of exercise.

The ambition of expanding the lab was based on a set of "hypotheses" (Timmermans & Berg 1997) about the motivations of the participants, the interventions, the setting, and the material and temporal order of their everyday lives. First, trial participation was considered an attractive way for participants to become more physically active. Specifically, the idea was that provision of individual exercise supervision, health assessments, and heart monitors would motivate participants to exercise and complete the protocol. Second, the exercise interventions were considered feasible, convenient, and easy to

implement. Three, the city of Copenhagen was thought of as "a perfect model" for the trial, as the chief investigator described with reference to its cycle-friendly infrastructure and many gyms and recreational areas. In other words the idea was that the city would make it possible to expand the lab by providing participants with bicycles, free gym memberships, exercise supervision, and monitors. Four, the participants' everyday lives were imagined to be structured according to specific "time and activity domains" (i.e. sleep, leisure, occupation, transportation, and home-based activities) (Ng & Popkin 2012). This model of everyday life supported the idea that people can meet the official recommendations by engaging in exercise before or after work in the "leisure time domain" and by cycling in "the transportation domain", which was hypothesized as a healthy alternative to other forms of exercise and transport.

The trial design and protocol did not exhibit other explicit considerations about the participants' everyday lives as the context of the trial, physical exercise as the intervention, or routinization of exercise as

a process.[1] The minimal consideration of the everyday lives of the participants, in part, indicates how "context" remains an underdeveloped theme in trial research (McLaren *et al*. 2007; Shoveller *et al*. 2016; Brives *et al*. 2016; Holman *et al*. 2017). Also, it reflects the positivist assumption common within some forms of trial research that a "context" constitutes a uniform, singular "container for activity" that can be described – if deemed necessary – and ultimately disentangled from an intervention (Brives *et al*. 2016; Dourish 2004:5).

The randomization procedure in this trial manifested how RCT methodology in some cases implies that interventions into people's lives are configured as bounded and context-independent entities (Cohn 2014; Bell 2016). The procedure took place as an old-school drawing of lots, in which the participants had to pick a capsule from a bucket, open it, and read aloud a small piece of paper that revealed which protocol they had to follow for the next six months. Considering the encapsulation of the protocols, I suggest that the procedure "enacted" (Mol 2002) exercise as a dis-

The two buckets with capsules used to randomize the participants. Photo by the author.

tinct, self-contained, isolated, and individual "behaviour" that – much like a pill – causes certain effects inside the body (Bell 2012; Thing 2009). Though the procedure would increase the validity of the trial, it also meant that questions regarding context and implementation were systematically omitted (Brives *et al.* 2016). In particular, the participants' life situations, existing routines, work lives, family structures, or ideas about which intervention would fit their lives were not accommodated in their group allocation. More generally, the randomization procedure suggests how the trial was designed to demonstrate the efficacy of the exercise interventions, more so than to explore their workability in people's everyday lives. Though the trial was not couched in terms of the widespread "exercise is medicine" movement, its design similarly foregrounded the biological aspects of exercise and backgrounded the socio-cultural dimensions of physical activity (Williams *et al.* 2018).

The quantitative formulations of the interventions underscored their objectification as bounded entities. As Mike Michaels and Marsha Rosengarten (2013) have pointed out, RCT methodology requires trialists to configure interventions as "quantitative objects" via externally validated criteria and standards of statistical measurement (ibid.:73). In this case, the exercise interventions had been designed following a physiological model of exercise and accordingly prescribed set standards on energy expenditure, heart rate level, frequency, and modality:

Leisure-time physical activity (50%VO$_2$max), 5 days/week/6 months […]. The average energy expenditure per day is 320 kcal for women and 420 kcal for men. […]. (Excerpt from one of the exercise protocols.)

As is apparent from the excerpt, the interventions had been prepared to enable the trial researchers to measure and monitor the participants with the heart rate monitors and to ultimately abstract the interventions from their situated enactment. The excerpt also suggests how the requirements of measurability and comparison, in effect, also carried certain assumptions about the abilities of the participants and the structure and nature of their lives. In particular, the protocols assumed that the participants' daily lives were stable throughout the intervention period and that the participants could and would perform each exercise session in the same way consecutively.

This brief introduction to the protocol suggests how biomedical models and methodological criteria mediated the goal of testing forms of exercise that resemble "behaviours that people actually have". One consequence was that the trial protocol prescribed three somewhat rigid exercise routines, which assumed the existence of a stable and uniform everyday life. Although participants were highly motivated to take up more exercise and contribute to the project, the interventions, in some cases, turned out to be rather "hard pills to swallow" (Thing 2009). In fact, my fieldwork suggests that "the intervention" for many participants included the additional (road)work of expanding the lab according to a roadmap, which did not always map onto their bodies or everyday lives. Rather than a smooth process of upscaling, expanding the lab was fraught with friction.

Three Accounts of Roadwork

In what follows, I focus on the roadwork of three participants, whom I call Sophie, John, and Mary, as their stories reveal significant dimensions of the roadwork the protocol required and the different degrees of friction that participants had to work through. In so doing, I draw from interviews conducted at different time points during their trajectories in the trial and participant observations during the exercise sessions of Sophie and John. In analysing these materials, I used the notion of roadwork to capture the organizational work they did to make implementation possible and the bodywork of performing the routines in line with the protocol. In constructing the accounts, I aimed to connect the friction they experienced with the assumptions made in the trial. Although most of the 30 participants I interviewed experienced similar friction, Sophie, John, and Mary do not represent specific subgroups or participant experiences. Instead, I contend that what was nominally defined as three distinct exercise interventions in practice crystallized into multiple routes and routines; each of which entailed specific forms of roadwork and friction. To capture this specificity, I now follow Sophie, John, and Mary some of their way along the trajectory laid out by the trial protocol.[2]

Sophie's Roadwork

Sophie is in her mid-twenties and, like many participants, she had enrolled in the trial to become fit and lose weight. I interviewed her three times and attended two of her exercise sessions, which provided me with insights into the challenges of reconciling the exercise protocol with a busy life as a student and a desire to change lifestyle. In my analysis, "time" and "pace" emerged as key themes in her roadwork.

Time Management

In line with the official health recommendation, the exercise protocols figured (leisure) time as a resource that individuals can use in more energy-efficient ways. When I met Sophie two months into her intervention, she told me she had the same idea, when she enrolled. Facing a less busy semester at the university, she figured she would finally have time to exercise. To her surprise, however, exercising in the leisure time domain five times per week required far more planning than she had expected. To exercise, she had to "plan it out". As usual, she made a "rough" plan a week in advance, which she "fine-tuned" each day; yet "putting in" a workout was challenging, as she had little control over her schedule, which was crammed with activities:

For example, on Friday I have an appointment with an old friend I haven't seen in a long time. So, I already know I won't get to work out on Friday, and I have to do it some other time. And I also have a lot of girlfriends coming over to hang out on Saturday. So, I have two things there! But I also have two shifts at one job this week. Plus, I have to work on Sunday at another job, and I have homework for Friday and an assignment for next Tuesday, and then my mum suddenly decided to visit too, and then I think, "Oh! There're too many things." So, exercise just becomes one of many things.

Whereas the protocol took each day to be similar with the same set of activities, Sophie's calendar revealed an everyday life comprising multiple tasks and activities, which did not abide by one unifying tem-

poral logic. As suggested, her life followed multiple, intersecting temporalities – work schedules, assignments, exams, and appointments. Consequently, exercising in the leisure time domain was not a simple question of earmarking 30 minutes of a pre-existing time reservoir but a daily task of "squeezing" yet another "thing" into a schedule, wherein multiple activities already competed for a spot. To make time for exercising, Sophie described that she had to leave school early to get to the gym before closing time, even though she was sometimes busy with group assignments. Also, she had to skip social events and use weekends as a "buffer" to catch-up on missed workouts, even though she wanted to keep them "exercise-free" to relax and spend time with her friends, family, or partner, whose late work hours as a chef meant they rarely saw each other. Further, she had to exchange her schoolbag for an "ugly" duffle bag and walk around in sports clothing to be able to "squeeze in" a workout on the go. These adjustments suggest how maintaining the idea of domains required careful planning and prioritization and how these restructurings could generate friction between existing everyday routines and their various "goods" (Mol 2013; Damsholt & Jespersen 2014).

Though the boundaries between leisure and work fluctuated in Sophie's life, exercising in the right domains was critical for the researchers' ability to compare the interventions. In our second interview towards the end of her intervention period, she recounted an instance where she had deviated from the protocol because she was busy with exams. As a situated translation of the protocol, she burned off the prescribed number of calories by commuting to the university on bicycle instead of going to the gym or cycling around a lake nearby which she sometimes did: "I thought there's no difference between cycling around a lake and cycling to the university." Though the cycling suited Sophie, only a few days passed before the researchers discovered her creative solution to her time problem. Sophie was then told she could not "change intervention group" (to the active commuting group) and advised to keep her exercise to the "leisure time domain"; although it did not seem to exist at that moment.

This incident points to inherent friction between two different logics of how exercise relates to everyday life. For Sophie, the particular way the practice of exercise might relate to other everyday practices relies on a situational assessment of how different practices and their purposes and "goods" can be aligned. While Sophie aimed to maintain the calorie standard, she also sought to arrive at school on time to finish her exam project. Hence, she chose a form of exercise that fitted the available time-slot in her calendar. Unlike the trial, Sophie did not consider "situational adaptation" to be at odds with rule-following but a prerequisite for approximating full compliance (Rod *et al*. 2014). Conversely, in the logic of the trial, the relationship between exercise and everyday life was prefigured in the protocol and sought maintained to pursue a goal of standardizing and comparing different forms of exercise, rather than adjusting and coordinating different everyday practices. The discrepancy between these logics highlights a central paradox of the trial design. While the trial aimed at test-

ing everyday exercise routines (or "behaviours that people actually have"), the commitment to standardization meant the researchers sometimes had to rebuff and counteract, rather than welcome the participants' creative and genuine attempts at translating the protocol into workable and meaningful everyday routines. Although such tactics were not in opposition to the overarching strategy of the trial but integral to its implementation in everyday life, they would categorically register as "non-compliance". For Sophie, the strict requirements of compliance meant her roadwork in part entailed a daily job of reconciling two different temporal logics in her planning and developing tactics to change her everyday life to "fit" the protocol, rather than the other way around.

Tempo and Trajectory
For the researchers to analyse the exercise interventions as "pills", participants not only had to exercise in the right domain but also meet specific standards while exercising. The heart rate monitors and the protocols were crucial technologies in achieving the required standardization because they allowed the researchers to monitor the participants' exercise data and the participants to discipline their bodies according to the protocol. For Sophie, however, the required bodywork conflicted with her desire to change her body. In one interview, Sophie described how the exercise intensity was "too low", which meant that she was "not even sweating" and that the workouts were "boring" and "lengthy". The prescribed heart rate level also prevented her from exercising with friends and attending fitness classes, and it limited the exercise types she could do,

the machines she could use in the gym, and the music she could listen to. I experienced her restricted room for manoeuvring when I attended one of her workouts. While she had set her treadmill to the usual pace, we discovered that our conversation had made her exceed the allowed heart rate level, causing her to register as non-compliant. In the following interview, I learned that the bodily discipline and control required to comply was particularly frustrating to Sophie because her partner had just begun weight-lifting, taking long runs, and changing his diet to prepare for a fitness event he had signed up for with a friend. Unlike Sophie's exercise routine, her partner's practice was result-generating, unrestricted and serving an end that concerned him directly. While they supported each other, Sophie said that seeing his body change was frustrating because hers did not:

It bothers me I'm not allowed to work out at full throttle until my legs wear out. It's extremely annoying you can't just push through! And, you know, it's extra annoying when you look at your boyfriend, and he gets in shape and loses weight, and you still stand there and think: "Nothing Happens!"

The intersection of their different trajectories towards a new lifestyle points to the inherent friction between her desire to realize a "body project" (Shilling 2012) and her actual everyday practice of servicing a research project in which "pushing through" was not allowed. Sophie's experiences of having "to hold back" thus highlights the situated normativities of speed and, in this case, how exercise intensities do not necessarily translate well from a lab to a public gym, from one body to another, or from a research project to a

Training Load | Training Programs | Progress | Challenges | Applications

Exercises | Favorites | Training Equipment

‹ October 2014 ›   Today   Select Date   View: ▶ Week ▼ Month ▶ List

week	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
40	29.09. Other s... 00:44 322 kcal	30.09. Other s... 00:46 320 kcal	01.10.	02.10.	03.10. Other s... 00:47 322 kcal	04.10. Other s... 00:47 322 kcal	05.10.
41	06.10. Other s... 00:45 321 kcal	07.10. Other s... 00:43 323 kcal	08.10. Other s... 00:43 320 kcal	09.10.	10.10.	11.10. Other s... 00:43 319 kcal	12.10. Other s... 00:44 319 kcal
42	13.10. Other s... 00:45 320 kcal	14.10. Other s... 00:44 322 kcal	15.10. Other s... 00:45 321 kcal	16.10.	17.10.	18.10. Other s... 00:47 333 kcal	19.10. Other s... 00:43 321 kcal
43	20.10. Other s... 00:46 322 kcal	21.10. Other s... 00:45 319 kcal	22.10. Other s... 00:48 320 kcal	23.10.	24.10. Other s... 00:43 320 kcal	25.10. Other s... 00:42 319 kcal	26.10.
44	27.10. Other s... 00:44 319 kcal	28.10. Other s... 00:43 322 kcal	29.10. Other s... 00:41 330 kcal	30.10. Cycling 00:45 12,6 km	31.10. Other s... 00:38 329 kcal	01.11.	02.11.
45	03.11.	04.11. Other s... 00:36 319 kcal	05.11. Cycling 00:36 8,9 km	06.11. Cycling 00:41 11,1 km	07.11.	08.11. Cycling 00:38 10,2 km	09.11. Cycling 00:36 10,3 km

Summary

Result Target
22   0 #
16:20 00:00 hh.mm
7140   0 kcal
12.6   0.0 km

Sport Zones
00:00:00
00:12:18
08:35:40
07:04:34

"Admiring all my exercise data." Photo and caption by Sophie.

self-care project. As Sebastian Abrahamsson has argued, whether a tempo is good or bad materializes as "relational effects in local situations" (2014:303). In the trial, Sophie found herself in a local situation, in which she had to endure being trapped in a slow-paced treadmill while desiring progression and transformation.

While the pace set by the protocol prevented her from working on her body, I learned that Sophie tried to make the exercise meaningful by setting out to achieve 100 per cent compliance with the exercise standards. As she explained, tracking her exercise data appealed to her intellectual interests as a student engineer and the implied norms of accountability motivated her to meet the researchers' expectations. The data were paramount as they consti-tuted proof that she was, in fact, exercising: "Now that I can't see the exercise on the body, I can at least see it in the numbers." In this way, Sophie's liking for numbers, her exercise data, the protocol, and the researchers' monitoring constituted a productive "grip" that kept her on track. Her commitment to standardize her data suggests how she actively sought to synchronize her "self" with the trial (Idvall 2017) in an attempt to sustain the friction between the slowness of the protocol and her eagerness for progression. Through this synchronization, the standards of the protocol, the researchers' expectations, and her data overviews – rather than the bathroom scale or the mirror – became the milestones through which trial participation gained purpose and meaning in her

everyday life. These examples from Sophie's roadwork suggest how the researchers and technologies of the trial were key actors in the expansion of the lab, but also how participants were required to adapt their expectations and invent new forms of meaning within the restrained space for manoeuvring that the protocol offered.

John's Roadwork

John is a father of two in his late thirties, whom I interviewed and followed on three occasions. As one of few participants I met, John did not appear to have any serious problems with the exercise protocol. Thus, the following account is a case of "ideal conditions".

The Specificities of Ideal Conditions

The trial was designed on the assumptions that Copenhagen made up an ideal experimental setting and that all interventions were workable. Most participants, however, knew which intervention would be ideal for them. When I interviewed John as he was just beginning his intervention, he clearly made this point by describing how active commuting would be a particularly bad fit, despite his address in "the perfect model":

> I would only take the cycle if the weather was good. You know, if it snows and things like that, then cycling 11–17 km would be completely foolish! If I was to get out there and then cycle off in the opposite direction of my work, and it's pissing it down with rain. Arrrhhh… I wouldn't do that more than a few times! For me to do it, the sun would have to shine, and the birds would have to sing.

John could not see himself as an active commuter, because the distance between his home and work was only 400 metres. With his sarcastic remark, John made the obvious, but crucial point that protocols only work if intended users consider their instructions meaningful and workable (Timmermans & Epstein 2010). More specifically, his comment suggests that ideal experimental conditions are not reducible to "the intervention" or "the setting" of a trial but rely on far more specific matters. The specificities that might make for ideal conditions were clear in the case of John, whose everyday life met the implicit demands of the leisure time exercise protocol.

In our interview, John noted his fortune in the randomization and described the ideal possibilities of implementing the protocol in his life. Aside from a brief commute, John had just got a new job with a fixed 6 a.m.–2 p.m. working schedule every weekday. He also had a scenic park on his doorstep, which enabled him to revive his old running route. Further, his eldest son had just left home to live by himself and his wife and daughter would normally not return home before 4 p.m. With around two hours of leisure time available every day of the week – as stipulated in the protocol – John had no problem getting the exercise done, as he described:

> I'm quite lucky I have the job I have. When they [daughter and wife] come home, I have already done my exercise. So, they feel nothing. Instead of taking a nap, I just do the opposite!

At first glance, the structure of John's everyday life mirrored the temporal model implied in the protocol. Yet a closer look reveals that his ability to comply did not rely on his time schedule alone. In the clock-based and quantita-

tive understanding of time underpinning the protocol, leisure time refers to those hours of the day in which individuals do not sleep, work, or transport themselves (Ng & Popkin 2012). In particular, the protocol built upon an idea of leisure time as opposed to and conditioned by work time. However, John's case suggests that his "leisure time exercise" was conditioned by a different set of temporalities, in particular, those of his household. While John was free from work at 2 p.m., his ability to comply also required that he would be free from his family. In contrast to the narrower notion of "work-free time" that the protocol subscribed to, the word *leisure* etymologically means "being allowed" (*Oxford English Dictionary*), which suggests that a broader set of circumstances condition whether a specific practice may happen and take place.

In this perspective, the seemingly "ideal" match between John and his everyday life and the intervention protocol and the minimum organizational work and friction it generated cannot be attributed to "the intervention" and "the context" of the trial alone. The reason is that both the conceptualisation of and the context derived from a design process that worked in another scale and through a different set of categories than those that might explain why John's everyday life was ideal for the "leisure time exercise" protocol. In the conception of the trial, the crucial questions concerned choosing an ideal "city" as the context, prescribing particular "forms of exercise" as the interventions, and recruiting a "homogeneous group of people" as participants. John found himself in an ideal, but far more

specific situation. In John's case, his address in an "attractive neighbourhood", his "work schedule", his wife's "work-life", his "life situation", his "family structure", and his "motivation for moderate-intensity exercise" *combined* enabled him to comply with the protocol. John's story – a case of ideal conditions – thus brings into view the implicit politics of the protocol and how it essentially required and catered to a very particular version of everyday life that not all participants (e.g. Sophie) lived.

Building Momentum
A central hypothesis in the trial was that the interventions would eventually become everyday routines; as attested in the project's subtitle, "from lifestyle intervention to lifestyle routine". However, John's roadwork suggests that the protocol required investment and effort to become meaningful in everyday life, despite the seemingly ideal conditions for implementing it.

During our conversations, I learned that John considered participation in the trial as preparation for a cycling race. While he also wanted to contribute to science, he conceptualized his participation as a part of a larger project of self-realization, in which he aimed to prove to himself that he could get in shape. To this end, the trial offered a "collective" (Jespersen *et al*. 2014) that enabled him to commit himself and his exercise to someone else:

They must deal with the results themselves. The thing is that you sit and look someone in the eye and say, "I will follow the rules", "I'll do this", "I'll send you some data!" So, when you commit to it, then you need to stick to it. That has been the kick in the backside.

As suggested, John appropriated the trial as a kind of "technology of the self" that enabled him to subject himself to the gaze of the researchers to pursue objectives beyond the horizon and scope of the trial. During the trial, John for instance committed to another cycle race with his new boss, who had similar interests, and signed up for a duathlon. Also, John bought an expensive cycle, new trainers, and turned his basement into a gym with an exercise cycle and a treadmill. Further, he had begun to surf the internet for exercise tips to prepare for the coming events. These investments and commitments reveal a form of roadwork that concerns elaborating the protocol into a full-fledged practice with its own meaning, materiality, and purpose. This process of elaboration suggests how what was nominally defined and measured as distinct interventions, in practice, required situated incorporation of other forms of knowledge, commitments, investments, materialities, and social networks to become meaningful practices in everyday life.

Though John had only missed a few sessions and had improved his fitness, he considered the prescribed routine to be unfulfilling in the end. His eagerness for progression was apparent when I joined John on one of his regular runs around the park towards the end of his intervention. During our run, he abruptly stopped at a point on the gravel path, where we could see a large recreational area on the horizon. He then pointed and explained that the duathlon would take place there, before revealing that he "got carried away" one day on his new cycle and did a 40-kilometre ride in the area. Although John informed the researchers' of his non-compliance, he described that he could "not help himself". In contrast to the trial protocol, which stipulated the exercise routine as a circular series of

"The view when 'Moderate' spinning is on the menu in the basement:-)." Photo and caption by John.

repetitions and as an end in itself, John conceptualized his route around the park as a run-up scheme through which he could gain momentum to realize projects beyond the trial. Ultimately, this momentum caused him to feel increasing friction between his obligation to comply with the monotonous regimen and his desire to prepare for the coming events.

Although the protocol mapped onto John's life without creating major organizational or corporeal friction, it simultaneously directed a path that transformed his body, fostered new projects, and inspired him to recreate his everyday life. John's story suggests how the roadwork entailed in following a scientific exercise routine in everyday life requires the enrolment of other practices, purposes, and projects, but also how these incorporations at once support and might potentially undermine projects of standardization. This process of situated enrolment also means that "the participants", "the context", and "the interventions" of a trial, regardless of how ideal their match might seem, undergo a process of mutual transformation through the progress of the experiment that might challenge the framing ideals of standardization and conformity. Ideal conditions, in this perspective, refers to situated, unstable, and temporary social and material orders rather than pre-given and stable relationships.

Mary's Roadwork

Mary is a married mother of three in her forties, whom I interviewed twice during her intervention at the suggestion of one of the researchers, who described her trajectory as an "interesting case" because she had serious challenges with the active

commuting protocol. In the following account, I highlight the friction that made the protocol unworkable.

Precarious Experiments with the Household

The trial built upon the hypothesis that cycling to and from work is a time-saving and easy way for people to meet the official health recommendation and the idea that Copenhagen provided an ideal setting for this purpose. When I met Mary after her 3-month tests in the laboratory, I learned that these exact assumptions had complicated her trajectory in the trial.

As she described, the apparent problem was that she lives in the countryside, 50 km outside the "perfect model" of Copenhagen. This meant she that had 100 km to and from work, rather than 9–15 km as prescribed in the protocol and that she could not enjoy the luxuries of proper infrastructure, snow removal, road lighting, and repair shops (which were implicitly assumed to facilitate compliance). Also, Mary's usual commute was not an individual and isolated activity as assumed in the protocol but a collective practice, bundling several trajectories, actors, and activities in a daily routine of providing for, distributing, and gathering the household. In addition, she had just quit her regular job to start as a freelance consultant, which meant that her commute was no longer a regular back and forth travel between home and work. Despite the obvious challenges, Mary initially managed to follow the protocol for a few weeks via a "solution" she had made with the researchers and her husband. The nature of the solution, however, reveals how replac-

ing the car with the cycle required comprehensive reconstruction of her family's daily routines:

Before, I took the car every day. But then we arranged that my husband could have the car on most days, which meant that he also had to deliver and pick up the kids. But then I could cycle to the nearest train station. Doing this made my workday almost two hours longer because I had to take different trains to get to work. I also had to get out of bed very early, before the kids, and then get on out there on the bike, and then I had to ride home again later, regardless of how tired I was.

As Timmermans and Berg (1997) have argued, standardization in practice depends on the transformation and incorporation of existing routines and the strategic enrolment of relevant allies (ibid.:274). For Mary, her husband turned out to be a key ally, thanks to his willingness to take over her roles in managing the care and transportation of their children and thereby "transforming" his own commuting practice. Her compliance also relied on her "incorporating" another form of transportation and taking on the attendant identity of a train passenger. The nature of the "solution" clearly illustrates how several actors were involved in the roadwork entailed in expanding the lab and how the translation of a scientific protocol into an everyday routine, in practice, could result in activities that were cumbersome and potentially at odds with other everyday practices.

In our conversation, it was clear that her new job as a freelance consultant had caused active commuting to become a logistical problem she had to solve every day. The key problems were that her commute involved multiple destinations and that her schedule revolved around different job assignments rather than predict-

able weekdays – a basic time unit of the protocol:

It's different, where I have to be now. But I always have to think about the cycle. How do I fit it in here? Before, I just went out the door, but now, I'm driving around. Sometimes, I mount the cycle to the car. Other times, I take the train with the cycle.

As suggested, Mary had to perform various awkward manoeuvres to handle the discrepancies between her life situation and the protocol and incorporate the cycle in her daily life. Each time she had a new assignment, Mary had to coordinate with her husband and do the "homework" (Mattingly *et al.* 2011) of metering routes that fit the protocol and as a consequence take "weird detours" instead of obvious and scenic routes. Also, she occasionally had to cycle in a forest nearby at odd times to comply, which could interfere with routines such as picking up her children and tucking them in at night. These challenges meant Mary had missed several workouts and that the commute had become a "stress factor", causing her to feel guilty about "lagging behind", "not getting data", and "ruining the project". The requirement of measurability, in particular, hampered a meaningful cycling practice:

It's not for the sake of the actual journey I do it. It's because it has to be a certain number of kilometres. The problem is that it has to be every day, and not just whenever it makes sense.

In the interview, Mary recounted an instance in which "it really crashed" despite her dedicated attempt to "make it work". The incident was triggered by a flat tyre on a Monday morning. As there was no repair shop nearby, fixing the cycle took some days. During the time it took her to get a new tyre and figure out how to put it on, her "guilty conscience" about not producing data grew. When the cycle was

finally ready, however, her husband was not there to help with the morning routines. Therefore, she also had to dismantle the daily morning routine and compromise her ideals about what a good mother does in order to comply:

I'd even planned that the big kids had to walk to school so I could cycle to the train station. I also had to deliver my youngest girl in the day-care centre so early that she had to eat her breakfast there. She had to eat her breakfast at the day-care centre! And, I already felt guilty about this having way too much influence on our life.

For Mary, compliance with the protocol required precarious experiments with her existing routines and a collateral burden of dealing with their emotional, and indeed collective, consequences. As Mattingly *et al*. (2011) have pointed out, everyday routines, such as making food and setting the table, might seem trivial and easily transformable to health experts and policymakers. However, such practices, as Mary's story suggests, often constitute significant and deeply ingrained practices of self-care and care for others (ibid.:370).

Symptomatic of the mismatch between the work of making the commute possible and the physical work of pedalling, Mary was not able to cycle that day. Explicitly noting the irony of having put her household in motion without being able to move, she explained why:

Apparently, I hadn't assembled the cycle correctly. Only the first gear worked. So, I got nowhere! I trampled and pedalled hard, but I got nowhere! You know, like when the chain has fallen off. At that moment, I was like, "I can't do this anymore!" I was about to cry! Why did I agree to be a part of this!?

Mary's somewhat comic retelling of her troubles of getting the commute to work alludes to the abyss between the protocol and her life situation. In the trial, active commuting by cycle stood as the emblem of an active lifestyle; as the stand-alone and ready-made routine to "improve well-being and health in everyday life", as the name of the trial suggested. Mary's story, however, suggests that active commuting, as it was defined in the protocol, could imply what John Law (1987) has termed "heterogeneous engineering". To commute by cycle, Mary had to assemble a network comprising various social, material, and technical components (ibid.: 113). As this work made the practice of cycling cumbersome, taxing, and prone to breakdowns, Mary seriously considered dropping out.

Precision and Pleasure
In the trial, active commuting had to work as an everyday practice and as a research practice. For Mary, however, aligning these two purposes was fraught with friction. On the one hand, she was happy to rediscover her joy of cycling and found the bike ride refreshing after a long workday. She particularly cherished her husband's comments on her rosy cheeks and energized appearance. On the other hand, she considered her obligation to produce data a significant drawback, as she was required to measure and document rather than simply enjoy her ride:

When I'm on the road; that's the least of it. I've actually become quite fond of it. When I'm on the cycle on those trips that I would otherwise never take – with the sunset and the sea view – it's fantastic. It's a gift! Obviously, it's the physical dimension, but it is also the psychological one. I'm alert, my cheeks are blushing, my pulse is pounding, and I'm fresh! So that part is the least of it. But the thing is that it's also one more thing I have to live up to; something I have to achieve, show,

or document. And my life has just had too much of that stuff… When I signed up for this, I really didn't think that I would feel that way…

Ingold's (2006) distinction between "wayfaring" and "transportation" can be used to unpack the friction of Mary's roadwork, as it points to two different logics of travel. According to Ingold, wayfaring is a way of engaging with the environment; actively, physically, and perceptually. In contrast, transportation is a destination-oriented form of travel whose only purpose is to relocate people and their goods from place to place as fast and with as little mutability as possible. Though Mary obviously wanted to transport herself to work, the notion of wayfaring captures the embodied and sensorial experience of situated movement that she took to be an essential aspect of getting to work by cycle. Conversely, Ingold's notion of transportation captures how the protocol prescribed a distinctively pure and theoretical form of transportation that was oblivious to the particularities of place, the transformative potentials of movement, and the everyday hassles of transportation. For Mary, wearing a heart rate monitor on each commute brought out this inherent friction, as it constantly reminded her that her trips were being measured according to standards that were impossible for her to meet. As she explained:

As soon as I put on the heart rate monitor, I invite [my exercise supervisor] into my life […] So, he has been on the back of the cycle! And, for example, if I take a very short trip, I wonder if he will now ask about it. Then, I remind myself that I have to tell him I was running late and that I stopped at another train station, and not the one we had planned. And then I have to remember to take a long trip on my way home so that when they check the numbers, they will see that I actually cycled the number of kilometres I had to, even though I only drove 2 km in the morning. So, there is this voice all the time, and it has been much more pronounced than I thought.

While the monitors only measured a few quantitative parameters, Mary's description of the researcher's presence as a kind of "implicit partner" (Otto 2016) or passenger suggests how the monitoring, in effect, entailed that participants were enrolled into a system of surveillance, accountability, and responsibilization (Idvall 2017). In the context of the trial, the cycle and the monitors not only made up a "technology of the self", but also a technology of research that instantiated certain power-relations and promoted specific ways of practising and making sense of exercise. Her "inner dialogue with the trial" suggests how the monitoring could entail a moral pressure to abide by the protocol, to live up to the researchers' expectations, and to "transport" the trial into everyday life – without changing it. It suggests how she felt obliged to justify how everyday life was an inevitable part of, a prerequisite for, and occasionally a barrier for cycling every day. Contrary to the protocol, which stipulated perfect transportation, Mary made the point that transportation, as Ingold has argued, in practice, is never perfect: "There is always some friction in the system" (Ingold 2007:101–102). For Mary, the "system" comprised her family routines, the protocol, her exercise supervisor, the heart rate monitor, the environment, and the public transportation system, and as this system was fraught with friction, Mary was rarely "allowed" a smooth commute.

Some weeks after our first interview, Mary decided to opt out of the trial. When I met her at the project facilities, where she had to return the heart rate monitor,

she described that numerous challenges had made compliance close to impossible in the period between our conversations. To make up for her missed exercise sessions, Mary recounted that she had tried to "simulate" a commuting routine by cycling to fictional destinations and that she had even brought along the cycle when she and her family had gone off to their summerhouse to celebrate Christmas. Having to "construct some kind of everyday life became a joke" as she put it, "It went from being super meaningful to a theatre of the absurd."

"Christmas Day in pouring rain!" Photo and caption by Mary.

Conclusion

In this article, I have focused on the public health practice of evaluating health interventions in everyday contexts and the frictions that arise when scientific ideals of uniformity, measurability, and standardization meet people and their busy social, and material everyday lives. By drawing on fieldwork in an exercise trial in Denmark, I described how its methodology and protocol figured exercise as a discrete "pill" and "everyday life" as a uniform, singular, and stable background context. With the notion of roadwork, I then articulated how three participants took part in the expansion of the lab through the situated work of constructing and performing a new bodily routine according to a generic research protocol. In doing so, my objective was to highlight how the evaluation of exercise interventions as pill-like entities effectively brackets off how trial designs (and their interventions, protocols, standards, and technologies) carry norms that variously rub against people and their routines, norms, and ideals. When individualized interventions are evaluated as "pills" the situated work and social, material, and collective conditions of individual lifestyle change are left out of the equation. So is the situated work of expanding the lab, even though this work is integral to the production of biomedical data (Montgomery 2017). As Tsing (2015) has argued, projects that built on ideas of scalability only admit data that fits within the project framings and in so doing must remain "oblivious to indeterminacies of encounter" (ibid. 38).

Whereas the biomedical researchers of this trial aimed to locate the effects of the interventions inside the bodies of the participants, my stories about Sophie, Mary, and John reveal how the interventions generated effects beyond their bodies and required work beyond that which was measured and included in the final reports. As Brives (2016) has put it: "No bio-

logical efficacy comes without concomitant social, psychological, and cultural changes" (ibid.: 21). This inherent productivity of trialling broaches questions about how researchers, who are engaged in similar trials, frame and configure people's lives, their bodies as well as the interventions that are mobilized to change them as objects of research. One question that arises is this: Do we roll out RCTs in people's lives just to give statistical evidence of biological efficacy an air of everydayness or to learn about how health interventions actually work for, in, and with people in their everyday lives? As encouraging people to lead healthier lives constitutes an overarching ambition in much public health research, the figure of the pill is paradoxical, because it effectively limits a broader understanding of particular health practices and the vast cast of actors and conditions that are involved in changing (some)one's way of living. Here, the notion of roadwork might constitute a useful analytical lens to explore what it means to change one's lifestyle because it locates the bodywork needed to produce biological health effects in the practices that make this work possible. Seen through the lens of roadwork, seemingly standardized health interventions appear inherently situated, multiple, and demanding.

Although qualitative research has been promoted as a means to map the barriers and potentials of health interventions in particular contexts, the points raised in this article suggest that this strategy might risk reinforcing the notion of context as stable and extraneous to an intervention. With this article, I have articulated how everyday life emerges through the problematizations it undergoes. As a specific form of problematization, the RCT give rise to intervention-specific (road)work that implies the continuous re-creation of everyday life. In this view, everyday life, is not a pre-existing domain out-there that can be mapped once and for all to allow for the perfect intervention, but an object that can be enacted in various ways (for example through the cultural analytical notion of roadwork, or the biomedical technology of the randomization "pill", or through the embodied practice of following an exercise protocol). As Emily Yates-Doerr has put it in her work on the logics and practices of global public health, "many locals do not add up to the global" (Yates-Doerr 2017:240). Similarly, many everyday life studies do not add up to the everyday life. So, instead of providing a contextual background to biological evidence, qualitative researchers might participate in the formulations and visions of everyday life that are inscribed into protocols, and carefully attend to the ones that emerge in the practice of implementation. Taking up this agenda might create possibilities for public health to consider the productivity, variability, and situatedness of interventions that aim to promote health.

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Notes

1 Other behavioural trials usually involve psychological models of behaviour change to facilitate compliance (Courneya 2010; Mitchie et al. 2011).
2 In the analysis, I do not focus on the work entailed in performing home-measurements, although these activities could also be captured through the notion of roadwork.
3 Participants in the control group received an exercise intervention after 6 months.

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That Little Football Girl
Swedish Club Football and Gender Expectations
By Katarzyna Herd

The title of this article comes from a comment made about me. It was uttered informally, but within a research community nevertheless. I was referred to as "that little football girl", and although the comment was swiftly trivialized, as in "I did not mean anything negative", it left me pondering on how my gender reflected on the seriousness of my research. The aim of this article is to explore from an intersectional perspective how the researcher's social markings influence the studied field and how gender can be constructed, performed and contested in a context of Swedish club football. The emphasis is on ethnographic work done by a female researcher, but it probes *gender expectations* that become visible when expressed in the context of football, a context that traditionally excluded rather than included females.

The article engages in a discussion of femininity and females in football first, then focuses on one encounter from match observations in 2015, which highlights the complexity of this field. The material presented here was acquired while conducting interviews and observations in four Swedish football clubs, but not with gender in focus. However, the fieldwork happened in the social space described and acknowledged as being dominated by men. The intensity of this field and polarization in terms of the gender perception made this perspective unavoidable. Focusing on small-scale agencies could be one way to approach the taken-for-granted male domination that seems mostly uncontested. The article deals with questions that were triggered within this gendered context. How are women framed in this context? How do they negotiate boundaries? How are women evaluated through the broader social context?

Entering football as a female researcher is not without problems, although, from my experience, it is not very dramatic either. Football is a very creative and flexible environment, and it reflects broader social contexts with all its issues and developments. Thus, a local football club is firmly situated in its local reality, and also constructed and performed by individuals who make football a part of their reality and of their everyday routines. The ability to accommodate different narratives, elements, and interpretations of football is also visible in gender constructions. Women are not only present physically in many different activities, but football also presents interesting "grey zones" of gender roles that are performed and interpreted on the spot. This article thus explores such instances, using examples from my own experience as a multi-layered stranger in the "male zone", as football tends to be described (e.g. Welford 2011).

When one talks about football, the immediate association is with the men's football. It does not need any additional words to be understood as a male activity. Because of this female football requires the adjective "female" before the name of the game (field notes, 2016). As Pierre Bourdieu commented in his book *Masculine Domination*: "The strength of the masculine order is seen in the fact that it dispenses with justification: the androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it" (Bourdieu 2001: 9). The norm has been established and one gender's domination has been institutionalized. When I write about my study ob-

ject, which is a set of Swedish male football clubs, I can say "football" only, and I reproduce a pattern of inequality that is taken for granted.

In this article I problematize this specific gendered space and the gender expectations that surround it. The aim is to explore how females are perceived and written about in the football context. This article also presents a certain way of doing masculinities while having femininities in focus, exploring the margins that women tend to be ascribed to and showing how the centre can be disrupted (Fur 2006). While taking on board my ethnographic experiences from several years, I shall present female participants in the "male preserve" who are supporters, who work for clubs, and deal with football professionally as researchers. The available literature concentrates mostly on females as fans (Dixon 2015; Mintert & Pfister 2015; Richards 2015; Dunn 2014; Pfister, Lenneis & Mintert 2013). A recent British study of female supporters focuses on their experiences in modern football and rugby from a sociological perspective (Pope 2017). In Sweden, Aage Radmann from Malmö University has been involved in a project about Swedish female supporters. Women are present at stadiums in different roles, but their agency is often filtered through the masculine reading of football. Thus, the negotiating and contesting of borders that happens there is not acknowledged.

The category of gender is introduced here rather crudely, but because the interest in football is more inclined to be attributed to men (e.g. Mintert & Pfister 2015), this field does constitute a space of male dominance, thus making females

trespassers and forcing them to apply categories and evaluations already filtered and established through this domination (Bourdieu 2001:35). Further, gender comes with the combination of class, age and ethnicity (to name some of the intersections) that contribute to evaluations of the present form of football.

Women – Present but not Noticed

Football environment is associated with a certain type of masculinity and specific displays of gender constructions, usually strengthened by media depictions that focus on different sorts of aggression and violence, both by male fans on the stands and by players on the pitch. But women do watch football and they make up a considerable share of spectators. A quantitative study from 2006 from Sweden gives a number of 28 per cent for women present at the standing section during a match in Malmö (Horsner & Söderberand 2006). Danish researchers present similar figures (e.g. Pfister, Lenneis & Mintert 2013).

Football studies acknowledge the presence of women, yet they have also shown that access does not mean equality (Welford 2011). The norm has been firmly based on male supporters, with women becoming "an oddity" in the masculine background. As Pierre Bourdieu remarked, "The dominated apply categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant to the relations of domination, thus making them appear as natural" (2001:35). While doing research I fell into that trap. I started "noticing" women, writing in my notebook that there were many, that they were of different age, hopped and sang in the standing section or accompanied their children (field notes 2015). I

fished them out of the crowd as something that I perceived as unusual due to my own perception of football.

Kevin Dixon (2015) and Carrie Dunn (2014) have pointed out, referring to older categorizations, that women still tend to be branded as "new fans", not authentic or traditional, but civilizing, in contrast to aggressive, authentic and norm-making male fans. This "authentic" is rooted in the perception of a working-class masculinity, especially in the English context. The idea is that women have different reasons to engage with football, or rather that football would not be the first and foremost choice of entertainment. One female interviewee, Maria, talked about interesting gender perceptions within the supporters' organizations:

As a woman, you can only join Black Army and Sol Invictus, you can't join the others. At Sol Invictus – they have a code during a match, if you want to be with them. You are there for AIK, not for yourself. No kissing, you have to sing 90 minutes, no mobile phones, no selfies, no cute girlfriends. You are there for the team.

Maria was a devoted fan and she was very active in one of the supporters' organization. She singled out a phenomenon that bothers some football goers – that women there were just "girlfriends" accompanying the boys. The code of behaviour prescribed for the aforementioned group prohibited things that could hinder support, "cute girlfriends" becoming one such problem. Although women could be in the group, they were described from the male point of view, even by Maria, objectified and classified in the same category as phones and photos that distracted people from the match and from providing a good atmosphere.

Devoted fans, referred to as ultras groups with their picturesque accessories (flares and smokes), are a relatively new phenomenon (see Herd 2017; Testa 2009). They claim a strong influence on the philosophy of being a "good fan" and behaving according to specific rules during matches, but as Maria stated, women had rather limited access to specific supporters' organizations, especially those perceived as contesting the law and order. One ultras group in Malmö was said to openly ban women from their structures (field notes 2013). While attending an away match I suddenly needed to get back home and I was told I could not get into the same bus because women were not allowed to travel with them. A group of young men from different social and ethnic backgrounds, and also openly opposing racism (field notes 2015), would then create gender division in their organization.

This was both curious and unsettling as female presence was just not physically acceptable. Manliness could be seen as a relational notion that was "constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity, in a kind of *fear* of the female, firstly in oneself" (Bourdieu 1978:53). This dichotomy of male-female might have become even more important since, as mentioned above, "the other" in the form of ethnic divisions has become neutralized. Racial tensions previously visible in Sweden football faded away (field notes 2015). Many of the interviewed match-goers were positive that there was a mix of all possible social classes at stadiums too. Although very proud of how inclusive and integrated they were with other social categories, the group man-

aged to build that unity by excluding women.

One young woman I spoke with really wanted to engage with the ultras, whose members liked to bring flares to stadiums. She said that she faced some very harsh evaluations because she was a female and thus suspected of going "after the guys" (field notes 2013). However, women could be seen in the standing crowd, and for example, young girls put black hoods on and held flares (field notes 2015). The space was not forbidden to them, but quite often the male structure made it difficult for them to participate without adhering to "masculine" values.

Kevin Dixon (2015) and Jessica Richards (2015) have both pointed out that female supporters need to acquire "masculine" behaviour in order to be seen as "proper" fans. However, this masculine behaviour presents only one possibility of being a fan. The descriptions of purely "masculine" or "feminine" behaviour seem to monopolize the popular understanding of gender performance. Connell (1995:70) pointed out that majority of men do not fit with the dominant picture of masculinity in Western societies. It is then possible to problematize this further as both women and men experience the "hegemonic" way of being a loud and slightly abusive supporter, but they do not necessarily intend to reproduce it. Certainly, because the majority of spectators are men, there is a tendency to view their behaviour in terms of "masculine" (Connell 1995:79). Female supporters are faced with a lot of prejudice not only from their male counterparts but also from other females (Mintert & Pfister 2015).

Pierre Bourdieu commented on interpretations of female behaviour in restricted spaces: "More generally, access to power of any kind places women in a "double bind": if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of "femininity" and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job" (Bourdieu 2001:68). Evaluations from researchers, as well as from their football-oriented peers, leave women with little room to manoeuvre. They depend on the external gaze and they can be dominated by those who hold power over them, meaning the dominant supporters' groups as well as those evaluating them from external positions.

Mintert and Pfister put forward the notion that the idea of femininity within the football context might get a different evaluation outside that context, as the majority of participants are still biological males. Women are then "confronted" with "norms and ideals of femininity in society" (Mintert & Pfister 2015:417).

Women in this context face contradictory evaluations and meet stereotypes based on the idea that there are female biological bodies in a presumably masculine environment. Statements produced by some scholars, that women who swear and shout like men do not do any favour to other females, indicate the persistent notion of some sort of required "sisterhood" in this kind of environment that would draw women together. Such evaluations seem to be based on a specific idea of femininity that is an intersectional construct of gender, class and ethnicity as well, yet resulting in opinions based on

gender as just one category (Skeggs 1997: 99). In short, when becoming active in football, women are faced with a strong division between their gender identity and gender roles (Hatty 2000:111–112). Why would women care about other women? As football supporters they are framed in a range of intersectional, anarchistic conflicts (see Foucault 1994:330) that include supporters of rival teams, supporters of their own team from different factions (with indicators like age and social class being spelled strongly), police, club officials etc. (field notes 2015).

Women in Stadiums

How do female fans describe themselves then? Those that I encountered became fascinated with this world, sometimes travelled for hours just to see their teams, wanted to do more than just sit and watch and got involved in various organizations. They talked about prejudice and hindrances, but through the lens of being a supporter. Through engaging with a club and establishing themselves in the scene they started feeling included, they did not differentiate themselves from other supporters just based on the gendered issues.

Maria said in her interview:

An AIK woman is a tough woman. You have to be able to defend your club and it is not easy. There is not a week without something written about AIK in the newspapers, like *Aftonbladet* constantly writes about us. And they can gang together against you. […] But as a woman you feel safe here, because if the guys see you at away matches and so on they look after you, they make sure that you are safe (2015).

Another woman, Martha, said:

Some just want to see the difference because you are a woman. Before some would say "oh those girls just come to see guys" but I don't see that anymore. We are all just fans there (interview with Martha, 2013).

These women, Maria and Martha, supported different teams, and they were very emotional towards their clubs. They were also sensitive to the categorizations that can happen within the context. They were insiders, holding their ground against outside forces like the security or media, but they were aware that they could be singled out on the ground of their biology, in a both excluding and including way. Maria's remark about feeling safe was a curious statement that revealed that it is up to men to control security issues as well.

Dixon's evaluation (2015:645–646) that female presence during matches "does not necessarily disrupt established gender discourses […] but perhaps does nothing more than celebrate the practice of masculinity and segregate those females that are unwilling to participate" is a valid statement, but it takes into consideration only one version of masculinity that currently dominates in football discourses making the hegemonic display of it the only one (Connell 1995:76–77). Also, the point of their performance is to be a fan, femininity becoming something to be negotiated in this specific context so that it would allow women to participate fully rather than becoming a hindrance.

Although female supporters were never officially banned from watching football, the specific character of this context made them unsuited for participation. Women experienced what Bourdieu describes as "socially imposed agoraphobia" (2001: 39). Certainly, it was not an institutionalized thing not to have women cheering for football, but the historical developments

and the sheer fact that football means men's football imposed a frame of behaviour and social acceptance that did not work in women's favour.

Irene Andersson, a researcher in history and gender, in her text about photographs from early twentieth-century Malmö, pointed out how few women, almost none basically, appear on the old photos taken in the streets of this city. Andersson also presents a nutshell definition of the masculinity construct from those days; a man who would work in a shipyard, watch matches of the local team Malmö FF, and vote for the Social Democrats (2013:7). Although her book had nothing to do with football, she connected this sport event to the image of typical masculinity in the city, as that would be an essential ingredient for working-class men.

To develop this thought further one could reason that the behaviour described by scholars as the "masculine norm" could be viewed as being context-specific and, as Connell presented, masculinities rely on historical evaluations and can be interpreted as political constructions as well (1995). Not everybody strives for aggressive forms of expression and unruly behaviour, but these performances attract the media attention and persist as the norm there. These are negotiated within the framework of a club and a specific fan group as this environment is a socially constructed space (Lefebvre 1972). Moreover, supporters change their supporting style according to age, current life situation and the group's preferences. This means occupying different parts of a stadium too, from the very active standing section, to "sitting & singing", and even the family section (field notes 2014–

2015). The heterotopic character (Foucault 1984) of this space means that there are no rigid boundaries and participants have a certain room to explore and develop their presence at stadiums. If females are selected and framed based only on invariant displays of femininity, then they are used yet again to strengthen the dominant group.

Complexities of Gender and Football

As the main empirical field of my research consists of male football clubs that are region-oriented and dominated by native male participants, it marks me as an outsider on several levels – I was not born or raised in Sweden, I was an undergraduate student, I was not a supporter, I saw my first match live when I began my work. The fieldwork happened in an environment that I did not grow up with and thus it was quite unfamiliar. Categories like gender, nationality and purpose of participation did not exactly resonate with the majority of spectators at stadiums, and gender was one of those categories.

Beverley Skeggs has written extensively about the position that is ascribed to women in various environments. As she comments, "In order to produce spatial exclusion a centre has to be constructed that represents "real" belonging, and those who really belong have to display and embody the right characteristics and dispositions" (2004:19). The issue of inclusion and exclusion is right in the centre of various football discourses. It is not only about the immediate opponent in a form of another club. Further, deep divisions can be observed within one organization, for example among various supporters' groups (Herd 2017). Nobody really holds

a monopoly on the right kind of supporter, and evaluations of support vary. A "hegemonic" interpretation does exist, but mostly in the collective imagination created by the media, and it is contested and re-evaluated (Connell 1995:77).

Nevertheless, football is acknowledged, treated and described as an example of a "malestream", an environment built by men, for men and further still studied by men even in modern research (Welford 2011; Dixon 2015; Richards 2015). As Mintert and Pfister put it:

Up to now, football research has been a predominately male domain. Male scholars conduct research on men's football on male fans. […] Football is a game invented by and for men. Until 1970, the national and international football federations did not support women's football teams and games (2015: 406).

Welford (2011:365) even referred to it as a "time honoured male preserve". Thus, the field I operate in puts women outside of the core cultural capital on many levels and situates them in the margins. Current football research has acknowledged the presence of female spectators, yet it also acknowledges that access does not mean equality (Welford 2011). Being able to conduct research in this field does not mean inclusion as such. At the same time, women, no matter what position and interest they might have, encounter evaluations based on the established connection between football and masculinity.

Male performances of gender could undergo similar processes of evaluation, albeit in a different way. Because the broader social context holds a strict view of what femininity is, female participants can face ongoing criticism for being "like men" or not being "like women" (Mintert & Pfister 2015:417). Being feminine is then about public acceptance and validation. Women are not feminine automatically; it has to be constructed in an act of public performance (Skeggs 1997:107). This ideal is not suitable for many women and excludes different variabilities, embedded in a dominant class ideal that intertwines with age, ethnicity, education and economic capital. Thus, doing "feminine" is not a natural behaviour but a learning outcome (Skeggs 1997:116).

One could argue that while on the one hand female football supporters need to become more masculine, they are also given social permission to explore femininity within female behaviour, just as men do, as neither of those categories is fixed. Masculinities are also complex and context-dependent. Far too often there is just one-sided form of presenting football through specific masculine performance that fits with the established mainstream evaluation of football as violent and dangerous. I would suggest that football does offer women and men possibilities to transgress and challenge the one-sided view of femininity and masculinity.

It should be stressed, though, that women in football are not given the cultural capital when it comes to the "traditional" view of the sport, commonly understood as a stereotype of a male, slightly abusive and slightly drunk, connected to the idea of working-class activities. However, the developments in football have been oriented towards the experience economy, profitable marketing and family fun (Kennedy & Kennedy 2012; van Uden 2005). After the tragic events in English football (e.g. the Hillsborough disaster – a

deadly accident during a match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest in 1989 when 96 people were killed) there have been a number of voices advocating for more women and children at stadiums as that would ease the atmosphere and make them feel safer, basically making them a part of the gentrification process (e.g. Dixon 2015 and Jones 2005, after Taylor Report 1990). In that sense, women as a gender group became desirable precisely because of their sexuality that somehow would guarantee a safer space. Presumably for this reason, family sections at stadiums in Sweden are placed right next to sections for away supporters. It is supposed to soften some thugs' hearts to see small children, but it also means that those young fans listen to abuse directed at their team. Interestingly enough, one of the favourite forms of offence in the Swedish context refers to female reproductive organs (field notes 2014).

Hugs and Punches

Thus, women in football face different evaluations depending on whether it is the "old" shabby and slightly drunk football one wishes to portray, or the new, glossy enterprise financed by rich oil magnates. Femininity has been caught in the economic and class struggle on football stands. I found myself in this maze when I entered the field as an MA student doing qualitative research for one of the top clubs in Sweden. I was lucky to be granted access inside and I could observe and interview not only supporters of various kinds but also the clubs' management and players. I could watch matches with supporters, from the section for journalists or from the pitch. The different points of en-

try let me become an insider in one sense, but also fixed me as an outsider as I did not have one role but shifted from situation to situation, from match to match. I could become, as Sara Ahmed puts it, a stranger-friend in one (2000). My participation and eagerness to learn and observe were usually greeted with warmth and respect but it would not result in deeper relationships.

This contextualized friendship, as problematized by Ahmed, resulted in relative safety and self-assurance when watching football. My role and position were in a way fixed as the one who translates the football context into an academic environment. Thus, I became a "professional stranger" while maintaining rather close relations with my informants (Ahmed 2000:59). I mostly interviewed and spent time with men and it seemed that my gender contributed to separating me from the group. Nevertheless, football is very flexible and accommodating, and very different people are attracted to it as well. I have been hugged quite a lot, usually when a team scored. The overflow and over-the-top display of emotions usually resulted in an urgent need to embrace a person nearby. Sometimes it happened to be me (field notes 2014–2015).

The "friendship" or hugging would not really happen outside the context. My established position was as a researcher and as such I was granted a degree of access. It also, I dare say, made me into a "safe" individual. I did not claim knowledge or superior interpretation, which is a touchy issue in football. The categories that differentiated me from the usual football crowd created a zone for fairly neutral discussions.

Since those categories could be explained and brought forward, the other hindrances were not as problematic for the purpose of the study. I was there to learn and since I was so different from what could be called an average Swedish supporter I could claim total oblivion to football-related matters and not be punished for that. In my case, then, not knowing a thing was perceived a norm, and being able to state just some facts was greeted with enthusiasm. I would assume male researchers could be faced with the opposite problem, when "not knowing" would damage their position.

The sociologist Jessica Richards (2015), while conducting fieldwork in a football context, described herself as being viewed as harmless and naïve, feminine, and advocated for a "trusting relationship with key informants, who can play a protective role and assure the personal safety of the ethnographer" (Richards 2015:400). Although I understand the call for a safe research environment, this statement establishes the football scene as a closed space with rigid codes of behaviour that seem to refer to its one-sided masculine character requiring an insider to manoeuvre through it safely. Unexpected things happen, but like any context with its own logic, football is to be learned. The specific sense-making is based on routinized and ritualized behaviour.

Apart from the strategy of "toughening up" to be taken seriously, there is also a "mother-figure" connected to football. For instance, I have encountered women who bragged about the work they did fixing flags and banners for supporters' groups, i.e. sewing fabric together on their sewing machines. The ethnologist Jesper Fundberg wrote in his dissertation about youth football and masculinities (2003) that females, mostly mums, engaged in youth football teams in Sweden, tend to arrange food and drink, so to speak "nourish" the young players without having an immediate contact with the game or training.

The "occupational identity" (Alvesson & Billing 1997) that is at stake here not only encompasses the "male zone" of football (Welford 2011) but also the corporate character of the clubs that are currently run almost as businesses and embrace the idea of being "experience economies" (Kennedy & Kennedy 2012; van Uden 2005). That process results in framing women in a very specific way. They become visible as non-masculine workers and thus not challenging but strengthening the gender dominance. It should be pointed out, though, that a football club does not limit itself to male features only. Terms like logic, rationality, or strategy are very much associated with masculinity, but there are also features like love, emotional involvement, compassion clearly visible and expressed, which tend to be associated with stereotypical femininity (Alvesson & Billing 1997).

Football thus carries a strong association of a specific version of masculinity, and as a popular sport it also contributes to a certain version of heroes that enter popular imagination. The heroic stories usually have a man in the centre, who establishes his power over nature, animals, and also women (Hourihan 1997:28). Women are like artefacts in fairy stories, props that usually play the role of the final price for the finished mission. Football is not only a

place for heroes on the pitch. Supporters also feel like the important participants, even owners of clubs. Female bodies might disrupt the presupposed – expected – male space for heroism.

One could also comment that women are more on the outside as supporters because of the traditional way of looking at male and female experiences. The medievalist Caroline Bynum Walker (1996 (1984)) in her critique of Victor Turner's use of *liminality*, pointed out that his analysis seemed to be based on a particular class and category of people, namely men high on the social scale (Bynum Walker 1996 (1984):75). The liminal character of religious experiences analysed by Turner was then possible to notice because of the social structures those men operated in. An important part of entering liminality was "turning points" that were extraordinary for men (for example involving emotions) but ordinary for women (Bynum Walker 1996 (1984):74). Fans at the stadium engage in the behaviour that is specific for the space, but since men are more expected to be there, it might be that the presence of female fans just does not fit with the established narrative.

Reevaluations

As mentioned above, I have been able to enter the football context from several different angles. The degree of engagement and the style is individual and it is constantly reworked and reinterpreted. Thus, categories of being insider or outsider are not only a matter of external evaluation, but there is also a degree of personal decision.

Researching football has its special flavours: "Ethnography is very different

Some of the police and security present at the stadium and a broken soda machine, May 2015.

from other forms of research because of the intensity of the experience" (Skeggs 1995:197). One can say that this intensifies during matches as it is a highly emotional event. After spending a couple of years with this field and becoming familiar with evaluations there, I have become aware that I could somewhat influence the scene. Sometimes supporters would ask who I was when seeing me writing frantically in my notebook, but generally, I was not given that much attention.

The following extract from my field notes refers to a match that I attended in May 2015 together with away supporters.

Since it was not the "home ground", we were thoroughly checked and all the time surrounded by, what seemed like, hundreds of policemen and security guards, dressed as if prepared for the worst of riots, with batons, huge helmets, guns and so on ready to be used. I attended several games with away fans, but this was the first real "high profile" match with visiting fans. I was alone on this occasion. Also, I chose to wear a scarf in the colours of the away team. Since I travelled with those fans to the stadium, wearing the scarf seemed to me like showing some respect.

During half time something happened. Many young guys dressed in black, who were at the bottom of our section, rushed inside to the area with small shops and toilets. I follow them. There were lots of people, many policemen and security guards. Half of the crowd was grey-bright yellow (the security forces), and the other half was mostly black. The young supporters made like half a circle and just stood there. Hardly anybody was talking, the atmosphere seemed incredibly tense, but it was also very still, seemed frozen almost. There were some 4–5 people standing in the middle, talking to themselves. It did not take long to notice earpieces that they had, and unnaturally thick clothes. They had to be in a secret police force of something. They made an odd scene in the middle of this.

One security guard was standing a bit to the side, the others talked in a big group, looking like giant bees with huge helmets in their hands and a lot of equipment attached to their belts. I kept thinking that there were more members of the police force than there were supporters. […] I wanted to take a photo of the policemen and I took a step forward, raising my mobile phone. In this instant, the lonely security guard grabbed me by my shoulders and pushed me rather violently to the side. I almost fell down. I was extremely surprised but instead of walking away I went back to a straight position and started to reason with him.

"What did I do?"

I said it in English because the shock completely cleared Swedish from my head.

"It's a closed area."

He replied in Swedish. I did not see any tape, any markings, anything. Nothing was happening, there was nothing behind him, just chatting policemen to his right side.

"You can just tell me you don't have to push me."

I was almost screaming, I felt so angry. He stared at me, almost as if he suddenly realized that I was speaking English to him. I was very upset but also, to my surprise, I turned almost confrontational. I did not want to move from there. […] Slowly, the policemen and guards left, supporters slowly moved back to the stands. Secret police kept talking to themselves. When the movement began, I could go towards that "closed area". Behind a pillar, there lay a broken soda machine. Was this what happened? Somebody knocked down a soda machine?

I went back to the stands too but I began to feel overwhelmed. I started feeling scared. Legs were shaking and I felt like crying. I had to leave. There was almost no one outside, I walked out of the stadium and through several security fences, trying to find my bike. I took the scarf off. I was almost crying at that point.

The situation presented above decontextualized my former experiences and reframed my position in the field. It also brought the realization of how dependent I was on the external gaze and the evaluation of my position.

This encounter was rather brief and lasted perhaps ten minutes. Nevertheless, it made a lasting impression on me and my position in the field. I felt violated and incredibly vulnerable and I knew how powerless I would have been should the guard proceed in this evaluation of me as a dangerous (or unwelcome) individual. Suddenly, I was stripped of the many categories I would define myself with. It all was replaced by my supporter identity, the

one that I was not even fully aware of. But I had a scarf around my neck. I was, clearly, a supporter. Would that mean that I should have expected physical force? It seemed that I was influenced by the evaluations of females in football that I came across but it did not protect me. Perhaps I started to perceive myself as a harmless individual, a pacifier, a small woman who keeps making notes and taking photos not bothered by excited men around her. One could say that I should have been aware of the impression that I was making. I naively assumed that if anything, police would be after the men in black, a sort of picture one gets from mass media. My own prejudice was questioned.

Further, just like many interviewed female supporters, I considered a stadium as a safe place. Until the meeting with the law-and-order representative, I had never been scared there. I also heard in several interviews that men would never touch women when it comes down to fighting, unless of course women chose to participate (field notes 2013, 2015). Although football violence does not operate on gentlemen's rules, a former hooligan stated that he only "fought with those who wanted to fight" (field notes 2013). This exemplifies different evaluations of violence and different types of it that can occur there.

I entered the scene from a complete stranger perspective – in my own understanding – and I slowly learned it. My own understanding of my role and position was challenged by the security guard. He did not see me as a pacifier of any sort. I was ascribed a different position without noticing it. Skeggs (2004:55) argues that women are members of a social group

with a fixed identity rather than performing identity, and she stresses the passivity of the position. In the situation described above, the position as dangerous supporter was ascribed to me more than it was performed. My own gender expectations affected my judgement. I was supposed to represent the "not-so-dangerous" group.

Somehow, the space itself guaranteed that we would be evaluated as dangerous individuals. I use "we" here, as in the crowd of perhaps a thousand persons there were children and the elderly, many women, and a group of 50–60 youngsters in dark clothes that might have been more prompted into starting a fight (field notes 2015). But none of this mattered. The guard had no time to grade my individual femininity. We constituted a dangerous group when decorated with scarves or shirts, opposite to the considerably strong, well-organized group armed with various devices and officially organized, also able to communicate through ear devices.

Because I had a scarf, something that I did not pay much attention to, I openly marked myself as somebody different from the rest of society. I allowed others to recognize me in a way. I assume that it contributed to the guard's reaction to my attempt to take a photo. A social marker of my identity appeared, creating an intersection of other markers. As Ahmed puts it, "through strange encounters, the figure of the "stranger" is produced, not as that which we fail to recognise, but as that which we have already recognised as 'a stranger'" (2000:3). In that particular situation the guard did not need to evaluate people present there individually. We clearly formed two camps, one consisting

of law-and-order representatives, the good guys, and the other of potentially danger-ous "strangers". Where I saw diversity, a multitude of fan styles and people marked by different social categories such as age, class, gender, and ethnicity, he saw a wall of supporters. This rings in tune with the unchallenged process or recognition ana-lysed by Ahmed: "The stranger comes to be faced as a form of recognition: we rec-ognise somebody *as a stranger*, rather than simply failing to recognise them" (2000:21).

As discussed briefly above, the public and mass media seem quite stagnated in a one-sided view of football fans. Attention is concentrated on the loud, angry-looking males who like to bring flares to stadiums. The best pictures are the most dramatic, and so half-stripped young men with masks on and holding burning flares make it to the front pages. The image of a tradi-tional supporter is being set within that frame and also fetishized as a dangerous stranger (Ahmed 2000:42). Because he (in the media it almost always is a he) often wears a mask, he has no face and no iden-tity. His body is blurred by the smoke around it. He becomes the other, the strange individual that shames the society, a member of an affluent nation who chooses to ignore the rules and engages in what is officially consideried criminal be-haviour, the use of flares.

Police and security are confronted with such images. Thus, away fans are always escorted to stadiums, and the amount of police, fences, even dogs and horses, is staggering. It might look as if the forces ae prepared for a well-organized riot with various weapons and vehicles included. The contrast between singing and hugging fans and dead-serious, armed police could be described as grotesque.

This is not to claim that the space is safe and free from trouble, and when introduc-ing here concepts of stranger and familiar, one can also ponder about the space itself. Especially the away section is an interest-ing construction of home away from home, where fans of the visiting team per-form their social space. A heavy police presence disturbed the balance and the concrete structure was claimed by some-body else, by a stranger from the sup-porters' perspective. I can only wonder who triggered whom and who would be to blame for crossing the invisible line of standing one's ground or provoking the other. Ahmed developed the idea:

spaces are claimed, or "owned" not so much by in-habiting what is already there, but by moving within, or passing through, different spaces which are only given value as places (with boundaries) through the movement or "passing through" itself. […] Women's movements are regulated by a de-sire for "safe-keeping": respectability becomes measured by the visible signs of a desire to "stay safe" (Ahmed 2000: 33).

Police presence around the event and all the security precautions marked the space as dangerous at the point of entrance. Since football has been established as car-rying a risk, the participants also have fixed ways of dealing with and approach-ing each other. In other words, one learns socially how to approach a stranger (Ahmed 2000:24). To my utter shock and confusion, I was dealt with appropriately by the norms established before. It would seem that once I marked myself with a piece of clothing, or by virtue of just being there, I became a citizen of another cate-gory.

Concluding Remarks

This article investigates issues of gender together with other social markers in the football context. Being a female researcher can become a valid category in some spaces, but it is still tightly connected to place, context, social capital and former encounters. The football environment as a field of study does not become dangerous for a female by default. The process of establishing "danger zones" is tuned with establishing who is a stranger and who should be disciplined. That evaluation also operates on assessment and reassessment of cultural categories ascribed to every human being. As illustrated in an example above, this evaluation might collide when the "stranger" does not realize when he/she has become one.

The most burning question that I had directly after the incident was, what was that security guard protecting? He marked a space that was off limit for me, but since I did not notice or interpret it that way, I became a trespasser and I was treated accordingly. Neither steel fences nor dramatic actions were needed. Boundaries were established on the spot and fixed by omitting other categories than supporter/non-supporter. Although I perceived myself as a multi-layered individual with complex identities, these were reduced when the guard needed to perform an action and his assessment made me into a dangerous stranger. In other words, enforcement of boundaries needs somebody who has already crossed the line (Ahmed 2000:22). It could be mentioned further that the guard established another position as he became dangerous for me. The protection, law and order that he symbolized turned into a token of mistrust and fear. In

that light it might be not that surprising that many supporters like displaying an abbreviation ACAB – "all cops are bastards" (field notes 2015).

The category of a supporter in this situation worked like other social markers – gender, age, or class. It became available for creating intersections with different categories and overshadowing them. The analysis points out that some social contexts, like football, can result in creating strong temporary identities that are prone to be evaluated by the outside. A "supporter" seems to become a set category, whereas "gender" becomes more of a flexible construct that can be overshadowed by an evaluation of being a "supporter". The intersectional approach in this case reveals an interesting way of different categories gaining strength and/or taken-for-granted character. To onlookers, a "supporter" should be a bricolage made of other different markers, but in the field, it became one of the recognizable and understandable categories that make it possible to act and react.

Further, gender appeared to be a result of intersectional interpretation. Rather than being just one marker, in football it seems to be a construct of evaluations, expectations, and influences from other markers. That could help to explain, in turn, why discussing masculinity and femininity in social spaces like football is a challenging task. The grey zones in gender performance are a result of a complex structure of this category that undergoes different evaluations simultaneously.

After the match referred to in the empirical example, I needed several weeks to recover from the experience. Not that much happened and it was not a high-risk

situation in any way. Nevertheless, the physical force, the unfamiliar and unfriendly touch, and the objectification that happened in that case made me extremely aware of my naïve approach to that situation. However, I re-entered the scene some time later, also with away supporters, but this time much more "match-smart". Sara Ahmed (2000:34) have problematized the concept of street wisdom, how to walk safely and where to go to be safe which applies to females as they are required to know when and where they can be safe, although men are definitely not excluded from the problem of street crime. In a sense, I learned in a crash course how safety depends on mutual evaluations. During the next match I was able to read the police much better, I was able to localize the police in disguise, and I understood the flow of supporters much better. To quote Skeggs, "experience informs our take-up and production of positions but does not fix us either in time or space" (1997:27).

Far from being a simply-definable space, football can be used as an example of male dominance, as sports tend to be presented in general (Connell 1995:54) but on the other hand it is an environment that offers possibilities of variety and also contesting existing categories. Moreover, the very character of football and its history as a socially constructed space has traces of more than one hegemonic and victory-oriented evaluation. Discourses about love, devotion and compassion, narratives of fan groups describing themselves as a family question the established picture of the ideal masculinity focused on competition and conflict.

Both men and women learn and are so-cialized into being supporters. This process depends on the ideal, class, history, and gender as well, although gender is not a decisive category in those circumstances. The title of this article suggests prejudice and tough learning curves for females in football, which are put in place by broader social structure more than the football space itself. When attending a meeting organized by supporters, and filled almost exclusively with men, I noticed one individual with an impressive beard, actively greeting entering people and shaking hands with the club's officials. Besides a football scarf, he was also wearing a T-shirt with a text: *This is what a modern feminist looks like* (field notes 2014).

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Encounters and Avoidances in Suburban Spaces
Experiencing Cultural and Social Diversity in a Multicultural City
By Tiina-Riitta Lappi & Pia Olsson

Negotiating Space for Encounters

If I tell first when I came to Finland, if I talk about the Myyrmäki area, it is my beloved area. I really love it. At the time when I came, I didn't know any foreigners, there were not that many in Myyrmäki. All my closest friends are Finnish, truly nice people (Female, September 27, 2017).

The description of Myyrmäki as a beloved area is a fragment from the beginning of an interview with a woman who came to the Finnish suburb of Myyrmäki for the first time 23 years ago. As the discussion proceeds she reflects a couple more times on her attachment for Myyrmäki and explains it very distinctly through the social relations which form the basis for her everyday life. These relations have given her support and provided her with a feeling of security whenever she has needed help or just a friend to talk to and spend time with. She herself has a background in the Mediterranean and she analyses the formation of her friendships on the axis of foreigner/Finnish. For her, the neighbourhood has become a good place to live through encounters with her "Finnish" friends.

The "cosmopolitan turn" in research has emphasized the way urban environments can be spaces for – if not positive then neutral – encounters between people from different kinds of backgrounds (Valentine 2008:324). Tolerance, conviviality and intercultural civility are emphasized as features of cosmopolitan spaces (see e.g. Gilroy 2004; Noble 2013; Valluvan 2016). In our article, we focus on Myyrmäki, located in the Helsinki metropolitan area, more specifically in the city of Vantaa. We ask how people with a migrant background experience suburban spaces in their daily lives and how these experiences are affected by cultural encounters.

We have chosen Myyrmäki as one of our focus areas[1] as it represents a part of the city where cultural diversity is higher than the average in the city of Vantaa. All in all, in Vantaa, 16.6 per cent of the inhabitants have some other language than Finnish, Swedish or Sami as their mother tongue. This makes Vantaa the most diverse city in Finland. The most frequently spoken foreign languages are Estonian, Russian, Somali, Albanian and Arabic (Vantaan väestö 2016/2017 2017:15–16).

Compared with the suburban neighbourhood of Myyrmäki, the research dealing with the "cosmopolitan turn" has usually dealt with urban spaces with longer and more diverse histories.[2] In order to answer our research question, we deliberate about some concepts that have evolved within the cosmopolitan turn, namely cosmopolitan canopy and conviviality, by applying them in the context of a somewhat remote suburb in the larger metropolitan area. In other words, we are trying to see how such concepts concerning large-scale global trends, both "on the ground" and within humanistic theories, can help to explain the practices of cultural encounters in everyday life. Furthermore, we want to examine whether these concepts are applicable in a slightly different context (from what they were invented for) and how they can help in creating more involving meeting places. Then not only the empirical evidence but also ideas for such meeting places as well as knowledge of obstacles to their functioning would be of value. With such an approach we can strengthen the social impact of ethnological urban studies.

The underlying idea of our article is that urban space affects the ways urbanites experience their social environment also in relation to cultural differences. The American sociologist Elijah Anderson has introduced the concept of cosmopolitan canopy by which he refers to semi-public urban spaces encouraging people to adopt a positive attitude towards one another in a way that reflects civility and tolerance. This expressed civility is a key to a social control that further emphasizes the specific nature of the space. For Anderson, cosmopolitan canopies are "settings that offer a respite from the lingering tensions of urban life and an opportunity for diverse people to come together". He states that "ethnic and racial identities are never 'forgotten'", but sometimes places where they do not define the encounters can be formed. Even though Anderson focuses on race and ethnicity in his study, he defines the canopy-like space as something that resonates with other kinds of differences as well, such as social differences (Anderson 2012:xiv, 10–11, 145; also Anderson 2004).

Especially the emergence of the concept of super-diversity in academic and policy discourses has foregrounded the idea that the previous ethnicity-based approach no longer provides an adequate analytical tool for understanding the complexity and dynamism of urban multiculturalism. Along with the turn to diversity, the focus has changed from entities to relations (Berg & Sigona 2013:348). Differences are negotiated daily in everyday urban spaces. Ash Amin has emphasized the role of "micropolitics of everyday social contact and encounter" but also the "intercultural" aspects of this negotiation. By

this he stresses the cultural dialogue to understand the processes as active ones, in contrast to understanding multiculturalism either as cultural differences preventing communication or as speculative cosmopolitanism (Amin 2002:959–967). To join the interculturality with the cosmopolitan canopy means to us that we look for the many, sometimes banal, ways of interacting in urban spaces.

The urban space we are discussing comprises the public or semi-public spaces in the suburb, i.e. spaces which are basically open to all city dwellers to access in their everyday lives. This means that we include in our research also privately owned spaces when their foremost purpose is to be open to the general public (Tani 2015:131). Sara Ahmed (2000:7–9) has defined the term encounter to "suggest a meeting, but a meeting which involves surprise and conflict". She emphasizes that encounters are not only about the present but that they always also reopen previous encounters. In consequence, differences are not defined in a particular space or encounter but in a continuous historical relation, and this layered nature of encounters is something that becomes very noticeable also in the interviews done in Myyrmäki.

The cosmopolitan canopy can be categorized as one of the ideas linked to the "cosmopolitan turn" in which the urban potential for culturally hybrid environments has been emphasized. However, this view has also been criticized because the literature seldom analyses the actual processes where this kind of cosmopolitanism can be realized. The geographer Gill Valentine (2008:324–325) has argued that some of the research might even give

a romanticized picture of urban encounters where respect for others would automatically evolve from contacts with the "other". We consider this criticism important while examining the fieldwork data produced within the project. The very first encounters with our interviewees have clearly shown that in our focus areas urban encounters can be very multisided and problematic.

Elijah Anderson, who in his work discusses "the colour line" that becomes visible also in the cosmopolitan canopies, has argued that "the gloss of the canopy provides cover, allowing some people to mask their true feelings. Some good comes from this, for prejudiced people are practicing tolerance, which may eventually take root." So, at the same time as we are aware that we should not idealize the urban environment, we want to look at the ethnographic material[3] produced within our project as a potential source for opening up the mechanisms behind cultural encounters in urban spaces.

We have previously discussed the difficulties that have arisen from applying the concept of "cosmopolitan canopy" in our project and especially in the places we have chosen as our research areas. When analysing our research sites in Vantaa in general we have realized that the cosmopolitan canopy there might be more of a state of mind than actually taking shape in relation to a specific space. This would also mean that the relationship between the planned city and the production of the cosmopolitan canopy might be difficult to establish. All in all, the canopy is not a static feature of a particular space but can be created anew or shattered by the people within the space (Lappi & Olsson 2018;

see also Ojanen 2018). We find it important, however, to look for clues to understand which factors create better opportunities for some spaces rather than others to become spaces for these kinds of cosmopolitan canopies. This approach will hopefully support the future urban planning and urban renewal processes as well. In order to be able to find such connections we will now turn to the closer reading of Myyrmäki central area – not arguing it to be a cosmopolitan canopy but looking for the factors that support it to become one or prevent it from becoming one.

Joined and Differentiated Spaces for Encounters

The focus of our study has been on public spaces and encounters between people of varying ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Since the Myyrmäki area was not very familiar to us in advance, the fieldwork started with observation aiming at identification of spatial practices which would reflect the social characteristics of the area. The most obvious place to start with the observation was the Myyrmanni shopping mall which is situated in the very centre and gathers shops, supermarkets, many coffee shops and restaurants under the same roof, making it a natural and easy meeting place for people in Myyrmäki. Such public services as the health care centre, social services and the library as well as the railway station are also located close to Myyrmanni. The impression after various visits to the Myyrmanni shopping centre is that the range of customers reflects the ethnic diversity of the population living in the Myyrmäki area. Actually, it may be that this is one factor that creates a feeling of hominess along with the

centre not being too large. Especially the restaurants and the coffee shops on the second floor encourage groups, from young schoolgirls to old men with different cultural backgrounds, to spend time with friends and acquaintances. Whether it is a multicultural space is another question and depends greatly on how it is defined.

A shopping mall is literally a place for shopping. However, in recent studies it has been analysed also as a place for other kinds of activities. It can actively be used for social encounters, as many of the studies about youth and their culture of hanging out show (see e.g. Tani 2015; Lampela & Tani 2015; see also Anderson 2011:31–71). Shopping malls can also be described as spaces where the attributes of "loose" and "tight" space[4] become visible in different kinds of actions and where they sometimes also become subjects of negotiation (Tani 2015:142). In the context of "cosmopolitan canopy", we have looked at the shopping malls as a space for cultural and social encounters that people experience just by coming there (see Anderson 2011). By this we mean that they do not need to actively and knowingly engage in some premeditated encounter in the surroundings but that the mall as a semi-public space[5] in itself creates a specific space for potential encounters.

As later became clear, the shopping mall is not exclusively a place for positive experiences. However, during the interviews none of the interviewees brought up negative incidents or experiences concerning the cultural or ethnic encounters in the shopping centre.[6] This could be seen as an allusion to an urban sociability where the sharing of space is claimed by

no one group but is shared by different groups. It is space for thrown-togetherness in which civility pervades at least momentarily. According to Anderson (2012:xvi, 15, 26):this is also a possibility to develop understanding with one another and to share ideas and practices. At the same time these experiences of encounters also create local knowledge. The Myyrmanni shopping centre might be even looked at as what Susanne Wessendorf (2014:393) calls the parochial realm characterized by more communal relations between users of that space than they would be in a clearly public space, where one meets mainly strangers. For the younger people especially, Myyrmanni may even be at times too familiar, not providing enough privacy or freedom from otherwise appreciated social networks:

Guess why we don't want to spend time in cafes and restaurants here? Suddenly your uncle is sitting next to you, so you have to leave. There aren't our people anymore [outside Myyrmäki] and you want to have your own time. I don't want to see my neighbours, my aunts, I want to have my own time, that's why we go out of Myyrmäki (Female, November 17, 2017).

Conviviality increasingly appears in the context of normative concerns with how to make spaces more positively interactive, or conversely how spaces might become more convivial through everyday practices and routines of people inhabiting them (Nowicka & Vertovec 2014:350). Positive encounters cannot be forced but it is possible to think about obstacles and barriers preventing people from varied and unexpected encounters, and work towards dealing with these hindrances. It is exactly these hindrances that Sophie Watson has focused her study on city publics

and urban encounters. Her main interest lies in exploring different aspects and forms of constraint operating in the public arena which limit the "coming together of strangers", the "living with difference", the "enchanted encounters", the pleasures and displeasures of association and connection. She argues that "it is only when these constraints and limitations, and the fragile, interstitial and partial forms of connection across difference are understood that we can begin to think about how to support or construct the kinds of public spaces which may enhance these very connections" (Watson 2006:19).

In the canopy like space people can feel more relaxed and secure than in other places of the city. One of the basic premises for this to happen is that people visiting the space understand it to be open, or belong, as Anderson puts it, to all. There is no priority to the space for any one group (Anderson 2012:3, 5, 36). In any case, as Suzanne Hall (2017:1569) points out, the relationship between an individual and a public space is more about "being public" than being "in" the public space. The ways we experience the city – either through positive or negative encounters – give directions to our ways of being public.

Encounters in general have an effect on how people experience either insideness or outsideness and subjectivities are produced symbolically, discursively and materially through networks of power relations and practices articulated in space in complex and shifting ways. Urban encounters are woven across a multiplicity of spaces that are visible and invisible, performed, experienced and conducted through words and silences, glances and gazes, regard and disregard, acknowl-

edgements and hostilities, all of which are differently embodied (Watson 2006:20). Especially research on young people has emphasized the meaning of places where encounters with others are typical. Familiar places and memories connected to them can be seen as strengthening both young people's friendships and their self-image. Even brief unwanted encounters in the public space create insecurity and sometimes an experience of outsideness (Ponto 2017:85–86). These different kinds of experiences affecting the space relation are visible in the following extract, as the interviewee describes the change in her familiar neighbourhood:

This area, you know why it is nice, everyone is close to me. My best sisters live here, my Finnish sisters. Whenever I need them, they are there and they have supported us very much. They are the same as friends, but I call them sisters, we have a very deep connection. Every time I needed something, whatever happened to me, even at twelve o'clock at night, I call and they come. They are all Finnish. I trust this environment, but it's not the same as before. When I came to Finland in 1995, if I was out at night, I wasn't afraid of anything, but today I can't feel trust (Female, September 27, 2017).

Having lived over twenty years in Finland the informant we quoted also at the beginning of the article had a long time perspective on how attitudes towards migrants, even in a very familiar and otherwise appreciated environment, along with the general atmosphere in society, have changed especially over the past ten years. Even though she has Finnish women as her best friends, she has used a lot of time and energy to help all migrants, especially women, as much as possible in order to enhance all kinds of cultural and social encounters in Myyrmäki. During the inter-

view, she stressed many times how important it is to get out of the home and take part in all kinds of activities to meet other people and exchange ideas with them, as she brings out also in this quotation. This is what could be interpreted in Anderson's words as "folk ethnography" or "people watching", which leads people to gradually learn about other people in the surroundings. Through this process they learn to read different kinds of signs and symbols from other people's appearances and behaviour and also to put these in perspective. This people watching happens all the time in our everyday routines in the city (Anderson 2012:125). However, the interviewee emphasized active doing in mixed groups and was perhaps a little disappointed as people were mostly active in their own social environment and mixing with others in an active way was more unusual.

I have invited many times, come, come little bit away from your daily routines, come and try to integrate with Finnish people, come to talk, come to change ideas, but they are not active. I have been really jealous, especially when the Somalis, if they want to organize something, it's the whole group, not just one. I say that not many foreign women are really active and I can say straight that when the Somalis came, they are very active (Female, September 27, 2017).

This leads to another related topic coming up in the research data, namely, that many activities as well as spaces used for these activities are quite separated, focused either mainly on migrants or on people in general in Myyrmäki, but not attended by migrants. In a similar vein, there are places and activities which are attended and organized by the migrants but not familiar or inviting to the majority population. For example, the mosque in Myyr-

mäki is an important meeting place, especially for the Muslim men, where migrants with a variety of backgrounds come together to pray but also to meet each other for discussions and coffee.

Women don't necessarily go to the mosque. But if there is an Eid festival, you can go if you want to. Different people go to the mosque, for example Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, Chechens, Albanians, Somalis, and yes, they have a very good connection. It is not just a mosque but at the same time also a cultural meeting place (Female, September 27, 2017).

One interviewee mentioned that in her opinion especially different kinds of activities preferably taking place in public space would bring people together and while doing something together it would be easier to start talking to someone and get to know people with culturally and socially varying backgrounds. In her words:

A place where Finnish people and migrants, all in the same place, not just migrants. If there are just migrants, problems may arise later on or someone wants to attack or wants to do something bad. But a place for both, that kind of place, there isn't such a place in Myyrmäki. When you don't know other people, strangers, you may be afraid of them, but if you know at least a little bit, they do not scare you anymore. This is very important (Female, November 2, 2017).

She also talked about how more attention should be paid to integration in housing based on her own experiences of feeling safer in her current neighbourhood where the majority of inhabitants are not migrants. She felt that having more non-migrants people living close by in a way protects her and her family from potential attacks and other possible hate-related incidents. In most interviews the question of how to become acquainted with majority people comes across somehow:

Earlier [the Finns] they just asked, what do you want and didn't talk, but now [after many years in Finland] they are friends. They talk a lot and if there is a meeting in the housing cooperative, they elect migrants as members of the board. Now I have friends, earlier it was just work [for meeting Finnish people]. When you know a Finn in your spare time, they talk a lot. A neighbour of mine moved to Helsinki, we meet once in a while and we talk a lot, we go to the market place and have coffee. Things have changed but there isn't any meeting place in this area (Male, May 9, 2017).

When saying that there isn't any meeting place in Myyrmäki, the informant above means especially a place where everyone, regardless of their cultural or religious background, can meet for different activities or just to meet other people for a chat, for example. He mentions that things have changed since he first came to Finland, referring especially to shops etc. being open for longer hours and at weekends, which gives more freedom to arrange one's leisure time and daily life outside of work. In addition he brings up the wider variety of food supplies available for diversified demand, both in specialty shops and in local supermarkets. Despite these changes in society in general, having made urban lifestyles more internationally oriented and culturally diverse also "at home", the fact remains that it is still hard to find places and activities for social engagements crossing cultural boundaries.

Practices of Avoidances

Even though Myyrmanni was described by many as a comfortable place for doing their shopping or spending time otherwise, another, more tragic, aspect was also brought up by some informants who have lived in Myyrmäki for a longer time:

Q: Are there any unpleasant places [in Myyrmäki] where you don't want to go?
A: One thing are the bars, it's not safe there [close to where the bars are situated] and walking later in the evening, that might be scary. It's best to go in the daytime. I have felt uncomfortable and have not wanted to walk around that much after what happened in Turku, that man, I have become more scared. Another thing is when there was a bomb attack in Myyrmanni shopping centre. It was really frightening and I didn't want go even near that shopping centre. I was in Sweden when it happened, but the next day I came back and was afraid to go home, so I stayed with friends for the night. It was really bad. And now my best place is a coffee shop on the second floor [in Myyrmanni], where I spend time with my friends. Yes, we go there with friends quite a lot. But sometimes, when I go with my children, I wonder if something like that could happen again (Female, November 11, 2017).

For the interviewee, the shopping mall was ambiguous by nature. On the one hand it was a place for social encounters where she spent a lot of her time but on the other hand it aroused difficult memories and even fear that something bad might happen. She was not the only one talking about the bomb attack in Myyrmanni in 2002. A young man brought a bomb to Myyrmanni in his backpack and its explosion killed seven people and injured 59, which made it the most serious civilian incident to have happened in the metropolitan area since the Second World War. Some of the informants who have lived in Myyrmäki for a long time said that they still remember the incident quite often when spending time in Myyrmanni.

In recent years, however, it has become almost self-evident to suspect immediately a probable terrorist connection in any kinds of unexpected incidents

aimed at injuring innocent people. These incidents have had a clear effect on people with a migrant background, especially on those recognizable as Muslims, as is the case with many informants interviewed in the study. This is visible in the previous extract as the interviewee moves from the incident in Turku to the Myyrmanni bombing.[7] In many conversations after what happened in Turku people brought up the change in the atmosphere towards migrants, which they felt was very unfair, as described by a young Somali woman:

I remember, I was working the next day [in customer service], people were looking at me like we were traitors. [Laughing.] Sorry, I'm not laughing because it's funny, but because I'm just so confused about how people think. People were looking at me like, that it was doing of your people, that I'm to blame for what happened. And I hear that it's my fault that these things are done, that one person is responsible for everything happening in the whole world. Like it was up to me to go and fix everything that's happening in the world, in Syria and everywhere, also in Somalia. I can't do anything about it, it's not my fault. Just because I'm dark, just because I wear a scarf, just because I look like a Muslim, then it's suddenly my fault, I'm to blame for what is going on in the world (Female, November 17, 2017).

This relates to the idea that minorities are often the visible expression of the processes inherent in globalization and while their growth is often seen as the cause of changing social and cultural patterns, they are simply the consequence of that change making them highly vulnerable to tensions and conflict (Cantle 2012:6). The quotation above shows how people with a migrant background may become subjects of ethnic or religious prejudices and hardened attitudes caused by something that happened somewhere else, without having

any way to defend themselves as individuals. It is quite often that these changes in attitudes towards migrants are experienced particularly while present with others in urban public spaces.

The fragment also shows how encounters are affected by very subtle actions, such as gazes. Sara Ahmed (2000:38–39) calls these kinds of encounters "eye-to-eye" or "skin-to-skin" encounters. Words are not used but the distrust is expressed through the body, with emotion. Although sometimes difficult to put into words, "facetime" with other people or fixing one another's eyes can be used both to create conviviality and aggression, but can also reflect interest (Anderson 2012:60; Isotalo 2016:12–13; see also Ahmed 2000). Anderson (2012:113) uses the term "eye work" for those short moments when blacks and whites encounter each other, their eyes briefly meeting. This is a time when both parties assess the nature of their encounter. Here the meaning of an eye-to-eye encounter is clear, however: the recognition of a stranger (Ahmed 2000:25).

Some other examples of the more public open spaces in the centre of Myyrmäki were discussed by many informants and referred to as sites where it is good to spend time at least with some caution, especially in the evenings. Most of the interviewees were women, which has an effect on how urban spaces are used and experienced (see e.g. Beebeejaun 2017). Even in the public spaces that are most cosmopolitan, tensions occur. For people coming from minorities, certain spaces can be confusing when not knowing what to expect from the potential encounters. These environments can be tolerant but still re-

mind them of their marginal position. These reminders can be sudden and surprising and tell about the social dynamics of inequality (Anderson 2012:41–44, 151, 154, 157). The spaces the interviewees from Myyrmäki discussed as spaces for everyday racism (Essed 1991:52) were, however, foreseeable for them.

The experiences of the interviewees are in line with the report published by the Finnish Ministry of Justice. This argues that harassment targeted at people with a migrant background is very common in public spaces. For example, in the group that responded to the inquiry, those speaking a foreign language, having foreign nationality or a migrant background, 44 per cent of them had experienced harassment 2–5 times within the last 12 months and 11 per cent experienced it a couple of times a month (Oikeusministeriö 2016:34–35). Everyday racism in the public spaces can have many forms. It can be experienced from looks, it can be in the form of verbal harassment or it can become visible in the situations of interaction as people's behaviour manifested in deeds, words, gestures, and other expressions (Isotalo 2016:7).

When describing Myyrmäki, the majority of the interviewees mentioned the railway station, which is located right in the centre of Myyrmäki. The station as such may not be that important, but what is brought up is the easy access to Helsinki and to the airport in the opposite direction as well. It was often stated that people mostly have access to what they need in Myyrmäki, which is one reason why it is a popular place to live. But if you need to go anywhere else, it is quite easy and this is something that in a way even defines the character of Myyrmäki. While the train is appreciated for its convenience, it also came up as a site for concrete racist encounters which take place on the train, such as this one:

One time I was on the train with an African friend, we were sitting there and young Finnish people came to sit opposite us. They had had something to drink and even if it says on the train that drinking is forbidden, they had a bottle of wine. Then they spat straight at the face of that African. Many older Finnish people say, please, please, go away from here. There is a lot of racism these days (Female, September 27, 2017).

The train is a very limited space and often quite crowded, which means that people are physically close to each other, having hardly any chance to avoid these kinds of situations. That may be the reason why most actual racist incidents and confrontations people talked about have happened on the train, which can be looked upon as a kind of a "no mans land". It is a very different environment from the familiar neighbourhood where one is likely to know people and places better in order to feel safe when potential conflicts can be avoided more easily.

Other sites mentioned as a potential place for unwanted encounters are the local bars and their surroundings, especially at later hours even if in the company of a Finnish person, as explained by this informant:

If you go to a bar together and your friend is Finnish, then there are different kinds of Finns, those who don't like migrants or they are racists or they are prejudiced against foreigners. And then they may come and tell you off and especially if it is a young person it may be difficult to resist saying something back and you can't keep on fighting all the time. Then it becomes a problem if you just can't let it go. This is a problem that affects many encounters, if you go there and someone comes to

tell you off, you just have to keep out of the way, it is the only option (Male, May 9, 2017).

The interview continued with this topic and especially with the question of how these "practices of silent avoidance" also prevent many potentially positive encounters from becoming realized. This is related to what troubles many public spaces, namely, that they are lacking in certain domestic qualities. That is, they fail to provide a sense of trust, comfort or amenity that might invite multiple publics to inhabit them (Koch & Latham 2013:9).

Suzanne Hall (2017:1568–1570) reminds us that city spaces can simultaneously be spaces for cross-cultural participation and growing inequality. The way we learn and experience the city affects the way we are "being public" in our everyday life. The different experiences define how and where we engage or resist the city. She suggests that we should have a more mobile conception of being public as it is through these movements from place to place and in-betweens that we keep learning the city. For people with a migrant background this learning the city, however, raises the risk of everyday racism. The interviewees also highlight how the relationship with the environment is not just built between the person experiencing the city and the specific urban spaces experienced but, as Hall argues, there are many other factors working as well. In the case of Myyrmäki, the meaning of both the personal history and the history of the place is visible when people narrate their place experiences.

Conclusions

Our earlier research engagements with urban dwellers' reflections on urban spaces, especially in the form of divergent place-based discourses with Finnish informants, have produced research data in which more weight has been actually ascribed to the material and aesthetic aspects of the built environment. In addition nature, even in the city, is something people bring up along with thinking about their personal life histories in relation to the sites of their habitation or the city at large (see e.g. Lappi 2004; 2007; 2013). There seem to be particular ways of observing urban environments and constructing narratives about them. However, when interviewing migrants living in Myyrmäki, their focus is clearly on the social environment instead of physical structures, aesthetics or functional aspects. Time and time again during the interviews one aim was to find out what the informants thought about Myyrmäki as a concrete physical place, but somehow the discussions always turned to social relations and practices.

Based on our study, we propose that this difference has something to do with the fact that for many migrants their relations with other people form the basis for stability and safety in their everyday lives, whether they have a strong social network in order to belong and feel accepted by others or they are aware of potential negative encounters. While it has proven to be quite difficult for many urban dwellers with a migrant background to integrate themselves socially in a larger society even in the close neighbourhood, it becomes quite obvious that in order to feel at home or find a place in the community one turns to where a network of trust and mutual support can be found. Not feeling accepted or safe in particular spaces or situations makes people avoid such places,

and potentially unwanted encounters easily lead to more separated spatial practices and social encounters.

Regan Koch and Alan Latham question the division of urban space into public and private and instead aim at better understanding of the publicness of a space by focusing on the relationship between the two. They argue that much of what happens in the public space is actually privately directed, when people go from one place to another, shop, eat, relax, meet friends etc. The public quality of such activities is connected to the ways in which they involve some kind of orientation towards others with whom one collectively inhabits the space. In public spaces, which work well, these relationships and practices are inclusive, convivial and democratic. In short, they are shared (Koch & Latham 2013:14).

According to Ash Amin, "every public space comes with its distinctive rules or orientation enshrined in principles and acts of public organization and order that, in signalling clear cartographies of permissibility and possibility, fix the terms of engagement between subjects in the public arena." The chances of different social groups and their position in the social hierarchy are usually decided and directed by those having political and economic power along with the urban planners through the specifics of land use allocation, social and cultural policy, economic strategy, housing distribution, governance of public space, access to collective services, and symbolic projection of the city. Ash further argues that "the multiplicities of urban flow and excess are regulated by these silent fixes or urban order, allowing more breathing space to the stranger in

one site, but less in another" (Amin 2012: 65).

While doing fieldwork in Myyrmäki, the initial aim at the beginning was to find and observe places where people would gather together and "share the urban space". After a number of interviews and observing spatial practices it became obvious that such places were actually hard to find, even if not totally non-existent at least for an outsider to detect. This led to the idea of introverted urban spaces, which may be quite common in suburban settings, such as Myyrmäki.

For the interviewees in Myyrmäki the public and semi-public spaces were divided into three kinds of spaces: (1) Spaces that could be identified as high risk spaces for everyday racism, such as spaces close to bars and closed spaces like public transportation; (2) spaces for casual intercultural encounters such as the shopping mall that could be argued to have at least some of the features connected to cosmopolitan canopies; and (3) differentiated spaces that were shared, safe and familiar spaces but which did not enhance multiple intercultural encounters. Not undermining the meaning of shopping centres as spaces for urban encounters, there are also limitations in them in the creation of a culturally diverse urban landscape. They are – at least in Myyrmanni – mainly spaces for consumption, which also limits the use of space. And in the end, it is a very limited space considering the Myyrmäki area in general.

While emphasizing the meaning of micropublics and microcultures of place Ash Amin (2002:967) wants to make visible the importance of everyday enactment for people's identity and attitude for-

mation. This emphasis does not overlook the general influences but highlights the layered nature of the process. In the Myyrmäki interviews these micropublics seemed to be culturally differentiated. For Anderson (2012:29, 34), who in his ethnography focuses especially on Philadelphia, the city is formed by a "patchwork of racially distinct neighbourhoods" where "taking keen notice of strangers is the first line of defense". In Myyrmäki, this kind of clearly defined distinction between neighbourhoods was not to be made. However, the social spaces sometimes reflected a patchwork rather than mixed, diverse urban spaces. The importance of these cultural patches is understandable, but to work against the high-risk spaces that limit people's use of space we need more such spaces where casual, everyday encounters are possible. Deeper understanding of spatial as well as social aspects of place-making is crucial for the deconstruction of these cultural differentiations and divisions within urban space.

Following Amin's thinking about spaces having distinctive rules calls for better understanding particularly of space-related experiences, not just spatial practices: listening to what people say instead of just looking at what they do. Especially the practices of avoidance are something that influences the uses of space, people's behaviour in particular places as well as the formation of the entire social landscape in the suburb. All these "silent fixes", to use Amin's term (2012:65), affect how inclusive or exclusive public spaces are understood. Physical spaces can be fixed material constructions, but how they function as social and cultural spaces can be more easily reconstructed

and developed further based on ethnographic knowledge of spatial experiences. Based on our analysis, we argue that spatial equality should be created through possibilities to express more freely differences, social particularities, or cultural multiplicities in urban spaces. Furthermore, such diversity can be understood as a way to move towards more involving and accepting urban societies.

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Notes

1   This article is a part of a larger project called "Shared City", which is funded by the Helsinki Metropolitan Region Urban Research Programme. In the project, we analyse the ways urban space is connected with interethnic encounters, focusing on six specific areas in Helsinki and Vantaa. In addition we aim at developing methods for integrating ethnographic knowledge into city planning.

2   At the same time as there is an ongoing process of Finnish cities becoming more and more hyperdiverse through immigration (about hyperdiversity, see Noble 2011), it is important not to over-emphasize this. Finnish culture has for long misleadingly been labelled as homogeneous (see e.g. Tervonen 2014), and this also affects to the ways people experience the changes within their environment.

3   The actual fieldwork in Myyrmäki was done by Tiina-Riitta Lappi and the direct impressions from the field are hers. The research

data in Myyrmäki was gathered between May and November in 2017 by observing spatial practices and different social activities in public places and pursuing 13 interviews (two group interviews with four informants in one and five in another) with people with migrant background currently living in Myyrmäki. In addition Tiina-Riitta visited a number of times two local associations offering services and a place to meet for migrants and had many informal discussions with both migrants and people working closely with them both in these associations and in municipal public services. Interviews were mainly done in Finnish, which meant that most informants had already lived in Finland for a longer time and that way they also had a temporal perspective on changes related to the topics discussed during the interviews.

4 The concepts of loose and tight space are from K. A. Franck and Q. Stevens (2007).

5 Sometimes to define a shopping mall as public or semi-public space can be ambiguous, as Sirpa Tani (2015) has shown in her article dealing with shopping malls as places for hanging out.

6 This was not particularly elicited or addressed in the interviews.

7 In Turku, a young man stabbed two people to death and injured eight in August 2017. At the time of writing, the man was on trial, charged for murders comitted with terrorist intent.

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The End of the World
Apocalyptic Narratives in Children's Fears
By Helena Hörnfeldt

I may be a little afraid that there won't be anyone, or not many, that will make people realize that the earth's resources are not enough. How can I explain … that we people are too many? There are too many animals dying and nature is going bankrupt. That man is destroying the earth. (Girl, 14 years)[1]

The idea that man is about to eradicate himself and destroy the globe, as the 14-year-old girl is describing above, is not a new thought. Stories about the devastation of the world seem nevertheless to be of great importance at the beginning of the present century, in politics, social life and in popular culture (cf. Määttä 2015). Since the late 1900s, several scholars have claimed that we live in a time of fear, or even in a culture of fear (see e.g. Furedi 2005; Pain & Smith 2008; Svendsen 2008). Whether it is the fear of environmental catastrophes or the fear of terrorist attacks, many people currently live in a state of constant anxiety about the dangers that is presented daily in the media, in popular culture, the internet, emails and in many other ways (Bauman 2007; Pain & Smith 2008).[2] "Some scholars go so far as to state that 'public policy and private life have become fear-bound; fear has become the emotion through which public life is administered'" (Pain 2009:468; cf. Bourke 2005). The dangers and threats to mankind presented and circulated in different media have become increasingly dystopic over the past decade. It is, in any case, often so described.[3]

Whether, this widespread and globalized fear is a reality for individuals or not, many children and teenagers at the beginning of the twenty-first century seem to fear the present as well as the future. By focusing on children's narratives and adult memories of fears in childhood, this article aims to examine the relation between how visual and textual narratives that signal "catastrophe", "apocalypse" and "collapse" create special conditions for emotions such as fear. My overarching aim in this article is to examine fears as cultural and embodied experiences, and how emotions (e.g. fears) are socially and culturally conditioned. I understand fear as a cultural phenomenon and embodied experience, which means: first, to have a basic understanding of fears as changing and situational; second, a cultural perspective will draw attention to the fears that are conceivable within different eras and how narratives of fears and bodily experiences are culturally determined.

Central questions to be discussed are: What cultural narratives concerning fear are articulated in the children's and the adults' accounts? What narratives of fear are available in different social and cultural settings and how do these narratives affect individuals' self-perceived fears? What does it mean to grow up in times when the future is characterized as particularly dystopic? In what ways are the narratives of fear and the apocalyptic narratives intertextual, and how are they utilized?

By combining a broad contemporary analysis of textual narratives and visual culture with stories from folklore archives it becomes possible to say something about the intertextuality and the contexts from which fear narratives derive their power and authority. I use intertextuality as an approach to analyse how the narratives and the informants' statements about fear of, for example, the end of the world cannot be understood in isolation from either the past or contemporary cultural

manuscripts of fear and ideas of dooms-day (Allen 2011). Sayings and stories should rather be interpreted as a network of associations and past experiences that are both created and constantly create our understanding of different narratives of fears. Furthermore, I attempt to understand the cultural meanings and impact of images that signal catastrophe and apocalypse.

Method and Data

In this article, the emphasis lies on what the fear narratives actually communicate about the fears, although the way of presenting them is also of interest here. To be comprehensible, individuals describing their fears need to conform to certain narrative structures such as genre, form and vocabulary. Besides, the act of speaking one's fear also changes the sensation of fear (Bourke 2005:287). Nevertheless, and similar to other ethnologists, I primarily see the narratives as empirical sources that shed light on complex discourses that both create and describe fear and objects of fear (cf. Farahani 2007:44).

The specific but heterogeneous group that I am studying in particular is children and teenagers between 7 and 16 years old with different social and ethnic backgrounds. This article is primarily based on two focus group interviews with one group consisting of three children (one boy and two girls) of different ages (11–14) and one group consisting of four, 14-year-old girls. In addition, I have interviewed one boy aged 9 and one girl aged 14. These interviews were conducted in Stockholm. In addition, the material contains about twenty individual interviews with children aged 7–16 conducted in Strängnäs, a small city south of Stockholm and short interviews with a class of 14-year-olds. I also had the opportunity to take part in fifteen focus group interviews and two single interviews with children aged 9–13 carried out by a theatre company in Malmö. These interviews focused on the children's thoughts about the future. Besides this, I have conducted three interviews with adults about their childhood fears and read about fifty ethnological questionnaires about fears and childhood fears stemming from the Swedish Folklore Collections in the Folklife Archive in Lund (Luf 172). In addition to interviews, other categories of textual material have been relevant such as magazines, movies and literature for children. I also have read a handful of surveys about fear of climate change conducted by different organizations in Sweden and in other countries and newspapers articles about children's fears.

This method, basing my analysis on small-scale in-depth interviews, does not result in findings about children's fear that can be understood in any respect as generalized or able to serve as a benchmark for the validation of the experiences or understandings of other children. Rather, I have interpreted the interview data as articulations of discursive fears employed by children, which tell us something about the times we live in and the conditions of children's everyday life.

Few researchers have studied Swedish child and adolescent fears from a cultural perspective. The field has rather been dominated by psychological and educational studies. The psychological research on children's fears implies a kind of individualization and privatization of fears and feelings, which is why it needs

to be improved with social, cultural and structural perspectives. My study intends to capture the cultural and social character of fears but also, more generally, the cultural-analytical potential of emotions. The risk of reducing emotions to a mere psychological phenomenon is that, as the Norwegian philosopher Lars Svendsen describes, the psychological perspectives fail to understand emotions as a testimony about society and the world (Svendsen 2005:135).

Fear as Emotion

Since fears, as Joanna Burke has put it, are "the most pervasive emotion of modern society" (Bourke 2005:x) there is an urgent need for further research on how fear works as a cultural phenomenon. Fear-inducing discourses about the world's devastation are circulating all around the world, especially, as it seems, in the western part of the world. The question is however, how do these fearful discourses worm their way into people's everyday life? Do they at all? And if they do, in what ways do they have impact on how both children and adults experience and comprehends their own fears?

Despite the resolutions reached at the Paris Climate Change summit (in 2015) and studies showing that people's living conditions in Western countries have improved significantly, surveys show that people have become more afraid of being subjected to various phenomena such as climate change, crimes, acts of terror, natural disasters etc. (cf. www.futurion.se; Svendsen 2008:14). Moreover, experts, the media, political discourse and people in routine informal discussions continue to propagate a picture of a very dangerous

society and a world that is moving towards its doom. The sociologist Frank Furedi writes that many of our fears today are provoked by the testimonials and predictions of scientific experts that warn the public of dangers far (or near) that cannot be distinguished by ordinary people (Furedi 2009). These kinds of apocalyptic narratives are also something which seems to attract the kind of young person "who […] just naturally wants to see the adult world go up in flames and build it again, better" (Walton 2005:38). Besides, the themes in apocalyptic narratives, such as adult dishonesty, hostile environments, strong emotional content (love, loss, fear and hatred), friendship, loyalty and chosenness touch on something central to young people (Määttä 2015:427).

Besides the fact that, like other emotions, they have an impact on how we understand the world, fears are largely a physical experience, manifesting themselves in the form of palpitations, sweating, nausea, dizziness and tremors.[4] Thus, the body has its own agents in the actual experience of fear. However, palpitations and nausea occur in situations that we have learned to interpret as dangerous and threatening. Therefore, fears form the body in a kind of learned behaviour (cf. Ahmed 2004). The child's fear of spiders, darkness, and scary beings under the bed is thus something that is created in relation to certain narratives of fear available to the child.

Based on the above reasoning, this study may be placed within a theoretical tradition of emotional and affective research (Ahmed 2004).[5] In the last few decades, research about emotions has grown into a special field within the humanities

and social sciences. This new interest is partly seen as a reaction to how psychology has made emotions into something private/individual and thus disregarded their social and cultural aspects. Over the years, ethnologists have written a great deal about emotions such as pain, nostalgia, intimacy, violence, love, fear and desire, although these studies always have had an ambivalent relationship to the field of emotions (Frykman & Löfgren 2005: 11ff.). The risk of reducing feelings and emotions to a psychological understanding and to something that is separated from awareness is always present when it comes to understanding emotions. Addressing emotions however, can help us expand the ethnological debate about the interaction between action and reflection, body and intellect, movement and touch, essence and construction. The ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren write that emotions can "act as indicators of something that is happening, a change, innovation, degradation or reinforcement" (Frykman & Löfgren 2005:15). According to this reasoning, in this article, fear is analysed as something that can tell us something about changing mental landscapes and how the well-known, the world we are used to, becomes something different and new. The anthropologist David Scruton writes, in his initial delineation of fear, that:

It is impossible to understand fully what human fearing is, how fears happen in the individual, how they are expressed both to self and to others, how they are received and reacted to by others in the community, and what their function in our lives is unless we treat fearing as a function of cultural experience, which people participate in because they are members of specific societies at particular times (Scruton 1986:9).

Fear is therefore, according to Scruton, a cultural experience that people share and in that way fear is a social act, which takes place within a cultural setting. In that sense, fear (like other emotions) is crucial to the forming of collectives. Moreover, fear as an emotion interlinks individuals and groups with the surrounding society and its materiality.

In addition, the discussion in this article touches upon an ongoing and important discussion on the contemporary focus on the threat to personal well-being as well as the safety of society at large and what this preoccupation with risk and safety means for children's self-image, living conditions and their images of the future (see Furedi 2009; Guldberg 2009).

Apocalyptic Narratives of the Atomic Bomb

People's fears vary both over time and in context. Panic-inducing incidents in the media disappear just as quickly as they come. Who in 2018 is afraid of mad cow disease or fairies, clouds or meteors that were some of the most frequent children's fears in the nineteenth century (Gullone 2000)? Some fears, however, have continuity; darkness, certain animals, fear of nature's power over humanity in the form of earthquakes, lightning and thunderstorms (Bourke 2005; Gullone 2000; Stattin 1990).

I have examined what kind of fears, threats and apocalyptic narratives different generations have grown up with. In the older records I have studied, people remembering their childhood fears recall feelings of discomfort in regard to some animals and strangers with a different exterior such as the chimneysweep and

tramps (Luf 172). There are also several people that bring up fictional beings like the evil spirit of the water and "brunns-gubben" (a scary old man living in the well that threatened to pull one in (the well) if one came too close) (see e.g. Luf 172 M 20045:75, M 20227:1). In comparison with the beginning of the twenty-first century, the children in pre-industrial society had relatively large freedom of movement, which was partly a consequence of a lack of childcare facilities. The hazards were found in the vicinity of the well, the hot fire, the brook, etc. The made-up scary beings were something that the adults could use to get the children to avoid these dangerous places as far as possible. The adults thus invented scary beings, or they invoked the existing fictional beings that served as educational tools for parents (cf. Kuusela 2017; Stattin 1990:71). The fears of the past were largely about nurture through educational threats and some kind of external social control through designed objects for fear. The objects of fear were thus clear and distinct, albeit fictional. The older records also reveal other more realistic fears, such as fear of strict parents and teachers as well as fear of suffering from diseases such as lung disease and child paralysis (Luf 172).

If children in contemporary society to some extent fear the future of the earth because of climate change, the generation I belong to – the 60s – also feared the extinction of the world for an altogether different reason, the atomic bomb. In the interviews with people born in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s they all stress the fact they felt very safe and secure despite the wars and conflicts taking place around the world at the same time. Hans, born in 1954, remembers that the only thing he feared during his childhood, in a safe environment, full of future possibilities, was the atomic bomb.

I grew up in a safe environment, and I don't mean, not just where we lived but also the whole society in which you felt there were no problems. Talking about fears, there was always a safety net for everything. You weren't afraid, the only thing you were a little afraid of was your parents, and you felt that there was something going on there. But otherwise you felt it was an incredible, yes, it is my memory, very safe childhood in relation to society. Extremely safe! If you're going to get into fears, the only thing I was afraid of was the terror balance, the atomic bomb, […], it was very clear.

Maria, born in 1964, also remembers the feeling of living in a secure world but then, when she got older, understood that in fact it was a world full of contradictions.

So, we were lulled into… On the one hand, we had grotesque images from a reality that nobody could handle. On the other hand, we had ehh, a social democratic time there, yes, that's all everyone looked forward to and just saw that everything would be better. Everything would be better, and then I think, I thought it was painful when I realized it was not.

The grotesque images that Maria refers to are photographs and popular cultural representations of the Holocaust and television news showing burning children and napalm from the ongoing Vietnam War.

Then this TV series came, I don't know if you saw it too – The Holocaust – and it completely undermined my world-view, because then, it was really like this. You lie, it's not at all as good as it looks and then I was 13, 14 years old when it played and then I started looking out on the world properly and see: Was this the way it was? Why had nobody told me before, this is more damaging than

you could ever imagine and then you started, just like with all the stories that you try to understand their existence, put together one by one and then it was, it was at that time, it was like Brezhnev and yes, you could name the names of these great guys. I remember (laughing), I don't know if it was due to my mother, but she was never interested in Finland, but that was never something she commented at all. But you saw Uri Kekkonen standing and shaking hands with Brezhnev as well, and you realized that if the balances were being disturbed here, it would be crazy. Eh, and then, now, let's see, now I have to go back in history, Nixon and yes, that gang that the world consisted of, completely brutal men with power who really just waited for bombing. And the rest of the world was burning, the children burned and everything burned and they dragged the corpses into the piles in those horror movies you saw.

The informants also remember that it was quite clear that the threat to this safe society came from the east. Niklas, born in 1967, recalls a clear division in his (and, in the west, many others') perception of the world of who were the good and who were the bad ones.

N: When I was a child, World War II was not too distant and so it was very much on television, a lot of such American propaganda films from the forties, which in some ways glorified this black and white with allies and an evil Hitler and so on. That was what you grew up with and hated. It was very black and white as a child, it was, of course, that, where the evil was and where the good was in the world.
Interviewer: And the evil then was?
N: The evil was Hitler then. But it was history so that the evil was the Russians, that's where the threat came from. So, that's how you experienced it as a child.

The presence of the Cold War and the threat of nuclear bombs were found in both the mental and physical landscape. The informants' memories of the atomic bomb threat and the Cold War show some common features such as discomforts on hearing "Hoarse Fredrik" (the alarm alert warning of danger), identity badges in the form of neck tags that would be worn in case of war, shelters, gas masks and the idea that someone would press the wrong button or a loss of control over the technology. All those materialities constantly reminded everyone that the sense of security in fact was fragile and temporary. An apocalyptic narrative about the bomb and the devastation that it had already caused nourished the fear of the atomic bomb that unites the informants. Several generations were raised with the perception that a new world war could start at any time; it would be enough for someone to accidentally hit the wrong button and thus involuntarily send missiles to either the Soviet Union or the United States. Paradoxically, the constant presence of the threat of a third and final world war that created fear and concern both for individuals and for the nation as a whole, existed at the same time as the threat emerged as a kind of normalized present. Sweden, as shown in the accounts of the informants, was experienced as a largely safe country for the vast majority in the 1960s and 1970s, and in addition, the belief in the future was strong. Side by side, the Cold War generation (in the West) lived with two stories, one that conveyed an unprecedented confidence in the future and dreams of prosperity in the culture of consumption, while the second conveyed total destruction. In other words, there was not much to fear if it had not been for the ever-imminent threat of total destruction (see Hörnfeldt 2015:296).

Apocalyptic Narratives of Climate Change

In my interviews with children and adolescents about fears, the same pattern appears to some extent. The vast majority begin by explaining which animals are unpleasant and scary and then talk about what I perceive as other distinct items of fear, such as thunder, illness and accidents. In this way, the stories testify to quite traditional and to some extent constant fears.

In one of the group interviews with five 12–13-year-olds in a suburb of Malmö (in the south of Sweden) they talk about how they imagine the future.[6] In these passages and in the interviews in general the children mix different popular-culture-infused apocalyptic narratives about an expected dystopian future.

Girl A: In the future, I believe the Third World War will come.
Girl B: I think so too.
Boy A: I think the Fifth World War will come.
Girl C: It has already arrived.
Girl A: Well, I think it will happen because there are so many wars now, all the time and there are more and more countries getting involved so I believe it will come.
Interviewer: Tell me more about this war.
Girl A: Well, about the war, what will happen?
Interviewer: Yes.
Girl A: Well, I believe.
Girl B: This country may not exist any more.
Girl A: I think many countries will disappear, well become smaller…there will be more water.
Girl C: No more football players.
Girl A: Well, I think that many people will die, well, extremely many people will die I believe.
Interviewer: By what?
Girl A: Of being, either from different kind of toxins or being shot or something.
Interviewer: What will happen then? What will the consequences be?
Girl B: Buildings destroyed.

Girl B: The people will die out.
Boy B: The end of the world.

The children imagine scenarios in which there is no more oxygen, no more trees and all the animals are dead or have disappeared. In the aftermath of the catastrophe, humans no longer reign since robots have taken the power over the world. The children in the interviews address their fear of the future and especially how they fear the future in regard to climate changes, artificial intelligence and upcoming political conflicts.

The children's discussion about the end of the world above is not unique. Both in the interviews in general and in surveys addressed to children and adolescents they seem to be occupied with future catastrophes and apocalyptic narratives. In the USA, Britain and in Sweden several opinion polls concerning the climate threat have been conducted in recent years. A British study conducted in 2009, for example, says that half of all 11-year-olds often lie awake at night worrying about climate change (Jones 2007). In a survey conducted by the WWF with a thousand young Swedish people aged 15–25 in 2013, 35 per cent of the respondents believed that climate changes will not be solved but will result in a total global catastrophe within the next 90 years (www.wwf.se). Comparable surveys among preteens and teens in the USA show similar patterns, saying for example that one out of three children aged 6–11 fears that Mother Earth will not exist when they grow up, while more than half (56%) worry that the planet will be a blasted heath (or at least a very unpleasant place to live. On a sliding scale of fear, minority kids, urban

kids and girls are worst off (Roy Britt 2009).

The children's imagining of the future and their fears in relation to this is obviously characterized by fictional images of a dystopian futuristic landscape described in many Anglophone apocalyptic narratives since the 1950s.[7] In their imagination the future will bring melting glaciers, slavery, war, typhoons, leaking nuclear power plants etc. The Spanish philosopher Ana Marta González identifies these kinds of emotions as fictional that have colonized the public sphere. "Indeed, media culture has become a powerful agent of emotional socialization, fostering a new kind of emotional self whose relationship with real life seems mediated by narratives and fictional characters to a greater degree" (González 2012:7).

One powerful symbol of fear related to apocalyptic narratives of the atomic bomb and today's climate change is the "Doomsday Clock" that has served as a globally recognized arbiter of the planet's health and safety since 1947. The Clock is updated every year by the board of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* at the University of Chicago. In its two most recent annual announcements on the Clock, the Science and Security Board warned: "The probability of global catastrophe is very high, and the actions needed to reduce the risks of disaster must be taken very soon" (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 2017). At the beginning of 2018, the clock was updated again, and it is now two minutes to twelve. In the announcement from the bulletin it says: "In 2017, World leaders failed to respond effectively to the looming threats of nuclear war and climate change, making the world security

situation more dangerous than it was a year ago – and as dangerous as it has been since World War II" (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 2018).

The Doomsday Clock as a visual symbol of the potential extinction of humankind may not reach all that many children but the political and medial rhetoric that it signals probably does. The world has never been so close to a global catastrophe since the Second World War. The rhetoric of the Doomsday Clock and other similar symbols of now existing and future threats are affecting both political and social life. In Sweden, for example, after years of military disarmament and pre-alignment of social protection, the political and medial discourse about safety and protection of both the society and its citizens has fundamentally changed in recent years. The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, for example, has only just updated the old information brochure "If war (or crisis) comes" for distribution to every household in Sweden during the spring of 2018. The last time this was done was in 1961.

Apocalyptic Visual Narratives

As shown in the previous sections, fears are often expressed in reference to visual narratives. In two of the group interviews, I displayed pictures of different stereotyped fear objects such as snakes, darkness and monsters but also pictures of more existential fears such as bullying, loneliness, illness, violence, disasters and other forms of vulnerable experiences that children and young people often have to confront. I used these pictures at the end of the interviews to elicit their reactions and reflections but likewise to explore the method as such. Since one girl in one of

Hiroshima, November 1945. Photo: LTJG Charles E. Ahl Jr. Wikimedia Commons.

the interviews, as she said, learned that walking alone in a dark alley could be frightening, I decided to end this procedure, as it seemed problematic from an ethical point of view. Nevertheless, most of the objects of fear displayed in the pictures were familiar to the children, and their recognition of the fears displayed and identification with the portrayed individuals were generally high. In that sense, the connection between visual narratives of fear and the physical emotions of fear is strong.

So how do images and visual culture that signal "catastrophe", "extinction" and "collapse" create special conditions for emotions? In the interviews when children imagine the catastrophe and the life after it, they seem to picture themselves wan-

dering in a burnt-down, deserted and destroyed landscape. These mental images are clearly linked to visual narratives of both catastrophes that have actually happened and of fictional ones.

The pictures showing the aftermath of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombs in 1945 have become iconic symbols of total destruction. Researchers who have studied historical doomsday stories claim that images of the devastation of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, and of the Holocaust gave birth to the modern versions of apocalyptic narratives (Shapiro 2002). The bomb itself as a real tangible thing, with all those atomic bomb films that followed the Hiroshima and Nagasaki events "has worked its way into the history of human consciousness as an emblem

On the Internet there are several pages where you can create your own apocalyptic scenery. The destruction GIF above was retrieved from https://giphy.com/gifs/destruction-J3AXZDYerNB28.

of the apocalyptic imagination" (Shapiro 2002:307).

The apocalyptic visual narratives about the atomic bomb and climate change share some similarities. They are both often in a greyscale and show ruined buildings, collapsed cities and lonesome humans walking in a devastated landscape. Further, they also depict scorched or parched landscapes where neither people nor animals can survive.

Although (scientific) knowledge and evidence about the effects of the atomic bomb and climate change differs in a number of ways, the visual narratives are surprisingly similar. Climate change will not end the world with a bang and the effects will vary at different places on earth. Some parts will become drier and some will probably sink under water. Yet many people, especially children and young people as it

seems, do imagine the future of the world as a disastrous and deserted landscape, an uninhabited place after the big catastrophe – as, for example, shown in the visual narratives and in the surveys above.

These images and narratives mediated by experts, media and popular culture that signal "catastrophe", "extinction" and "collapse" seem to have an impact and affect people in very concrete ways. In the interviews when children talk about their fear of the threats to the climate it is obvious that these visual narratives are present. The situation of the polar bears is something that children have in mind when they reflect on the future of earth. The solitary polar bear on the vanishing ice floe depicts in a dramatic way the fragility of both the climate and our own existence. One boy in sixth grade says that, even if humans will be all right in the fu-

The solitary polar bear on the vanishing ice floe. Photo: Andreas Weith – Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=52745369.

ture, the polar bears will not. He also states that there are only two (wild) polar bears left in the world. Likewise, in general the children are often preoccupied with what man has done to nature, especially animals, and with what climate change will do to children living in the most affected countries where drought and hurricanes devastate societies and make life difficult for children living there (cf. Lagerblad 2010). Their empathy is directed primarily towards other children and animals. It is not easy to foresee the consequences of these kinds of narratives.

These images clash with the idea of living in a secure and predictable world. Bauman writes that modernity's promise – to get away from the ever-present fear and the constant darkness, seems to have caught up with humanity in the form of a greater uncertainty about the present and the future (Bauman 2007:8). Perhaps the fear has increased from the first post-war decades onwards, since social media and 24-hour news updates have made us significantly more defenceless against terrifying incidents and events that threaten our very own existence and our trust in society's capability to protect us. This is true especially in the prosperous western world where many have become accustomed to security and a sense of being in control of their environment. In addition, empirical studies show that those who live in the safest parts of the world feel most threatened, insecure and afraid (Bauman 2007:150; RSA 2010). However, the images that show the now existing effects of the climate changes and the fictional ones narrating an imagined future after the climate has collapsed do create anxiety and fear and they also do this intentionally – to get people to react as well as start acting.[8]

Furthermore, the visual narratives of the devastation after an atomic bomb show similarities to how the children seem to visualize the future in relation to the threat of climate changes. It is the same

"Elk Bath" – A wildfire in the Bitterroot National Forest in Montana, United States. Photo: John Mc-Colgan, employed as a fire behaviour analyst at the *Forest Service*, an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Wikimedia Commons.

meta-narratives of a dead landscape, a place without any signs of life, as the anti-landscape of a nuclear war.

In the previously quoted dialogue the children discussed how wars, pollution and climate change would end the world. The quotation below is the continuation of that discussion.

Interviewer: What happens to people and nature then?
Girl A: Everything is on fire.
Girl B: I think it will be, then worse, the air gets worse and worse, then /no/ oxygen. Yes, and then I think that plants and things will get harder to grow and eventually it will all die out.
Interviewer: Which plants?
Girl B: All plants. Animals and humans too, because you can't cope no matter what.

The children then express their thoughts about human survival after climate change has made the world uninhabitable. According to one of them, the humans who will survive the doom will be the ones who have built themselves a bunker. Another interviewee believes it will be those

who believe in and care for nature. Yet another child thinks it will be those who believe in God that will survive the climate catastrophe. The idea that only those who believe in God or in other ways have done good to earth and humankind will survive the apocalypse has the same ideological background as biblical apocalyptic narratives in several ways, even though words with explicitly religious origins have been disengaged from their etymological and historical contexts and applied to more general global disasters (cf. Cowan 2011). In the Christian context, the doom is understood as a punishment on humankind for treating the earth in an irresponsible and selfish way and only those who believe in God will survive the apocalypse.[9]

In the interviews, the children not only imagine themselves in a dystopic future, several of them also visualize a future in which everything has turned to the better and humankind has an opportunity to start all over again. One girl in sixth grade de-

scribes how the only things that will manage to live on earth in 50 years from now are the robots, since the pollution has first extinguished the animals and then mankind. She then goes on to explain how the world will be saved.

Girl: It's more like this, there will be, probably, I hope, some people actually that will find out, actually wake up. Okay, we are destroying our world. So, either we get to escape to another planet or maybe some people have found out […] In school, they try to get children to understand that we are destroying the earth in the way we are carrying on. And I think more people will understand it so that we invent more environmentally friendly solutions. So, in that way we will be able to save the earth even though it is almost completely destroyed.
Interviewer: So, you think that knowledge can stop such a development?
Girl: Yes, and although it takes time, we will be able to rebuild the earth in the way it was from the beginning. Yes…(giggles).

Etymologically "apocalypse" denotes an uncovering or revelation. In the children's accounts, they express hope for the future of the earth and they pin their hopes on an awakening of humankind and technological development and as the girl expresses it above, the earth will go back to the way it was in the beginning. The apocalyptic narratives often include these kinds of stories of recovery and reconstruction or even a future utopia (Määttä 2015:428). Furthermore, the children imagine, for example, that everyday life in the future will take place in big city-like cupolas where there will be clean air and nature will flourish. The interviewed children simultaneously imagine a dystopic and hopeful future in the sense that humans can solve the climate crisis through collective action. In that sense their beliefs correspond to a secular apocalyptic discourse that of-

fers a vision of a better future – a new golden age that can be assured through human intervention (cf. Salvador & Norton 2011:58).

The threat of climate change is complex in that it involves a real threat to mankind, flora and fauna and at the same time it also carries the distinct features of apocalyptic narratives. Looking at the post-world-war narratives, where the nuclear war and climate threats appear to be the big downturns, they are both related to a real threat to some extent. In that sense, one could say that these apocalyptic narratives are based on science and realistic political outcomes. But this is not the only explanation; the apocalyptic narratives appear to be closely linked to crises and renegotiations of previous orders (cf. Määttä 2015) when the old arrangements are replaced by something new. After World War II, for example, the future appeared very bright and it was definitely time for something new. In connection with that, the story of the nuclear war arose. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, when both the ecological and political landscape are under (major) transformation, the apocalyptic narratives serve as a kind of pressure valves and as mental preparation tools for a different world from what many, especially in the western parts of the world, are used to.

Bauman writes that the people of twenty-first century, facing the unpredictability of the future, probably feel the same way people did when they were overwhelmed by endless oceans and giant mountains (2006:109). In these globalized and medialized times, children and adolescents are exceptionally aware of events taking place all over the world. In a simi-

lar way, as people in the past were astounded by the magnitude of nature and afraid of unprecedented extremes of weather, people today – and particularly as it seems children – fear widespread droughts and melting ice caps even though these environmental changes does not affect the children interviewed for this study in any concrete sense (cf. Hulme 2008).

The children seem preoccupied with the purposeless impoverishment of the earth's resources and all the evil humankind has inflicted upon the earth, nature and each other. Apocalyptic narratives are often about finding meaning in our lives and function as a response to cultural uncertainty and fear when traditional cultural assumptions are destabilized by present-day events (cf. Brummett 1984). The power available in these stories affects people in a very concrete way. All threats of disaster and discourses of the *End of the World* circulating in the media and in politics have effects on people in the sense that they understand themselves and their future in certain ways.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, I have examined how fears are socially and culturally conditioned. The objects of fear vary with time and space. The Swedish generations born in the 1950s and 60s were raised in an exceptional period when safety nets and economic welfare characterized society and people's everyday life. At the same time, life was permeated by a great fear that it all could end at any time when nuclear war eventually broke out.

In the interviewed children's accounts from the beginning of the twenty-first century, they most of all seemed to fear the future, which they at the same time imagined as both very uncertain and hopeful. In their visions of the future, society had either turned worse with a state of (nuclear) war or a total environmental disaster including a dead landscape without living creatures, or things will eventually, partly as a result of the collapse, have turned to the better. It also seems that they feel confident that technology itself will be able to solve many of the challenges faced by the earth and humankind. Hence, paradoxically, they simultaneously believed that the world, as we know it, is heading towards its doom and that the future (after the doom) would be bright and bring more equality and better conditions for all living beings. It is obvious that few of them imagined a future in which the world and our societies would stay the same. Their images of the future were clearly related to medially spread images of the earth's demise. One striking example is the starving lonely polar bear on an ice floe, which has become a kind of key symbol of climate change and functions as a representation of the collapse of nature and the extinction of the species. In that sense the children utilized the apocalyptic narratives in some way to prepare themselves for a future world different from what they are used to.

The earlier fear of nature and all the inexplicability that it harboured, as shown, for example, in the questionnaire Luf 172, has in many ways been transformed into a fear of and concern for nature (cf. Stattin 1990:140). Today, fears related to nature in the children's accounts are oriented towards all the depraved things mankind has done to the earth more than what nature itself cause humans. In that sense, there has

been a shift in the question of responsibility. The nature itself is no longer responsible for its actions since most of the changes in the climate are caused by humans. However, this shift has been going on for a long time. Even in the 1970s, the fear of environmental degradation was high, especially among children and young people.

As we have seen, the apocalyptic visual narratives of future wars and conflicts and the threat of climate change, particularly in relation to children, create fear. Additionally, the object of fear itself being so vague and obscure enhances the fear. Not even climate researchers are able to predict what the changes will mean for the future of earth. Bauman writes that fear is most horrific when it is diffuse, scattered, liquid and without a clear address or reason (2007:110). The fear of climate change is an example of such a fear. No one knows with certainty what the earth is heading towards; the only thing we know for sure is that no one will be able to escape the climate changes even though some children imagine a future where humans have relocated themselves to other planets. Regardless of hopes like this, there will be no borders, fences or walls to stop the climate changes, which in turn makes the fear even more daunting.

To be afraid or to feel fear is an ambiguous state of mind, not only through nature but also in the meaning of the emotion. This ambiguity, however, is partially overcome through the contextualization of fears in "emotional regimes", which regulate their expression and create social expectations that determine the range of meaningful emotions for any given situation (cf. González 2012:2). Fear also func-

tions as a testimony about society and the world, since it embodies values (cf. Frykman & Löfgren 2005). The embodiment of values is furthermore expected to follow certain emotional rules, which in turn vary from society to society and from time to time. The analysis of fear as an emotion can therefore provide us with relevant cues, not only about fear manuscripts but also about the eventual emotional instability that can follow social and cultural change (cf. González 2012:2). In today's fear narratives, there is an inherent postulate about how we are expected to fear the destruction of the world. These embodied fear narratives are intertextual. The children's statements about their fears and their imaginings of an apocalyptic future cannot be understood as independent of either earlier or contemporary fear narratives.

In a time characterized by rapid transformations and major upheavals, many of the old routines and traditions of life can no longer be taken for granted (Furedi 2005:67). Besides traditional fears, such as fear of thunder, darkness and certain animals, the children's fears at the beginning of the twenty-first century concern more diffuse objects such as a general uncertainty about the future. The new states of emotional regimes are thus dominated by uncertainty regarding the future, and that uncertainty seems to have induced the children's self-perceived fears. The children's accounts of their fears are closely connected with widespread fear narratives in society. It is thus the pictures and causes of fear, mediated through stories, fairy tales, films and pictures, that become means through which the children can understand their own fears. In that way, our

emotional perception always passes through history (cf. Ahmed 2004). Whether something feels threatening or dangerous it always involves some kind of process of interpretation. The children's accounts are filled with emotions of fear that are closely linked to discursive fears or meta-narratives of fear, but also filled with hope in regard to the future.

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Notes

1   All the quotations from the empirical material have been translated into English by the author.
2   This idea that the western world is facing a particular "culture of fear" is not the whole truth. Apparently, there have been other times when fear has dominated both politics and everyday life. The period preceding World War II was also, for example, evidently subject to a culture of fear (Moïsi 2009:94; cf. Bourke 2005).
3   Historians have argued that humans always experience their own time as the most dangerous and uncertain (see e.g. Shapiro 2002).
4   According to psychological research, fear occurs when threat is certain, proximate and imminent, while anxiety may take place without the presence of actual danger. The function of fear is that the body and the organism must be alert and quickly prepared for immediate action, either fight or flight (Muris 2007/2014: 2). Anxiety is however directed towards the uncertainty and it moves between different objects. This movement also works as an intensification of the sense of anxiety (cf. Ahmed 2004:66). Even though fear and anxiety as analytical concepts are differentiated in psychological research I intend to use them interchangeably here as examples of fear. In that sense *fear* is understood in this article as a

broader concept than the psychological one and therefore includes emotions such as worry and anxiety.
5   Research about emotions and affects often draws a dividing line between feelings, emotions and affects. Affects refer to the body and physiology, indicating a more unintended intensity beyond the linguistic denominations. Emotions are understood as names of more complex and constant qualities that we communicate in social life, that is, qualities we call love, sorrow and shame. Feelings, on the other hand, stand for the personal physiological and psychological experience (Bränström, Jönsson & Svensson 2011). In this article, I primarily use emotion as a notion, and I view emotions primarily as social, historical and cultural practices.
6   The producer of a theatre company in the city of Malmö did this interview in 2015. Since I have collaborated with the theatre company they allowed me to use these interviews for my research. The children have given me permission to publish excerpts from the interviews.
7   The literary scholar Jerry Määttä points out four (five) distinct periods or high points for Anglophone apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic narratives. There are the early 1800s with novels such as the *The Last Man* (Mary Shelley); the inter-war period especially the years after the depression in 1929; the post-war era 1950–1975; the second Cold War of the early 1980s. Finally, a rise of apocalyptic narratives is seen after 9/11. There was, however a decline of these kind of apocalyptic narratives during the two world wars and during the 1990s (Määttä 2015:427).
8   In recent years, climate researchers have discussed which strategy is the most effective to get people to act against climate change. Is it by scaring people by showing the worst scenarios of climate change or is it by empowering the public to overcome barriers to individual and collective agency (see e.g. Foust & Murphy 2009)?
9   There are both Christian and secular versions of the apocalyptic narratives, with the former, Armageddon, preceding the return of God and the latter left open for human intervention to avoid the looming catastrophe (Salvador & Norton 2011:47).

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Social Distinctions and Political Rights
The Debates over the Right to Vote in Norway, 1814–1913
By Hans-Jakob Ågotnes

Introduction

Recently, voices have been raised in Norway and elsewhere arguing for limiting the right to vote. Part of the reason is concern about "populist" tendencies in the electorates. We may think of the election of Donald Trump or the "Brexit" referendum, but also in Norway ideas have been heard that we must defend the state against the decisions of "ignorant, irresponsible and irrational voters".[1] This phenomenon reminds us that universal suffrage is not necessarily an unquestionable principle. Historically the question has been a battlefield. The right of all adult citizens to vote has been gained in political struggles against forces that fought to restrict the right to certain categories of inhabitants. In Norway, universal suffrage was established in 1913, after a century with a constitutional system where only a part of the citizens could vote for parliamentary representatives. In this article, I want to investigate the reasoning that justified this division of the citizens.

Although Norwegians proudly claim that Norway is one of the most egalitarian states in the world, right to vote was not a universal civil right in the first hundred years as a constitutional monarchy. Why were some granted voting rights and others not, and what were the main principles and justifications for including – or not including – certain groups in the electorate? During that period, debates on the principles of suffrage have shown remarkable changes in opinion. The written documentation of these debates, as they took place in the constitutional assembly in 1814 and later in sessions in the Norwegian parliament, constitutes the material for the article.

In the historical literature on the establishment of the constitution of 1814, some weight has been put on property as a criterion. Historians agree that voters were supposed to be free and autonomous, but "A guarantee for autonomy was seen in ownership of property."[2] I do not find that this interpretation is supported by the textual source material; it is rather a result of an interpretation of what social categories were implied. Historians have further been interested in the question of the proportion of the population who were allowed to vote. The strategic considerations of the actors tend to be prioritized in explanations rather than principled reasons: Would the consequences be that the constitution gave the power over the state to the farmers?

My concern here is not, however, to discuss how widely voting rights were distributed. Instead I want to analyse the argumentation for the particular distinctions that the article on suffrage drew through the population. In order to isolate the reasons for giving the vote to some and not to others, I take inspiration from Reinhard Koselleck's division between social history and conceptual history (Koselleck 2013). In Koselleck's reasoning, it is not possible to understand events in the world (which he labels "social history") without grasping how the actors understood their actions (and also how the actions were formed by their words). But methodologically, it is necessary to keep the analyses of the two dimensions distinct from each other. The relation between language and events is

complex; the meaning of concepts in action is formed by the situations in which they are used. Therefore, it is a necessary task to first analyse the meaning of concepts, before combining the two dimensions and thereby making an overall interpretation of historical processes. In my case, the methodological point can be formulated as a question of procedure. We must take the way the voting regulations are formulated at face value, and analyse the meaning of the formulations themselves, in their cultural context at the time, without jumping to conclusions about the actors' strategic considerations. What they anticipated about the political consequences of their actions for the social reality of the future should not be confused with what they in fact instituted and what it meant at the time. The first task must be to undertake a precise analysis of the formulations used.

The research questions are, therefore, first, what distinctions did the voting regulations in the constitution of 1814 institute in the country's population, what social outlook did they imply, and how did the distinctions correspond to existing social relations? Second, what changes took place during the rest of the century? I will sketch how the regulations – and the social outlook implicit in them – changed during the period, until the establishment of universal suffrage. My main effort is to demonstrate changes at the conceptual level, as a thorough analysis of the social processes during the whole century would be too big a task.

This way of formulating the questions is motivated by an interest in how social life was structured normatively. The choice of conceptual history as a framework therefore also reflects a theory of political events: They should not be explained simply as outcomes of the strategic acts of influential actors, but be seen as embedded in and subjectively understood in the context of the norm systems the participants were part of. I will argue that the way the voting right was regulated was meaningful partly in the light of political concepts that became central in the process, partly in the context of the structure of social relations at the time, a structure that was part of ongoing life and therefore self-evident for the actors involved. In Koselleck's words, one could say that it had an important basis in their space of experience. Their space of experience was different from ours. The modern concept of the citizen of the state based on the individual that we take as self-evident is not appropriate for understanding its meaning at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is necessary to analyse its content then in its historical context. The gradual changes in the conceptualization of the citizen who ought to have suffrage will shed light on the nature of the social distinctions in question.

Source Material and Method

The main material used is what was reported from the discussions at the constitutional assembly in 1814 and in parliamentary sessions during the second half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the sources for the first part of the process are not the best. The 1814 material leaves much of what happened in the dark. The protocol of the proceedings of

the assembly was printed in 1814 together with most of the written speeches. But no minutes were taken, only proposals and main points were noted (*Den Norske Rigsforamlings Forhandlinger paa Eidsvold i Aaret 1814*). In 1874 an expanded text was published where the proceedings were reconstructed on the basis of diaries and letters (Birkeland & Munk 1874). Thereby we get a glimpse of what happened in the assembly hall. This is strengthened by Fure and Mykland (2013), who give a thorough overview of the sources and their content. Of the important work that took place in the Constitution Committee we know almost nothing; in some instances, diaries may supplement our knowledge. The analysis must proceed by comparing formulations at different stages of the discussions.

During the negotiations, the members of the assembly were intensely preoccupied with the struggle between those who wanted to accept a union with Sweden, and those who followed the strategy to reject this union. The opposition between the two parties seem to have overshadowed other differences of opinion (and this has also been a main theme in later history writing). This inclination may account for the fact that very little is noted in the diaries about the voting right question. At any rate, in this question the division in the assembly seems to have followed different lines.

For the discussions over changes in suffrage during the second half of the century the source situation is better. The later parliamentary discussions have left minutes, found in the proceedings (*Stor-*

thingsforhandlinger). Stortinget, the Norwegian parliament, discussed proposals to extend the voting right in 1851, and then again in 1869 and several years in the 1870s, 80s and 90s. No changes were actually made before 1885. In 1898 so-called universal suffrage for men was decided, and in 1913 it was extended to all adult citizens, provided that their right was not suspended.

I will read the documents in order to analyse what conceptions of social categories and distinctions are implicit in formulations of proposals and in arguments used.[3] What was said must be understood in the context of how the debates proceeded and proposals changed. Not only what is recorded of what they proposed, but also what the discussions reveal about the reasons for their standpoints will be noted. Using debates as sources for conceptions and categories makes it possible to discern what was accepted as self-evident and what was contested, and also what appeared to the participants as effective modes of arguing (cf. Koselleck 2006a:437f.). Thereafter, I will discuss the connections between the conceptual level and the social, and look at the meaning the categories had in contemporary social life. The initiatives to change the regulation of suffrage towards the end of the century give indications of how social evaluations gradually changed, until universal suffrage was decided. The last part of the article will sketch this process more briefly.

The International Background

The preconditions for the 1814 constitution originated not in Norway, but in the

international affairs and the intellectual climate after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. As an outcome of the military campaigns of 1813, the winning powers decided to break up the absolutist state of Denmark-Norway and give the new Swedish ruler, later known as Karl Johan, control over Norway. The Danish prince, Christian Frederik, who was the king's representative in Norway, decided to resist, planning to make himself king of Norway, on the basis of his hereditary right. He sought support for this plan among the leading men in state administration and business in Norway, which gave them the opportunity to set a decisive precondition. To attain the consent of the elite, the prince had to accept the idea that the right to rule did not reside in a royal family, but emanated from the people. The leading men demanded that the new sovereign state be a constitutional monarchy. The established agreement between the prince and the elite to this effect was the basis for the following events: The summoning of a constitutional assembly at Eidsvoll and, through the making of the constitution, the establishment of a new state with its authority built on the principle of the sovereignty of the people – though before the year ended, it became clear that it was to be under the rule of the Swedish king.

The intellectual background was equally foreign to developments in Norway, but very much in tune with international political currents. In many countries, the principles of division of power and the sovereignty of the people had a strong following, and members of the Norwegian elite had studied constitutions of other countries, not only the

American and the French, based on the idea that the legitimate political power emanates from the people. One element in such a constitution must be a parliament elected by "the people". The proceedings of the constitutional assembly of 1814 show us participants sharing an ideological world where such concepts were basic. The representatives, most of them civil servants with their professional experience in the administration of the absolutist state, used a language that referred to a different reality, one yet to be established. Through concepts such as citizen, the sovereignty of the people, division of power, the rights of man, which they used as a matter of course during the assembly, they shared a vision of the future. As Koselleck would have said, they shared a horizon of expectations. But they also shared assumptions about existing social relations, assumptions underlying the debates over the voting right. We may understand such assumptions as part of their space of experience, which means that they may not have been explicitly reflected by the actors themselves. In the following I will use Koselleck's idea that the conceptions may be more or less based on either experience or expectations.

The Debates over Suffrage at the Constitutional Assembly

The constitutional assembly which gathered at Eidsvoll in April 1814 based its negotiations on some bearing principles: division of power between parliament, king and courts, the sovereignty of the people, and the rights of man (to fair trial, security of property etc.). The resulting constitution, passed on 17 May, stated

that the country was to be a monarchy with independent courts and an elected legislative parliament. The act established a new regime, based on programmatic concepts that marked a break with the old absolutist order. Of central importance was the sovereignty of the people, represented by the elected parliament.

The concept of Norwegian citizen [*norsk borger*] was the starting point for defining who was qualified to elect representatives to the parliament. Tine Damsholt has shown that the concept of *borger* played an important role in the Danish-Norwegian absolutist state before 1814. The concept expressed the idea that every citizen had rights and duties in relation to the state, which implied the ethical imperative to further the common good (Damsholt 2000:80ff.). The leading men at Eidsvoll were well aware of this. They had spent years in Copenhagen as students and often as civil servants, and they were well acquainted with the common public sphere of the double monarchy where these ideas were expressed. This meaning of *borger* must have been an important part of their self-understanding. At Eidsvoll the concept was activated in a specific context: in the task of defining the source of the people's sovereignty. It was thus directed towards the future, as a central element in the projected new state. But the old society put its mark on the new one. The word *borger* had a different meaning in everyday Norwegian, namely a person who had certain juridical rights in a city (to trade, to produce handicraft products or command a ship (Aasen 1873: *borger*). The assembly consisted of representatives of both the elite and the farm-

ers. If the men at Eidsvoll introduced a political interpretation of the concept with important implications for the future, the existing social conditions also put its imprint on it. *Borger* would henceforth be an ambiguous concept, both connoting the new masters of the state, and the privileged urban layers of the old order. It carried a heavy load of experience for ordinary people. On the other hand, its content of expectations had a key legitimating function and would be the basis for claims to extend suffrage in the future.

The assembly's work was organized as follows: Text for the various articles was prepared in the Constitutional Committee. Thereafter, it was discussed and voted on in the full assembly. In the case of article 50, which specified those who were qualified to vote, the article was on the agenda twice both in the committee and in the assembly. Given the sparse material, I have to discuss the different formulations in some detail. The first formulation from the constitution committee is as follows:

Suffrage is granted only to those Norwegian citizens [*borgere*] who have reached 25 years of age. From these are excepted: 1) those who get support from the poor relief; 2) Servants and those who solely live from day labour; 3) Artisan journeymen and apprentices; 4) Factory workers and crofters [*husmenn*] who do not own the plots they live on; 5) Sailors and soldiers without real estate.

The use of the term *borgere* signalled that the whole project belonged in the future-oriented political outlook of constitutional thinking. This was the common starting point in all proposals for article 50. At first glance, it might look as if the criterion for voting was based on ownership of real

estate, as stipulated in 4) and 5). If we consider what is common for the excluded categories, however, another interpretation emerges: It is the subordinate, those who are dependent on others for their livelihood who are not qualified. More generally, people who are under the authority of others are excluded. As we shall see, this principle was to be basic to the negotiations.

The Constitutional Committee had 15 members, all of them belonging to the elite. Its work was dominated by its chairman, the civil servant Christian Magnus Falsen, who together with a friend had drafted a constitution in the weeks before the assembly. He circulated the text to influential friends, and even to the prince, and it functioned as a draft in the discussions. In this document, the right to vote was based on *ownership* of landed property/real estate, a conception altogether different from what the committee proposed. The committee's proposal must therefore have been put forward by other members. We can only speculate over how the text came into being. One member, Nicolai Wergeland, wanted a much broader formulation ("all tax-payers and everyone who bears arms for the country" – Wergeland 1830:85). Probably the committee's proposal was a compromise.

When the committee's proposal reached the assembly, it met with strong rejection, resulting in a lengthy debate. We have no detailed knowledge of the discussion; only two of the alternative proposals and their motivations are known. One of them, set forth by the higher civil servant [*amtmann*] Claus Bendeke, reads as follows:

that in the countryside only the following Norwegian citizens [*borgere*] should have the right to vote: 1) The civil servants of the state, of all three estates; 2) Everyone who possesses registered land, either as property or as leasehold. Regarding the towns I also hold that only civil servants and those who have acquired burgher rights [*borgerskab*] and paid taxes and public burdens, should be entitled to vote.

Bendeke justified his proposal by stressing the principle that only *useful* citizens should vote. He especially pointed to the fact that his proposal would include farmers, but exclude fathers and sons of farmers; that is, only those in charge of running a farm should have the right. A father who had passed on the farm to the next generation should lose his right to vote. He further noted that artisans working in the countryside were not real master artisans, and they should consequently be excluded too. His arguments were of a moral nature; the right to vote is for those who deserve it (cf. Fure & Mykland 2013:207).

What emerges from Bendeke's arguments is that the social type that was worthy of the right to vote, in addition to the civil servants, was one who was master of his own business. In the countryside, that principally included farmers running a farm, i.e. a unit registered in the land register. In the towns, it included those registered as *borgere* [burghers] of the towns (who also had to be tax-payers).

The other counter-proposal, from the assembly's secretary, Wilhelm Christie, was obviously written during the discussion and shaped on the basis of Bendeke's. Christie wanted to extend the suffrage to people who owned houses in towns, and people who had a regular income of a cer-

tain value. The basic principle is however the same in the two: the use of landed property, i.e. being in charge of a farm, or in the town, acquired burgher right, i.e. the registered right to run a merchant's shop or an artisan's shop (in addition, commanding a ship presupposed the same registration, so skippers were included too). Owning property or having a high income must be considered secondary to this basic principle.

The article was sent back to the committee for editing, and when it came back to the plenary assembly, it was modified on the pattern of the two counter-proposals, but with some important differences: most important, burgher right was not mentioned as a criterion. Again, the assembly showed its principled standpoint and included it again. The result was the following formulation of article 50:

Suffrage is granted only to those Norwegian citizens who have reached 25 years of age, have been living in the country for 5 years, and either
a. are, or have been, civil servants,
b. in the countryside own or for more than 5 years have leased registered land,
c. are burghers in a town [*Kjøbstad*], or in town [*Kjøbstad* or *Ladested*] own a house or plot of more than 300 Rigsbankdaler silver value.

This formulation of article 50 remained essentially the same until 1885.[4] If we except the right of civil servants (which nobody disputed), the principles qualifying for the right to vote thereby came to rest on being in charge of a farm or of a business (commanding a workshop, trade or ship). The majority in the assembly showed itself consistent in supporting these principles and repeatedly rejected alternative proposals. The idea that people who owned a house or plot in towns also qualified was accepted too,

but the proposal to include income as a criterion was rejected by a large majority. The social distinction that the members of the constitutional assembly saw as important enough to base the right to vote upon was consequently not the difference between rich and poor, but the difference between autonomous and dependent citizens.

The social type that was excluded by the voting article was people dependent on those who were masters of their businesses. Therefore, the distinction made in article 50, coincided with the distinction between the head of a household and the rest of the household members. Artisan households often comprised journeymen and apprentices, who were categorized as servants; servants also formed part of farmer and merchant households. By using this principle of distinction, all members of households other than heads were excluded as unworthy of the voting right, including women and children. Underlying the idea of the household was precisely that its head had extensive authority over the other members, wife, children and servants.

The following article of the constitution (§ 51) regulated the criteria for losing the right to vote: It included those who had received poor relief or had committed crimes. These criteria underline the moral character of the right to vote: It was not only necessary to be autonomous, to have the authority to act on one's own behalf. One also had to be respectable and thereby trustworthy. The right to vote rested on the person's status as independent and morally above criticism.

In other European countries, the regulations of voting rights in the same period

seem to have been undertaken in the light of other considerations. In France, England and many German states the census system was used to restrict the right to vote (Koselleck 2006a:436–461). In societies where the nobility monopolized important political rights, the rising "middle layers" demanding the same rights did not want to share them with the poor. According to Koselleck, the use of income as a criterion was a solution to the problem of subscribing to the principle of people's sovereignty and at the same time excluding a large share of the citizens. This does not mean that the autonomous-subordinate dimension was unimportant in these countries, but it indicates that the Norwegian solution was not copied from other countries. The Norwegian solution must not be considered a result primarily of strategic considerations but rested on convictions about what was right.

The Social Background

If it is correct that the basic principle in the regulation of the right to vote was the distinction between autonomous and dependent, we must investigate this pair of concepts further. My hypothesis is that people at the beginning of the nineteenth century understood this pair of concepts on the basis of two logically unrelated principles: On the one hand, autonomy/dependence referred to economic position (being one's own master vs. being dependent on a master), on the other hand, it referred to position in the household (as head or subordinate member of the household). In the case of the two main categories gaining the vote in 1814, burghers and farmers, the two interpretations generally overlapped. In the case of

those excluded, the pattern is not that clear: Not all household fathers were economically independent.

The election of the representatives to the assembly at Eidsvoll is illuminating here. The prince had instructed his bishops very carefully how the election should be arranged. First each congregation was to meet in the church to elect delegates, who would then meet to elect representatives for each region [*amt*] and each major town. Representatives were to be elected among the region's "most enlightened men". The delegates had to be either civil servants, or (in the countryside) manufacturers, landowners or farmers, or (in the towns) registered *borgere*. But who the intended participants in the primary elections in the churches were is a more open question, because the household fathers were obliged to be present and to swear an oath. "The Norwegian people", "the people" and "the congregation" were used to refer to those supposed to be present. Were they also supposed to vote? The confusion resulted in very different practices from place to place. In the region of Akershus, the bishop ordered the parish priests to summon the household fathers, who thereby came to make up the congregations' electorate. In other instances, only the twelve men who were supposed to sign the election document participated. In some places the interpretation was that all grown-up men should elect. But "The general interpretation in March 1814 seems to have been that the male household fathers comprised the primary election assembly" (Solli 2014: 113).

In contrast to the discussions in the con-

stitutional assembly, at the local level the authority was often supposed to reside in the married men who had their own households. This way of thinking was also represented at Eidsvoll, where the representative Wergeland wanted to make all indigenous household fathers over 25 years electable; another representative wanted to make the fathers electable. But the main line of thought there was tied to the other dimension of autonomy/dependence – the person's relation to his material livelihood. The confusion in local elections points to the double meaning of the concept of autonomous *borger*. In addition, the idea of the citizen of the state could also be appealed to, as in the case of Stavanger, where a large group of inhabitants declared that "we consider everyone in the state a citizen, as long as his moral conduct does not preclude it" (Jæger 1916:475, Solli 2014).

The distinction between the autonomous and the dependent was an integral part of the social outlook of representatives in Norwegian rural municipalities in the 1840s and 1850s, as shown by the historian Knut Dørum. He cites opinions to the effect that people who are not in an independent position ought not to have political influence, and the dependence concerns both economic and household status (Dørum 2013:102f.).

Social Conditions Reflected in Suffrage: Crofters, Women, Servants

If we look at the different formulations of the right to vote at Eidsvoll together with the prince's voting principles, we see that even though they differed, there is a common ground underlying them. The same conception of what was "natural" social

distinctions pervades them. They also all put explicit emphasis on the inclusion of the farmers. The prince ruled that at least one representative from each region [*amt*] must be a farmer. And in the assembly, a very consistent majority insisted that all farmers, both the owners of their farms and those in stable leasehold of farms, were worthy of full political rights. The valuation is understandable in the light of the typical relationships between people in the countryside in the period. They were not different in farmer households where the household head was owner and those where he was leaseholder.

The households of the nineteenth century in both town and country were close social collectives characterized by relations of superiority and subordination. Heads of households, i.e. married men and usually fathers, had almost absolute authority over the other members. Their wives were next in command, and could make decisions in the husband's absence. They could become heads if they were widowed. But generally women were subordinate, like all other members, children and servants alike. They all had the duty to obey – to show loyalty and execute the father's orders. The household father had the right to punish them all "on the body", for example, in the event of subversive behaviour. The paternalistic principle implied that the subordinate must show their deference by signalling unconditional loyalty. The master-subordinate dimension is especially distinct in the relationship between head and servant. A treatise on law from 1900 concerning servants defines the household servants [*tyende*] as "that class of servants who against provision of food

and lodging from the household head do the lower manual work on the farm or in the house". Their characteristically dependent position is one of the criteria that define them, according to this juridical exposition (*Tyenderetten efter norsk og fremmed lovgivning* 1900:5).

The crofter who leased a small plot of land from a farmer was also seen as having a relation of dependency to the farmer. In parts of the country he was typically obliged to work on the farmer's land. On the other hand, the crofter had his own family, and was thereby himself a household father. While nobody disputed his belonging to the subordinates in 1814, this ambiguity seems to have made him more acceptable as a voter later in the century, as we shall see.

The implications of this household structure in the wider society included both the individual's civil status and his or her relation to the state. In relation to the outside world, the head represented the subordinate members vis-à-vis other people, the state, or other institutions. In the absolutist state, the state bureaucracy controlled its subjects through the household head, the family father, who thereby functioned as a support for the social order. On the other hand, the subordinate members had only indirect formal relations to the world outside the household; the master represented them if they came into conflict with outside persons. They had no autonomous juridical status that allowed them to voice their own interests (cf. Sogner 1990:68).

This social structure was in principle the same in Denmark, as the historian Anette Faye Jacobsen shows. She has analysed the codification of household relations in law, the practice of the laws and political debates on the rights of landowners, farmers and servants (Jacobsen 2008, 2007). The position of servants in households was similar in the two countries, and the codification of rights and duties is similar in the Danish and Norwegian law-books of the seventeenth century. In Norway, big estates were not common as in Denmark, and the farmers were therefore not usually subordinate to an estate owner. But the relationship between farmer (in charge of a registered farming unit) and *husmann* or crofter (holding his small plot on a farm's land) was similar. The paternalistic relationship of the household was extended to relations between heads of estates, or farms, and their dependent farmers and crofters. This model of household relations was not exclusively Scandinavian; Otto Brunner has coined the apt expression "das ganze Haus" as a term for this model, which he holds was common for European peasant communities for centuries (Brunner 1980:107).

In Prussia, the power structure of the household changed during the nineteenth century, as changed laws restricted the power of housefathers. But the *häuslich* power order did not disappear, because the state needed the housefathers' authority to reach and control the dependent household members, in questions of both punishment and taxpaying (Koselleck 1967:62–70, 2006b:480–485). Jacobsen argues that it was a juridical culture, built on traditional practice, that regulated the relations in the household and gave the household head the legitimate power to decide over, convict and punish the members of his household. She holds that

the state had abdicated from this sphere of justice. Gradually, the state extended its control over this sphere. But the real relations between people were intact longer than is apparent in the juridical material; according to her, jurists who theorized the area after 1750 tended to write about e.g. relations between servants and masters in terms of contract law, thereby hiding the asymmetrical character of the relations by representing them in a language of voluntary agreements between equal individuals. In reality, the male head of a household was a specially privileged juridical subject who had authority to judge and punish (Jacobsen 2008:245).

In Jacobsen's analysis, the law appears as the most important source producing these asymmetric relations. Another strand of reasoning can be found in the discussion about "republican freedom". There is an alternative tradition for thinking freedom, different from the now dominant liberalist thinking. In this tradition, to be free is the same as to be independent of the arbitrary power of others, that is, free from the necessity of subjecting oneself to the will of another. The distinction has its roots in Roman law, stemming from the individual's juridical status in the Roman slave society, where one could either be free or unfree. This concept of freedom has been passed on since, and played a dominant role until the nineteenth century (Nilsen 2014: 15ff.). This understanding of unfreedom touches upon the relations of the household. It is not necessary, however, to discuss freedom in the long history of ideas here. In my view, what is important for understanding the compelling weight of

the distinction between autonomous and dependent individuals is not its long tradition, nor is it its codification in law. What must have made this distinction self-evident for the generation of 1814 is its incorporation in their space of experience. Most people then lived in circumstances where their subordination was a given condition for their existence. The arbitrary power of the household head was experienced as a social reality, and its practising must have shaped both the individual's status and his or her self-understanding, be it as autonomous or subordinate. The household head became subjectively autonomous by the role he filled; the rest became subordinate by being treated as children. The practice of everyday life and the way it was experienced and conceived is the immediate fact in my perspective. This is not to deny that the basis for the household head's power in law was an important element in the power structure, nor that there is a continuity in the conception of freedom in the European history of ideas.

To sum up, I have argued that in order to understand the way the representatives at the constitutional assembly in 1814 made their distinction between the part of the population that were worthy of political rights and the rest, we must acknowledge the fundamental difference between people who had the authority to decide and speak both for themselves and others, and those who had not. Household heads had a voice in the public space; the others had not. The head was even regarded as *representing* all his household members, a fact that added to his authority. This is of course a very different concept of representation from the

case where a member of parliament today represents his or her voters (cf. Jacobsen 2008:212). To be worthy of voting, one had to be independent of other persons' will.

It has been argued that the rationale of being economically independent when voting in elections or in parliament was to hinder voters or representatives from promoting the political standpoints of other people. I see this as a secondary consideration (though an important argument, much used during subsequent decades). It does not pinpoint the basic relations producing images of inequality in contemporary society. Instead of seeing the inequalities as effects of the practical interaction among people in daily life, this line of reasoning makes the inequality – and thereby also the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate rights – a question of moral habitus: Who is in a position to speak from an independent position, independent, i.e. of the will of other men?

The Debates over Extension of Suffrage 1851–1913

Though no major changes were made in the right to vote until 1885, the extension of the electorate was debated in the parliament on several occasions until universal suffrage was established in 1913. In the following I will use the proceedings to analyse changes at the conceptual level in this period. In what way did the concepts or the argumentation used to characterize and evaluate the social categories in question change? I do not intend to explain the developments in the contexts of social or political history, but I will briefly discuss the connection between the conceptual changes and the relations of daily life.

First, the material shows a striking continuity in the negative evaluation of people in subordinate positions. The proposal of 1851 would give the vote in municipal elections to "all grown-up citizens, who are not in service relationships, are not on poor relief and have not by legal offences shown themselves unworthy of public trust". A man who "stands in service relationship, where he must be considered as a member of the household of another", was thereby excluded (St.forh. 1851 S5 Indstillinger:477ff.). The same formulations are standard in almost all proposals put forward in the following years, as in 1884: the vote was proposed for certain categories, provided they were not "as servants belonging to the household of another" (Stort.forh. 1884. Forh. i Stortinget:787). None of the proposals included servants; the resistance against this was as strong as in 1814. Even in 1908 several proposals to include more women excluded servants (Stort.forh. 1908. 7. Forh. i Stortinget:508).

Although the opinion that people in service relationships should not be allowed to vote was almost unanimous among parliamentary representatives in the period, the evaluation of those who were included in this category was changing. In 1814, crofters [*husmenn*] were excluded on the basis of their dependence on the farmer who controlled their plot of land. Now members of this group were gradually viewed as more acceptable. In 1854 a proposal to give the vote to crofters was forwarded (Stort.forh. 1854 7 D: Indstill. S. No. 106:561). While the original proposal included all crofters, in the discussions the

adherents of a wider vote were more cautious; it was "the more autonomous members" of the crofter class who deserved the right. Later too, crofters were mentioned as more acceptable than other categories (St.forh. 1869:34–42). The principle of being an autonomous man was not as central in evaluating the crofter's social status as it had been.

But now the concepts for the groups in question had shifted more substantially. In the 1869 and 1873 debates, the way they were categorized had changed. The main spokesman for the stance against any changes, Th. Aschehoug, categorized the people who were proposed for the vote as follows: He distinguished between simple workers, crofters, and occupations which required some education, such as lower public functionaries, schoolteachers, non-commissioned military officers etc. Aschehoug could accept the last category, those who were to some degree enlightened, but he was against the proposals, because they would include "the simple workers" (St.forh. 1869:34–42). But the distinctions dissolved when he warned against the prospect that the lower classes would be able to gain the majority in the municipalities. Even if the crofter was seen as more acceptable than "the simplest class of workers" because he had a stable position, tied to a small plot of land, he also became associated with the dangerous new class. The distinction between crofter and farmer also dissolved in the arguments: In certain areas a large share of the farmers (who were mostly small farmers) were "working people", and would probably support "the workers' party" in the event of conflict (St.forh. 1869:32). This meant that the balance between those who already had the vote and the new parts of the population who would get it was at stake, according to the conservatives. Therefore, it no longer concerned the norm-based arguments about who *deserved* full citizen rights, but the consequences for the balance of forces between population groups. Those representatives who were in favour of extending the vote had a higher opinion of the groups in question, but they did not dispute the categorization.

The conceptualization of the suffrage problem had thereby changed in several ways. First, the new category of "worker" cut across earlier categories and gave them new connotations. An emerging alliance in the countryside between crofters and small farmers had become visible around 1850 (Pryser 1977). The overall tendency is that while the crofter had previously been categorized as dependent on the farmer in a service-like relationship, he was now seen more as member of an emerging working class. The historian Knut Dørum has shown that while the distinction between crofters and farmers was important to rural people in the decades after 1814, the relations were gradually changing. The idea that all inhabitants were citizens gained force as members of the crofter class claimed the right to political influence, resulting in representatives of the crofters increasingly taking part in local political institutions, despite their formal exclusion (Dørum 2013:107ff., 122).

Second, arguments about men's degree of enlightenment were now more common than arguments about their autonomy. The proponents of broadening the right pointed to the fact that education had become

better because of better schooling (St.forh. 1898: Forh. i Stortinget:495). They used the argument that a man's ability to act politically was not dependent on his income, but on his enlightenment, which had other sources.

It is characteristic of the mode of arguing that even when the principle of suffrage for all men was debated in the 1890s, it was presented as a right that belonged to men of "economic ability", or to "all independent [*selvhjulpne*] men" (St.forh. 1898: Forh. i Stortinget:496, also 1884:77ff.). The prime minister declared in 1884 that "it is my personal conviction that the development will lead in the direction of a steady extension of the voting right, until the circle of all autonomous [*myndige*] men is included in the number of people entitled to vote" St.forh. 1884: Forh. i Stortinget:783). But now "autonomous" referred to economic self-sufficiency more than to personal independence.

Women were not even mentioned as potential voters in most of these debates. Giving women the vote was first proposed in 1886. It is noteworthy that three of the five proposals to include women would exclude "servants belonging to the household of another". But from now on the question of women's suffrage became an issue. In the following years it was debated on several occasions. Arguments included whether female characteristics and abilities made them different from men – conservative representatives argued that women were best suited to their traditional roles, while others held that they deserved equal rights with men as a question of justice (St.forh. 1890: Forh. i Stortinget: 1267). Following 1901 some women ob-

tained the right, depending on their economic situation. In 1913 universal suffrage was decided unanimously in Stortinget, giving the vote also to all adult women by making explicit in the article that the Norwegian citizens who had the right to vote included both "men and women".

The evaluation of women as dependent household members continued to dominate longer than for other categories, servants excepted. Women gradually acquired more individual civil rights through the second half of the nineteenth century, and practical rights to work in new occupations were also about to open up. An interesting question, concerning both women and servants, is the relation between changes in formal rights (such as voting) and in popular considerations of their status: To what extent, and for how long, did families expect that wives would vote the same way as their husbands? And what about other household members? The lived relations between household members did not change abruptly because of changing laws, nor did the experience of the relations. On the other hand, relations did change, and the categorization of people changed correspondingly. The model of household relations was challenged by new forms of working relations. For example, in the course of time it became increasingly difficult to categorize workers in railway construction or industrial production as servants. And when women started to occupy roles that had previously been reserved for men, for example, as business leaders, the concept of women as subordinate had to erode. But it was a process lagging behind the changes in

formal rights. There are many examples showing that the attitude that the wife should vote the same as her husband lingered on for decades into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

By the act of 1913 the concept of citizen of the state with full political rights was made to coincide with the individual adult inhabitant. As I have shown, the individualized content of the concept that we today take as a matter of fact has a conceptual history which reveals important changes in conceptions of social hierarchy.

The common opinion in the 1814 assembly seems to have been that only autonomous persons were qualified to be masters of the state. Those who were dependent on them – crofters, servants, women and children – were not seen as capable of independent political action precisely because they were under domination: they had no public voice. I have argued that the importance of the dimension autonomous–dependent must be understood with reference not only to political concepts like citizen, but to the space of experience of the contemporaries – as an effect of *experienced* dominance and subordination in the social relations they lived within. All evidence from the debates points in the direction that these cultural frames of conception represented a compelling normative reality for the actors of the time. Therefore, we ought not to interpret the regulation of the voting right as a result of strategic thinking, but as an expression of what the representatives thought was *right*. They differentiated this way because it was based on an internal-

ized social value. And the internalization was based on practice: The conviction followed from lived life.

I do not hold that these debates tell us everything about the perceived social hierarchy. The civil servants who dominated the debates were no doubt thinking that as an educated elite they were best suited to manage the state. And the differences between rich and poor was of course a major dividing line in people's perception. But the constitution makers also wanted to include "the people", which principally meant the farmers. That they made the distinction between autonomous and dependent, and not any other criteria, the foundation of the voting right is in my opinion a strong argument for its basic importance for the way they imagined the citizen. If the political aspect of the citizen concept was a future-oriented idea, the social type that was imagined as the citizen was determined by the actors' space of experience.

In the second half of the century, other arguments became important. If we focus on the normative evaluations that the parliamentary representatives shared, the development up till 1913 can be read as a history of changing evaluations of the different categories of potential voters. The view of the dependent as unworthy was relatively stable during the period, but the evaluation of the categories of dependent people shifted. All the same, almost all proposals until 1898 excluded servants and women, who were still seen as unworthy. From around 1870 the class dimension came to the fore in the evaluation of other categories; the concept of "workers" became the focus of debate. Again, there was no disagreement in

Stortinget that the distinction between workers and others was important, only over whether the workers were dangerous or not. And towards the end of the century the education dimension received more attention. These developments in the lines of argumentation point to fundamental changes in the conceptualization of political inequality.

The struggle over the right to vote has probably itself contributed to the change in evaluations by furthering individualization. When all adults are acknowledged as being of equal worth by having the same rights (suffrage, women's right to inherit), the conceptions about that which divides are weakened. In everyday life distinctions lived on, however, and contributed to differences in voting behaviour, for example, when it came to servants and women.

The difference between those who were "educated" enough and the rest received more attention towards the end of the century. All agreed that a certain level of education was necessary for a person to make reasoned decisions. When this standpoint is put forward today, it comes in another light, after the right to vote as a universal citizen right has been acknowledged for more than a hundred years. The idea that some people are not educated enough to have full citizen rights challenges a fundamental value underlying our political system.

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Notes

1 "Uvitende, uansvarlige og irrasjonelle borgere har en moralsk plikt til å avstå fra å stemme", article by Kristian Skagen Ekeli, professor of philosophy at the University of Stavanger and Espen Gamlund, associate professor of philosophy at the University of Bergen in *Aftenposten* 17 July 2017. The American philosopher Jason Brennan in his book *The Ethics of Voting* (2011) warns against the consequences of the decisions of "misinformed" voters. Later he declares that he has "become more sympathetic to the idea that some voters should be formally excluded from voting". http://www.pbs.org/wnet/need-to-know/the-daily-need/are-bad-voters-like-drunk-drivers-new-book-says-they-are-and-that-they-should-stay-home-on-election-day/8609/. Cf. *Klassekampen* 24 October 17.

2 Fure & Mykland 2013:207. I cannot go into detail on the literature here. Let me just quote Kaartvedt 1964:53f.: "The voter was supposed to be a free and autonomous person with insight, who was able to exercise the voting right unrestrained and with reason. And such a combination of autonomy and political insight was thought to be found only among civil servants or property men" (my translation). The importance of property is especially explicit in more popular accounts, e.g. Stubhaug 2014.

3 All quotations from the source material and literature are my translations.

4 In 1821, the article was changed to include people in Finnmark in agricultural business (e.g. owners of herds of reindeer), on the grounds that the use of registered land was not applicable there. The inclusion did not affect changes in the general conceptions underlying § 50.

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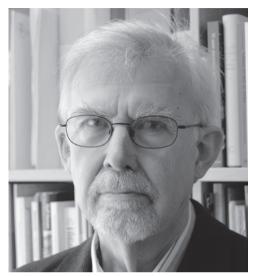
Biographical Notes

Åke Daun, 1936–2017

Photo: Lars Kaijser.

Åke Daun, professor emeritus of ethnology at Stockholm University, passed away on 24 July 2017. He was born in Stockholm but grew up in Södertälje, where his father ran a well-known coffee store. He left school in Södertälje after taking his lower school certificate. He spent a few years at the University College of Arts, Crafts and Design in Stockholm and worked for a time as a commercial artist. But he tired of this and returned to Södertälje grammar school, where he graduated in 1957. After studies in art history he began at the Department of Folklife Studies in Stockholm in autumn 1961. There he soon became an independent and influential participant in Professor John Granlund's seminars. At this time Börje Hanssen was *docent* at the Department. Hanssen had gained his doctorate with a much-debated dissertation in sociology in 1952, but had left that discipline because he felt that his form of historically oriented sociological research aroused no great interest there. Åke Daun, along with several of his fellow students, was fascinated by Börje Hanssen's ability to apply sociological and anthropological perspectives to archival material and to pre-industrial Swedish peasant society. He began to see a future in the sociologically oriented ethnology that Hanssen advocated.

In summer 1962 students at the Department did fieldwork in the Leksand village of Laknäs

under the leadership of Granlund and Hanssen. Several of the essays resulting from that were published in 1971 under the title *En svensk by.* This was edited by Åke Daun who also wrote the most important piece, about naming practices in Laknäs. In 1965 Åke decided to spend a year of study in Bergen in Norway with the internationally famous anthropologist Fredrik Barth. When he returned to Stockholm a year later he suggested that we form a working group for local ethnological studies. Besides Åke, the group included Orvar Löfgren, Tom G. Svensson (who had been with Åke that year in Bergen), and myself. The idea was that we would all write our licentiate and doctoral dissertations about little communities, with the focus on people's behaviour and networks. Åke went to Båtskärsnäs in Norrbotten, where the state forestry company ASSI had decided to close the sawmill; this led to vehement protests from the local people. Åke's aim with the study, which became his licentiate thesis, was to understand and explain the reason for the widespread refusal to move away from the locality. In his study he applied Fredrik Barth's generative model, which he had learned during his year in Bergen. Today this study, *Upp till kamp i Båtskärsnäs,* published in 1969, is a minor classic in Swedish ethnology.

Åke Daun then began immediately to work on his doctoral dissertation, that too a local study, of the suburb of Vårberg in south-west Stockholm. Here he aimed the searchlight at a type of community that was seriously questioned at this time, a suburb of the kind that was produced rapidly and with little imagination during the "record years" of development at the end of he 1960s and in the 1970s. Both of Åke's dissertations were based on interviews and participant observation, a methodological innovation in the subject. Both aimed to shed light on controversial problems in society. Both gave important insight into local people's values and preferences. One consequence was that Åke Daun was offered a research post in the architecture section of the Institute of Technology, financed by the Council for Building Research. He would work there for the rest of the 1970s, also getting ethnologists like Sören Jansson, Karla Werner, and Billy Ehn to do periods of research there. One result of this was the study *Boende och livsform* from 1980. During

these years Åke often wrote for *Dagens Nyheter*, both reviews and observations about urban planning and housing construction. These articles were read and noted by many, helping to make Åke himself and the new ethnology familiar in academic circles.

In 1981 Åke Daun was appointed to the Hallwyl chair of ethnology at the Nordic Museum and Stockholm University, with its seat in Villa Lusthusporten in Djurgården. He would occupy that position for twenty years. One could say that he changed the course of his research during these years. He began to take an interest in what was formerly a taboo subject, namely, the question of Swedish mentality, how this could be described and explained. This led to a book with that title, *Svensk mentalitet*. This is undoubtedly the book that made Åke Daun most famous outside the discipline; it was translated into several languages, and if anything it has become more relevant in recent decades with globalization and large-scale immigration. Åke returned to the subject in several books and articles, e.g. *En stuga på sjätte våningen*, published in 2005.

Yet another topic engaged Åke Daun before his strength declined. This was the issue of biological explanations for cultural behaviour. In the book *Det allmänmänskliga och det kulturbundna* from 1999 he provoked many ethnologists and social scientists with his plea to look for fundamental biological needs underlying cultures and societies.

Åke Daun was an original researcher and an original human being. He was curious, with a capacity to register and reflect. One can get close to him in the memoir-like books he published in his later years, such as *Vägar till det förflutna* from 1996 and *Ungdomen är de vilda förhoppningarnas tid: En kulturhistoria för brådmogna och efterkloka* from 2009. The former is about his family, his kin, and the coffee store in Södertälje, the latter about an idealistic youth club that Åke founded together with like-minded schoolmates in Södertälje in the 1950s. As an ethnological researcher Åke Daun was something of a lone wolf who followed his own mind; he never really made any effort to acquire pupils or found a school. Yet he, more than anyone else, led Swedish ethnology on to new paths at the end of the twentieth century.

Mats Hellspong, Stockholm

Birgitta Skarin Frykman 1941–2017

Photo: Carina Frykman.

Birgitta Skarin Frykman, professor emerita of ethnology, Gothenburg University, passed away in December 2017. She was born in Uppsala in 1941 and grew up in a family with no academic traditions, yet it was taken for granted that she would graduate from high school and continue studying. From an early age Birgitta longed to explore the past. In the volume *Etnologiska visioner*, under the heading "In Pursuit of the Unknown" she tells how she decided in her teens to become an archaeologist. Her working life did indeed start with archaeological assignments; for example, Birgitta was employed as assistant at the then Archaeological Museum in Gothenburg after she and her husband Professor Erik Frykman had settled in the city in the 1960s. Later her interest shifted to ethnology, and the university in Gothenburg became her alma mater. Birgitta was part of the group of young women who pursued the work of establishing ethnology as a separate department with a chair at Gothenburg University. Parallel to her work as study and career counsellor in ethnology she continued to study. Her C-essay was based on a large number of interviews about "Food and meals among blue-collar and white-collar workers in Jonsered in the twentieth century".

Food was also the basis for Birgitta Skarin Frykman's choice of dissertation topic and analysis of archival material about the working life of bakers in Gothenburg. Her supervisor would be Sven B. Ek, who was appointed to the newly established chair in 1980 and directed ethnology in Gothenburg towards working-class culture. Birgitta took her doctor's degree in 1985 with the dissertation *Från yrkesfamilj till klassgemenskap: Om bagare i Göteborg 1800–1919*, which focused on "the effects of industrialization on the old craftsmen class's unity of masters-journeymen-apprentices and how this was split into workers and employers".

Birgitta Skarin Frykman succeeded Sven B. Ek as professor of ethnology in 1996. By then she had established herself as a well-informed researcher in the field of working-class culture. In the monograph *Arbetarkultur – Göteborg 1890* she drew attention to how the seemingly weak working class in a short time could become a powerful factor in society, and highlighted the contribution of working-class women in everyday life as an indirect and significant aspect of this process. Birgitta deepened our understanding of the workers' material conditions, social relations, and patterns of thought. Her book *Larsmässemarknaden* aimed the searchlight at a forgotten folk carnival in nineteenth-century Gothenburg. She also supervised several PhD students and initiated research projects on working-class culture in Gothenburg. The last of these was "Everyday Life during the Second World War", based on many informants' experiences and pictures. The project resulted in the incorporation of a large amount of archival material in the collections of the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore. For her studies and research achievements on work and life in Gothenburg, Birgitta was awarded the city's merit badge in 2008.

Birgitta Skarin Frykman's work also reflected interdisciplinary study and contacts with other universities, both nationally and internationally. For many years, for example, she was one of the leaders of the interdisciplinary Oral History movement. Her work also comprised several assignments in leadership and administration. Birgitta believed that it is important to make one's competence available and that women should be represented. She demonstrated her knowledge as an expert assessor, a lecturer, a writer of articles, and a member of boards and committees. She was deputy vice-chancellor of Gothenburg University

1998–2003 and vice-chairman of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture in Uppsala 2005–2016. Her commitments comprised a number of organizations, such as the Museum of Work in Norrköping, the Centre for Workers' Culture, the Ethnological Association in Western Sweden, Folkuniversitetet, Jonsered Academy, the Torgny Segerstedt Memorial Foundation, and the Royal Society of Science and Letters in Gothenburg.

For Birgitta the aim of ethnology was the same as the motto of the Nordic Museum, "Know yourself", about which she wrote: "It puts the human being at the centre through its direct appeal to the individual, yet the exhortation is not individualistic. It is aimed at each and every person, and thus to all. All people have the right to seek knowledge about themselves. Everyone has the right to that knowledge and thereby to their own lives, as knowledge for themselves but also for others." Birgitta Skarin Frykman's work and long academic career was thus imbued not just with a great interest in scholarship itself; she was also driven by a broader commitment to the accumulation of knowledge, to democracy and adult education. We who have had the privilege of working alongside her remember her as a seasoned debater, a critical reader, and an elegant writer. She promoted the exchange of knowledge and encounters between people in academic contexts. We will always remember her commitment, which will be badly missed.

Kerstin Gunnemark and Annika Nordström, Gothenburg

Barbro Klein, 1938–2018

Photo: Private.

Barbro Klein (Arklind, Sklute), was born on 14 March 1938 in Stockholm. Her parents had moved from the south of Sweden and she described her background as working-class. She earned her BA (in history of religions, Scandinavian languages and Nordic and comparative folk life research) at Stockholm University in 1961. Later the same year, provided with a scholarship from the Swedish-America Foundation, she left for Indiana University. Her intention was to study anthropology. But after discovering folklore studies, she changed her plan. She defended her thesis *Legends and Folk Beliefs in a Swedish-American Community: A Study in Folklore and Acculturation*, in 1970. The study was based on fieldwork in the small town of New Sweden, Maine, and explored how folklore about supernatural beings had been kept alive, altered and relocated in a North-American setting.

Barbro Klein stayed abroad for more than two decades, most of the time in the US and some years in France. In an autobiographical essay, she described teaching at University of California, Berkeley, in the late 1960s and being part of a group of folklorists doing fieldwork in New York in the 1970s as two particularly formative experiences. The first exposed her to the civil rights movement, students' protests and the necessity to take a moral stand. The second expanded the scope of her interest in folklore as expressive communication to include urban scenes, migrants

from all over the world and all kinds of material and ritual modes of artful performances. At the beginning of the 1980s, Barbro Klein returned to the Nordic academic scene and found her base at the Department of Ethnology at Stockholm University where she had once been a young student. She started from the position of research assistant and advanced to full professor in little more than a decade. She established herself as an impressive and influential teacher and colleague, with high professional standards and a never-ending capacity to bring impulses from a larger world to the local intellectual community. In 1996, she took up a position as one of three directors of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (SCAS) in Uppsala. Her colleagues in Stockholm expected this to be a temporary engagement but turned out to be wrong. Barbro Klein continued to be an active participant at the collegium far beyond the age of formal retirement and literally until the very last days of her life.

Barbro Klein's research interests comprised folklore as expressive communication in a broad sense. She insisted that the study of folklore should not be restricted to established genres or frozen excerpts. On the contrary, it should open up for the study of expressive forms of all kinds of behaviour, in contemporary settings as well as in the past. Methodologically, she explained why those expressive or "marked" forms had to be recorded with the utmost care, in order to grasp and render their aesthetic qualities, and how they served as important and mighty resources in human communication. Barbro Klein showed how this perspective made a difference in studies of tradition, heritage, and migration and why it ought to be a source of inspiration not only for those who identified as folklorists, but for the whole discipline of Ethnology. For her own part, she used it to explore, among other things, gardening, ritual behaviour in public places, handicraft, autobiographical writing in the archives, and last but not least, storytelling and verbal art in her own family of origin. To the latter project, she kept returning for more than four decades. In the 1980s, she contributed substantially to the introduction of the phenomenon of reflexivity in the Swedish academic setting. She published a steady flow of critical and reflective studies of the history of Ethnology as a discipline. And throughout

her career, her international network continued to expand, spanning several continents and including scholars from a wide variety of disciplines.

Many have testified to Barbro Klein's intellectual acuity, authority, moral drive, and great capacity for friendship. She was a huge source of inspiration for her students and friends but made a strong impression also on those who did not belong to her closest circle. She was a multifaceted and passionate colleague, and she will be remembered for her gentleness as well as for her strength.

Barbro Blehr, Stockholm

Reviews

New Dissertations

Traces of Memory

Maryam Adjam, Minnesspår. Hågkomstens rum och rörelse i skuggan av flykt. Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion, Höör 2017. 304 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87483-28-8.

■ In our society there are many people whose lives have been affected in different ways by memories of escape. Some have been forced to flee and carry memories of this, while others have heard their parents and older relatives or friends recounting memories of having at some time been refugees. The memories thus live on in different ways long after the actual escape is over. The subject of Maryam Adjam's dissertation is therefore highly topical and relevant, and the way she tackles the subject raises aspects that could be called timeless.

Maryam Adjam's dissertation does not consider the escape itself, but looks for the memories of it. The starting point is an escape that took place over 70 years ago; it is about memories associated with people who fled from Estonia to Sweden during the Second World War. There is special focus on memories linked to "the Great Escape" across the Baltic Sea in autumn 1944. Although the events are far back in time, the dissertation clearly shows that the memories are still alive, not just for those who experienced the escape, but also for those who heard and still remember, for instance, their parent's memories.

What emerges is not an assembled, well-ordered, chronological story of the escape from Estonia, but rather a multivocal, fragmentary, and constantly changing account where seemingly trivial details are interwoven with memories that we recognize from established historiography, and where memories recur but simultaneously also change. It reflects what happens when you remember: suddenly a small detail pops up, arousing a new association in an otherwise familiar memory.

The dissertation builds on a combination of ethnographical methods: interviews and conversations, observations and "go-alongs" together with informants at different places in Estonia and in Sweden. "I have accompanied the research participants in *their* memory walks", Adjam writes, thereby wishing to emphasize that she has regarded it as important to explore the field, that is to say, the memories, together with her informants. The research participants, as Adjam chooses to call them, are highly present in the dissertation. She devotes generous amounts of space not just to their voices, but also to their silence and reflection in conversations that were obviously allowed to take time. In several cases there have been repeated meetings, conversations, and journeys together on the track of the memories.

What is a memory? This question could perhaps be described as the core of Adjam's dissertation. Admittedly, the question is not explicitly uttered in the text – and to formulate it like this would probably convey an over-simplified picture of what happens when we remember. In Adjam's view, memory is something mobile, searching, and ambivalent, something that is lived, something living and constantly changing, rather than something that just is. Despite this, the unspoken question "what *is* a memory?" follows me throughout the reading, while I simultaneously understand better, the more I read, that the answer to such a question, if it can even be answered, is not simple.

Let us take a closer look at an example, one of many that reflects the serious matters involved in the memories discussed in this thesis. Here we meet Henrik, who tells his memory of a visit to an aunt in the Estonian countryside when he was nine years old. Flies were buzzing in the kitchen. His aunt's husband had just been killed, and she told Henrik about this. "She said that he had been executed and that they did not get the body back. But I remember the flies in the kitchen." The author pauses at this recollection and reflects:

"The memory quietly encapsulates the gap, an ordinary day on the way to disaster. The person who stands still and leaves everything behind. In the kitchen the smell is still sweet, the flies are still buzzing, and the nine-year-old observes it all. The image is ambiguous. An ordinary day and its antithesis in one. The stillness at the centre of the hurricane. In the space between them, the memory comes to life."

In this way the text moves back and forth between past and present, between what happened and how it is recalled, in a winding search for the memories, as they take shape and bounce off other memories, and off the landscapes to which they relate. Adjam's interpretations likewise wind their way, con-

necting different theoretical angles with observations from the fieldwork, all conveyed in a style that reflects the searching method.

The memories in the study are in many cases difficult ones, associated with war, departure, escape, and loss. Gaining access to such memories is far from easy, especially for someone who does not belong to the affected group. By being a good and respectful listener, Adjam has evidently won the trust of the Estonian-Swedish research participants. The history of the Estonian-Swedes was not her history, and at first it was unknown to her. Slowly, over a long time, she has listened and got to know their lives, narratives, and places by following their memories. Through literature, exhibitions, and other sources, she has also studied different accounts of Estonia and memories of escape during the Second World War.

At the same time, Adjam entered into the study with her own experiences which united her with the descendants of the refugees from Estonia. She mentions, albeit in passing, that she herself has no personal memories of escape, but she does have "experiences of the consequences of escape, of everyday life carrying on in the shadow of a war and … the serious consequences this can have for the individual's life". This was evidently an important foundation for the trust that was developed during the conversations. The interviewees understood that they were talking to someone who could understand things that are not easy to explain to someone with no personal experiences connected with memories of escape. "I understood the illogical logic of war", Adjam observes. Memories that arose in the conversations could thus arouse associations in both parties, in a reciprocal change where the researcher was both an insider and an outsider.

An important starting point for Adjam is that she wants to understand memory as an ongoing experience and not as a rendering of the past. As she phrases it, she wants to "follow the return journeys and walk in the paths of variations in memory". The aim of the dissertation is "to investigate how the individual lived memory relates to and articulates its experience and its history". Particular interest is devoted to the spatial dimensions of memory, including "the landscape conjured up by the experience of memory" and "the spatiality that arises in the recollections". From this it follows that the study focuses

on three main areas, which can be summed up in the concepts of *memory*, *space*, and *history*: (1) *memory* as a process of being, which articulates itself both in concrete material and in representations and narratives; (2) how lived memory occupies *space*, how it relates to the spatial and creates spatiality; and (3) how *history* is articulated in the resonance between the individual memory and collective expressions of memory. These aspects are explored in greater depth in the three parts of the dissertation entitled "Paths of Memory", "Movements of Memory", and "Echoes of Memory".

As regards theory, the dissertation is chiefly inspired by phenomenological perspectives, with the aid of which memory is understood here as "ongoing being that searches both forwards and backwards in time". There are many theoretical sources of inspiration, however, and phenomenology, with Merleau-Ponty and others, is combined with, among other things, Walter Benjamin's perspectives on memory and history. As for the multifaceted relations of memory to spatiality, Henri Lefebvre's spatial trialectic is combined with the phenomenologist Edward Casey's outlook on places of memory.

Adjam's dissertation is an important contribution to the ethnological conversation about how we relate to our past. The interest in cultural heritage, history, and further aspects of people's relation to the past is strong and constantly finding new expressions, in ethnology as in neighbouring disciplines. Likewise, in fields such as heritage studies, conservation and museology, much attention is devoted to memory practices and various kinds of institutions of memory, but rarely with a focus on memory as such. Here Adjam's perspective can be a valuable supplement. As she says:

"Our being leaves traces. Tales, images, artefacts, and places. With the clouded gaze of the present, memory searches for these traces… It tries to find remains of a past, the flotsam and jetsam of memory in which it instils life by picking it up again and including it in the ongoing flow of the present. Memory gives them a voice and simultaneously borrows theirs to speak through."

As an ethnologist one may need to be reminded that memories are not the same as narratives of memories. Ethnologists often study narratives, but in this ethnological dissertation it is not narratives about memory, but memory as experience and being

that the researcher wants to get at. In the collection of material, of course, she often encountered memories packaged in words, narratives, and descriptions, but she endeavoured to penetrate behind these, partly by combining different ethnographical methods and by letting fieldwork observations and conversations extend over a long time and include many revisits. From the premise that a memory is not a secondary rendering but "*ongoing experiencing*, with its own space, its own time and continuity", Adjam believes that a memory is not primarily a product of narrative, reflection, and construction after the event. From her perspective, the prereflective memory, "the not-yet-told", should also be regarded as a memory.

With Adjam's way of approaching the movements and echoes of memory, she occasionally makes the memories almost seem like living beings; they move, walk, talk, and tell about their life. As a reader I can feel somewhat dubious about formulations such as that "the memories thought for a while", that "the memories … shared their musings", or that the memories "are aware of the role assigned to them". How much subject status can reasonably be ascribed to a memory?

At the same time, I appreciate Adjam's way of using language to follow the paths of memory and capture the experience of remembering, even though metaphors are sometimes used too generously. The language is personal and often close to poetic, a good reflection of the methodological and theoretical approach to the research task. She tells her story slowly, allowing the memories to emerge and giving the reader scope for reflection. As the text turns the memories over, it requires that the reader is not in too much of a hurry.

To sum up, Maryam Adjam has presented an interesting and well-wrought dissertation. It is an important contribution to discussions both in ethnology and beyond subject boundaries, about how we can understand the composite processes by which people relate to the past and how memories take shape, move, and find expression. At the same time, the dissertation is highly relevant in relation to topical – and simultaneously timeless – social issues concerning what happens when people are forced to flee and the traces that such events leave for future memories to interact with and react to.

Katarina Saltzman, Göteborg

German Belonging in Finland

Dorothea Breier, A Vague Feeling of Belonging of a Transcultural Generation. An Ethnographic Study on Germans and their Descendants in Contemporary Helsinki, Finland. Faculty of Arts, Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies. European Ethnology. University of Helsinki 2017. Diss. 250 pp. ISBN 978-951-51-3811-8 (paperback), ISBN 978-951-3812-5 (pdf).

■ Dorothea Breier's dissertation, *A Vague Feeling of Belonging of a Transcultural Generation*, is a welcome contemporary addition to studies of European migrant groups in Northern Europe. The dissertation is a contribution to research on well integrated and highly educated migrants, not visibly dissimilar to the majority populations and not marginalized to the same extent as many other minority groups. Breier asks how the German migrants and descendants understand their belonging in a transnational perspective, how they cultivate their relations to Germany and German traits; what it means to relate to at least two countries while living their lives in Finland, and what their identifications are. Her aim is to scrutinize their feelings of belonging, and to find out whether they regard themselves as Finns, Germans, both, or in some completely different way. The focus is on the extent to which they construct or deconstruct boundaries between associated aspects of their lives. The research questions concern aspects involved in the process of self-identification, and personal consequences that may result from having such a background.

The study is built on 32 semi-structured interviews with three chosen categories of informants. Breier aims to investigate complex identification processes by asking the informants of the first-generation migrants from Germany the same questions as their descendants born in Germany and the descendants born in Finland. Among the 35 informants there is a wide range of personalities, lifestyles, life trajectories and approaches to national identities and belonging. They represent an abundant mix of empirical material that is as contradictory and multifaceted as needed for detecting general patterns as well as the impact of different preferences, life experiences and individuality. The dissertation is well-structured, guiding the reader step by step. Breier cumulatively increases the complexity, deep-

ening the analysis from the simplicity and narrow interpretations of the first chapters to the later chapters with greater scope for variation and detailed analyses.

In the second chapter Breier gives a brief description of German-Finnish history and the German presence in Finland over a long time, thus placing her field in a historical context. She does not bring up this historical frame in her subsequent discussions in the thesis. As a reader I miss the analyses of how the interviewees' identifications are historically constituted. But Breier does show how certain occurrences in contemporary history have affected some of the interviewees a great deal concerning their identification with their German heritage and how they relate to national identity. They marked a distance to their origin, played it down, pointing out how that cultural heritage is still associated with the Nazis and what happened during World War II. In that sense they could not be associated with or feel proud of their national belonging. But it was also common among other interviewees to play down their Germanness for other reasons, such as lifestyle choices, thus rejecting what they did not like about German society. But these distanced relationships to Germany occurred in connection with reflections about belonging in binary terms, the German versus the Finnish. It did not imply that they could not have strong feelings of German belonging in other situations in their daily lives.

As indicated above, Breier's analytical ability grows step by step in the dissertation. In the first half the concepts are literally presented and understood. The interviewees' answers are mostly interpreted as facts. Breier's perspective is mixed with the informants' emic categories, their ways of understanding national culture and cultural heritage. The demarcation line between herself and the informants gets blurred. She talks along with the interviewees and draws the same scientific conclusions as they do. That way the concept of culture glides in the dissertation, from boxes of national cultures with established content, to culture as something unfixed and porous, as a result of people's interactions and practices. When using the first definition the analyses become a little rigid, but they are still interesting. When using the latter, the thesis starts to rise to other analytical altitudes, where identification is related to various social circumstances and relation-

ships. In these latter parts of the dissertation Breier distances herself and reveals how the informants' stories are expressions of positioning themselves. Here the discussion captures a multitude of experiences and attitudes that create an extraordinarily complex weave in the end.

The analysis is at its best when Breier discusses how the interviewees in their self-presentations have to relate to, or put up resistance to, the dominating cultural discourse. My impression is that they oscillate between using common understandings of cultural belonging and cultural heritage on the one hand, and opposing the discourse's dictate of the necessity of belonging to one people, culture and place, on the other hand. In the end the analysis becomes convincing when Breier shows how the interviewees' transnationally characterized identifications vary to a great extent because of individuality and different life experiences. These kinds of experiences affected the informants' attitudes and imaginations about feelings of belonging to Germany. Some had gone back to Germany to discover that work or everyday life was not at all what they had expected. In such encounters they realized how their personalities and preferences had changed because of their life in Finland, their views of hierarchies, personal integrity or gender relations, for example. The interviewees' identifications also changed over time because of their growing older, changing life perspectives. These changes could appear when becoming parents and suddenly finding themselves transmitting ingredients from German traits and occurrences to their children; it could be the importance of learning the German language, German cultural elements in everyday life and to some extent expressive forms and traditions. The younger generation also realized how the older people were not aware of how much they themselves cherished their relationship to Germany and German traits. In other words, in the end Breier finds what she is seeking: "identification with Germany, Finland, both, or in completely different ways". She achieves her aim as formulated in the beginning. This achievement is fulfilled because of her comprehensive empirical foundation and her ways of using this, making logically consistent and transparent analyses.

In the last chapter, when answering the research questions, one of Breier's discussions concerns the personal consequences of a feeling of belonging.

She finds what she calls a "mobile mindset", a self-reflexive state of mind among the descendants. The mindset was achieved because of their mobile experiences, their own moving of positions and being brought up in a transnational space. This state of mind was characterized by "an open mind towards physical mobility, […] an overall openness of mind toward other people, in general and also in particular towards people of different ethnic background" (230). She associates this with the "idea of cosmopolitanism as openness to diversity". The descendants' open mindset also included their awareness of being in privileged positions to move freely to where they wanted to be. They were also aware of the differences in comparison with people of other ethnic background. But in my opinion people who move and travel are not more open-minded and less discriminating than others, as a rule. And this self-reflexive capability is just as widespread among the second generation of marginalized and hierarchized groups that develop a double consciousness, aware of the ample stigmatizing discourse about them, seeing themselves in the eyes of others.

Nevertheless, Breier has a point when referring to the descendants' self-reflexive capabilities and that their identity constructions take place from privileged positions. But now and then she declares how this study is not compatible with studies of minorities in more marginalized positions, and that the descendants' experiences could hardly be compared to those of the second generation of these groups. In my opinion it is important that researchers discuss the differences as well as what traits are shared among different groups of migrants and their descendants. The risk is otherwise that the researchers construct hierarchical, binary and separate research fields built on the emic categorization of migrants among authorities, politicians and media. The risk is also that the researcher serves the discourses of reflexive and apprehensive categories of western migrants in comparison to racialized, more narrow-minded groups. These discussions are not the subject of Breier's dissertation, they are just thoughts about this kind of research in a wider field of migration and minority issues. Dorothea Breier's thesis is doubtless good research that fills a gap with valuable knowledge and invites these kinds of cutting edge discussions.

Oscar Pripp, Uppsala

Sound Spaces in Istanbul

Karin Eriksson-Aras, Ljudrum. En studie av ljud och lyssnande som kulturell praktik. Etnolore 37. Institutionen för kulturantropologi och etnologi, Uppsala universitet 2017. 180 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-506-2670-4.

■ The dissertation *Ljudrum* ("Sound Spaces") is based on a study conducted in Istanbul, Turkey. Karin Eriksson-Aras has walked around in a number of sound spaces and has, above all, listened but also looked at and experienced these sonic environments. Her "aim is to investigate how sound forms distinct and spatial entities, sound spaces, how sound spaces constitute forms of human interaction, and to conceptualize the study of sound spaces and contribute to a Swedish terminology for describing and analysing sounds and sound spaces."

A recurrent idea for Eriksson-Aras is to go from sound to listening and study how sound spaces are made, how they are established and maintained. She also touches on our ability and need to filter out sound in order to ignore it. An important and interesting question arising from this is: what is silence and where can it be found?

The author's method is what she calls case studies in the form of phenomenography, with reference to Ference Marton (professor emeritus of education), a form of "descriptive phenomenological analysis". The difficulty of transcribing sound, of making inter-semiotic translations between sounds and the written word, is also highlighted in this context. To get away from the predominant descriptions of sound, Eriksson-Aras avoids visual words like "high" and "low" in her descriptions of Istanbul's sound spaces. Based on my own studies of dance, I can easily agree about the difficulties that arise when something non-linguistic has to be made written and readable. Sounds, music, and movements such as dance are constantly ongoing processes that are difficult to capture in stagnant written language.

Phenomenography is operationalized as a number of "sound walks" in six public places swarming with people in the centre of the multimillion city of Istanbul and on three trips to other places outside the centre. The author visits and moves between these settings, listens to their sounds, talks to people, and also makes quite a few visual observations.

Together with Eriksson-Aras, then, we visit a number of different sound spaces. First we go

through the tunnel under the railway tracks in Karaköy. Here we can hear the sounds of different shoes and gaits, along with the buzz of conversation and singing. When the tunnel ends we emerge on the Galata Bridge. The traffic takes over and the sound of cars and buses dominates the sound space. The third sound environment is what the author calls the play tunnel. Here the sounds of noisy toys are blended with the calls of street traders, and the sound space is more intensive than before. We pause in sound environment number four, the in-between space, which is a small square with trees and benches. Here the sounds are not as intensive; it is possible to carry on a conversation and rest one's ears. After a little rest we continue to sound space number five, where the calls and chanted advertising slogans of street traders dominate. Finally we enter the Spice Bazaar, where we walk around indoors, listening to the muffled hum of vendors and customers.

Thus far it is no problem to keep up. The places and their sounds emerge from the text. The analysis of these sound spaces is done on the basis of the recorded material, the sound diary where Eriksson-Aras has recorded both ambient sounds and her own comments the whole time. It is these recordings, not the walks themselves, that constitute her material.

The comparisons between the different sound spaces are made with the aid of graphs showing the perceived sound intensity and range of loudness. These concepts are described and explained in the first two "information boxes", which then recur occasionally in the text itself. The idea may be good, but these boxes unfortunately do not assist the reading. Moreover, the boxes have greatly varied references, and some have none at all, which further reduces their value. It is also a little difficult to understand that it is technically possible to measure perceived sound intensity with no clear explanation.

The author makes comparisons throughout within the material, between Istanbul's different sound spaces and three other sound spaces in Turkey, but not with other places, times, or studies. The sound environments of the big city of Istanbul are supplemented with a bus trip to a suburb, a visit to the country, and a tour to Börek Center. When she abandons the more technical, and musicological, explanations it is both easy and interesting to read about the sound environments she describes.

Eriksson-Aras's conclusion is that sound spaces are distinct, empirically demarcatable entities with discernable boundaries and with clear transitions between the different spaces. She demonstrates and describes this well. It is also plausible that these sound spaces, as she writes, are cognitive entities that separate mental processes, emotions, wills, thinking, and the information found there, but it remains a claim that is left hanging in the air. The link to the empirical descriptions is lacking.

The dissertation is what could be called "non-media studies", which is nice in these times when media, above all digital ones, and how they are used often becomes an important and sometimes wholly dominant part in studies of culture.

Finally, despite some criticism of a dissertation that gives a fragmentary feeling, partly because certain interesting ideas are not followed up, I must praise Karin Eriksson-Aras for making us aware that sounds in places are important, sometimes at least as important as visual impressions. Or in her own words, she has helped to clarify what can be gained by ascribing greater significance to sounds and listening in research in cultural studies. For me sounds, like smells and movements, are important aspects of all spaces.

Mats Nilsson, Göteborg

Materializing Democratic Ideals in a Museum

Britta Zetterström Geschwind, Publika museirum. Materialiseringar av demokratiska ideal på Statens Historiska Museum 1943–2013 (Public Museum Space: Materialisations of Democratic Ideals at the Swedish History Museum 1943–2013). Department of Ethnology, History of Religion and Gender Studies, Stockholm University. 256 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-974-0.

■ At a time when museums discuss and experiment with so-called "welcome strategies" in order to attract more visitors, the dissertation *Publika museirum* is timely, providing historical perspective on different initiatives taken by the state-run Swedish History Museum to be a more inclusive and therefore democratic space. The dissertation shows that it is not only a museum's exhibition programme that attracts visitors: it is also peripheral spaces like the children's area, the museum shop, the entrance area,

as well as in-between spaces – such as the outdoor courtyard of the Swedish History Museum – that create the whole experience-oriented museum (to rephrase Falk & Dierking 1992). The dissertation actually makes one wonder whether it is, or indeed ever has been, possible to distinguish between central and peripheral spaces within a museum. The idea that changes have resulted from the project to foreground the exhibition as the "public" part of the museum may just be a product of the "new museology programme", characterized by its criticism of the often normative and neutralized communication of exhibitions that are based on one-way knowledge transmission rather than critical reflection upon "who says what to whom with what effect". One proponent of this new museology, Bruce Ferguson, has claimed that exhibitions are acts of rhetorical speech rather than representations of fact (Ferguson 1995).

This is, in any case, the claim of this dissertation, and works as a convincing argument for its focus. As the author states, the thesis is about the public spaces that visitors encounter in the museum apart from the exhibitions. Zetterström Geschwind asks, "What have these rooms been thought to bring about? What kind of publics have these spaces conceptualized and formed? Who has worked in these spaces? What practices have been carried out?" (p. 245, English summary).

Using a Latourian approach, the dissertation looks into how the museum has changed practices and perceptions of the entrance, shop and children's area in this context. A strong sensitivity to materialization processes is key, specifically with respect to how these processes undergird power struggles behind spatial changes to museums, as demonstrated through the case of the Swedish History Museum. This analytical approach involves detailed descriptions, using recent observations in the museum (mostly fieldwork done in the period 2011–2013), interviews with past and present employees, as well as archival material such as photos, press clippings, internal documents etc. documenting the museum's history since 1943, when it became an independent museum from the National Museum in Narvavägen in Stockholm.

The dissertation is divided into four main chapters. The first chapter, appropriately, begins by describing the museum's entrance. The second chapter continues on to the museum shop, while the third descends to the basement, where the children are invited by the museum to gather and learn in the "children's space". The last of the main chapters is about the even less significant public spaces of the museum, the so-called "in-between spaces".

In the chapter about the museum's entrance, the first subheading questions whether the state-run museum is the face of the nation, quite quickly concluding that this is in fact the case. The museum spaces are subordinate to national ideologies and cultural policies, making the study of the materialization of the museum spaces that much more interesting to interpret and discuss. The museum space of the Swedish History Museum is spectacular, indeed monumental – a characteristic stipulated by the architectural design competition committee. In the end, as no architects met this criterion, and therefore none won the competition, the second-place architects Georg Cherman and Bengt Romare in collaboration with engineer Gösta Nilsson were asked to further develop the monumental feel of their museum design proposal. In 1943 it opened to the public, a building characterized by Zetterström Geschwind as a masculine, racial, and monumental bunker safeguarding the nation's history. Although the museum was ready in 1939, its opening was delayed due to the outbreak of the Second World War, during which the collection was placed in storage for safety reasons. The space was unofficially inaugurated in 1940, however, with the temporary (one month) and timely special exhibition *Folk och Försvar,* which demonstrated Sweden's modern armed forces and used the museum space as a mass communication tool. Finally, three years later, despite the still-ongoing war, the museum officially opened with the special exhibition *Tio Tusen År i Sverige.* This drew on the museum's own collection, and embodied its main objective: to represent the evolution of Swedish history and culture as superior to the rest. At last the museum was open to the public, fulfilling the state's ambition to create a democratic educational space for all citizens. Even though the museum space is built of stone – expressing its very identity in its monumental architecture, its massive bronze entrance doors, and its Piraeus lion cast – its meaning is dynamic. Drawing on D. Massey's notion of relational materiality, the chapter demonstrates how the meanings of the museum space and its entrance area change as a result of various encounters in the room. The entrance desk is highlight-

ed as one example of a centrepiece of materiality. It changed in order to meet a state-imposed mandate of inclusiveness and accompanying cultural policy reform, namely "free admission". The entrance area was changed in the early 2000s in order to prioritize the profiling of the visitor as a consumer of experiences rather than the museum as a space for education and contemplation.

The museum shop space is interpreted by likening it to a miniature museum that reflects the changing perceptions of museum space. Looking back, in the 1970s there was no museum shop as such, only a museum bookshop. This changed in the late 1990s. The space turned into a lifestyle concept store, highlighting the Swedish History Museum's collection and selling all kinds of branded merchandise. Furthermore, its book collection was expanded to approximately 2,000 titles. In the early 2000s, the museum shop was relocated from behind the museum restaurant and connected to the exhibition area to a spot adjacent to the entrance space. This move was made in conjunction with the "free admission" reform mentioned above. But although the museum shop space was not recognized by the museum as a meaning-making space in and of itself, Zetterström Geschwind argues that it ought to be, since it can be perceived as a "free zone" where visitors more freely talk together and sensuously explore artefacts, thereby engaging with the museum experience.

When it comes to the museum's spaces for children, the trajectory appears to be the same, originating in idealistic ideals of building citizens and now increasingly addressing experience-oriented consumers. This is tied, too, to evolving public cultural policy regarding education. From the 1960s to the 1990s, giving children the opportunity to get close to material objects – especially authentic objects – was key. Recently, in the 2010s, the aim of the state department has been to make children a main target group for all communication. The official mission statement of the museum states that everyone should be able to learn from and become curious about Swedish history, whether they are a child or a grandparent. Parents and children are now accommodated not only in the separate children's space, but throughout the museum. Children are addressed as a target group of museums both as citizens – small citizens – and as consumers.

It seems that the dominant narrative of the public museum is, as stated in many museological and ex-

perience economy studies, transforming into a more commercial, experimental public space for cultural consumption. The museum needs to serve its public – a challenging task that requires adaptability among both its staff and its visitor-consumers.

Despite the dissertation's specific focus on the Swedish History Museum and its repetition of a well-known story of the changes of the museum institution during the twentieth century, it manages to tell in detail an important story of how museums change and develop over the course of time according to shifting cultural politics and discourse about their purpose. Zetterström Geschwind's skill in writing the analysis as an encounter with mainly Nordic museological studies makes it even more welcome to read.

Teachers of museum history should be pleased to include not only one chapter of this dissertation, but several, in their curriculum, since it provides a needed and detailed case study demonstrating how ideals regarding what constitutes "the public" are materialized in public museums. Indeed, as Zetterström Geschwind argues, the entire museum ought to be treated as a public ideological space. If future museum scholars and employees learn to keep that in mind, the dissertation's mission will have been accomplished.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Negotiations about Cultural Objects

Mikael Hammelev Jörgensen, Förhandlingar om kulturföremål. Parters intressen och argument i processer om återförande av kulturföremål. Gothenburg Studies in Conservation 39, Göteborgs Universitet 2017. 281 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7346-905-0.

■ Over the last 20 years or so there has been a significant change in the attitude of museums to the return of cultural objects. These changes are aptly connected to a wider understanding of how cultural objects were acquired earlier, as well as a movement towards both greater ethical concerns and respect for the native people to whom the objects once belonged. In this context Mikael Hammelev Jörgensen has written a doctoral dissertation concerning how parties negotiate and argue in a possible process of restitution.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, including one figure, six tables and seven pictures. In the introduction we are shown a well-known example of a claim to a cultural object, the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum, which was once at the Acropolis in Athens, but the situation is still unresolved, while a case of restitution of objects in Gotland was solved quite easily. Jörgensen therefore ask why the results were so different, and what the processes are that lead to these very different results. This brings us to the main questions of the thesis, which are formulated as three interconnected questions: (1) How can these processes of repatriation or restitution be understood from a negotiating perspective? (2) What types of arguments are used and how do they change over time? (3) Can negotiations influence the management of cultural objects in both a short-term and a long-term perspective?

Chapter one continues with a brief introduction to theoretical and methodological issues connected to the thesis, as well as basic concepts and definitions. Here we are also introduced to the way Jörgensen approaches the theme by using the "cake metaphor", particularly inspired by how negotiations have been studied in psychology with reference to a fixed pie, value creation and improving decision making. Thereafter we are introduced to the methodological approach using case studies, interviews, archives, films and newspaper debates, and how the arguments have been divided into different categories (such as place, cultural identity, handling of the objects, institution, moral rights, juridical rights, accessibility and economy). The first chapter ends with a brief discussion on different ways to understand cultural heritage in more general terms, particularly drawing on Laurajane Smith's work on the *Uses of Heritage* (2006).

The second chapter takes a broader perspective, introducing Swedish cultural heritage management and its development, as well as an international perspective on heritage with reference to several examples, charters and conventions, pointing out how our reflections and opinions about cultural heritage change over time and its contextual relations.

In the third chapter the motives and purpose of claiming cultural objects are discussed in more general terms, reflecting on different interpretations of how the history of objects, ownership and the terminology vary a great deal. This latter is particularly

discussed within the framework of the argument of the objects and remains "coming home".

Chapter four follows up on the theoretical approach outlined in chapter one, with a more detailed discussion of international examples of negotiations of cultural objects. This includes the relation between the negotiating parties, and how some cases have failed to reach an agreement, while others have been quite successful in processes of restitution of cultural property.

The fifth chapter develops the negotiation perspective further, and aims at identifying and clarifying factors in a negotiation process, based on the previously outlined theoretical models from psychology based on Bazerman & Moore (2013). Here the negotiation process and its initial stages, the arguments used by the different parties involved in the negotiation are in focus, and this is then highlighted by several examples, both international and Swedish. Here, in cases where the negotiations are blocked or stalled, it is suggested that a working group consisting of both parties may be a solution to advance the negotiations. From these initial discussions on various methodological and theoretical issues connected to negotiations of cultural objects, a negotiation perspective is applied to two case studies in chapter six in order to analyse how the process of restitution of cultural objects happens.

The first case is the G'psgolox totem pole which was exhibited in the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm and the demand of the Haisla First Nation of British Colombia, Canada. Here we are given a background to the specific case, the history of the totem pole and discussions of the totem pole, followed up by an analysis of the case as a cultural heritage process. Here important events are considered, as well as different positions and choices made during the negotiations, where especially the arguments of the different parties are analysed. After a lengthy process of negotiations over many years concerning both the actual claim, and later the economic responsibilities, the totem pole was returned to Haisla First Nation.

The second case was the claim for the return several medieval ecclesiastical objects from a museum in Gotland, Sweden, so that they could be returned to their original rural churches. Here we are also given a context to the cases and their historical background. One of the objects is a crucifix and the second is a saint's image; there are additional

brief considerations of claims to return an epitaph and a drum. This is followed up by a more detailed analysis of the processes, using archival material as well as interviews and a scrutiny of the arguments used by the different parties in the process of negotiation. The final result was that the crucifix was not returned and kept in the museum, while the saint's image was returned to the parish church. In all these cases the negotiations between the different parties developed very differently over time, and Jörgensen is clearly able to identify the arguments in the negotiation processes and how they differ in each case. This further illustrates the context of management of cultural heritage objects both within a museum context and in the cultural heritage laws.

Chapter seven is a summary and a concluding chapter of the analysis, highlighting the issues raised in the introduction. In the negotiation process concerning cultural heritage Jörgensen identifies which parts of the process the different parties value as important. It is pointed out that what may be important for one party may not be important for the other, but negotiations may move the parties in either direction. The two museum institutions regarded place as an important factor in the negotiation process, while they did not use arguments connected to cultural identity. In contrast to this, their counterpart regarded cultural identity as significant in the negotiation process. For all parties involved in this study both reputation and economy were important in the argumentation. To understand the process as negotiations that influence the management of cultural objects both in a short-term and a long-term perspective, Jörgensen points out that it is crucial how this is structured, as regards both the outside world and the interests of the parties involved. There may also be cases where one party has a double role, but from the cases analysed here there are also instances where a longer process creates more understanding.

Although this is a PhD thesis, which is a special genre, one should bear in mind that a thesis can be of interest to a wider audience. As regards technical and structural issues there are some points to be made. In general, the thesis has few illustrations and the first does not come until p. 140, and the tables are not really very informative. It would have been easier to access the theme and the cases by introducing pictures and the actual case studies earlier in the

thesis. The theory, methods and concepts introduced briefly in chapter one could have been moved to their respective chapters in order to avoid repetition and make the text more accessible. Further, we are first introduced to the drum from Hallshuk on page 235, which seems a bit removed from the main issues in the thesis. A methodological drawback is that the Haisla First Nation people that were involved in the repatriation of the G'psgolox totem have not been involved or interviewed. We are just briefly introduced to the G'psgolox totem pole as well as the crucifix and saint's images from Gotland over the first five chapters, which makes it partly difficult for the reader to understand the context and the actual claims that are being analysed. Chapter three could have been developed more and better structured, linking the issues raised more clearly to the topics and problems brought up in the introduction. Chapter five lacks a broader discussion of the theoretical part, but also why the negotiation perspective is chosen. This could clearly have been more nuanced, also drawing on perspectives from economic literature or from literature in law studies as well. Worth mentioning here are Marie Cornu and Marc-André Renold's article from 2010 and Folarin Shyllon's article from 2017, both using Alternative Means of Dispute Resolution as an approach, as this is particularly important in disputes connected to the return, restitution and repatriation of culture property. This would clearly have given a broader understanding of the context Jörgensen investigates; here also a third party or actually a neutral person or group as a mediator could have been considered both specifically connected to the cases analysed, and on a more general level whether this could be a possibility or not. Further, this is also connected to other parts of disputes over cultural property, such as moral pressure, power relations and emotional issues. In the case of the G'psgolox totem pole we also have to consider that both the procedures and the legal system in general may be very different, i.e. that cultural values and ideas are different even in the legal system. Therefore, the contexts of the two major cases are very different; language and culture are on an even level with regard to the medieval objects from Gotland, but for the G'psgolox totem pole the language, culture and even the juridical laws and system are indeed different, and therefore the explicit benefit of comparing these different cases should have been made clearer.

Despite these critical remarks on the thesis, I find it an interesting and valuable contribution to this very important and difficult topic.

Nils Anfinset, Bergen

Teenagers in Care and Punishment

Kim Silow Kallenberg, Gränsland. Svensk ungdomsvård mellan vård och straff. Södertörns högskola, Huddinge 2016. 258 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87843-42-6.

■ *Gränsland* is a dissertation about compulsory youth care in state-run homes. It is also a dissertation about occupational practice and professional identity. It follows and develops a tradition of ethnological research on institutions. Briefly, it is about how the staff in a remand home who carry on compulsory youth care, how they understand and legitimize their work. The more precise aim of the dissertation can be read on page 18:

"The aim of the dissertation, based on the day-to-day institutional work and on the staff's statements, is to survey and analyse the understandings and justifications of compulsory institutional care that are created and maintained through constructions of teenagers, treatment practices, and staff positions."

The author points out three lines of study which also constitute the three empirical chapters of the dissertation: the staff's constructions of the young people they meet, the treatments they provide, and the professional positions adopted by the staff.

The material mostly consists of interviews with staff and observations at the secure unit that is called Viby in the dissertation. Here teenage boys undergo compulsory institutional care, and the majority of those responsible for the treatment are also male.

As regards theory, the analyses are based on political discourse theory, with references such as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. More specifically, the author follows the development of discourse theory that is ascribed to Jason Glynos and David Howarth, here called the logics approach. This means that the researcher tries to identify what structures and motivates the informants' thinking and acting in a particular context. Three aspects of logics are distinguished: social, political, and fantasmatic. *Social* logics are structuring logics which are naturalized and taken for granted by people. *Political* logics challenge what is taken for granted as

natural. *Fantasmatic* is the term for the meaning constructions, or fantasies as they are called within the framework of this theory, which people use to explain their existence and make it comprehensible – even if it is full of contradictions. In my opinion it is the fantasmatic aspect that offers the most dynamic analyses, and I think that Silow Kallenberg would agree with me, because it is when the fantasmatic dimension of different logics is identified and described that the analyses here really take off.

The title of the dissertation, "Borderlands: Swedish Youth Care in the Intersections of Care and Punishment", presents the ideas that are highlighted as the most fundamental principles for how the informants understand compulsory care (and their own work), namely, what the author calls *the logic of care* and *the logic of punishment.* As the names suggest, these logics define the work at the secure unit in different ways and they also affect how the informants understand the teenagers' presence and needs in the institution. The logics of care and punishment recur throughout the dissertation. The more specific logics that are then identified and described in the respective chapters are all related to this general level.

In accordance with discourse theory, the author explains and shows how logics enable a certain span of agency, but also certain subject positions. The logic, or the way of understanding, that dominates at a particular time will thus have consequences for how the people present on this occasion will act and for how they will be positioned and position themselves. Such positionings are intimately associated with power, but also, it turns out, with powerlessness.

In three empirical chapters the author examines the three aspects specified in her statement of the aim. In each chapter she demonstrates how the material is organized by different logics. She also describes the ideological fantasies through which the informants create meaning in their work and the positions that are made available through these.

Chapter 3 is the first empirical chapter, dealing with the way the staff make their work comprehensible by describing the people they work with: the teenagers. The reader gains insight into how the informants view the *reasons* why the teenagers come to Viby in the first place. Three logics are identified as operating here. The first is what the author calls "the logic of the social context", which lo-

cates the explanation for the young offenders' up-bringing outside the individuals. The potential for action therefore consists in changing the teenager's environment, from a context that is regarded as problematic to the context of remand care. The second attitude is called a "biological logic", which has a specific status in the secure unit. It too locates the reasons for the teenagers' placement at Viby outside their control, but instead of highlighting the social context it identifies biological circumstances, for example, neuropsychiatric diagnoses. The potential actions here include medication.

In the talk of the young offenders we also glimpse a third logic, which is called "the logic of choice". According to this, the presence of the teenagers at Viby is a consequence of a series of more or less free choices. Unlike the norms for free choices that apply elsewhere in the field of care, however, the idea that the teenagers' actions were the effect of free and partly conscious choices does not construct the teenagers as free and independent. The logic of choice appears solely to fill the function of legitimizing the coercive aspect of the institutional care by defining the teenagers' previous choices as bad.

All the logics are well-established figures that we recognize from elsewhere. If the first two logics become comprehensible within, and support, a care logic, the third, the logic of choice, supports the punishment logic: A person who has chosen something can be held accountable.

The care logic and the punishment logic gave rise to two different ideas about the young people: "the fantasy of the child" and "the fantasy of the young offender". The notion that the teenagers were *like* children or actually *were* children positioned them as innocent. This enabled certain caring practices, and it normalized and legitimized the power relation between the teenagers and the staff. The fantasy of the young offender, by contrast, positioned the teenagers as responsible and legitimized more punitive practices. Ever-present talk of the teenagers' potential aggression was moreover successful in rendering invisible the practices of violence that the staff sometimes chose to engage in.

The author shows how these fantasies dictated clear boundaries as to who could be counted as a child. Here it seemed as if notions of authenticity were central: it is only "real" children that deserve care. Individuals who claimed explicitly that they were children – such as the unaccompanied refugee children – could arouse suspicions about their true age.

In chapter 4 the author examines *treatment practices* at Viby. She finds that different meanings could be assigned to the treatments depending, for example, on whether they are understood as being part of a logic of care or a logic of punishment. "Individual conversations" could be regarded as a form of care, but they could also be used as punishment – something that happens when a teenager has not behaved in accordance with rules and expectations. It was much the same with other treatment methods.

It is difficult for the informants to know what the effect of their work is. When talking about it they often choose to say that they are at least "planting a seed" of change in the young people. This is a kind of hopeful fantasy of good and successful treatment. The fantasmatic character of this fantasy means that it conceals awkward problems, for example, that the staff have no real evidence that they are doing any good, or that planting the seed sometimes includes practices that are more punitive than caring in character. Silow Kallenberg contextualizes this by relating the treatment fantasy to other *belief systems* (p. 159). Through comparison with the Christian presence in the history of social care she exposes how belief and morals are still found in the fantasy of the good treatment. It is possible, for example, to *testify* about the disadvantages of criminality and about the advantages of leaving it behind, and great significance is attached to this testimony, which grants legitimacy. And here we see how a logic of choice with moral connotations once again sneaks into the notion of good care and treatment and complicates any understanding.

The fifth chapter deals with logics that structure the informants' professional identity and determine who is suitable for the work, thus creating the positions available to the informants in the institutional setting. Two logics are identified here: "the logic of practical knowledge" and "the logic of theoretical knowledge". The logic of theoretical knowledge stresses the importance of education. It is described as somehow sanctioned from above, yet it is subordinate in the material. The logic of theoretical knowledge is present above all in that the informants contrast themselves with it. Although education is described on some occasions as being good, the informants mostly argue that other qualities are more important. Instead it is the logic of practical

knowledge that dominates at Viby. It challenges the formal educational requirements of a treatment assistant by making *experience* – of practical work with teenagers or personal experience of substance abuse or criminality – into a real qualification. The challenge to formal education leads the author to view the logic of practical knowledge as a political logic, a kind of counter-logic. This counter-logic is interwoven in a fantasy of the necessity of practical experience and how we live in times when it is threatened. According to Silow Kallenberg, the fantasmatic aspect conceals the fact that the thesis can hardly be proved. Moreover, we may suppose, it offers the pleasure of rejecting the superiority of formal education. It is thus a counter-logic that comprises a protest, and a sense of frustration, that has partly to do with class, but also turns out to be linked to ideas of gender.

Chapter 5 deepens the discussion on the significance of gender, sexuality, and the body. Here the author talks of a "logic of macho masculinity", revealing how masculinity and a certain type of masculine bodies are privileged in the outlook on who suits the profession. Women are associated with actions such as cleaning, washing dishes, and providing care. Men are associated with muscle power. Women are also viewed as needing protection, while men are protectors, and this is symbolized in a great many ways, with significance for how different bodies can move in the workplace and which type of tasks they can be given.

Macho logic also normalizes sexual harassment of female staff by the teenagers. It is a logic that is intimately associated with class positions and ethnicity, and with professional competence. The macho logic raises a fantasy of control in which muscular men are turned into the guarantors of order and security, a role that is held up as important at a workplace that is constantly described as full of potential risk. This fantasmatic narrative declares that when the going gets tough, a university education is of no help. In this way, ideas about the teenagers' problems and needs blend with ideas about gender, body, class, education, ethnicity, and professional competence in a way that privileges certain bodies.

Things get hot when it turns out that the ideal body in this profession – the muscular male body – is encouraged by the management. It is problematic that recruitment to the profession favours muscular male bodies and partly devalues theoretical knowledge. It is not just that this leads to unfairness, or that it preserves gender patterns, but it has such clear repercussions on the care of the teenagers, on how Swedish compulsory care is delivered when it alternates between care and punishment, balancing on what sometimes appears to be a rather slack rope.

The dissertation is wrapped up in a twenty-page conclusion with a detailed summary of the discussion which highlights the central tensions, while also pointing forwards.

Gränsland is a dissertation about an important topic, problematizing interesting aspects of it. It is also a dissertation with clear theoretical ambitions, which it accomplishes in an elegant and independent manner. As always, of course, one can discuss what a given theoretical framework contributes and what it risks losing from view. The logics approach makes it clear all through the dissertation how the informants' actions and understandings are related both to overall power relations and to possible identifications. But the perspective has been criticized for moving the focus too quickly from the material to a rather high level of abstraction and for offering a simplified and excessively schematic model of how reality and its practices should be understood. Although I sometimes found it hard to keep track of the levels of the identified logics, it is clear in *Gränsland* that it is the empirical material and the analytical results that are the basis for how the logics have been identified and named. The selected logics are also used very well to reveal tendencies and power relations in the material. I would have liked to see a deeper discussion of the fantasmatic dimension of the discourse theory and the logics approach; this is after all a perspective that partly arose as a way to investigate the possibilities of critically explaining the social. Here I find that the author sometimes stops and perhaps does not always exploit the potential of the theoretical construct. I am not told very much about the emotional driving force of the informants, what makes them stick to their understandings even when these turn out not to correspond to their concrete experiences. Nor do I learn much about the attraction of the fantasies when they go beyond what is permitted, or about the desirability of *what the informants become* when they talk to the researcher and otherwise act as they do.

In the dissertation there is a preponderance of interview references, and perhaps it would have been

good if the author's observation material had been used more, that is, descriptions and analyses of how things are made culturally comprehensible in everyday routines. This might have been able to further show how the dominant logics are not something that unambiguously "exists" in the material, but are the result of sometimes conflicting attempts to understand life.

The dissertation is well written and lucidly presented. Yet there are trivial things that can possibly disturb the reading. Sometimes I get the feeling that things are introduced but not followed up. And while it is praiseworthy to comment on quotations, this occasionally results in mere repetition of what was said. There are many "teasers" about what is to come, which makes for clarity, but it has a distancing effect which constantly reminds the reader of the construction of the book itself.

Despite these criticisms, *Gränsland* is a well-conducted and well-written study which has yielded an important book. Kim Silow Kallenberg handles a rather complex and little-used theory, and does so throughout the book, without losing contact with the empirical material, even though this is a well-known risk. This itself makes her study a welcome example of how the logics approach can be used in studies with ethnographic material. Moreover, the dissertation provides vital knowledge and its focus will surely make it readable for those who are interested in how the cultural, in the form of logics, identifications, and power relations, structures work in institutions and – of course – affects those who, for different reasons, spend time there.

Anna Sofia Lundgren, Umeå

What is "Culture"?

Anna-Liisa Kuczynski, Minoritetsgrupper och möten i trängda situationer. Identifikationer och kulturell gemenskap. Nordisk etnologi. Fakulteten för humaniora, psykologi och teologi, Åbo Akademi 2017. 184 pp. + articles. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-952-12-3623r-5 (print), 978-952-12-3624-2 (pdf).

■ Minority groups suffering from violence, oppression and marginalization is an increasing concern for scholars all over the globe. In many countries populist movements claim the national majority group's moral and cultural superiority over migrants and minorities, regardless of the matter that the latter groups have resided in the country and have been citizens for a long time. The global trend bringing these kinds of tensions has also caused movements among people who are not necessarily marginalized or hierarchized but well-educated professionals trying to settle and make a good life, embedded in new social networks. Knowledge of the including and excluding forces that meet well-educated professionals shows how integration is about mutual relationships; it is much easier to uncover subtle excluding mechanisms within the majority society in comparison to investigations with excluded groups that are hierarchized and perceived in the discourses as being "entirely" culturally different. The latter minority groups are often regarded as excluded because of their own incapability to integrate.

In many places such biased "minority-focused" integration models are dominant, also in the Nordic countries. The majority populations in the Nordic countries are often chiefly seen as role models, helpers and educators of the minority members for successful integration and are rarely understood as forces that also keep people excluded. Research about economically and socially privileged groups – but in other kinds of minority positions – strengthens the knowledge about the duality of exclusion and inclusion. It provides arguments for the need of a combination of two-sided models in integration politics that are both majority and minority focused.

Anna-Liisa Kuczynski's thesis "Minority Groups and Encounters in Cornered Situations" (my translation) contributes to that knowledge when she asks how the more privileged minority groups in a Finnish context negotiate and mould identity in cornered situations. The thesis is built on three case studies, the first with Swedish-speaking people in Uusikaupunki (Nystad), the second with Finnish-speakers in Åland and the third is a study about Polish-Finnish families in the Turku region. The research questions are how the members' group identifications are symbolized, manifested and changed in the situations described. The primary empirical material consists of 77 semi-structured interviews.

Kuczynski's article-based dissertation consists of the thesis and five published articles, one about Uusikaupunki, two about Åland and two about the Polish-Finnish families. She asks the same research questions in each context and gets multi-sited answers revealing each case study's unique historical

and current context. Kuczynski achieves her objective clearly in relation to each empirical field but discusses the general conditions too briefly. The curious reader has to look further for answers to why people in such circumstances stay with certain identification markers but not with others. Why don't they put up stronger resistance, keeping one of their "basic identities" and why do they assimilate in to the hegemonic local order? This added aspect would have contributed to the international field of research even more, touching on classical anthropological and ethnological problems that have been scrutinized over a hundred years.

Noticeably, Kuczynski really has the possibility to take this general grip because she often puts her interviewees from the synchronic studies into diachronic contexts. She goes back in time, considering circumstances such as national and local political development and demographic and economic changes in Finland that made an impact on life in Uusikaupunki and in Åland, and other struggles that shaped identities and positions over time. Thanks to Kuczynski's historical account, it is obvious how the interviewees' identity formations are historically situated.

In Uusikaupunki the number of Swedish-speaking people has decreased over a long time. Step by step in a period of over one hundred years they have lost their leading positions and influence over central institutions such as school, newspapers, libraries and the city council. Today just a few families and individuals remain in a town totally dominated by the Finnish-speaking group. The minority members themselves use the Finnish language as default in everyday life. In Åland the historical context shows how Finnish-speaking individuals' lower social status and marginalization in relation to the Swedish-speakers is a product of a historical relationship over a long time. The Finnish-speaking minority members claim and manifest their Finnish-speakingness in careful and modest ways. Many attempts to organize institutions and a Finnish community have been actively counteracted, even in a contemporary perspective. Kuczynski also gives an account of the historical geopolitical context which has affected how Åland gained autonomy and the rise of "Ålandic" identity formation, closely linked to the Swedish language. With both these two contexts in mind it is understandable why people act as they do when practising belongingness to their mother tongue identity. The Finnish-speaking informants in Åland played down but simultaneously cultivated their Finnishness by listening to Finnish radio, watching Finnish television programmes and reading Finnish books, newspapers and weekly magazines. But all this was done in private. They uphold trans-local contacts with relatives and friends and via artefacts/commodities and memories from places on the Finnish mainland.

Each field study adds several pieces to the puzzle of identity formation among cornered people. But Kuczynski doesn't explicitly show the final picture when doing the puzzle since she leaves the last pieces.

I find the third field study in the thesis about the Polish-Finnish families not fully compatible with the two mentioned above. It has a different ontology based on an intercultural approach, how people are products of their cultural origins. From the intercultural perspective the question is how the interviewees relate to their cultures, Polish and Finnish. A subsequent question is what happens when these cultures do not fit into each other and the family members have to negotiate. The historical description in the study is influenced by this cultural-relativistic view, primarily accentuating the contrast between the Polish and Finnish historical development. The general research questions in the thesis are difficult to answer when the context is contrastive, culturalized and stripped of a sufficiently strong social dimension to such extent. The study is nevertheless interesting in many ways, although it supplies the reader with results of a different kind from the ones from Uusikaupunki and Åland.

Kuczynski's theoretical framework is based on her interests in identity formation and belonging, viewed as identification processes constructed relationally and situationally between groups of people in a historical context. This basic approach is consistently used and applied in the articles and makes it comprehensible how the interviewees' ways of identifying themselves are products of historical and contemporary power relations and interaction with local majorities. Their choice to be parts of hegemonic local cultures seems to be rational. In the case of Uusikaupunki the Swedish-speakers are just a few families with limited possibilities to establish institutions and mobilize strong networks. In public there are few places and occasions when the Swedish language could be used. The interviewees had

developed a sensibility about when they could speak Swedish in public and when they avoided doing it, depending on what people they were surrounded with.

My associative thoughts go back in time to the anthropologist Harald Eidheim's study from the 1960s about the coastal Sami people in Norway. The Sami avoided the Sami language in public and switched to Norwegian when they were audible to majority members. As in Eidheim's study, the Swedish-speakers in Uusikaupunki practised their minority language in private and within the families. But the difference between these two cases is that Eidheim focuses on social situations and the interaction between the two groups where the coastal Sami became stigmatized and marginalized. Kuczynski's material is based on interviews and lacks sufficient information about everyday interaction and social relations. And the difference between the studies is of course that the Swedish-speaking minority has a much stronger position in the society, not being stigmatized. And I find these kinds of relationships the most interesting issue in Kuczynski's thesis, how integrated people become cornered due to the dominance of local culture and local social practices. The picture of integration as relational including and excluding forces becomes clear and reveals the impact of dominating institutions in everyday life.

Kuczynski tries to explain these complex processes of exclusion and inclusion more generally in some parts of her thesis. She succeeds best when bringing up how *exclusion* is the general condition in functionally differentiated modern societies, based on the philosopher Antoon Braeckman's discussion. While full inclusion was possible through membership of families, clans and farms in the pre-modern society, inclusion can only be partly achieved in the modern and postmodern society, she claims, because of the complexity of functional domains, such as economy, politics, education, media, arts, etc. Even if most people have access to these domains, they can't be included in all of them, never fully. The starting point for Kuczynski's analysis is exclusion, with the focus on possibilities and constraints for people to be included, depending on their belonging to different social groups and categories. This ontology elucidates how the Finnish-speakers in Åland do not have the same possibilities to be included in some domains to the same extent as the Swedish-speakers. Exclusion isn't necessarily a

consequence of being forced out of these domains but rather a result of constraints on getting in. Perhaps this sounds obvious and simple, but it is of great importance for a complex analysis to ask questions from different angles such as: What categories, belongings and other distinguishing features invite you to central domains instead of making you excluded? What social belongings and features make you one of those who are generally excluded?

Kuczynski's contribution to the research field lies not in her theoretical perspectives and concepts. To a large extent they correspond to a standard template when it comes to the study of identity formation among groups of people. Her field methods with semi-structured interviews also follow the main road of ethnology. The interviews are well-structured but seem to be formal, with a distance between the interviewer and the interviewees which yield material that one cannot dig deeper into and that does not contain so much about the group members' experiences of situations, course of actions and how they handled certain situations that arise, what I call the criteria for an ethnography open to a wide range of possible interpretations. Another objection I have about the methods is that the interviewees' stories and answers to the questions are handled and interpreted as authorities, facts, and not as narratives revealing in a more subtle way power relations and how the interviewees felt that they were positioned and how they wished to be positioned.

Apart from these critical comments I find the dissertation interesting and a result of good research. The language, discussions and interpretations are clear. Kuczynski supports her results with genuine field descriptions and logically consistent chains of interpretations. She is transparent and honest about her field results, never trying to exaggerate what she can find out from her sources. That makes her results convincing and her thesis a good contribution to the research field.
Oscar Pripp, Uppsala

Swedish Fashion 1930–1960

Ulrika Kyaga, Swedish Fashion 1930–1960. Rethinking the Swedish Textile and Clothing Industry. The Centre for Fashion Studies, Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University 2017. 291 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 987-91-7649-923-8.

■ With the thesis *Swedish Fashion 1930–1960: Rethinking the Swedish Textile and Clothing Industry*, Ulrika Kyaga has done pioneering work as a fashion researcher. She has broken new ground, exploring what constituted "Swedish fashion" in the thirty years from 1930 to 1960. These were the formative years of the modern, industrialized Sweden that saw the rise of the Swedish welfare state and was a period in which the lives of many Swedes would change for the better – including finding affordable ways to be fashionable, which, as this thesis demonstrates, was the incentive that propelled Swedish fashion into existence.

From a historical point of view, it is indeed a very interesting period in modern Swedish history, covering both the emergence of Sweden as a modern Scandinavian welfare state and a time where Sweden's armed forces chose neutrality during World War II. These major events affected the Swedish people's everyday lives in various ways, as this dissertation demonstrates. The work contributes to our understanding of how many different private and public organizations and individuals took part in, had an interest in, and indeed drafted plans for how the Swedish people should live their lives, and according to what sense of "the good modern life" their lives should be modelled as citizens of a welfare state.

Because fashion is part of life, it is part of everyday life too; but as Ulrika Kyaga demonstrates, fashion intersects with many different domains – it affects the practices of textile and clothing manufacturing; it affects politics and advocacy for the fair distribution of resources; it affects practices of how to look, get dressed, perceive gender specificities, age, etc. Unsurprisingly, the study of fashion is an interdisciplinary discipline. If one wants to move beyond the study of a specific fashion's aesthetic look, it is necessary to broaden one's scope and draw on various source materials and analytical tools (theories and concepts). As Professor Klas Nyberg, head of the Centre for Fashion Studies at Stockholm University where Ulrika Kyaga has been enrolled for her PhD, states in the *Editor's Introduction* to her thesis, "Fashion studies is an interdisciplinary approach" (p. 9).

The Centre for Fashion Studies at Stockholm University was a pioneering initiative when it was founded in 2006 – perhaps reflecting not only interdisciplinary trends in academia, especially in the humanities and social sciences, but also the status and impact fashion had (and still has) on the culture and commerce of contemporary Sweden at the turn of the new millennium. In the Swedish fashion discourse, the idea of the "Swedish fashion miracle" (Karin Falk, *Det svenska modeundret*, Stockholm: Norstedts, 2011) appeared around the year 2000, expressing confidence in an industrial sector beyond the success of the major Swedish fashion company Hennes & Mauritz (H&M, founded in 1947), and despite the industrial challenges of the time concerning outsourcing of textile and clothing manufacturing to low-wage countries, changing international trade regulations (especially the Multi Fibre Agreement), and the globalization of the supply chain in general.

Two years after the inauguration of the Centre for Fashion Studies and its MA programme, the PhD programme was launched. Ulrika Kyaga's is the fifth thesis to be presented for defence since then. In the context of the successes of and confidence in contemporary Swedish fashion – both its fast-fashion and design-driven sectors – it is appropriate to raise questions about the history of Swedish fashion.

The thesis defines fashion as a practice involving a material aspect (of manufacturing clothing and textiles), a symbolic aspect (adding value and making meaning), and – in the case of "Swedish fashion" – a national identity aspect (adding value and making meaning).

From this statement, the thesis is defined by the dissertation's main problem statement and research question: What were the central features of the industrial production, the image and the idea of Swedish fashion, and how did this change between 1930 and 1960?

The main research question is then further divided into three sub-questions that are answered in each of the three main chapters of the thesis.

The first sub-question asks: "What were the central features of Swedish clothing manufacturing production between 1930 and 1960?" This question is answered via an understanding of the statistical group "*textil- och beklädnadsindustrin*", meaning the characteristics of two related, but structurally and technologically divergent, industries during the 30-year-period under examination. Drawing mainly on the British scholar Richard M. Jones's theories of the clothing industry and the idea of defining an industry via key ratios, the chapter describes the size

of the industry (number of companies, employees, revenue, etc.), its structure, and its growth over these 30 years. What is learnt from the chapter is that these industries were important to the Swedish economy mainly due to the number of people they employed. The workforce of the textile and clothing industries varied between 12.9 and 15.8% of all manufacturing jobs during the period 1930–1955, with a decline beginning in 1950. These percentages represent roughly 80,000 to 98,000 people employed by the industries in this period. Exports were limited, however, and it is fair to say that the Swedish textile and clothing industries were predominantly a home market industry.

Textile production in Sweden was concerned with cotton and wool fabrics. The textile mills and industry were concentrated around the cities of Borås, Göteborg-Mölndal, Malmö, Stockholm and Norrköping.

During the 1930s, Sweden became self-sufficient in ready-to-wear clothing production. Women's wear saw the most dramatic increases during the period, as it took longer to transform the practices of home production of women's wear than men's wear (which by 1930 was already dominated by ready-to-wear). The textile and clothing industries were profoundly affected by the Second World War. In 1941, textile rationing was introduced due to the shortage of materials. The only goods exempted from rationing were shoes, silk, artificial silk, wool (cell wool), sewing thread, and mourning clothes. Later the same year, price regulations were introduced by the government to secure the production of basic needs. After the war, however, the industries would be forced to export in order to pursue growth. This required the ability to work with faster-changing styles as well as marketing.

Most Swedish clothing companies were of small to medium size; only 1% would have had 500 to 1,000 employees. The largest company in 1955 was *Algot Johansson AB* (work wear – 1,648 employees), followed by *Aktiebolaget Melka* (sports and leisure wear, 1,544 employees), and then *AB Schwartzman & Nordström* (men's and boys' wear, 998 employees).

Other kinds of companies were also involved in clothing production, but were not counted in the statistics. These included artisanal clothing producers like sewing studios and dressmakers' studios providing customers with made-to-order dresses. Fa-

miliar brands in this category were *AB Fr. V. Tunborg* (founded in 1914) and *Märthaskolan*.

So the textile and clothing industries were wide-ranging between 1930 and 1960. During the period, clothing manufacturing was transformed by mass production, and the domestic market gave the emerging Swedish fashion industry a lucrative starting point according to Kyaga.

The second sub-question asks: "What were the central features of the symbolic production in terms of the field of fashion in the same period?" The answer to the question is what concerns Chapter 3, based mainly on contemporary reporting about fashion in the Swedish press and trade journals. Sources such as *Bonniers månadstidning*, *Eva*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Damernas Värld*, *Stil*, *Textil och Konfektion*, *Textilia* etc. were consulted. The chapter explores the struggle to define fashion and its authorship within the field of fashion in Sweden. During the period in question, it was the Parisian haute couture industry that held the power to define fashion. The chapter even claims a new finding that due to Sweden's policy of neutrality during World War II, the influence of Parisian fashion lasted longer in Sweden than it otherwise might have, limiting the country's need to promote its own design and to draw on local, professional fashion designers. The Parisian haute couture industry based its business model (licensing schemes, exclusive trade agreements, etc.) on a transnational operation that centralized fashion innovation in Paris, in order to control and profit by its dissemination to fashion consumers in surrounding countries. The Swedish field of fashion was entangled with this dominant French operation. The value of "good fashion" required emulating the French connection and making it visible, whether in fashion reporting that highlighted Parisian couturist genius and star-status, or in the naming of a department tasked with distributing fashion (at the high-end department store NK, *Nordiska Kompaniet*, the fashion department was named *Franska* – the Swedish word for 'French'). Within such a system of fashion distribution, Swedish buyers of haute couture (dressmakers and department stores) occupied dominant positions. The most renowned among these were Marg von Schwerin (dressmaking studio *Märthaskolan*) and Kurt Jacobsson (*NK Franska*). They held positions that mediated and translated fashion between the two geographies (i.e. centre and periphery), and as such played a significant role in

the layout of the Swedish field of fashion. The field of Swedish fashion did not produce its own star fashion designers during the period 1930–1960, the thesis finds. What came to characterize the early years of the Swedish field of fashion were the economic value of the field and its suitability as a vehicle for Swedish identity.

Finally, the third sub-question asks: "What were the central features of national production of fashion in Sweden during this period?" This question is answered in Chapter 4, which considers the importance and role of fashion in the ongoing construction of a Swedish national identity, and more specifically, a Swedish fashion identity. It is a complex story, and the chapter demonstrates research and understanding of Swedish history, politics and economics. In this chapter, the study draws on the anthropologist Benedict Anderson's theory of nationalism and the concepts of "imagined communities" and "horizontal comradeship". What unified the fashion industry in Sweden was the ability to translate Parisian fashion into clothing styles suitable for the Swedish woman, reflecting her demands for affordable fashion and her preference for clean cuts in high-quality fabrics. The chapter documents how domestic clothing production is associated in the fashion press with high-quality but affordable fashion (compared to Parisian haute couture), and based on local assets like domestic textile production. Domestic fabrics + Parisian fashion design + social democratic values of affordable fashion for everyone and for everyday use = the Swedish fashion identity.

The chapter ends most interestingly with a unique study of five original designs by Christian Dior that were sold to Stockholm-based dressmakers (Märthaskolan, Edman & Andersson, Bekå) and translated to suit the Swedish woman (Swedish consumer), who is described in this context as a producer of style and the ideal model for Swedish values at the time. The Dior business model lent itself to this translation by, for instance, addressing different markets by using local names for the designs and/or models (ref. Palmer 2001). The number of changes made – if any – varied greatly, as demonstrated in the thesis; they mostly reflected the person wearing it and in what context. The study of the actual garments demonstrates that any local adjustments were more a question of media rhetoric than redesign, in order to appeal to a particular Swedish taste.

In the final, concluding chapter, Chapter 5, the thesis claims a new finding in fashion scholarship, namely that Swedish fashion originated prior to the 1960s, which had been the accepted conventional wisdom. According to this research, the field emerged gradually between the 1930s and the 1960s. Paris haute couture fashion played a role in paving the way for Swedish fashion to develop: on industrialist terms, based on democratic values associated with the modern Scandinavian welfare state, and affordable for everyone.
Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Neither too much nor too little

Emma Lindblad, Looking *vanlig*; neither too much nor too little. A study of consumption of clothing among mainstream youth in a Swedish small town. Fashion Studies 4. Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm 2017. 192 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-445-5/978-91-7649-718-0.

■This is a well-written dissertation about the concept of 'vanlighet' (ordinariness) among some young women and men in Sweden around 2010. It is built on extensive fieldwork, which includes Wardrobe studies. But, the thesis is much less about fashion than I would expect from a dissertation in Fashion Studies, and I must regretfully admit that it is much less concerned with jeans than the title promised. I know there is a danger in claiming this, as I am an ethnologist with an in-depth interest in materiality, and find wardrobe studies to be one among few other innovative methodologies for contemporary studies of dress. Allow me to make my argument.

The cover page of the thesis shows a picture of two people seen from behind, showing off their jeans-covered bodies from their waistlines and down. The illustrations inside the book show jeans, the prologue is about jeans and the first chapter is called "Young Swedes and denim: An introduction". Early in her first chapter (p. 25), Lindblad writes: "In this thesis I study clothing consumption in a Swedish small town in the late 2000s, focusing on young people aged 17–23 who self-identify as mainstream, in order to understand their patterns of consumption and what drove them to dress the way they did. In order to chart the lifeworlds of those

participating in the study, the key element is the documentation of their denim jeans as part of an ethnographic study designed to capture how the group themselves reasoned about their consumption practices."

The last chapter titled "The function of *vanlighet*" tells me something different about this thesis: "The general objective of the study is to investigate how the mainstream was experienced on both the individual and the collective level, and what this means in terms of the theories of identity, youth, fashion, and consumption [...]." Here, the author mentions identity and youth before fashion and consumption, while denim is not mentioned at all. In the same paragraph, Lindblad writes that she understands fashion as "something more than garments that clothe the body" and that denim only serves as a reminder of those multifaceted aspects of fashion (p. 163). My critique of this dissertation is founded on the gap between these two quotes. As I understand it, Lindblad pays much more attention to the young people's self-identification than to how fashion – and denim in particular – contribute to this self-identification.

The book is divided into 5 chapters. After the introduction, a chapter about theoretical perspectives on fashion and identity follows, and after that, chapter 3 presents methodology and material. It is not until chapter 4 that we really encounter Lindblad's informants. The last chapter is a summary, a presentation of findings and a conclusion.

Reading the dissertation, I begin longing for the empirical material of the study very early. The discussions of chapters 2 and 3 are no doubt engaging and interesting, as well as updated and relevant. Nevertheless, I keep asking myself why the researcher never uses her fieldwork results in those discussions. Lindblad's take on 'sub culture' is valuable, independent and an important contribution, and I think it would have gained even more substance if it was grown from her own empirical material.

After having longed for Lindblad's informants for a very long time, I started counting the pages of the different parts of the dissertation. I found that the presentation of the fieldwork only fills the pages from p. 106 to p. 133. Why so little, Emma Lindblad?

I find that Lindblad has done a comprehensive fieldwork, though. 20 wardrobe studies and the same amount of participant observations, 6 interviews and 12 written descriptions from the informants as well as 600 photos would seem to be a rich material for a study like this. Lindblad has invested a lot in her informants as well. She found them in the small town where she grew up herself and lived part time during her fieldwork, although she did not know any of them from before. Lindblad visited her informants at home and they visited her. She lent them her flat in Stockholm, partied with them and took them for road trips in her car. From one party where she did her fieldwork, she even followed some of her informants to the bathroom to relieve themselves.

From such a close relationship between the researcher and her informants, we get all kinds of information. Most often, we hear it through Lindblad's words, as she mostly paraphrases. She rarely quotes her informants directly, and when she does, their expressions are translated and written as perfect sentences without any pauses, twists or incompletenesses. The information, however, witnesses an intimate relation between the PhD student and her informants. It is a thrill to read! Sometimes her writing makes me feel embarrassed by the range of intimacy in the information she is willing to offer me as reader. This is not negative in itself, and Lindblad writes convincingly about the importance of making friends with her informants. I agree that this method could add a lot to the analysis. However, when I feel that I know more about how Alex likes to shave his pubic hair than about his preferences of jeans, my enthusiasm declines.

And this is my major objection to the dissertation: It is not sufficiently concerned with denim jeans and consumption. Identity making in those young people's life-worlds is interesting, but I would argue that it would be a different topic. It is not rooted in the empirical material to a proper extend. This disappoints me, and when I first begin feeling sceptical, I start to question the concept of 'vanlighet' as well.

The short empirical presentation (first part of chapter 4) and the absence of empirical material in the following discussion (second part of chapter 4), makes me question how the concept of 'vanlighet' is argued for. Lindblad makes 5 out of her 20 informants in the wardrobe study her key informants. Only three of them use the word directly. The couple Anna and Gustav (p. 124) use the word on them-

selves and each other, according to Lindblad. And Lily uses both 'vanlig' and 'alldags' (translated to plain) to describe her own style. The informant Alex, however, "rarely spoke of himself in explicit terms as looking *vanlig*" (p. 115). Neither does Josefin, or at least does Lindblad not bother to mention it. Jonas, who is not one of the key informants, figures both in the introduction and the summary of the chapter, telling about a 'vanlig' scarf, but nothing about denim. I really do believe that the concept of 'vanlighet' can do very well as an emic developed concept. However, I believe that the continuous use of it calls for a more thorough argument. That way, it could have been made into a useful analytical tool.

One challenge to the concept of 'vanlighet' is that it is closely connected to an expected gap between one majority and different minority groups in a society. 'Vanlighet' is expected to be both the expression of and the description on the majority. In this dissertation, 'vanlighet' is something different. Lindblad shows how it takes a lot of work to look 'vanlig'. 'Vanlighet' is shifting through time and can differ from occasion to occasion, no doubt. Lindblad mentions this, but neither time, class nor place perspectives are discussed as such. Theory of the body could have taken the discussion in a slightly different direction, but no. The concept of 'vanlighet' only floats down a smooth river of nice formulations and a huge amount of paraphrases from other researchers. In my opinion, the hard work of looking 'vanlig' had deserved a more sober, theory driven discussion.

Emma Lindblad summarises her findings in chapter 5. The major finding that to be 'vanlig' is a dynamic and active process rather than a static and passive one, is interesting and important. I am sure that Emma Lindblad still has lot in her field records that can build up a strong argument for her understanding of 'vanlighet'. Let your empirical material speak!

Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen, University of Oslo

Sustainable Eating

Matilda Marshall, Hållbarhet till middag. En etnologisk studie om hur miljövänligt ätande praktiseras i vardagslivet. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Höör 2016. 251 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87483-23-3.

■ In her doctoral dissertation, the ethnologist Mathilda Marshall explores how the concept of sustainability can be approached and understood in a domestic setting, and she digs into new dimensions of how this concept can be explored from a consumer perspective. Based on a personal interest in environmentally friendly food, she is curious to investigate how individuals handle and make sense of sustainability and how this is transformed into meaningful practices in their everyday life. She provides us with new insight into the complexity of sustainability and how it goes way beyond an understanding of the concept as only dealing with environmental aspects. Marshall further states that food is especially useful when studying issues of sustainability in households. Food embodies values of sustainability and through the study of food, sustainability and sustainable practices are materialized.

In her study, 19 persons from 15 households were included, where a combination of various qualitative methods were applied, including interviews, shopalongs, participant observations and food diaries. Different kinds of archive and media material have been used as well. Through an ethnographic approach she aimed at getting close both to the practices of everyday life and to the people behind them. The participants, representing both men and women, different age groups, household structures and living situations, came from an urban, well-educated, middle class, claiming to be "environmentally friendly" and striving for "a sustainable food consumption" in the household. However, only one participant was born and raised in another country than Sweden. The criteria when recruiting the participants for the study were that they saw themselves as being focused on the environmental aspects of sustainable food consumption and as consumers of organic food. It would, however, be tempting to find out more about what the result might have been if the group of participants had another class composition or consisted of people with another ethnic background. In presenting the result, mainly five of the households have been representatives, and the others were only given voice occasionally with the purpose of giving perspective to the issues discussed. As a reader it would have been interesting to find out more about why these households were chosen as representatives for the study result.

In discussing the various dimensions of sustainability, i.e. environmental, economic and social, Marshall adds a valuable fourth one: *cultural sustainability.* This dimension covers aspects related to shared norms and values as well as habits and practices. This part is extremely interesting in trying to grasp the aspects related to sustainability that have to do with cultural factors. For example, buying local food can be seen as an expression of being aware of and have an interest in environmental issues, but it may also be an expression of morality, having an interest in preserving a local community and its central values, including social and cultural relations. Moreover, the cultural context is seen as something that sets the limits for sustainable actions, but it is also something that creates meaning in relation to sustainable practices. Marshall also argues that, due to the complexity of the concept, there should be a discussion about "sustainabilities", implying that there are many values that constantly have to be handled. This is also a way of avoiding seeing the participants' statements as sometimes inconsistent, and instead viewing them as a result of trying to balance multiple sustainabilities simultaneously.

Even though the study highlights the dynamics and complexity of the concept of sustainability and how it should be understood, still there is a risk that the environmental aspects will dominate. It is mainly through the environmental aspects of sustainability that the author takes her point of departure in digging deeper into the meaning of the concept and how it is practiced in everyday life. For example, Marshall initially defines "sustainable practices" as those practices that aim at minimizing the impact on the environment. Expressed by the participants in the study, being environmentally friendly was also more or less the same thing as purchasing organic food. Even though the participants sometimes made other choices, for example due to financial aspects, routines and various taste preferences in the household, it was something strongly connected to environmental aspects of sustainability. In view of the important contribution of the study in highlighting the diverse dimensions of sustainability and sustainable practices, the relation between environmental friendliness, organic consumption and sustainability could have been more elaborated on as well as problematized.

Marshall uses practice theory as a relevant theoretical framework in highlighting the practical dimensions of understanding sustainability. Practices are here to be understood as "routinized behaviour consisting of different elements such as corporal and mental knowledge and action, materiality and emotions" (p. 222). Studying practices is about studying culture, its norms, values and shared knowledge, as well as representations and relations. Marshall also argues that practices are dependent on three main elements: materiality, competence and meaning. By using practice theory, everyday routines can be made visible, and thereby also possible to investigate. Throughout the dissertation, Marshall introduces and discusses a range of interesting and fruitful concepts related to sustainability and practices. The concept of *practice bundles* is used to define those sustainable practices, related to each other, that are adopted and used by the individual or a collective. Practice bundles are also to be understood as something that maintain as well as strengthen an identity based on being someone who cares for the environment. In order to understand these practice bundles, the social and cultural meanings added to the sustainability practices must be included. However, this practice bundle is not to be understood as static, instead it is possible to alter what practices should be included.

The concept of practice bundles further relates to another relevant concept which is *green capital,* inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. Green capital is something that is acquired through having certain knowledge and insight into issues of sustainability, and being able to put it into practice. It is shared green values which unite as well as differentiate, and these are communicated in various arenas. Green capital is a prerequisite to be able to show *green distinction,* which is another interesting concept presented here, also with inspiration from Bourdieu's work on distinction and taste. Green distinction is described as a competence related to meaningful sustainable practices that are developed, changed and re-negotiated over time. Green distinction is described as including both consciousness of issues related to the environment and a reflexivity regarding their own consumption practices. Interestingly, distinctions were made both in relation to those who were perceived as being too extreme or fanatical, and those who do not yet understand or practice sustainable living. In this distinction, as expressed by the participants in the study, a *pragmatism* is identified which was con-

sidered to be healthy, positive and necessary. This pragmatism, also viewed as a competence in itself, was based on acting "on a suitable level", and to be able to have a balanced approach and to negotiate different values, taking into account various aspects of sustainability at the same time. As part of this pragmatism, various strategies were developed in order to handle food consumption in relation to these values and ideals. Marshall refers to Andersen when talking about *pragmatic prioritizing*, implying that the individual needs to make constant priorities between different values, in order not to be overwhelmed. This also includes taking into account the importance of time and convenience in everyday life. Moreover, Marshall discusses the phenomenon of *fika* (a coffee break) as one example of a situation where ideals and visions of sustainability have to be negotiated, and based on the cultural values of these occasions a more pragmatic stance appears. These discussions about pragmatism are both interesting and relevant. However, I believe that the participants' statements also could be understood as an expression of the very concept of cultural sustainability. In this way, cultural sustainability could be seen more as an umbrella term embracing the other aspects of sustainability. Instead of interpreting and discussing pragmatism, and the balanced approach, as a way of maintaining a "suitable level" of sustainability, it could also be interpreted as a way of expressing cultural sustainability. However, the relation to this concept and the pragmatism could have been further discussed.

The dissertation is a valuable contribution to the discussions and debates about understanding sustainability practices from a close-up consumer and household perspective. Based on inspiring ethnographical work, the author lets us become acquainted with the participants in the study, and how they handle, negotiate and maintain sustainability in relation to food. I agree with Marshall that in order to encourage people to live an environmentally friendly life, sustainability needs to be further discussed in relation to what it means to individuals. Actions that are put forward as sustainable from an environmental perspective might, quite often, collide with social and cultural ideals and practices. Based on this, balancing and negotiations between ideals and practices, environmental, ecological, economic, social and cultural, needs to be addressed.

Maria Nyberg, Kristianstad

Early Modern Ethnography

Tony Sandset, Time and Translation: The Formation of Temporalities and Early Modern Ethnography in Theodore de Bry's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia. University of Oslo, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, Oslo 2017. 314 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ Tony Sandset has written a dissertation that represent an extensive, profoundly thorough analysis of the Flemish engraver Theodore de Bry's work *A Brief True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (hereafter referred to as *The Report*) published in 1590. Sandset's dissertation can safely be read twice. His theoretical reasoning illuminates the way a work from the 1600s encompasses many interesting and thought-provoking dimensions. Sandset has also managed to communicate much of the excitement and exotic atmosphere from *The Report* to his own thesis.

Sandset's work is comprehensive because the work of de Bry deals with so many themes and perspectives. *The Report* covers geographically two continents – mainly Virginia and England. Temporally, the point of departure is de Bry's present time, but themes stretch back to classical or Roman Britain. Readers meet an extensive cast of characters tied to the layout and production of *The Report*, which gives accounts of the landscape, fauna, flora and inhabitants of Virginia, the "Indians" with their material repertoire and ways of living. Many of the themes, particularly concerning the inhabitants of Virginia, or the Algonquian, can be found in de Bry's copper engravings. Life and landscapes in the "new country" are thoroughly described since the work is written in the contemporary style of travel narratives and may as well be viewed as a presentation of a territory with a potential for new English colonization. The most surprising and interesting thing, however, is that *The Report* ends with five pictures of the *Picts*, an ethnic group that lived in Britain in a distant past. Why are these pictures included in a work that at first glance is supposed to describe Virginia? This spurs questions about the way de Bry's work came into existence, how it should be understood, and last but not least how history and temporality are integrated in this work, and what purpose it once had. These concerns are Tony Sandset's main project, and by using the theories of

Kosellec, Fabian, de Certeau, Bauman, Briggs, Latour and others, he offers the readers profound insights into these.

Sandset demonstrates in the first chapters that *The Report* is both a complex and a multi-layered work. It contains a large cast of characters and a highly varied list of contents. Sandset consequently emphasizes how the book stands out by its collection of themes and materials that is prominent in its heterogeneity and versatility. Analyses based upon structuralist interpretations where the book's different elements are summed up in a logical totality, will thus prove both insufficient and misleading.

Already in the first chapters Sandset stresses that de Bry must share the honour for *The Report* with a number of other contributors. One of the more important is the mathematician and discoverer Thomas Harriot, who, as early as 1585, undertook an expedition to Virginia. His many observations of landscapes and ways of life were published in 1588. Another who participated in this excursion was the artist John White, who visualized, among other things, the peoples of Virginia in his watercolour paintings. Not only did de Bry use Harriot's texts in *The Report*, he also transformed White's paintings of the "Indians" into copperplate engravings for the illustrations in the book. Moreover, *The Report* would hardly ever have come into existence without the involvement of Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Hakluyt – adventurers, explorers and substantial financial contributors, both for the production and for the translations of the work. In addition, Sandset points to circles of people who in various ways supported the publication of *The Report* – from the captain and his crew on the excursion to Virginia, to circles of artists and colonization enthusiasts together with the power elites of England, which also included Queen Elizabeth I.

The long and varied list of contributors is the basis for one of Sandset's principal conclusions, namely that *The Report* is a collective project. His concept "many-handed" indicates that the work is the product of, and as such represents, many different perspectives. It is against this background that the work can be viewed both as a description of a journey, thus with an appeal to a wider interested audience, and as a promotion project or a sales pitch aimed at investors willing to create a new colony. The various engagements invested in the book become perceptible in the recognition of *The Report's*

appearance as many-handed. It is also against this background Sandset characterizes the work as heterogeneous. Without coherent chronological lines, *The Report* creates forms of history that integrate inordinate distances, differences and times.

The world Sandset presents is many-sided and often almost paradoxical. To emphasize the heterogeneous nature of *The Report*, Sandset introduces methodological perspectives that serve to maintain and emphasize the variety typical of *The Report*. Assemble/Assemblage is a term that opens ways to collect and present different materials and phenomena. Methodologically and theoretically, this is a term closely related to actor-network theory. An assemblage can, like *The Report*, comprise rather different elements – human as well as non-human – individuals, practices and events, as well as time and space. Applied to the work of de Bry, Sandset includes the period before the book was produced, the forming phase itself, and even the times when the book was circulated. The heterogeneous and ambiguous is continuously present, while the various actors' and actants' differences and connections become visible as things that do not connect haphazardly. It may be claimed that Sandset over-interprets how subjects and themes are less coherent and connected than is necessarily the case. When it still works in the dissertation, it should be seen in relation to how Sandset highlights assemblage and the many-handed nature of the work.

As theory construction it may be objected that the number of models becomes overwhelming and that it occasionally appears that associations and representations make divergent phenomena too homogeneous, or the opposite, less coherent than the relationships that are supposedly studied. This makes de Bry's work stand out as a heterogeneous way of presenting a manifold and non-comprehensible reality.

Translation is another central concept. As a methodological perspective, this concept opens for a way to show how actors and actants move and relocate in time and space and create new meanings. The *Picts* and the Native Americans are infused with new dimensions of meaning when relocated to contemporary England. It can be viewed as translations when meetings between different groups, objects, spaces and periods create new aspects of meaning as in e.g. de Bry's many-handed work which enables the shifting of meanings and understandings. Translations may encompass substantial changes of

meanings, but even minor transformations, as when de Bry translates White's watercolour paintings into engravings, or uses Harriot's texts as captions for his own pictures, are translations. Compositions and assessment of differences may continuously bring forth new translations and new insights.

Picts are brought into a collection where contemporary Virginia and England of the 1590s take the main stage. Here, the audience from the sixteenth century is presented to their own distant ancestors, whose nudity and tattooed nature motifs should be viewed as representing savages on a primitive level.

Taken as travel narrative, the occurrence of the Picts in the book would be rather puzzling. On the other hand, viewed as a promotion brochure or sales pitch, their presence in *The Report* becomes important. The message is that the savages in Virginia have much in common with the savages in ancient England. In the same manner as the Englishmen, the Algonquian in the new country can become Christian, civilized, moral and modern people. Colonialists and emigrants to Virginia should have nothing to fear from the Native Americans. On the contrary – these are active, enterprising people with potential. The people of nature can be changed into people of culture.

The encounter between the "Indians" and the modern Englishman is a central theme in *The Report*. In the literature dealing with the meetings between "Indians" and Europeans, these are described in various ways. The Native Americans have been portrayed as wild and primitive, sometimes dangerous, but also kind. They have been helpful and industrious but also troublesome and a burden. They have been viewed as exotic and depicted and looked upon with melancholy as a people bound to vanish with time. The description of the "Indians" of Virginia in *The Report* is a somewhat different. Thus, when Sandset points out how the "Indians" are regarded as a prosperous people, this in itself is not extraordinary. But what is exciting and interesting in Sandset's interpretation of de Bry's work is that the encounter between the Englishman and "the Others" takes its own ways when the *Picts* are used as an intermediary link. In fact, this facilitates the interpretation of the "Indians", the "Others" as something almost like "us". The Algonquin are resourceful, energetic and have potentials. Such a description is rare in the literature about encounters between "Indians" and Euro-Americans. It is a given that such

an empathic, almost identity-promoting approach also can be interpreted as a creative promotional campaign. Whatever viewpoint one may choose, it represents a new and interesting perspective on encounters between people of different ethnicities and cultures.

The Report portrays similarities and differences between the people of Virginia and England in various ways. By means of the *Picts* the correspondence between the different parts become parallels. This impression is enhanced by the illustrations in *The Report*. Here, not only is the material repertoire rather similar, what is striking is first and foremost the unclothed bodies with tattoos and inscriptions that points back to habitus and habitats which are motifs known both in America and in ancient England. When the "Indians" despite this still are recognized as "Others" it is not solely distance or culture that constitutes the difference. It is the *time* that makes up the difference. Put differently, Sandset's dissertation demonstrates how differences can be viewed in terms of temporalization processes. Thus, something surprising occurs; the "Indians" can be understood as an evocation or reconstruction of a distant English history. In Sandset's dissertation both the distant and the near occur simultaneously.

The outcome is, among other things, an assemblage of *times*. The time in Virginia, the time in London, the time in an ancient England are all present. Emphasizing the transformation between the pagan and the Christian also facilitates biblical time. A closer look at illustrations, however, reveals that the *Picts* move in a modern English landscape. In *The Report* these *times*, so to speak, coexist side by side. In *The Report* there is room for many and unsynchronized times.

Time and Translation is a dissertation with many dimensions. It opens for new ways of judging encounters between "us" and "the Others", it points to the meaning of time when places and differences are to be understood. Not least of all, it demonstrates the way Sandset emphasizes the concept of many-handed. The dissertation also has a scope beyond *The Report* itself. In sum, Tony Sandset's may be included among the many hands that have contributed to the reception, translation and re-interpretation of de Bry's work. Together with historians like Gaudio, Sandset together with other researchers belong to a collective that contribute to the actualization and reformulation of a work that is more than 300 years

old. Tony Sandset writes in a slow and low-key manner about an exciting and complicated theme. The dissertation is exciting, well-informed with a range of concepts and lines of reasoning of great value also to contemporary research that deals with subject that have no connection to the Picts, the Algonquian and England in the fifteenth century.
Eva Reme, Bergen

Extractive Violence

Kristina Sehlin MacNeil, Extractive Violence on Indigenous Country: Sami and Aboriginal Views on Conflicts and Power Relations with Extractive Industries. Faculty of Arts, Centre for Sami Research. Umeå University 2017. 53 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7601-657-2.

■ In her thesis, Kristina Sehlin MacNeil explores situations of conflict and asymmetrical power relations between Indigenous groups and mining companies in Sweden and Australia. More specifically, the thesis draws on the situation for two groups of indigenous people: Laevas Čearru in northern Sweden and Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners in South Australia. Both communities describe various forms of violence at the hands of extractive industries that threaten their livelihoods and cultures. Sehlin MacNeil argues that in order to confront these types of assaults against Indigenous peoples and their country and to promote processes of conflict transformation, concepts that include Indigenous peoples' perspectives on violence and power relations must be taken into account.

Sehlin MacNeil's thesis is based on four papers. The first one, "Shafted: A Case of Cultural and Structural Violence in the Power Relations between a Sami Community and a Mining Company in Northern Sweden" (2015) was published in *Ethnologia Scandinavica: A Journal for Nordic Ethnology*. The paper revolves around how cultural and structural violence is manifested in the power relations between Laevas Čearru and the Swedish government-owned mining company LKAB. "On Equal Terms? Exploring Traditional Owners' Views Regarding Radioactive Waste Dumps on Adnyamathanha Country" (2016) was published in the *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* and is centred on a case study involving the Adnyamathanha people's experiences regarding proposed radio-

active waste repositories on their traditional land. In the paper, Sehlin MacNeil further explores the ways in which cultural and structural violence are expressed in the power relations between Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners and the federal Australian and South Australian governments. Sehlin Mac-Neil's third paper, "Let's Name It: Identifying Cultural, Structural and Extractive Violence in Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations", is a two-case study that approaches the results from papers 1 and 2 and compares the situations for Laevas Čearru in Northern Sweden and Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners in South Australia. In the paper, Sehlin MacNeil promotes the term extractive violence. Extractive violence, according to Sehlin Mac-Neil, is a term that illuminates how extractivism affects Indigenous peoples negatively and how this is often ignored or trivialized. In the fourth and last paper of the thesis, "Indigenous Research across Continents: A Comparison of Ethically and Culturally Sound Approaches to Research in Australia and Sweden" (2015), Sehlin MacNeil together with Jillian Marsh reflect on some of the challenges within Indigenous research. The paper throws light on the ethical and methodological framework underpinning Sehlin MacNeil's thesis and puts particular weight on articulating a Decolonizing Standpoint. According to the authors, a Decolonising Standpoint places responsibility on Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous researchers engaged in Indigenous research to decolonize the research process.

The key theoretical base for Sehlin MacNeil's analyses of asymmetrical power relations between indigenous communities and extractive industries is the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung's violence triangle. Galtung's model includes structural violence (unequal advantages and structures), cultural violence (those aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence) and direct violence (visible violence; both physical and verbal assaults and threats). In Sehlin MacNeil's thesis direct violence is replaced by extractive violence (violence on people, animals and land caused by extractivism) to allow for the type of violence that the Laevas and the Adnyamathanha experience when their lands are destroyed by extractive industries, industrial proponents, and governments. The concept of extractive violence is both interesting and relevant, but only one of Sehlin Mac-Neil's papers targets the term. A further elaboration

of extractive violence could thus have been preferred.

Sehlin MacNeil describes her methodological approach as *yarning*, which is referred to both as a form of interview method and a narrative method. It is not clear how yarning differs from the qualitative research interview that precisely aims to privilege the voices of the research participants and where a sharing of knowledge and experiences is in focus. The direct quotations open for insight into the research participants' thoughts and experiences, but preferably the author's own voice; her questions and response to the interviewees could have been added for a better contextualization of the yarning sessions.

In her case study on the relation between the Laevas community and LKAB, only two of Čearru's members' narratives are approached in the analysis. It can be questioned whether these people's perspectives are representative of the whole Laevas community. The paper could have benefited from a broader range of interviewees' perspectives on the violence caused by extractive industries on their lands, societies, livelihoods and cultures.

Despite these minor objections, Sehlin MacNeil's thesis is a well-written and important contribution to the subject of ethnology by introducing an internationally comparative perspective explored through the use of Indigenous methodologies.
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Video Game Play

Jukka Vahlo, In Gameplay: The Invariant Structures and Varieties of the Video Game Gameplay Experience. Faculty of Humanities, School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, Department of Folkloristics. Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja-Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, University of Turku 2018. 335 pp. 9 appendix pages. Finnish summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-29-7168-8.

■ As far as I am aware, Jukka Vahlo's dissertation is the first completed in a folkloristics department on the subject of video games. Although the production of memes and social media has attracted folkloristic attention as part of digital culture, video games have not, probably because they are commercial and do not apparently rely on face-to-face communication. The few published studies of video games available to date from a folkloristic perspective have focused on the use of folk narrative themes and characters in video games rather than the action of playing them as traditional practices. Although the study of folk games as (1) historical artifact, (2) medium for narrative and ritual content, and (3) a social practice has a long history in folkloristics, the relatively new investigation of video games, as Vahlo acknowledges, primarily has been the domain of communications, media studies, and popular culture studies because of the distinction that folklorists often make between naturalistic folk contexts and the commercial world that supposedly works against tradition. Vahlo makes a strong case for video game play as a tradition displaying continuities with previous forms of social play, and it is this contention that will undoubtedly spark discussion among fellow folklorists and ethnologists. And it deserves attention from other fields associated with game research such as media studies, communications, and cultural studies for its consideration of folkness as an aspect of mediated play.

Vahlo breaks new ground by interpreting how video games are played as a "vernacular" experience comparable to playground, or "social," games. Indeed, he finds a high level of social interaction in the play experience of video games, although they are often perceived exoterically as solo activities. Encouraging further research by folklorists on video games as a primary form of play in contemporary society across all ages and genders, Vahlo introduces the concept of "persona narrative" (rather than "personal narrative" as an oral literary genre) consisting of character types associated with storied actions to represent the distinctive emotional and performative experience of "video game gameplay." While the game has as an object with rules, to gamers it is part of a broader experience of stylized, structured play that is separable as a "frame" or "magic circle" from everyday life.

Vahlo's interpretation of the similarity of gameplay experience in analog and digital culture is based on both quantitative and qualitative evidence. He surveyed three populations (N=2,594, N-845, N-1,053), drawn from Finnish and Danish participants in video gameplay. He added to this qualitative data from 32 interviewees on gameplay preferences, gaming memories, and motivations to play. Further, he conducted a manual rhetorical analysis of video game magazines for keywords of the game-

play experience to correlate with the responses of "gamers" in interviews. Self-identifying himself as a gamer, Vahlo also shared from a phenomenological viewpoint his own experiences of gaming and his observations of others at play ("virtual life" of a "gameworld" or VL) in contrast to their "real-life" (RL) pursuits. Vahlo's goal is to use behavioral evidence, rather than textual evidence as has been the norm in studies of digital culture, to identify cognitive patterns that underlie actions within "play frames" (a concept from the work of psychological anthropologist Gregory Bateson).

The title and content of the dissertation repeat in different forms three keywords of folkloristic research: game, play, and variation. One might therefore assume a generic position for the research as much as folklorists might pick up books with tales, songs, and houses that display variation as a characteristic of their folkness. Indeed, "structures" is part of the title, paired with "experiences." The term suggests a sociolinguistic basis of performance to construct narratives based on a cognitive grammar that is outside of the awareness of the performer. It further connotes patterning as an indication of folk practice. These last words, action and practice, are not apparent at the outset, but are significant in the dissertation, along with tradition and phenomenon, to placing it at the forefront of a contemporary paradigm shift in folkloristic history that I have called a "hyper era of convergence" in line with a practice turn in social behavioral theory. That is, rather than look for classifiable "items" in video games as much as one would look for proverbs, beliefs, or legends in literature, or the Internet, and therefore render them as separable objects, Vahlo has proposed that the experience of playing videogames is a phenomenon, in the sense of a repeatable event that raises questions about itself, that can be observed to follow tradition and show continuities with unmediated folk games. He refers to it as "vernacular," but I am not convinced that this is the right term because sociolinguistic usage refers usually to localized expressions that are circumscribed by communities with linguistic, or material, resources from the immediate environment. He appears to use it in the sense of expressiveness on the part of the user rather than material managed by the producer. I understand that he wants to use this term to establish the folkness of the phenomena of video game playing, but I would point him more to behavioral routines, or

even forms of "habitus" (a term from Bourdieu for embodied dispositions) arising out of the framing of events as play. Vahlo is concerned not only with "ordinarized" practices within a gamer community but also the kinds of experiences that participants who do not claim the "gamer" identity have when playing video games. Vahlo does not make judgments on whether these experiences are positive or negative, as is common in the literature replete with fears of game addiction and promotion of violence. His work precedes this kind of judgment by calling for an assessment first of what video game play is, and how it varies and has evolved.

Methodologically, he is careful to not universalize these activities, since he works from a sample of Finnish and Danish participants, and he calls for similar studies in other national contexts to be able to propose more sweeping conclusions on video gameplay environments.

As a study purporting to break down the binary in folkloristics between "natural" and commercial worlds, Vahlo spends much of the dissertation explaining how video games are, or should be, in the purview of folklorists. The video game market specializing in packaged commodities has been assumed to be a passive experience much in the fashion of network television and popular movies. Vahlo extends the scope of folkloristic inquiry into video game play with attention to the interactive practices of players across different types of games. The key component of their play, he finds, is tradition in the sense of repeatable, variable actions perceived as based on precedent. Although the content of video games might be derived from folk sources such as mythology (i.e., characters and plots), which Vahlo aptly considers "folkloresque" (following the work of Michael Dylan Foster and Jeffrey A. Tolbert), he concentrates on the kind of traditional practice, or enactment as he writes, in video game play that conveys the often-paradoxical message "this is play" or even "this is tradition," that could be outside the awareness of the participant. Vahlo hypothesizes that there is continuity in the "action procedures" of video games with social games, a view that goes against the frequent assumption of digital culture constituting a break with analog culture, if one accepts that constructed binary which favors the digital turn.

The results and conclusions might be assessed on three related but different levels. One is the impact

on folkloristics while another is on game theory and particularly the understanding of video game experience. A third is on the philosophy of enactivism. On the first level, the "object" of video games he brings into the folkloristic laboratory for scrutiny in comparison to the traditional "social" game and its relationship as folklore to other folk processes of ritual, narrative, and play are critical during this period of folkloristics in which expressive communication might give way to repeatable, variable behavior as folklore. Yet he might be asked to locate the artistic sense of folklore drawing attention to itself in this shift. Is gameplay really performative if it is done without a physical audience? To his credit, his reconsideration of game as "personal narrative" to "persona narrative" is an original idea that revolves around the idea that taking an avatar drives the game, and the player, to continue through his or her storied journey. It raises possible connections to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow's idea of memorate from individual experience with the supernatural, but in this case the experience is mediated and involves fantasy that is often supernatural in content. It is an idea worth elaborating with the analysis he gives to first-person experience drawing on the "I-me" distinction of philosopher George Herbert Mead and modern ideas of self-development and identity in a post-modern world. In addition to narrative, the role of play behaviors as transitional action, that is to say, ritualizing strategies that often take on the tripartite structure of rites of passage, might be linked to narrative in videogame play or analyzed separately.

On the second level, the identification of invariants in video game gameplay connects to ideas of underlying structures for expressive culture that are outside the awareness of participants. He deals with questions of "fun" as deflecting self-analysis for the gamer which might be cognitively disturbing, but does this not again suggest a psychoanalytic concern for how anxieties from RL are projected or channeled in VL? His analysis derives from ideas of flow as an ideal activity state and playworlds as immersive environments that allow for distinctive be-

havior in the social psychological theories of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Brian Sutton-Smith, respectively, but do these go far enough to uncover "deep play" (from anthropologist Clifford Geertz) as a form of metaphorical social construction? And from a material culture viewpoint, does it make a difference whether one engages a play frame, or can engage a play frame, from a mobile device, or even dedicated gaming device, rather than a computer station, which is the central device in Vahlo's study?

The application of enactivism to cultural issues that Vahlo proposes could answer the above questions, particularly the adaptive or evolutionary role of play in human lives as people define themselves as individuals. Enactivism appears to be distinguished from enactment-oriented folkloristics by the former's connection of environmental issues to folkloristic situations in which tradition bearers are forced to embrace a double consciousness of themselves in relation to the way others perceive them as well as what they want for themselves in relation to their heritage and location. These are behaviors that perceived as "praxis" are repeated practices taking on symbolic characteristics form community and constitute traditions. Of particular significance from this idea philosophically as well as folkloristically is the way that traditional knowledge is externalized and perceived within social frames—how it is enacted, recognized, and differentiated—and indeed how play and tradition, despite worries about its obsolescence in a massifying information society become essential adaptive tools of navigating the world. Moreover, Vahlo's foray in this dissertation into embodied cognition and enaction in mediated play provides a model of predicting events and attitudes in the future. With rapid changes in digital technology, the platforms of video game play will undoubtedly change, but Vahlo has shown that what makes gaming playful in whatever form they take will invoke traditional ideas of a lusory attitude resulting in "gameplay" experience.

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Book Reviews

What is "Culture"?

Kultursociologi og kulturanalyse. Pernille Tang-gaard Andersen & Michael Hviid Jacobsen (eds.). Hans Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen 2017. 604 pp. ISBN 978-87-41260570.

■ This huge volume has the aim of presenting cultural sociology and cultural analysis in a Danish context, and most of the empirical examples are from contemporary Denmark. From a broad theoretical and empirical perspective the book takes the question "What is 'culture'?" seriously. Even though, as we know, culture is in itself a difficult word to use, and there are many explanations of what it is and therefore no consensus, the two sociologists Pernille Tanggaard Andersen and Michael Hviid Jacobsen present in the introduction a short background to how the word is dealt with in the volume. Briefly, culture is seen as something transformative and something that we have "a certain freedom to choose or refuse" (p. 31, my translation). It is also a term that is operated in three different ways: (1) the descriptive culture term, (2) the complex culture term and (3) culture as praxis. There are definitions that go from seeing culture as something that can be demarcated, to seeing culture as something that people do and studying the different elements of action.

The different theoretical and methodological perspectives on culture are more elaborated in the first part of the book, consisting of chapters one to five. In the first chapter, written by Lilli Zeuner, the more humanistic culture term is presented in relation to an anthropological culture term, and thereby the complex culture term is elaborated. Zeuner points out that "culture is about those elements that are part of shaping relationships between people" (p. 46, my translation). This is a perspective that gives the possibilities to present and discuss both the classical and the newer sociologists, as well as sociology in a global age, with a focus on culture as a subject/object relation. In the chapter we are introduced to a broad mixture of sociologist from this perspective, such as Georg Simmel and Max Weber, as well as Pierre Bourdieu and Zygmunt Bauman. This dualistic approach is highlighted as central to understanding this global era's cultural meeting in everyday life.

In chapters two and three – written by Richard Jenkins and Bolette Moldenhawer respectively – this is elaborated from nationalism and multiculturalism. In chapter four the editor Tanggaard Andersen together with Eva Ladekjær Larsen deepens Zeuner's arguments with a focus on culture as everyday life. The crux is how we can study people's lived life in the context that they are a part of and how culture comes alive. This is also something that Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren present in the chapter "Analysing the Neglected", where the focus is on what people do in the tension between the private and the public.

Part two – "Culture as a Social Arrangement" – chapters six to fifteen, present us with a variety of writers. Themes that are dealt with in this part are, in the order in which they come: political culture, ethnicity and nationalism, organization culture, working culture, rural and urban, youth culture, education culture, art and aesthetics, media culture, and consumption culture. What is interesting in this part is the smorgasbord of interesting analytical as well as empirical themes and perspectives that, for example, a student can take hold of and develop on his/her own. But it can also be seen as short introductions for researchers trying to grasp a field in relation to the Danish context. The space in this review doesn't allow me to elaborate on every chapter, but I will highlight some thoughts that struck me as I read the book.

Culture is seen in the different chapters as something transformative and at the same time each author gives his/her own picture of how to study culture. This gives the reader a good overview of seeing culture as "a collective phenomenon", "a meaning-bearing structure", something that is "actively created" and so on. In chapter nine Lotte Bloksgaard and Sigtona Halrynjo present their view of culture and how it can be used to study working culture and the new working life. This is a good example in the volume where the authors present their culture vision through a specific field. Their focus is on how new cultures are internalized, such as the more flexible individual and an individual that takes some of the risk (instead of the state or the market). This can be seen in the way the demand today is for constant responsibility to be flexible and develop this competence. This also effects the relation between work and family life, which is discussed in the chapter.

But in some chapters the discussion can also span over larger fields. One example is Christian Stenbak Larsen's chapter which has an interesting discussion about consumption culture. Consumption culture can be studied on its own, but it can also be an important perspective, for example, in working culture or youth culture and so on, because we are all consumers. At the same time, this chapter also shows the difficulties of making a book with many different and contiguous themes, where some of the discussions are repeated in the chapters.

Part three – "Culture, Health and Whole Life" – consists of seven chapters with a focus on body, health and health care. Themes that are dealt with in this part are, in order: emotions, diagnosis culture, body and culture, health and disease culture, sexuality and culture, age and ageing, and finally death, sorrow and mourning culture. Based on the chapters it is in this part of the book that the texts are best related to each other thematically; this could easily have been a smaller and possibly more manageable volume focusing on health and body in contemporary Denmark.

A central theme in the chapters in part three is different kinds of emotions, and here too the first chapter starts by describing this field. Marie Bruvik Heinskou and Lasse Suonperä Liebst give a very good introduction to the research field of emotions with their instructive explanation of three perspectives on emotions: subjective, intersubjective and postsubjective. In the last theme the reader is introduced to a perspective that tries to find a way out of seeing culture as a subject/object relation, and they write: "man and things must rather be understood as affectively interwoven and relationally linked" (p. 427, my translation). Another theme in this part, one that is strongly related to emotions, is the body. This theme is found in many of the chapters, but is also introduced by Inge Kryger Pedersen in chapter eighteen. The chapter starts with the "bodily turn" and then presents many of the classic writers in this field.

Because of the length of this book and the many different chapters, the reader is introduced to a very interesting and multifaceted perspective on culture. It is a really good toolbox that one can start with to find a way into a more specific field. But it is also interesting to read through the volume and have all the different perspectives presented. At the same time, this is also the tricky part of putting together a collection like this: it easily becomes too long and tries to cover too much. One suggestion would be to divide it into two books and in this way make it more manageable for students and researchers. It is also a book that focuses on Denmark and on sociology. For example, even though there are writers here who are ethnologists – Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren – there is no mention of what ethnology has contributed to this field. The word "ethnology" is never used! Focusing a little bit more on Nordic examples and on other disciplines, this could easily be a book that could be very useful in other disciplines and in our courses at the Nordic universities. But this is nevertheless an impressive book with many exciting theoretical suggestions for students and researchers alike. It will not answer the question What is "culture"?, but it makes us a bit more puzzled and that is good opinion about a book.

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On the City's Dark Side

Peter K. Andersson, På Stadens Skuggsida: Människor och Brott i Jack the Rippers London. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2017. 188 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-848-8.

■ When evaluating a book it may be appropriate to consider its intended audience. Although I am reviewing Andersson's *On the City's Dark Side: people and crime in Jack the Ripper's London* in an academic journal, my guess is that its publishers are also targeting a general audience for whom some of my comments on the work's limitations may be unimportant so long as it provides them with an interesting read. The 'general reader', however, is likely to be disappointed if the book's 'enticing' title has led them to expect melodramatic evocations of lower class criminality or yet more speculations about the identity of London's infamous late 19th century multiple murderer. The book's ten case studies do deal with crimes, but not all as serious as murder, and only those in the final chapter relate to deaths linked to Jack the Ripper. Even here, the quarrel of his impoverished victim Anne Chapman with a fellow lodger over a bar of soap, is presented as potentially more interesting than her eventual death. Moreover, the Ripper himself is never discussed beyond the statement that 'like all mass mur-

derers' it is likely that, if known, he would 'show himself to be a pathetic and sad individual.'

In the preceding chapters we learn not about serial murder, but fighting between neighbourhood-based street gangs, the fatal attack by a mentally ill man on a female visitor to his lodging house and an altercation and suspected theft of a pocket watch in a dockland's lodging house frequented by off-duty Chinese seamen. Andersson also describes the murder of a middle class doctor who had been wandering the streets of East London with a probable prostitute, a fatal knife attack on a woman by her partner, the association of a migrant furniture-maker with possible anarchist terrorists, a neighbourly feud involving the death of a cat, and the theft by a maid of money from her mistress.

The low level misdemeanours of ex-police constable Porrock and the possible involvement of his old colleagues in shady activity are also documented in chapter seven. Here we learn that the lower ranks of the police were recruited from 'the more ordered elements of the lower class', but that despite strong discipline from superiors they sometimes experienced 'a chronic difficulty in maintaining their distance from the hedonistic and petty criminal world they patrolled every night'. Although presented rather late in the day, this chapter is important in providing some context for the chief data source for all the others. For, as in his earlier, lengthier and more theoretically-orientated *Street Life in Late Victorian London: the constable and the crowd* [2013] Andersson largely draws the present cases from records of proceedings at the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court, supplementing them occasionally with contemporary newspaper reports. His 'Introduction' suggests court records provide a useful counterbalance to the novelistic and literary sources he feels other commentators over-rely on. An over-reliance which has led to lower class life being under-represented in recent depictions of late Victorian society, and, where dealt with, seen through middle class eyes. In the final section 'Sources and Literature' he backtracks a bit on claims for a complete break between the 'literary' presentations of city life and the 'everyday' reality, but says he stressed the divide to strengthen his point that the latter is often overlooked. I'd query whether contemporary, nineteenth century, depictions of the ordinary life of London's poor are so hard to find. Andersson himself can't avoid naming Dickens, and he

also refers briefly to Booth, Besant, Mayhew – prolific early documenters with reformist intent. He is on stronger ground in arguing for their middle class, and in Dicken's case, sentimental, perspective – which is where the court reports come in, offering a different kind of access to lower class experience. Limited literacy meant the poor seldom directly documented their own experiences and feelings. But as victims, accused and witnesses in court records they might seem to offer accounts in their own words of what they did and saw, 'providing us today with one of the few possibilities we have to hear voices of the less well placed'.

But are the Old Bailey reports [which the reader can access online via the case protocol numbers helpfully provided] some kind of 'pure' or 'uncontaminated' window into the lives they touch upon? Andersson himself acknowledges that witnesses' accounts are sometimes contradictory. Whilst he has 'tried to weigh the different reports against each other to give as certain a picture as possible of the actual course of events,' nonetheless, he concedes, 'some of the occurrences described may not have happened or not in the exact way described'. In some of the case studies he suggests miscreants may have threatened witnesses. But hints that police weren't always popular might also have led to unwillingness to incriminate others. An officer in the Porrock case was himself prosecuted for perjury and it's possible that who actually came before the courts was affected by, for example, police unwillingness to call witnesses who might discredit them or reduce their conviction rates. If we add in the probability that the transcription of court procedures involved some discrepancies between the actual courtroom utterances and what was written down, we might conclude that, valuable as they are, court records cannot be guaranteed to offer an entirely unmediated, 'objective', fully rounded depiction of the events they deal with. In a more academically oriented volume fuller discussion of issues involved in using these kind of official documents as a resource might be expected.

These caveats aside, what will the reader get from the material presented? Under headings such as 'Angry young man', 'The determined knife', 'The claustrophobic chamber maid', Andersson presents, almost as little mysteries, a varied range of cases with a sometimes confusingly large cast of characters. Not all of them are completely solved.

We learn, for example, who killed Doctor Kirwin of Stockwell, but there are only hypotheses about why they did so and why he spent the day before his death wandering around various poor areas of London with a disreputable woman. Nor are we quite sure whether Mrs Barry actually threw acid at her neighbour's son in revenge for her probable belief that he killed her cat. And was the Dutchman Brall using gunpowder only to clear soot from the flue to his stove? Readers may vary in how far they find these 'tales' entertaining and intriguing. They are not over-sensationalised as they might have been by some novelists. Indeed the protagonists feel rather remote, for we do not get access to their back-stories and inner lives as we might do in fiction, or even in some modern, in-depth ethnographies. The 'claustrophobic' maid tells how she objected to the restrictions her employers placed upon her. But we learn little about how others *felt*, for example, about their poor living conditions or the volatile relationships with their partners. This part of their 'lived experience' remains obscure.

In general *On the City's Dark Side* offers glimpses into, rather than systematic coverage of the everyday life of London's poor, though the final section does provide useful, if limited suggestions for further reading. As documentation of *criminality*, if we rule out Jack the Ripper's serial murders, many of the crimes discussed arise from domestic or street quarrels and thefts, some of which escalated fatally. Whilst the doctor and the maid's employer provide examples of middle class victims of lower order criminality, we hear nothing about cases where the poor were victims of the actions of the rich. Sexual harassment of domestic workers by their employers would provide an example, although one probably unlikely to come to court. The maid's thefts from her employer also provide the sole example of a workplace crime – pilfering of goods in the docks or by market porters, for example, go un-noted. Several prostitutes, but no pimps, are mentioned, Andersson's previous investigation of pickpockets' practices is not brought into play and there is no general discussion of full-time or occasional crime as an example of 'people's strategies to survive under difficult and harsh life circumstances'. Only the chapter on Brall and the anarchist club touches on politically-motivated law breaking, though the 1880s in particular were years of anxiety about 'agitators' and lower order unrest

[see for example Old Bailey protocol t18880109-223 depicting rioting in 1886]. Last but not least, though we are told the length of sentence of some of the convicted, nothing is said about what their incarceration would have entailed.

Of course a shortish book cannot cover everything, but it would have been helpful to have the examples chosen put into context through some indication of the scale of lower class criminality and relative prominence of different types of crime. Was coming before the courts, in whatever role, a frequent part of lower class London life? If not, we might query Andersson's claim that court records show 'criminality was rarely far away from this [lower class] world', since they don't capture the experiences of that proportion of the lower orders who were law abiding and never witnessed any crimes.

If the book offers a selection rather than comprehensive documentation of types of crime, the variously derived 'background information' about London life presented as the case studies unfold, is also fragmentary. We are offered snippets, for example, about Cockney rhyming slang, working class East Enders' annual migration to pick hops in Kent, the availability of opiates and of different types of cat food. A wide variety of jobs are mentioned, some [coach washer, straw mattress filler, collector of ash and bones for use in industry] no longer with us. But there's little discussion of what working life was like and no indication of the relative proportion of London's population in different types of occupation or working and unemployed. The age structure [often a variable relevant for crime] remains obscure. We discover nothing about important topics such as health, life expectancy, education or religion. What we do get is some sense of what we might see if we wandered these streets with their roaming children, horse drawn wagons, and many pubs. We are given some sense of the population distribution within, and the physical fabric of its different areas. There were predominantly lower class neighbourhoods [around the docks for example], ones known for their foreign migrants, but also districts where patches of poverty were interspersed with middle class housing. Class segregation was not complete and working class terraces and back yards could be next to major thoroughfares. Maps prefacing each chapter and the evocative cover photo [I'd have liked more] hint at the density of build. The text shows different degrees of poverty leading

to different adaptations to available accommodation. Some families rented their own set of rooms in a bigger property, a 'landlady' shared her single room with a lodger, while the unfortunate denizens of the 'common boarding houses' paid for their beds in cubicles or dormitories by the night. Not discussed is what many poor Londoners feared the most – the Work House where the destitute, often separated from family members, were incarcerated and forced to labour in return for their meagre bed and board. We see that cramped quarters, thin walls and the spread of activity out into yard and street made privacy difficult. But we also meet surprisingly incurious neighbours who knew little about each other. No one asked Brall about the strange noises coming from his room. We are largely left to infer possible status divisions within the lower orders, but perhaps in the contradictory examples of how far lives were lived out in public, we see evidence of a difference between 'rough' and 'respectable' life styles.

Andersson's 'Introduction' reminds us that the late 19th century was a period of great change – of industrialisation, when London as the centre of an expanding empire experienced in-migration and rapid population growth. However, the reader largely has to fill in the gaps themselves to link such structural factors to the 'dark and hopeless' lives many of his subjects led. Nor is there any mention of the state and how its policies affected life chances of those it tended to think of as either the 'deserving' or the 'undeserving' poor. Andersson early on laments that 'descriptive history' is often 'dismissed as anecdotal and unscientific' even though 'everyday life and human fates are not suited to an abstract theoretical analysis of the past'. He says he wants to show that 'small stories can stand on their own feet and do not need to be used as variables in a general historical picture'. But this is to ignore the fruitful middle ground between empiricism and grand theory where greater understanding of ordinary lives can be achieved by seeing how they are shaped by specific broader social, economic and political factors. Don't we want to know, where possible, not just *what* life was like, but *why* it took the form it did?

Thus I suggest *On the City's Dark Side* can't function as a core text on Victorian London's poor, even if it provides readers with tantalising glimpses, from an interesting data-source, into a period in the capital's history which 'heralds the existence which

we take for granted today.' Personally I was struck by the way early 21st century Londoners can still open their newspapers and read about their city's expanding population, ethnic enclaves, pockets of poverty in better off districts and also shifts of the poor outwards as inner city areas are redeveloped. Bad housing, overcrowding and homelessness haven't disappeared, technological change is bringing job insecurity and the police continue to deal with knife attacks by members of youth groups 'defending' their territory. The world Andersson deals with was not entirely 'unique'. And that's partly because some of the underlying processes which shaped it, are still with us today.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Danish Manor Houses and Gentlefolk

Signe Boeskov, Herregård og herskab. Distinktioner og iscenesættelser på Nørre Vosborg og Hvedholm 1850–1920. Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2017. 363 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-635-4144-2.

■ The manorial world and the people populating it is the subject of Signe Boeskov's research about two different manors: Nørre Vosborg situated in the western part of Jutland and Hvedholm close to the city of Faaborg on the island of Funen. With these two manors as a staring point, Boeskov explores self-presentation and self-perception among Danish estate owner families in the period 1850–1920.

The original building at Nørre Vosborg dates back to the 1530s and has since then undergone many additions and restorations. Hvedholm likewise dates back to that time, having been built during the fifteenth century and after a fire rebuilt during the late seventeenth century and almost 200 years later rebuilt to give it the exterior it has today. Needless to say, both manors have long and winding histories and backgrounds, playing important roles not only in the local history but also very much in the national history, being the home of many of the wealthy families exerting political as well as cultural influence.

During the period in focus for Boeskov, the two mansions harboured two quite different sets of families. At Hvedholm manor the Bille-Selby family resided, at Nørre Vosborg the Tang family. But the scenes, the manorial settings, were also different. The Bille-Selbys at Hvedholm were surrounded by

Denmark's oldest noble families and they had significant funds to maintain their lifestyle, while the Tangs at Nørre Vosborg came from the bourgeoisie, constantly grappling with financial problems. But there are also similarities between the two manors and the two families. One of them is that they have provided Boeskov with extensive archival material, making it possible to follow the individuals on a micro-historical level.

This book with the Danish title meaning "Manor House and Gentlefolk: Distinctions and Stagings at Nørre Vosborg and Hvedholm 1850–1920" is an edited version of Boeskov's dissertation from 2010. The book consists of five main chapters, focusing on the life of the two families and the world surrounding them.

In the introduction and the first chapter, the reader is presented with the background, previous research and methods used in the research performed by Boeskov. One of the more important perspectives is the conspicuous element in the manorial world. Rituals and ceremonies as well as consumption (in accordance with one's station, of course) and opportunities for leisure time all signal power and status. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is invoked for his theories about habitus and different forms of symbolic capital, such as cultural, economic and social capital. The different dynamics of power in society and how power is transferred, transformed and altered to maintain social order is in focus here, and the author describes how the elite live their life, a universe of their own in many ways. This is a frequent approach to choose when studying the elite, but the comparison between the two families and the two manors during a fairly short period adds a new angle to the field.

In the following chapter, the physical establishment of the manorial world is studied. The Danish estate owner families during this period lived separately from their servants, with specific zones for the two groups, for example different staircases, hidden doors and bell pulls to summon them if they were needed. The different scenes of the manorial world are described and outlined for the reader, creating a background to the descriptions of the life the owner families lived and wanted to maintain. When the scenes have been set, the discussion goes on to explore how the owner families used their assets to create and maintain their power status. Connections to a place, a mansion, and to a long line of owners as

well as to a family of ancient lineage gave status to the owner families. History – or rather how history and the past is used – is obviously important to the owner families, thus combining different kinds of symbolic capital, showing that they possessed cultural as well as economic capital. In chapter four, festivities, feasts and holidays are in focus, the starting point being conspicuous consumption, rituals and manifestations of power. This was in contrast to the everyday life, where temperance and simplicity were held in esteem. The feasts were a way to create and recreate the owner families, a way to stage themselves. Both families held feasts not only for friends and relatives, but also for servants, employees and subordinates to the estate. The symbolic need for these feasts was great, working both horizontally and vertically, but the two families handled this differently. At Hvedholm, the family took part in the festivities for a short time, while the family at Nørre Vosborg took part in the celebrations in a more genuine way. These parties were necessary to uphold the status they desired, but they were also expensive. The families regarded them as a form of investment, and used them to build networks and create new acquaintances, important for the family business.

The importance and meaning of connections to the royal family is at centre of the last chapter. Not only personal connections, but also the importance of having a member of the royal family visiting the mansion was something that the owner families gladly boasted. Especially at Hvedholm, the connections between the owner family and the royal family went far back. A royal visit was meticulously planned, and all the splendour the family could produce was put on display. At Nørre Vosborg, where the family did not have the same status of ancien régime, the connection to the royal family was sparse. The means and the ambitions the two families had were different; at Hvedholm the ambition was to strengthen their status, at Nørre Vosborg their social status as well as their local esteem was what they wanted to show off.

There are undoubtedly many similarities and differences between the two mansions and their owners during the period in focus. Nonetheless, the goal was the same: distinction and self-staging. To be both traditional and modern at the same time runs through their actions as Boeskov pictures them. The prospects of succeeding were different. At Hved-

holm the family operated with exclusion, at Nørre Vosborg inclusion. At Hvedholm history worked in their favour and they knew how to use it, at Nørre Vosborg they tried in many ways to find it and connect themselves to it, both nationally and locally. Together they are good examples of the manorial world during this period.

Also worth mentioning are the many illustrations in the book, from pictures of early photos to maps, genealogical tables and paintings. The illustrations are also very informative and add to the text. They work as informative pictures but also to illustrate the source materials. In particular, they help to bring the people behind the source material to life. The study is grounded in solid work about the two manors and the two owner families. The book is equipped with comprehensive lists of references. Perhaps I miss here some of the extensive research carried out in the field of manorial studies, not only in an Anglo-American context but also for example in both Finland and Sweden. The book also lacks an index, which perhaps would have added value.

This is a very down-to-earth book. The language is pleasant, easily accessible and captivating. Despite being a heavy volume with almost 360 pages, it somehow seems shorter. The information about Hvedholm and Nørre Vosborg, their owner families and their history and background, is presented in a fascinating way, as is the Danish manorial culture.
Marie Steinrud, Stockholm

Cultural Analysis of Museum Education

Mette Boritz, Museumsundervisning. Med sanser og materialitet på kulturhistoriske museer. Syddansk Universitetsforlag, Odense 2018. 259 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-408-3122-1.

■ In cultural policy in Denmark, as in Sweden, children have become increasingly prominent in claims about the social benefits of museums. Children and young visitors are a high-priority area. Statements regarding the accessibility, democracy, but also the revenue of museums are increasingly linked to children as a target group. There is a great deal of literature on museum education and learning, typically from a theoretical and didactic perspective with the visitor and exhibition in focus. In comparison, there are surprisingly few empirical studies made of how learning in museums is shaped in practice, in the physical and material encounter between visitor and museum. In the hierarchies between professional positions within the museums, working with children and pedagogy has rarely been regarded as having high status (or a big salary), although this seems to be slowly changing. Museum education has been taken for granted, as a "matter of course" in the words of Mette Boritz. She does not regard it this way; on the contrary she views museum education as something complex, demanding and often unpredictable. It is a truly challenging art. In the light of an ever-expanding emphasis on children and learning in museums, I think it is paradoxical that the practices of museum education have been so remarkably little documented or researched. With her study of structured teaching sessions in museums of cultural history, Mette Boritz's book, which is a reworking of her thesis, therefore provides an ambitious and important contribution to the field. The original version of the thesis was reviewed in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 43 (2013) by the examining committee, Inge Adriansen, Niels Jul Nielsen and Birgitta Svensson.

With a cultural-analytical and didactic perspective on structured teaching sessions, the aim of Mette Boritz's study is to investigate what characterizes education in museums of cultural history, and how the museum education is formed in practice. (I will come back to the debated terms "education" versus "learning" later.) The book investigates this with a special focus on how, and to what extent, the museum spaces, exhibitions and artefacts are involved in the practices of museum teaching. A strong focus throughout the book is on what the museum materialities *do* in the learning situation, what they can help to bring about, and how this is connected to the use of the senses, bodies, and to feeling. This makes her study a part of the interdisciplinary field of materiality studies, as well as the vast field of museum studies.

The book aims at linking existing practice with theoretical reflection, as well as highlighting what is perceived as "good" museum teaching, what methods are used, and what rationales and ideals lie behind. A strong motif of the study, also explicitly elucidated, is to upgrade the pedagogic practices of cultural history museums, and to raise awareness of how museum education is shaped in practice.

Museum education is a diverse field. As Boritz notes, it not only covers many different subjects and

museum realities – economic as well as organizational, diverse attitudes and perspectives, but it is also in constant flux. The preconditions of museum education change, cultural policy as well as pedagogic perspectives change, as do the needs and demands from the schools that use the museums. What seems to be enduring, though, according to Boritz, is the use of materialities in teaching. At the beginning of the book, she states that there is a consensus that museums are well respected resources for educational activities. There is also agreement that museum education is different from that provided by the school and to some extent that it *should* be different from classroom teaching. One important aspect of museum education often brought up by museum professionals is that the physical spaces and the artefacts provide the museum with unique potentials for learning. But as Boritz asks, how, and to what extent, do the museums succeed in exploiting this potential?

The book is richly illustrated with photographs from Boritz's fieldwork. The first part of the book covers the introduction, theoretical approach, earlier research, a historical background on museum education, and she also outlines some of the frameworks that dictate the conditions of museum education, presenting cultural policy in Denmark, and overall pedagogic trends. The review of previous research is both exhaustive and concise. Although I think the first part of the book is a bit long compared to the empirical chapters building on her actual field studies (the first empirical example drawing on Boritz's own observations of practice does not come until page 110), the thorough background is one of the book's vital strengths. It provides an excellent source of knowledge for anyone searching for an analytical outline of the research, ideals and practices of museum education from the nineteenth century up until today, in Denmark, but also relating to general shifts in the English-speaking western sphere.

The second section covers the empirical parts, where Mette Boritz presents and analyses her field studies. She conducts her investigation with the help of 53 participant observations of structured teaching sessions carried out in nine Danish (and one Swedish) museums of cultural history. She has also conducted 20 interviews with persons who are involved in museum education in various ways: people with an administrative and political outlook on museum education, as well as people who in their everyday lives work with museum education in museums of cultural history. The main part of the fieldwork was carried out 2009–2011. Her study clearly builds on rich empirical material. The museums chosen for the study differ in size, subject matter, organization etc., ranging from the National Museum of Denmark to the open-air museum Frilandsmuseet. This broad selection seems to be well-chosen, but the author could perhaps have given an account of the criteria for the selection of museums and of the informants chosen for the study. Most of her empirical examples come from the National Museum, where she herself has been part of the staff for many years. This raises questions about possible challenges or potentials of conducting fieldwork within her own workplace. I would also have liked a discussion of the interview methods used, and her own role as an interviewer in terms of power, and reflexivity. On the other hand, it is important to have in mind that this book is a reworked published version of the thesis, with a broader audience in mind than scholars.

In the first part of the book, Boritz presents shifting ideals concerning education aimed at children. She also provides a much-needed background on structured museum education from a historical perspective. As she notes, there are surprisingly few historical studies of museum education, and the ones that exist mostly focus on the late nineteenth century or the years surrounding the radical 1960s. Although the historical background is only 22 pages long, it is an analytically interesting account stretching from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day, focusing on the use of, and incentives for, artefacts in teaching situations. A strength is how she nuances a common view that "real" museum education begun in the 1960s, and how she points to the fact that the interest in experiences, involvement, and sensuality is far from new. I find the discussion on how museum education has been connected to the senses in hierarchical ways particularly interesting. At the end of the study she comes back to this, when she cites the historian Constance Classen's view of the senses as not only physical but also culturally constructed; here she discusses how there is still a hierarchy where seeing and listening are valued as the most important ways of acquiring knowledge, while touch is regarded as less important.

She discusses some key concepts concerning museum education within the museum field, as in museum research, and how they have changed. In her own study Boritz chooses to use the concept of museum *teaching* (undervisning) rather than museum *learning* (læring) although she says it might give an "old-fashioned" impression. These are central concepts extensively discussed in contemporary museum studies, as in the museum field internationally. Transmitting metaphors and a perspective focusing on the transmitter/educator has been abandoned in favour of participant metaphors, and a perspective on the receiver/museum visitor. Often a historical progress is outlined, where "passive transfer" and "education" are contrasted negatively with new concepts such as "learning", "communication" and "dialogue", which are accentuated as more democratic. Nor does her study take a stance on the matter of the "dispenser" or the "receiver"; rather she wants to overcome this dichotomy, and research the linking space in *between*. The way I understand Boritz is that she tries to avoid the normative aspect of the concepts "education" and "learning". These two concepts bear with them both possibilities and constraints, and she declares that they are good for seeing different things. I agree with her when she states that we need a new language to speak of museum education/learning, we need concepts that can cover the intermediating power relations of learning, the "in-between space", in less normative ways.

In a broader context of contemporary cultural politics, however, learning is connected to more than issues of participation, citizenship and democracy. In a chapter on shifting cultural policies, Boritz poses the question why children seem to be so very important for museums today, and what it is that they are expected to learn. One aspect she brings forward is that museums are linked to concepts such as "competition" and "economic growth". In a time when nation states compete over knowledge, children need to learn how to adjust their competence in accordance with the demands of a market. Children are also tremendously important for visitor statistics. I would say that the stressed focus on the "visitor", rather than the "tutor", is linked to a quite new view on the museum visitor as a "customer". One could, perhaps provocatively, argue that the contemporary vocabulary of learning is connected to these shifts, and that they are both revenue-driven and individualized. However, Boritz

set out to explore the extent to which shifting concepts have been followed by changed practices. I find it both important and entertaining how she uncovers the field's buzzwords, and questions them by posing them against practice.

Boritz's research can be understood in a context of increased demands on museums to present "measurable data" on learning, which is also reflected in museum research on learning outcomes, learning analytics, and visitor studies. To get funds from government, the museums must demonstrate how they contribute to society, they must present measurable results. Boritz underlines that her book is not about learning results or outcomes (so often sought after today), but about the learning process. Her book is also set in the framework of an ongoing debate in Denmark, where museums are expected to adjust to the school's curriculum. Boritz poses the question: Should museum education take its outset in the demands and needs of the schools, or should it take the museum's special strengths in the form of factual knowledge, exhibitions and artefacts as its starting point? It is a hypothetical question, for she instantly answers it. Her viewpoint is that all museums are not well equipped to teach all things, and that they should take the museum artefacts and materialities as their starting point.

Boritz highlights how the learning situation in the space of a museum comprises much more than the museum educator and the schoolchild. Her empirical study shows that, amongst other things, it is inhabited by the children's own teacher, and by the materialities of the museum which can affect the learning situation in profound ways. To grasp and analyse the complexity of museum education, she finds a useful concept in "*uren pædagogik*" (impure pedagogy), inspired by Svend Brinkmann, Thomas Aastrup Rømer, and Lene Tanggaard. In line with their reasoning, Boritz does not think that "learning" as a phenomenon can be understood regardless of what it is that specifically is to be taught, nor that anything can be understood outside the specific context.

I interpret the use of the concept of "impure pedagogy" as both a standpoint for highlighting that there is more to museum education than pure method and the commonly described relation between educator and pupils, and as a tool to take into account all the parameters which might affect the situation of learning. She has made a model for this,

with "education" in the centre of a flower, and the petals surrounding it saying things like "time", "weather, "intentions", "the subject matter", "the materiality", "politics", "theories of learning", "methods" etc. One could argue, though, that many more parameters could be added. I see the model more as a reminder to pay attention to the complexity of museum education, rather than as a strictly analytical tool.

The theoretical framework derives from materiality studies as well as from pedagogic philosophy. Boritz stresses the relationship between body, mind, and museum materialities which she states give museums a special affective, transformative potential for learning. To study this, she draws inspiration from various didactic thinkers engaged in the relation between body, mind and learning, as well as thinkers of museology, ethnology, and the anthropology of the senses.

Her starting point is, from a socio-material perspective, that materialities *do* something, they are not a backdrop or simply props. She finds that although materiality research has gained a profound impact on universities, its theories have not really hit the museums. Instead, she finds that it is *words* and interpretations that are in focus. She gives so-called "dialogue-based teaching" as an example of this and criticizes the way it is mostly formed as a dialogue between people and not between people and things. She states that the only perspective museums have borrowed from materiality research is an interest in sensory experiences in relation to children. This is a perspective Boritz set out to develop in her work.

She draws inspiration from several thinkers of pedagogy, for example the philosopher of pedagogy John Dewey, who have argued that learning does not only take place cognitively, but also bodily. The view of bodily acquired knowledge she combines with the concept *affect*. Drawing on the philosopher and social theorist Brian Massumi, she states that when museum materialities and spaces interact with the body and senses, they can create affect. Affect is not to be understood simply as feelings. It is the immediate physical response which proceeds the thought, the feeling or the conscious decision. In line with Massumi, Boritz describes affect as a "pre-cognitive" sensation which comes from within the subject body, which can interrupt and change old thought structures. With the help of affect, she

wishes to explore the embodied knowledges and experiences that cannot be put into words, but at the same time are crucial for creating interest, emotion, *intensity,* and *presence,* also concepts borrowed from Massumi. She discusses presence with the help of the literary theorist Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, and shows that there is a special power in just being in the moment, in the body. Contrary to her description of affect, presence is seen as something more individual. Following Gumbrecht, she argues that there need not be a meaning behind the artefact – it creates something just in itself. She gives empirical examples of this, for instance when a boy is handed a clog, and he seems to forget time and space. When handling the wooden shoe, he just sits there intensely focused and still, with ears or eyes for nothing else. But also looking at an artefact behind glass can create this effect. One example is when a little girl slowly gravitates towards a harpoon in a showcase, and she gets totally absorbed by it. There is a photo of her in the book, her face close to the glass, her eyes are wide open, and her jaw has dropped. From the photo alone, it is obvious the artefact affects her in some way.

The theoretical approach seems well-suited to explore what happens in the interaction between children, museum spaces, and artefacts. Especially intriguing is her ambition to study *affect*. The introducing theoretical discussion is convincing, but the theoretical concepts are not always interwoven with the empirical parts. A problem in relation to the method that Boritz herself brings up is how to access the affective and physical experiences of the children.

She gives some well-wrought empirical examples of how to study affect, as when the children walk into a World War II bunker in the Museum of Danish Resistance. She analyses how their bodies react to the darkness, and to the cramped space. But, one thing I have trouble with is how, drawing on Massumi, she describes affect as something collective that has little to do with personal experiences, that it is "pre-cognitive". I can't help wondering whether the affective power of the bunker wouldn't be quite different if a child interacting with the space of the bunker had hidden from missiles in a similar bunker before, or if she or he was claustrophobic, for instance. The next question is whether creating affect is always positive. Here I wonder why she decided not to combine observations with interviews with

the children. She justifies this choice with the fact that it is the learning situation which is in focus, not the children's feelings about it, or what they have learned from it. Her choice not to include interviews with children might also have been due to ethical concerns. However, with her interest for the interaction between children and museum, bodily sensing, affect, feelings and mind, I think that also interviewing the children might have added to the study. Especially since she states – both in the introduction and at the end – that affect has the potential to create "transformative experiences and new knowledge". I do believe her, but how can this be stated if it cannot be studied? Overall, I think a deeper methodological discussion would have been beneficial.

The ethnographic descriptions of the observations are generally very well executed. Some descriptions of the meeting between child and artefacts are especially captivating. For example, the description of a sensuous meeting between a boy and a smelly clog, or the illustration of how a rope creates strong bodily reactions in a group of children tied together to demonstrate slavery. Her interest in the museum space is not always demonstrated as clearly, though. But towards the end of the book she concisely analyses spaces especially built for children. Her conclusion (which I find noteworthy and in line with findings in my own study of museum spaces) is that on one hand, these special "educational spaces" can give other prerequisites for education than the exhibitions; they can create calm and benefit a deeper exploration of a subject, sometimes they can give possibility to make loud noises or use water and messy materials. On the other hand, these spaces are seldom taken seriously, and are not allowed to cost money. As a result, she finds that they often are very similar to traditional classrooms: Tables and chairs in straight rows, wall charts, and whiteboards. Their placement, often in the peripheral spaces of a museum, (for example in the basement), might separate the children from the artefacts and the subject matter of the museum.

Finally, what do we learn from Mette Boritz's research? Despite some objections above, her study clearly shows the impact and importance of taking materiality seriously, and to upgrade the use of bodily senses in museum teaching. The book gives evidence for the claim that the way something is best learned has to do what it is we wish the learning should be about, and that the *content* is as important

as the pedagogical methods used. A museum's unique setting does matter, and it really does many things. Boritz finds that despite the emphasis on the particularity of museum education and its materialities and spaces in museum discourse, it is still words that have the highest regard in this information culture. Regardless of numerous study on the importance of embodied learning, and an accentuated new language of concepts like "dialogue" and "communication", the monologic guided tour is still the most common form of museum education. This however is a conclusion which is already stated at the beginning of the book, and again in the middle, before it comes back in the closing discussion. There are quite a lot of repetitions, and several conclusions are already formulated as questions or starting points, creating somewhat circular arguments. This gives the impression that her starting points and theoretical premises steer the analysis and shape the results, although I think it is rather a question of writing technique. Overall, though, she succeeds in convincingly illustrating and proving her points in the ethnographic examples, and one can claim that the repetitions also make her arguments very clear.

Overall, this is a well-written, interesting, and useful book. With her well-chosen empirical examples, she manages to nuance the museum debate on learning. By studying the actual interactions of structured teaching, she shows that there is no one simple model to use, no systematized "quick-fix" for museum teaching. Set in a broad debate about the museum from the viewpoints of cultural policy and museology, Boritz's book could be viewed as an argument against the idea that we can find a perfect and universal model of learning, suitable for all situations and all topics. This I think is one of the most important results of the book.

Another great merit of the study is that Mette Boritz not only explores ideals of learning in relation to practices, she also gives examples of how abstract philosophical ideas could be translated into practice. With the help of empirical examples, she gives suggestions on how museums could use their sensual and affective potential better.

The final words of the book say that, regardless of how good the teaching is, "you can always do it a little bit better." The most obvious target readers are therefore professionals within the museum field, but it might also be stimulating and inspirational reading for students, and anyone interested in how re-

nowned didactic and philosophical ideas about how materialities relate to bodily sensing and learning could be studied empirically. There is no doubt that this book will prove to be most useful in the field of museum education.

Mette Boritz's study is important, and it evokes new questions. She does not come back to the political discussions and motivations for museum learning she introduces at the beginning, but it would be interesting to take her findings on the impact of learning with the body, senses and materiality further, to a broader discussion of inclusion. Her research has interesting implications relating to individuals who have trouble learning by just seeing and listening – for example, visitors who do not speak the official language. It would also be interesting to discuss and investigate in relation to visitors with certain mental or sensory disabilities. If you cannot use sight and hearing – the senses regarded most highly in relation to learning – there might be a great democratic potential in stressing the importance of touch, smell, and taste. Mette Boritz's study shows the importance of acknowledging that there is more to museum education than what is measurable, it is a highly complex process of materialities, bodies, spaces, feelings, emotions, affect, and meaning-making.

Britta Zetterström Geschwind, Stockholm

A Textbook of Culture as Practice

Kultur som praksis. Etnologiske perspektiver på individualitet og fælleskab, kultur og historie. Søren Christensen, Astrid P. Jespersen, Signe Mellemgaard, Marie Sandberg (eds.). Hans Reitzels Forlag, Copenhagen 2017. 202 pp. ISBN 978-87-412-6593-3.

■ The title of this book means "Culture as Practice: Ethnological Perspectives on Individuality and Community, Culture and History". It is written by Søren Christensen, Astrid P. Jespersen, Tine Damsholt, Signe Mellemgaard, Marie Sandberg (all but Damsholt editors), one scholar of history of ideas and four ethnologists from the University of Copenhagen and the University of Aarhus.

A specified target group of the volume is students in the humanities, especially the disciplines of ethnology, anthropology, history, migration studies, and students interested in qualitative fieldwork. Ad-

ditionally, the authors explicitly address professionals within the welfare field of work.

The specific aim of the book is to discuss how ethnologists produce reflective knowledge. The book is thus primarily an educational textbook. However, it can also be read as a contribution to a debate about what has been called a post-factual society (think for example of the last year's discussions of "fake news", "climate change denial" and the implications of social media as a political tool). Addressing a general decline of confidence in academic knowledge, the authors set out to re-establish trust in the ability of the humanities, and particularly ethnology, to generate robust knowledge. They do this by advocating a reflective approach, and by promoting an understanding of culture as practice. The book rests on the idea that both concepts and theories within the humanities are historically situated and conditioned by practice, but that this does not prevent it from being both relevant and adequate.

In the Introduction, Sandberg and Jespersen set the scene by asking how phenomena such as "the individual", "the society", "our common history" or "the ability to unite" are socially put together. They conclude that in order to deal with such questions, research has to scrutinize taken-for-granted concepts such as *individuality*, *community*, *everyday life*, *society*, *similarity*, *difference*, *history*, *culture*, *origin* and *belonging*.

The authors set out two main lines for the book. Firstly, they stress the collective character of ethnological research; ethnologists carry out their projects together with their research subjects. Secondly, with reference to Anna Tsing (2015) they conclude that research is a cultural practice that has "world-making capacities", meaning that research is part of the making up of our common world.

The following four chapters each revolve around topics and perspectives that have been fundamental to ethnological research: first cultural history and temporality are discussed, followed by a dissection of perspectives on community and social cohesion. Individuality and identity is the third matter to be addressed, and finally cultural analysis in itself as reflexive process is in focus.

Ethnologists have long since directed the searchlight towards different uses of the past. In the chapter "Problematizing the history of culture" Damsholt and Mellemgaard address the question of how the past, the present and the future are related. The

chapter starts with a flashback to a scholarly debate from more than hundred years ago, when the Prussian history professor Dietrich Schäfer accused the Danish cultural historian Troels-Lund of not deploying traditional historic source criticism while studying ordinary people's everyday life. However, Damsholt and Mellemgaard use the example to show how Troels-Lund's ethnological perspective and methods opened up for a reflective understanding of the past.

The timeworn example is an elegant way to start a discussion on the uses of history, but also serve as an instructive example on the tension between traditional historians and cultural historians about how to accomplish a credible understanding of the past.

The line of reasoning in the chapter includes Pierre Nora's distinction between *memory* and *history*, Michel Foucault's genealogical method, Robert Darnton's ethnographic perspective on historical research, and Reinhart Koselleck's discussions of temporalities in the plural. There are also references to and examples from research by Burk, Darnton, Medick, Ginzburg, Geertz and others.

The conclusion is that the past must be regarded as a foreign country, and consequently that it is a hopeless task to gain objective knowledge about it. As a cure to this rather pessimistic deduction, the authors advocate a radical historicity in the study of the past. Recognizing that every historicization is a shaping and re-shaping (not uncovering) of earlier times, radical historicity works as a destabilizing tool which opens up for reflective understandings of the past, the present and the future.

In the next chapter, "Communities in a Cultural-Analytical Perspective", Sandberg, Christensen and Jespersen tackle one of the core questions in ethnology: what is community and how does it work? In focus is what in Danish is called "sammenhængskraft", roughly translated as "social cohesion". What is it that makes a group, a society or a nation hold together?

Initially, they present the two classical conceptions of *imagined communities* and *interactionist community*. The types are not defined as two contrasting counterparts, but as different social and cultural ways of organizing inclusion and exclusion. "Imagined community" is borrowed from the nationalist theorist Benedict Anderson, and deals with big, abstract communities such as "nation", "state" or "culture". "Interactionist community" is about so-

cial order and draws on sociology and ethnomethodology. The theoretical backgrounds of the two versions are written with reference to, for example, Herder, Durkheim and Gellner in the case of imagined communities and Simmel, Goffman and Garfinkel in the case of interactionist community. The review ends with a discussion of community and communities in a globalized world.

The idea of letting the discussion alternate between two different "community types" works well. The chapter also includes examples of actual ethnological studies of communities, for example, Thomas Højrup's work with state forms and life-modes and Orvar Löfgren's analysis of the role of everyday life in group unity. The chapter finishes off with an analysis of the "Denmark canon" that was launched in 2016 in Denmark, as an example of how the theoretical models described here can be applied to understand contemporary societal processes.

In focus for the following chapter, "Subjectivation and individuality", by Christensen and Sandberg, are theories about individualization and subjectification in late modernity. With a sober and critical eye, the authors describe how theorists like Giddens, Bauman, Beck and du Gay have launched late modernity as an era of individualization. However, they describe this as an a-political and more or less deterministic perspective. Thus, it is badly suited for reflexive ethnological research that deals with subjects, not individuals. The authors point to the fact that the study of culture needs a theory that grasps complexity, differences, and dynamics of power. In order to build up a framework in which resistance and subjectification can be problematized, the authors' arguments range from Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault to Slavoj Žižek, Judith Butler and Nicolas Rose.

The last chapter is written by Jespersen, Sandberg and Mellemgaard and called "Cultural Analysis as Reflexive Practice". Here the authors return to a hands-on standpoint, as they pick up and carry on the post-factual society discussion from the first chapter. How can ethnologists produce trustworthy knowledge in a time when academic research is misjudged? The answer the authors give is: reflexivity.

As in the chapter about cultural history, research method is in focus. Cultural analysis is described as a concrete line of work, consisting of the four dimensions/phases *Research questions*, *Methodological design*, *Analytical work* and *Cultural analysis*.

The four phases are thoroughly and pedagogically described, and reflexivity is held up as an ideal throughout the whole research process.

I find *Kultur som praksis* a very consistent introduction to the questions and knowledge goals in ethnological research. Throughout the five chapters, the discussion oscillates between ontological, epistemological and political questions. How is the social world put together? What can we as researchers know about it? What effects can cultural analysis have? As often in ethnology, influences come from a range of theories and theorists. However, the authors' good judgement and stringent choices make the reading enjoyable and the arguments clear-cut. Culture and cultural manifestation are consequently treated as practice. The unbending de-constructivist stance is balanced with an explicit aim to show the creative strength of humanistic research. The authors' different experiences complement each other and the text moves between topics in a seamless way. Even though there are five different authors, the text is uniform in style, and easy to read and comprehend throughout the book.

Being interested in rituals and ceremonies, I would have appreciated the authors' standpoint on the role of formalized practice when it comes to social cohesion, maybe in relation to an in-depth discussion about the concepts of performance and performativity. The absence of, for example, Pierre Bourdieu's cultural sociology in the discussion about identity, subject and group could be seen as a minor shortcoming. But these are negligible objections.

Accordingly, I think this is a felicitous publication. It discusses a range of complex questions about how to understand, describe, conceptualize and study culture. It is written in a light-handed and lucid way that makes complex matters easy to grasp. One special quality, which distinguishes this textbook from many others in the same genre, is that it offers not theoretical discussions *or* empirical examples, but successfully combines profound theory with recognizable empirical illustrations. The abstract models of, say, Žižek, Foucault and Law are continually exemplified with straightforward examples such as the Dansk Folkeparti's view of Danishness, practices surrounding the Danish monument Julianehøj, or the meeting between a patient and a doctor.

Based on the above I would say that *Kultur som praksis* succeeds in both of its self-imposed missions: to be a good tutorial for students who want to know more about how to be an ethnologist, and to give examples of how ethnological research can contribute to credible and productive knowledge.
Mattias Frihammar, Stockholm

Seaways to Sweden

Sjövägen till Sverige. Från 1500-talet till våra dagar. Simon Ekström, Leos Müller & Tomas Nilson (eds.). Universus Academic Press, Malmö 2016. Forum navale skriftserie 56. 330 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87439-27-8.

■ According to the editors, this book arose out of a course at the Centre for Maritime Studies, where the teachers realized the lack of a book that could serve as an introduction to Swedish maritime history and ethnology. The text has been tested for several years in a course on "Swedish History from the Seaward Side" at Stockholm University. In this review I will assess the book as an introduction to and a textbook on Swedish maritime history.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is an introduction to Swedish maritime history from the sixteenth century to the present day. The second part contains a number of field studies or closer looks at some more contemporary aspects of Swedes and their relations to the sea.

The first part consists of the following chapters: Ingvar Sjöblom, Leos Müller, and Gunnar Åselius on naval warfare and the navy. Leos Müller, Per Hallén, and Thomas Taro Lennerfors on trade and shipping. Dan Johansson and Leos Müller on shipbuilding and shipyards. Henrik Alexandersson, Lennart Bornmalm, and Tomas Nilson on fishery. Pauli Kivistö and Tomas Nilson on ferries and passenger traffic, although here the account begins in the mid nineteenth century.

The second part has the following chapters: Hanna Hagmark-Cooper on sailors' wives. Mirja Arnshav on sailors' tattoos. Mattias Agerberg on the occupation of sailor at the transition from sail to steam. Simon Ekström on lobster fishing and the lobster trade on the west coast of Sweden. Mattias Frihammar on Swedish leisure boating.

Generally speaking, all the contributions are clear and concise, and in some chapters the language is

rather dry and catalogue-like. As the authors themselves point out, a great many relevant themes are omitted, and the chapters about tattoos and sailors' wives could, in my view, have been replaced by topics such as harbours, marine archaeology, and sailors in literature. But an edited volume will always be dependent on the state of research and the available authors, and at all events it is good to see the breadth of maritime research. I have two fundamental points of criticism.

The first concerns the general failure to present research discussions. I am fully aware that it is not possible to devote a lot of space in an introductory textbook to an account of the disagreements, large and small, between different scholars, but I think it is bad pedagogy to omit them altogether. It would have been natural to select the major points of dispute in maritime history and ethnology and integrate them in the text. This does happen once or twice, but very briefly and almost apologetically.

My second criticism is aimed at the use of Sweden as a basic concept, without defining Sweden. As we know, Europe is the burial ground of states and empires, and the surviving states have through the centuries gained and lost territory to a significant extent. This applies particularly to Sweden, so where does the "seaway" of the title take us? To Sweden plus Finland? Plus Skåne, Halland, Blekinge, Bohuslän, Gotland, and Ösel? Plus Norway? Plus Bremen-Verden, Wismar, Stralsund, Rügen, Livonia, and Ingria? The authors do not solve the problem of dealing with the varying size of Sweden, partly because they only seem to recognize it to a limited extent. One example is the statement on page 18 of the introduction, that, "with a few exceptions, Swedish wars have taken place far away from our mainland." As a Dane I must point out here that, by my count, the Skåneland provinces and Bohuslän were invaded and ravaged during the wars of 1563–70, 1611–13, 1643–45, 1657–60, 1675–79, 1709–19. That makes quite a large number of exceptional years!

Precisely Skåneland and Bohuslän are interesting because, unlike Finland, Norway, and the Baltic and German provinces, they have remained a part of Sweden. Yet in the chapter about trade and shipping there is no discussion of the consequences of Sweden's acquisition of these former Danish and Norwegian provinces through the treaties of Brömsebro in 1645 and Roskilde in 1658, although for the inhabitants of the provinces this had at least short-term negative consequences for their patterns of shipping and trade, because they were now part of a different political and economic unit, and the Swedish government deliberately sought to prevent the conquered provinces from trading with Denmark and Norway. That whole problem is simply not mentioned in the chapter about trade and shipping, but there is a brief allusion to foreign trade and peasant shipping from Bohuslän in the chapter on fishery.

My conclusion is that this book is a knowledgeable, informative, and at times inspiring survey of Swedish maritime history, which will be a natural starting point for a course on Swedish maritime history, but it also underlines the need for a larger modern history of Swedish shipping.
Dan H. Andersen, Copenhagen

Of Lobsters and Men

Simon Ekström, Humrarna och evigheten. Kulturhistoriska essäer om konsumtion, begär och död. Forum navale skriftserie 59. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2017. 256 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-235-0.

■ Humans and lobsters is the topic of Simon Ekström's book, the title of which means "Lobsters and Eternity: Cultural-historical Essays about Consumption, Desire, and Death". The declaration about the essay form in the subtitle should be taken literally. After an introduction there are ten chapters, tackling lobsters from various aspects, followed by a conclusion, although one should not expect narrative progression or analytical inquiry, but rather a kaleidoscopic collection, as the author himself admits (p. 33). One source of inspiration is the ethnographic "follow the XX" metaphor, exemplified here by Sidney Mintz's famous book about sugar, but one may wonder why the author does not also cite George Marcus's thorough examination and discussion of the method.

But to the book. To begin with we are given what is mostly a historical-ethnological description of lobster fishing, especially on the west coast of Sweden, the trapping methods, economic and other structural matters, with a focus on the lobster both as an economic activity and as an identity-creating, processual cultural activity. Then two chapters are devoted to an examination of the lobster as luxury

consumption, for example in the (perhaps) countly home of the Hallwyls in Stockholm in 1923, and the aspects of cultural analysis that might be found here. The author then considers the matter from the point of view of art history, beginning with an analysis of Salvador Dalí's famous lobster telephone. From the surreal play with the limits of reality and human perception, the book slips, via two chapters with a significant American slant in the material, to questions of lobsters, gender, and sexuality, after which it returns to the question of lobsters as luxury consumption in a different sense, namely as a dish that is often given a leading role at Nobel banquets in Stockholm. Two more chapters deal with the culinary position of the lobster and, as a consequence of this – because they are boiled alive – their place in the political work of animal rights activists. The epilogue concludes that, although the lobster is a biological phenomenon, it is humans who ascribe the various meanings to it.

The introduction, as is customary, places the topic in a triad, with the lobster as considered in terms of the animal's actual life, semiotic readings, and the materiality of the doing and being of lobster, if one can express it in such phenomenological terminology, which is not the author's own. But that would have made life easier for him, and thus for the reader. Instead the introduction to the book contains a rapid and dizzying survey of what the author calls inspirations, consisting of semiotic readings, the lobster as a Latourian actant in line with Actor-Network-Theory, a Veblenian approach to the enjoyment of lobsters as conspicuous consumption, a Goffmannian reading of scenes as theatrical metaphors, and what is more than anything else an ethnological study of an animal as a cultural category, although it draws on Donna Haraway's ideas of "companion species" along with other positions from the firmament of cultural analysis rather than the actual disciplinary tradition of ethnology. How these inspirations can be reconciled – especially how one can make ANT and semiotics pull together philosophically, is a question that does not interest the author, which is a charge that can be levelled at the book. Its kaleidoscopic form, however, means that the various sources of inspiration in the different chapters do not clash; on the contrary, they are used well and, at times, elegantly. Why the reader should be brought along at breakneck speed through the presentation in the introduction – which has no real

analysis, just pure positioning – is something one can wonder about.

Is this the influence of an ethnological tendency, with its frequently seen but also unfortunate fondness – as pointed out by Orvar Löfgren and as shared with other disciplines – for name-dropping theoretical and methodological approaches that are currently in vogue in a certain research environment, but which do not necessarily have much to do with the topic? A familiar and rather basic semiotic (and perhaps a phenomenological) analysis would surely have done the job. The essays show no little resemblance to the writing style of the late semiotician Umberto Eco, who can be contained within a philosophical framework of this kind. Or is it the book as a form that causes the difficulty? This reviewer has wondered whether it is the kaleidoscopic, restless, and yet comprehensive picture of the human-lobster relationship that simply does not suit the book as a form, where the pages with the spine and the binding necessarily entail a forward movement. Perhaps an exhibition focusing on separate points, which in principle can stand alongside each other but not necessarily with a set order of progress from one topic to the next, could have fulfilled the author's wishes better? Or perhaps a choreography, which can have pauses in the form of installations or narrative episodes, but simultaneously have movement that can go in more than one direction at the same time? I don't know, but the thought struck me during the reading.

Having said that, Ekström's book is rather good company in the armchair. In fact, it makes me enthusiastic. The book deals with its topic in a way that is both thorough and surprising. It is well written in modern but also elegant and proper Swedish (as far as a foreign reviewer can judge). The topic is simply exciting. The book is well illustrated, besides which it is attractive! The publisher has done well, as can also be noticed in the impeccable proofreading and typesetting, which gives a pleasant overall impression.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

Methods in Dress Research

Opening up the Wardrobe – A Methods Book. Kate Fletcher & Ingun Grimstad Klepp (eds.). Novus Press, Oslo 2017. 195 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-893-7.

■ *Opening up the Wardrobe* presents a fresh collection of 50 methods for dress research. It makes a new and somewhat radical foray into a different sort of fashion knowledge. This book explores the actions, relationships and material contents of wardrobes. Organized as a practical guide to information about people and their clothing, it includes visual, tactile and verbal methods and others, which involve making together, observation and interviewing. The editors, Kate Fletcher and Ingun Grimstad Klepp, say that the purpose of this book is to throw open the doors and views of the wardrobe. They want to give more attention to wardrobe methods, and by highlighting the methods, our understanding of fashion and clothing will become better in the context of the actual lives, skills, ideas and priorities of wearers of clothes (p. 2). This book and the everyday lives of wearers of clothes that are its focus create a narrative of a more diverse, emancipatory and holistic fashion and clothing system. The two biggest areas of investigation dealt with in this book are the social processes associated with clothing and dressing and the physical aspects of wardrobes and textile materials, and the third area is the mental phenomena and decision-making processes associated with wardrobes (p. 3).

Opening up the Wardrobe involves contributions from four continents, from both inside and outside academic circles. Fletcher and Grimstad Klepp (p. 4) want to avoid jargon and terminology associated with specific traditions or academic specialities, which was a particularly important aim when they put this book together. The reason for this is the sheer variety of backgrounds of the contributing authors. The editors themselves have an academic background. Fletcher is Research Professor at the University of the Arts London, exploring design for sustainability in fashion, and Grimstad Klepp is a Research Professor who works at Consumption Research Norway (SIFO) at Oslo and Akershus University College with consumption of clothing. The other authors are specialists of various backgrounds, for example textile engineers, designers, dancers, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, ethnologists, futurists and fashion stylists (p. 4).

After the introduction, the sections of the book handle 50 methods for research on wardrobe, dress and clothes. These 50 methods are divided into four parts by theme: Part I, Investigating wardrobes; Part II, Exploring individuals, practices and dynamics through clothing; Part III, Transforming wardrobes; and Part IV, Materiality. All the methods are presented in the same way, repeating a pattern, so that the reader can easily focus only on the content of the text. Each contribution follows a similar short question-and-answer format, which explains, among other things, where the inspiration comes from and the motive for using this method, how it is different from other methods, how to use it and what insight it generates. After that, a clear description and a summary table follow, outlining the practical requirements for applying the method and enlists the help of relevant illustrations (p. 7).

Part I, *Investigating wardrobes*, presents methods that seek to uncover knowledge about the content, dynamics and practices of wardrobes. This part is the biggest section of this book and introduces 19 methods. The methods in Part I are related to dealing with what is inside wardrobes. The first theme is mapping the contents, and it involves collating qualitative and/or quantitative data about a part or the totality of an individual's, household's or community's clothing resources. After that, the focus moves to mapping wardrobes across time, whereby the reader can learn to investigate past behaviours and clothing resources. The third theme is mapping the space of the wardrobe, which concerns recording information about clothing-related resources by place. A further two methods are related to wardrobe know-how, which means exploring experiences of garments and ways of dressing. The last theme introduces a framework for techniques that open up the wardrobe to further investigation, which often concerns specific garments and/or clothing-related behaviours (pp. 16–17).

Part II, *Exploring individuals, practices and dynamics through clothing*, involves methods for obtaining information about individuals, their practices and wardrobe dynamics to reveal structures and frameworks that shape our understanding of clothing. This part is simply divided into three sections: individuals, practices and dynamics (pp. 70–71).

Part III, *Transforming wardrobes*, explores the process of wardrobe transformation from a range of perspectives. First, it focuses on methods with which to test your knowledge and build your skills,

and making examples in groups in different workshops. Next, this section tells us how to explore the contents, activities and space of a wardrobe as a way to foster individuals' capacity to act. The last methods focus on advice and pedagogy (pp. 108–109).

The final section, Part IV, *Materiality*, includes two separate parts dealing with experiences about and handling and examining garments. This materiality section embraces methods related to physical garments or parts of garments to generate new understanding about experiences of fashion, clothes materials, culture and systems (pp. 134–135).

According to Fletcher and Grimstad Klepp (pp. 5–6), "We draw on practical and theoretical methods as diverse as mapping used in geography, observational techniques from art practice, and processes of recording interactions and flows of information such as soft systems methodologies." *Opening up the Wardrobe* offers a comprehensive reflection of wardrobe, dressing and clothes research methods. But readers have to remember that the purpose of this book is only to throw open the doors and views of the wardrobe. The editors wish to pay more attention to wardrobe methods. If readers want to obtain more specific knowledge of wardrobe, dressing and clothes research methods, they have to refer to the links given in each method section of this book.

Opening up the Wardrobe presents an expeditious and dynamic survey of wardrobe research. One of the goals of this book is to highlight its multiprofessional approach, both academic and non-academic. Fletcher and Grimstad Klepp want to avoid jargon and present clear reflections on their multidisciplinary approach. They also demonstrate concisely how important a multidisciplinary approach is. For example, they show how sustainability in fashion or clothing is not only a technical crisis. They state that technology alone cannot help us out of the mess we are in. We need to piece together the social, relational, material and practical questions around wardrobes. This would perhaps enable us to understand better how to create a sustainable future for clothes (p. 5). *Opening up the Wardrobe* points out that we have an extensive research field on wardrobe, dressing and clothing. Do we need more method literature that would introduce and focus more deeply on a few themes at a time?

Tytti Lehtovaara, Jyväskylä

Heritage Sites of Death

Heritage of Death: Landscapes of Emotion, Memory and Practice. Mattias Frihammar and Helaine Silverman (eds.). Routledge Cultural Heritage and Tourism series. Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon 2018. 243 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-1-138-21751-8.

■Thanatological research has been very active recently, and one of the new volumes in the field is *Heritage of Death: Landscapes of Emotion, Memory and Practice* edited by Mattias Frihammar from the Department of Ethnology at Stockholm University and Helaine Silverman from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois. The book is a result of the work of more than twenty scholars discussing the heritage of death from spatial, political, religious, economic, cultural, aesthetic and emotional aspects. The goals of the book, to show both what death means in contemporary societies and how individuals, groups and nations act towards death, have been successfully carried out. It is a pleasure to take this scholarly trip from the Woodland Cemetery *(Skogskyrkogården)* in Stockholm to the ghost town of Chernobyl in Ukraine via cemeteries or mausoleums in the UK and Russia; scenes of war in the UK, Australia and Russia; and heritage sites of oppression, tyranny and genocide in Armenia, Russia and the US. The spread of disciplines is just as broad: in addition to the ethnology and anthropology represented by the editors, the other disciplines represented are ethnomusicology, archaeology, sociology, architecture, tourism studies, art history, urban planning and geography. This book is a "must read" for anyone who plans to study or supervise studies on heritage sites where death plays a role.

Death does play a role. Joy M. Sather-Wagstaff points out that "aside from most natural heritage sites, nearly every official and informal heritage and historical site in the world is linked explicitly or implicitly to the dead, even if simply based on the fact that humans once inhabited, worked, played, or warred on such sites. Museums of all kinds are overwhelmingly places of the dead and monuments to and statuary of the famous of the past characterize cities throughout the world." She uses the term "thanatourism" as a form of heritage tourism. The same basic categories work quite well also without the tourism aspect. According to Sather-Wagstaff, thanatourism falls into five basic categories:

1). Witnessing public death-in-processes
2). Visiting sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred

3). Visiting interment and memorial sites

4). Seeing the material evidence or symbolic representations of deaths at locations other than their occurrence

5). Watching and/or participating in re-enactments of death.

One of the most fascinating articles of the volume falls in the first category, namely Rasul A. Mowatt's article on the peculiar heritage of lynching in America. Lynchings were public, full of rituals and either tools of the state or at least tolerated by it. Lynchings were a horrible disgrace to humans, and what makes them even more horrible is that they were amusement for the townspeople, from small children to the elderly. Several states have erected historical markers in memory of lynchings that have taken place. Why commemorate such an awful practice? Mowatt answers: "The need for heritage sites, historical markers, and memories is one of the ways to combat the continued burying of this horrendous history. These places will enable to us to learn from the past and prevent a possible future that repeats it." Without research tied in with the commemoration, the message could be easily lost in the beauty, design and architecture of the memorials.

Many of the other articles contain this human meaning making and a humanistic idea of death as a reminder of life and its uniqueness. Several articles refer to sites of death of today, and the book even starts with a picture of the plan for a memorial which was never built: "Memory Wound" by Jonas Dahlberg, referring to the Island of Utøya in Norway, where in 2011 a lone shooter slaughtered 69 young people. Affects are the theoretical basis of the book, even though not every article has a discussion on the concept. However, with a very well-written introduction by the editors and the high-quality scholarly articles and useful index, our knowledge of affects and death is much improved after reading this book.

Hanna Snellman, Helsinki

Exploring Life from a Folkloristic Perspective

Anders Gustavsson, Folkloristic studies in Scandinavia. Personal research experiences and reflections. Novus Press, Oslo 2017. 186 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-887-6.

■In this book Anders Gustavsson, senior professor of cultural history at the University of Oslo, has looked back at his professional career and offered us an insightful reflection on the versatile research that he has conducted since the 1970s. As he notes in the introduction, inspiration for preparing the publication came at the Why Folkloristics? international conference held in Visby in 2015. The book itself is an answer to the question, demonstrating the results of folkloristic research through methods ranging from the historical work with archival sources to creating new knowledge using participant observation, ethnographic documentation of cultural artefacts and fieldwork interviews. Folkloristics in the book appears as a discipline that highlights human life, its commonplace realities and unusual aspects, and the varieties of human experience. In discussing and analysing folkloric forms Gustavsson emphasises their personal and emotional dimensions, as well as the power of folklore to transmit norms and values, shape attitudes and identities, and create social division. Empirical material for the book comes both from Sweden and Norway.

The first part of the book discusses micro-narratives of personal experience. The author starts from the study of cultural encounters between summer holiday visitors and local residents in the late 19th century on the west coast of Sweden. Humorous and critical storytelling about the financially and socially superior summer guests offered an outlet for tensions and reinforced the boundaries between the fishing communities and the short-term visitors. On the one hand they were seen as a source of income while on the other as an outside group who complicated everyday life and made the local people feel inferior. Power-related conflict also appears in narratives that have been told on the Swedish-Norwegian border about the customs officials who represent the control of central government. As Gustavsson shows, technical innovations, such as the first velocipedes and bicycles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, also provoked critical attitudes towards their well-to-do owners. The function of folklore in reinforcing and negotiating social norms actualises in religious communities that impose strong restrictions on their members relating to the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, playing cards, dancing, etc. Folklore also expresses rivalry between village communities whose members target their neighbours in derogatory stories. In one chap-

ter Gustavsson has insightfully analysed the conflicting narrative accounts of a particular parson as a local authority. It appears that discords in narratives about this clergyman express the social tensions and hierarchies within the village. In addition to these retrospective studies, the first part of the book addresses emotionally charged micro-narratives about deceased pets on Swedish and Norwegian web sites. Gustavsson shows that the borderline between humans and animals is disappearing as pets are considered family members. The final chapter of the first section of the book addresses silenced stories – reluctance to narrate traumas and painful memories.

Next, Gustavsson turns to scrutinising rituals, starting with two traditions that are connected with lifecycle. Churching of women after childbirth is an old ritual that has disappeared because it has lost its relevance in modern society. Memorial drinking at funerals is another custom that vanished during the 20th century. However, in other cases old rituals are revived and appear in new forms. Such revivals have occurred within the context the Forest Finn Republic festival that is celebrated in the province of Hedmark in eastern Norway. Since it began in 1970 the festival has revitalised the Forest Finnish culture and generated positive attitudes towards it both within the community and outside. Gustavsson also discusses the revival of traditional rituals using the example of new religious movements. Thus, the charismatic Swedish movement Oasis has reintroduced liturgical dance as a form of worship. New rituals have also emerged as responses to tragic deaths in traffic accidents. Gustavsson notes that Internet and tabloid newspapers have an important role to play in mourning and the private sphere is thus becoming public. The last chapter in this section of the book discusses the celebration of national holidays in Norway and Sweden and the cultural differences between the two countries. Gustavsson shows that the expression of national identity takes more vivid and emotional forms in Norway.

The third part of the book examines belief narratives about supernatural encounters among the members of the free churches and about the afterlife in Sweden. Belief narrative is a new genre concept in folkloristics, which was coined at the 15th congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR) in 2009 in Athens, when the ISFNR Belief Narrative Network was established to

promote scholarship of legends and related narrative forms. Belief narrative as a category brings together several genres, such as myth, legend, urban legend, oral history and rumour, which were set apart by former taxonomies. Gustavsson justly claims: "It is impossible to discuss the beliefs sanctioned by the church and those not sanctioned by the church as separate entities if we aim at understanding the system of beliefs that people have actually embraced" (125). Using the example of his fieldwork interviews he shows that people who belonged to the free church have told memorates about ghosts and other supernatural beings. Thus the claim of former scholars that the revival movements eradicated popular beliefs does not reflect the actual situation. In the analysis of afterlife beliefs Gustavsson shows that the earlier differentiation between blessed and unblessed death has disappeared in today's Internet accounts. The belief in angels that has become more prominent recently also reflects changes in worldview. However, the basic idea about the afterlife as a post-mortem existence that resembles earthly life has remained stable and continued into the 21st century.

The fourth part, *Folklore and Materiality*, continues the discussion about supernatural beliefs as they have been expressed in the visual arts. Gustavsson examines the paintings of the Swedish folk artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915–1998). In the final chapters of the book he studies pictorial symbols and texts on old grave memorials. He finds the historical changes in Swedish and Norwegian graveyard culture and interprets the visual images as expressions of afterlife beliefs. As before, he notes some differences between the two countries, such as the tendency to adopt innovations and the emphasis of individuality, which is much more pronounced in Sweden.

The book is well structured and written in a clear language. The author's personal engagement with the research topics and his reflections on his long academic career make the reading an enjoyable experience. The rich set of illustrations, mainly consisting of historical and new photos, brings the research topics visually close to the reader and adds another, nearly tangible dimension to the scholarship. Folkloristics appears in the book as a discipline that opens up a vast field of empirical study and leaves the researcher a lot of freedom to choose a focus and ask different research questions.

Among the readers I could envision students of cultural research, who would like to expand their field of vision and are looking for possible research topics to be studied from a folkloristic perspective. Altogether, I am positive that the book will have an invigorating impact on folkloristics in the Nordic countries and abroad. In 2017 the University of Tartu launched a new MA program entitled Folkloristics and Applied Heritage Studies, in English, with the first-year students coming from Europe, Asia and North America. I shall definitely recommend this book personally to the students, whose research topics are related to the interests of Professor Gustavsson. The micro-narratives, rituals, beliefs and tangible artefacts examined and discussed in the book all help to carry on the grand narrative of international folkloristics.

Ülo Valk, Tartu

Sailors' Wives in Marstal

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Sømandskoner i Marstal – fortællinger fra sø og land. Marstal Søfartsmuseum, Marstal 2017. 94 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-89829-68-5.

■ In research on maritime history, social condition have ended up in the background, with the focus being on ship types, cargo routes, and technology. The same is true as regards the history of seamen's wives and gender roles in seamen's families. Little has been written about Danish sailors' wives, and it is only since the 1980s that the topic has attracted any attention in Denmark, with Henning Henningsen (1981), Ole Højrup (1985–89), Bjarne Stoklund (1988), and the Seamen's Wives Project of the Museums' Maritime Pool (1992).

With this book on "Seamen's Wives in Marstal" the ethnologist Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen aims to shed light on the life of seamen's wives in the twentieth century in Marstal on the island of Ærø, south of Fyn in Denmark. The author applies a broad definition of seamen's wives. She defines this as women with a husband who periodically works at sea, but also women who periodically went to sea themselves, with or without pay. A main theme running throughout the book is the gender role patterns in seamen's families. But she also analyses the women's social background, their life-course, the basis for their existence, their household structure, everyday life, and division of labour, networks and communication.

Ærø was centrally located for trade and shipping between northern Germany and Denmark, and a fleet was built up here, sailing in the Baltic Sea and the North Sea in the nineteenth century. Marstal itself grew up as an important shipping town which in the late nineteenth century had Denmark's second largest fleet after Copenhagen. During an economic boom in the late nineteenth century a large part of the fleet was engaged in long-distance shipping to North and South America, in addition to the short-range shipping in the Baltic and the North Sea. According to the author, the boom gave rise to a bourgeois culture that left its mark in architecture, lifestyle, and social behaviour. Shipping thus permeated the whole town, which had a shipyard and a school of navigation. During the twentieth century the number of ships registered in Marstal itself declined steadily, but the town and the island still had relatively many residents who were seamen with positions as officer.

The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the period roughly 1900–1950. The second part covers the years 1950–2000. Havsteen-Mikkelsen first gives an account of previous research on seamen's wives in Denmark. She shows that very little work has been done on the subject, and much remains to be done. The first part is based on archival sources in Marstal Maritime Museum. The aim of this part is to set our own time in relief. The second part of the book is mainly based on the author's own interviews with women in the seafaring community. The informants were born in the 1940s and 1950s and in the 1980s–1990s. Whereas the first part is a relatively general presentation, the second part is more varied in that the informants themselves are allowed to speak in the text. It is this part of the book that makes the greatest contribution to maritime history. The book is relatively richly illustrated, with the oldest pictures coming from Marstal Maritime Museum, while the later pictures are from private photo albums. The pictures show seamen's wives in different public and private social contexts. We see photos of seamen's wives with neighbours, in clubs, at Christmas tree parties, at weddings, but also with their husband and children, female friends, and particularly sailing together with their husband to exotic places. The book is provided

with notes, lists of references and sources, and a list of informants and interviews.

In "The Seaman's Wife in the First Part of the Twentieth Century" Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen examines the shipping town of Marstal, everyday life in the town, wives who sailed with their husbands, and the wives of wartime sailors during the First and Second World War. The author shows that seamen's wives in Marstal were portrayed as enterprising and economic in the early twentieth century. They managed the house and garden, administered the family economy, bore and raised children. At the same time, they looked after the social networks that gave help when problems arise. The husband was far away for long periods, or at home in the winter if he was engaged in North Sea and Baltic Sea shipping. Many children were therefore born in October as a result of the husband's spell at home the previous winter. Traces of European bourgeois culture when the woman had to play a background role are not clear in the sources. Several seamen's wives tried to acquire extra income, especially widows who did laundry, cooked food, ran grocery shops and boarding houses. Havsteen-Mikkelsen shows that life had a dimension of anxiety and uncertainty. They were afraid of being widowed, and worried about the temptations that could attract their men in foreign harbours. Membership of temperance societies, religious fellowships, and women's associations gave strength in vulnerable times. If a woman was widowed, the family and other kinsfolk came to assist. In the twentieth century it became more common for women to sail with their husbands for a period, occasionally bringing children along too. On board the gender roles were divided as on land, and the woman's task included cooking for the crew and washing clothes. According to Havsteen-Mikkelsen, the wives of wartime sailors deserve special attention. During the First World War 54 seamen from Marstal lost their lives, and 82 during the Second World War. If the man was sailing under a British flag, his wife worried for his life, and the war brought economic challenges with a shortage of income for the wife, restricted communication, and occasions of traumatic after-effects after peace came.

The second part of the book, "Seamen's Wives in the Latter Half of the Twentieth Century" looks at gender roles in the shipping town of Marstal after the Second World War. The school of navigation in the town attracted seamen from all over the country who wanted to become officers in the merchant navy. Havsteen-Mikkelsen shows that this educational institution affected the pattern of marriage. Several informants say that they wanted to marry an officer, and many of the students did marry local girls. Outside Marstal, for example in Copenhagen, local girls were more wary of having sailors as husbands, believing all the negative myths. Although few ships are registered in Marstal today, many seamen live in the area. This is because senior seamen were attractive on the marriage market, there was a maritime environment here, and it was easy to be integrated.

The traditional division of labour between the sexes was overwritten in seamen's families. "He was a guest when he was at home with us" says one of the informants who built houses while her husband was sailing. The seaman's wife was the head of the nuclear family. There could be negotiations when the man was at home, but the woman ruled the family when he was away. The women managed the economy and made decisions about the interior, car purchases, and building houses. Fathers are often portrayed by the informants as having been absent when the children were being brought up, and this also applied to dictating rules of behaviour for the children. The 1970s saw a change, with new views of spousal relationships and child rearing. Time with the children was supposed to be used and shared, but there could be differences between theory and practice. Shorter sailing periods and better communication have made it easier for fathers to be involved in the children's lives. Changes in communication, from telegrams and letters to social media, have been enormous. Informants nevertheless tell of their own children's scepticism about the divided family, with the result that they have chosen to work on land. The husband's periods away and at home structured the everyday life of their wives. The time without a man was devoted to practical everyday matters, socializing in clubs and associations, and the women got used to acting alone in the company of others. The trusting nature of the relationship was emphasized. If you have a propensity for jealousy you can't marry a sailor, says one informant. The Seamen's Wives' Association on Ærø was not founded until 1994. It was non-political and functioned as a social meeting place for women in the same situation, and later also for children and hus-

bands; in practice it was a social club. It mainly attracted newcomers with no local network.

An interesting theme in the book is the transitions between the husband's absence and presence in the family. The author nicely brings out how expectations were high at the prospect of having the man at home, but for many they soon fell. The man was not attentive enough, and irritation and quarrelling soon arose. Then the rhythm of everyday life fell into place. Some women found it a relief when he went back to sea again.

Adjustment to absence or presence tended to be a time of anxiety, and families practised various rituals to mark the transitions, such as a celebration dinner when he came home. The farewell dinner, on the other hand, tended to be simple, something that had to be over and done with. On the whole the departure was less marked than the homecoming, and several informants liked the time when they could be alone and think more about themselves.

The time after 1968 was also a time of change when several seamen's wives chose to work outside the home. Some of them wanted to work full-time and sail with their husband on holidays, while others chose an occupation with flexible working hours, such as a hairdresser or shop assistant, where it was easier to take time off and sail with the husband. One nevertheless gets the impression from the book that in practice it was the women who had to lower their ambitions in occupational life.

The author also examines how the women sailed with their husbands. Better berths and sanitary conditions made it easier after 1950 to have the family along for a period. Relatives at home could be asked to look after children if they could not come along. The voyages are described as positive opportunities to experience exotic places and cultures as the man's guest on board. Occasionally the woman was employed on board, and on smaller ships she could help to create a familiar atmosphere on board. Those who sailed with their husbands could be witnesses to prostitution. One informant tells of how she was at brothels with unmarried seamen. The tone on board is often described as jovial between female and male sailors. But there could be a distance between female sailors and women accompanying their sailor husbands; they also moved in different places on board. Today the informants say that there is not the same need to accompany husbands on voyages. Shorter sailing periods, the sense of dis-

turbing the atmosphere on board, the absence of a maritime environment on offshore ships because of specialized duties, short stays in port, and better communications have made it less attractive to sail with husbands.

This is a well-written book with rich and interesting contents, dealing with a side of maritime history that is mostly taken for granted. This book ought to attract readers outside academia. The maritime environment in Marstal is fascinating, having reached an international audience though the novel *Vi, de druknende* ("We Who Are Drowning") by Carsten Jensen. Havsteen-Mikkelsen tells of a community with a strong maritime culture with clear expectations of the seaman's wife over the years. The seaman's wife has stood by the rudder on land, but she also has experience of the sea. The pattern of a "visiting marriage" and the two different everyday lives, with the husband at home or at sea, is a tenacious structure in the maritime environment, as the author shows. One of the most interesting things about this book is how the author demonstrates changes and flexibility in the gender roles. Spending a long time alone is not so typical today of the yearly rhythm of the seaman's wife, and distant places can be experienced without sailing along with the husband. Moreover, a seamen's wife often has gainful employment of her own. The maritime environment has fostered properties such as strength and independence according to the author. Women had to be flexible, and free in relation to the traditional division of labour and gender roles.
Bård Gram Økland, Bergen

Rethinking the Museum

Museums in a Time of Migration. Rethinking Museums' Roles, Representations, Collections, and Collaborations. Christina Johansson & Pieter Bevelander (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2017. 240 pp. ISBN 978-91-88168-82-5.

■ In recent years, migration has become an increasingly relevant topic. The majority of the world population, adults as well as children, are confronted daily with ongoing discussions of the so-called refugee crisis in Europe. Stories about migration, and with it many new citizens, are constantly in the news, not to mention on the everyday political agenda. The new citizens are part of our society and

thereby part of our future common history. As important educational institutions, museums have an obligation to contribute to the topic of migration. That is a focal point of view in this book and why it is a must for any museum professional interested in migration and the role of museums in today's society.

This edited volume is the result of a conference held in Malmö, Sweden, in 2016. It is part of the research and integration project "Museums as arenas for integration – New perspectives and methods of inclusion" and is financed by both EU funds and Malmö University. The book is edited by the professor of International Migration Studies, Pieter Bievelander and the lecturer Christina Johansson, both researchers at Malmö University.

In Bievelander and Johansson's introduction to the book the reader embarks on a journey through many points of view, including an understanding of the different dichotomies in the study of migration. The two authors explain the central theme of the book in a very clear way and shed light on the history of museums working in the field of migration. This is also why the book stresses the importance of "being out there", and in the following four chapters we are presented with a variety of ways to join in discussing, handling and putting the topic of migration into perspective.

Through the chapters of the book, leading museum professionals and researchers describe different takes on the topic of migration. The main focuses are the practical, theoretical, and ethical considerations behind actual museum practice. The eleven articles present new angles and innovative ways of thinking migration in a museum context, all of them structured in four different chapters: (1) The role of museums in a time of migration and societal change; (2) Representing migration and ethnicity; (3) Rethinking museum collections and documentation; and (4) Collaboration and inclusion in the museum sector.

In the keynote by Peggy Lewitt, co-director of Harvard University's Transnational Studies Initiative, we are presented with an impressive overview and tour-de-force of the museum world. In her study, she questions the role of museums in creating national and global citizens. She simply questions what different museums *think* they are doing by comparing three sets of countries at different stages, in the act of their nation building projects. In this way the reader gets a good understanding and an insightful survey of the different main positions that museums cover worldwide. With Peggy Lewitt the reader becomes aware of the many global and national structures that influence the final results along the way. And as a museum professional one rediscovers one's own point of view.

During the last couple of years, many exhibitions have been created in an attempt to document the starting point of the contemporary history evolving around us. Some museums take a close look at the term migration by focusing on labour migrants and their descendants. Exhibitions put faces on them, listen to their stories, and share their experiences, joys, and sorrows.

Apart from traditional museum work such as creating exhibitions, there is a development towards a more daring approach. Outreach and community engagement projects where museums collaborate and co-create with the "world outside", pop up everywhere. The will to work with cultural citizenship and innovation is keenly felt in many museums. The goal is to expand and propagate knowledge that can be incorporated into the planning of integration initiatives. This gives a new relevance to working at a museum because these initiatives can – if they succeed – facilitate positive changes in how people see and relate to each other in a society.

Eager to join in, many museum professionals also experience a major dilemma. Though knowing that they should join in and voice our contemporary society and its problems, at the same time they face a risk in dealing with migration – a subject on top of almost every political agenda. Some find it very difficult to keep their credibility when dealing with political issues such as migration and refugees, thereby addressing a topic that is fraught with myths and prejudices. How should museums approach and rapidly document a contemporary situation and refugee crisis?

In the book it is hard to single out one article because they all present relevant reflections connected to working with the subject of migration. However Dragan Nikolić's article "The future is ours" from Regionmuseet in Kristianstad stands out. In his presentation of the "Refugee Documentation Project" Nikolić both answers and questions the above-mentioned dilemmas. The emotional and professional dilemmas that occur through the specific project are put in perspective through different theories. He

makes a strong impression by being extremely honest in sharing the irritation with himself *and* with his profession. The article underlines the fact that it takes a lot of courage for the museum worker to address and work within the field of refugees and migrants.

And it *does* take a lot of courage to meet your audience with a topical issue such as migration. You have to put yourself and your professionalism on the line and offer visitors different and nuanced ways of looking at a current omnipresent topic. As a cultural institution you have to be aware of your own history, be sure your board of directors, funders, and network is on track and right behind you and your work. And time *is* a factor when working with and documenting real life!

Furthermore, museums are important educational institutions in our society, but they are also institutions meant for all, not only scholars and insiders. This is why museums have an obligation to cultivate critical thinking on all levels. Therefore the present book can be highly recommended as the collection of articles offers different angles and takes on how to handle migration in research, building up collections and documentation of migration. It presents concrete hands-on experiments from some of the professionals and inspires the reader. At the same time many of the articles reveal the dilemmas that follow "being out there", meetings with reality, collaborating and including audiences of today.

Malene Dybbøl, Copenhagen

Cultural Perspectives on Humour

Skratt som fastnar. Kulturella perspektiv på skratt och humor. Lars-Eric Jönsson & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.). Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences. Lunds universitet, Lund 2014. 195 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-981458-1-6.

■The book begins with an introductory chapter by the editors which sets the nine essays in a shared framework in the history of research. The common approach, according to the editors, is a focus on the basic techniques of humour and its cultural, social, and political meanings, which are studied in different variations and contexts. They highlight the "supertheories" of humour, as formulated by Mikhail Bakhtin, Sigmund Freud, and Michael Billig, and they discuss the fundamental functions ascribed to

humour: as a safety valve or rebellion, as a critical voice or critique of power, as a tool for humiliation, and as a boundary marker or an instrument for socialization. At the same time, they stress the importance of problematizing the supertheories on the basis of the empirical material and grounding the analysis in a profound understanding of the context. As they point out, analyses of humour tend to seem like the application of ahistorical theories, which they are not. In the following I select a number of articles which I found particularly thought-provoking.

Anna Johansson and Angelika Sjöstedt Landén investigate the narrative of the ironic 1990s, partly based on Henrik Schyffert's stand-up show *The 90s – An Apology*, partly on press material. The intention is to understand the meanings ascribed to the form of irony associated with the nineties in Sweden, and how it is used to create a generation, "the ironic generation". With the aid of thematic analysis of the material, three dominant themes crystallize in the narrative of the nineties: generation protest, the will to make a stand, and the turn to the authentic. The irony is portrayed as subversive, a revolt by the younger generation with features of developmental psychology. By psychologizing the transformation of society that took place in the nineties, the blame is placed on the young people's attitude and lack of commitment. According to the narrative, this went hand in hand with a depoliticization which was regarded either as part of a rebellion against the parents or as cowardice.

When the turn came – towards authenticity, intimacy, and commitment – at the end of the 1990s, it is so surprising that it is forgotten at the expense of the dominant narrative. Is that not irony too? At any rate, Johansson and Sjöstedt Landén point out that the narrative of the ironic generation mainly speaks to a male, white middle class that is perceived as an elite in relation to women and rural people. In this way the irony is normative and conservative rather than subversive.

Lars Kaijser studies how humour is used to maintain and create boundaries between the fans, entrepreneurs, tourists, and other actors in Liverpool's Beatles industry. The starting point for the discussion is two companies that use humour in distinct ways to mark their own position in the network of relations generated by the shared interest in the Beatles, but also to stress their understanding of

what the band members were like as people and as a group: absurd, amusing, laughter-inducing. The same characteristics were important constituents of the Liverpudlians' self-image, so these were features that the entrepreneurs themselves could identify with.

In the Beatles festival organized by Cavern City Tours, the arrangers balance between being Beatles fans engaging in an affective alliance with other fans, and being detached professionals, a detachment that is achieved through humour. The humour in the Beatles Shop was different, more ironic and not geared to building affective alliances; if anything, the opposite. Irony was used to correct the customers in different ways, which made the laughter uncomfortable and embarrassed. In other words, laughter could create both nearness and distance.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann analyses the limits of humour and its stigmatizing effects, based on two examples where Swedishness in Finland is ridiculed and exoticized: the folk celebration in Helsinki after Finland became world champions in ice hockey in 2011, and the advertising campaign by the Saunalahti telecom company with the filthy-rich fictitious Blingström family from 2012. Klinkmann asserts that the humour builds on the double bind that has long existed between the Finland-Swedes as a group that is at once privileged and marginalized, and examines how humour can become a weapon in the struggle for symbolic space. In the celebration for the hockey players there was a spot where a comedian spoke about punching the *hurri* (a Finnish pejorative term for the Swedish-speaking minority), which caused a sensation in the Finland-Swedish media, not least because at roughly the same time there had been threats against Finland-Swedish cultural personalities, while there were also Finnish speakers who expressed support for the Finland-Swedes. Klinkmann asks whether the statement was a means to stereotype the Finland-Swedes as a group without needing to take responsibility for what had been said.

The resonance of the advertising campaign came from the traditional scorn in the Finnish-speaking culture for the wasteful and snobbish way of life embodied by the Blingström family. In both cases there is stereotyping which is achieved in different ways but with the same fundamental function: to exclude the Finland-Swedes from the national Finnish discourse. This approach too has a relatively long

history in Finland, since it was adopted as a condition for the shaping of the Finnish nation, as Pertti Anttonen has shown.

How humour can be used to create alternative meanings about overweight in Sweden is the topic of Fredrik Nilsson's article. Based on some examples from the newsletter of the National Association of the Overweight, he discusses how humour is used as a way to deal with real or threatened stigmatization. One way is through parody. In Nilsson's material this is exemplified in a description of enlistment in the Home Guard, when the uniform did not fit the person writing in the paper. Through parody the blame for this fact is shifted from the individual himself to the military structure, which has no room for overweight people. A similar process is visible in another example, where things – here turnpikes at the entrances to sports arenas and the like – do not admit overweight people without considerable difficulty. The situation comedy, which is actually not funny at all, is associated with cynicism, which makes the humour both a safety valve and a way to shape a critical consciousness.

The question whether humour is always amusing and laughter-provoking is raised both in the latter example and in witty come-backs to disparaging comments from people who are not overweight. The clever replies are a defence against attack, but according to Nilsson they also raise questions about whether it really is legitimate to answer in the same coin. Caricatures of the ideal body likewise function as a way to create distance through an aggressive disparagement of what is perceived as a sick ideal. The point of the humour is often aimed against the discrimination to which overweight people are subjected in everyday situations where a rebellious humour that challenges established norms and thus criticizes power becomes an important coping strategy that is also based on repetition; it is a recurrent strategy in the newsletter.

Ida Tolgensbakk discusses Norwegian jokes about "party Swedes", a negative nickname for the young Swedes who move to Norway to work. She observes that for many Norwegians these jokes are not problematic, since they are perceived as critique of power, picking on somebody stronger than yourself. Although the union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved more than a hundred years ago, the memory of Sweden's role as "Big Brother" has not faded.

Moreover, the wave of jokes about Swedes told in Norway in the 1970s (when comparable jokes were told in Sweden about Norwegians) have meant that a story about Swedes is almost automatically perceived as humorous and with no malicious intent; that is part of the concept, so to speak. Although this type of humour can be interpreted as an outlet for aggression, and thus can serve as a kind of safety valve, it can also be regarded as the result of a close relationship, although it is perhaps a little one-sided: Swedes are more important for Norwegians to use as a mirror than vice versa.

The young Swedes that Tolgensbakk has interviewed find this humour offensive, picking on somebody weaker than yourself; at least they do not want to identify with the stereotype of the "party Swede". Some of them ignore the jokes and pretend that the stereotype does not apply to them, while others have adopted the Norwegian view and complain about "party Swedes" when they themselves have passed that stage (here the jokes have functioned as an instrument for socialization), and some protest, at the risk of appearing humourless.

What is striking about this book is (1) how constant the supertheories of humour still are, if you compare this book with *Humor och kultur* from 1996, a classic in ethnological-folkloristic humour studies against which *Skratt som fastnar* expressly positions itself, and (2) how the material that is studied has changed over time and how people choose to write about it. The references to high-culture humour that are quite prominent at least in the more theoretically oriented articles in *Humor och kultur* have largely vanished in *Skratt som fastnar*. Instead the focus is on contemporary popular culture, whether this is Muslim humour on the Internet, stand-up comedy, or Beatles nostalgia.

In other respects the topics in the two books are not so different: *Humor och kultur* deals with laughter in Western religion, *Skratt som fastnar* in Islam. *Humor och kultur* examines humour about local characters, while *Skratt som fastnar* explores laughter in the history of psychiatry; both consider deviants as a source of cultural understanding. In *Skratt som fastnar* there is an interesting effort to move beyond the established fields of humour research to tackle more insignificant humour; this approach could well be developed in future research.

Camilla Asplund Ingemark, Visby

Cultural-Historical Methods in Ethnology

Kulturhistoria. En etnologisk metodbok. Lars-Eric Jönsson & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.). Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 13. Lunds Universitet, Lund 2017. 162 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-983690-0-7.

■ When I was a student of folklore in Oslo in the 1990s I had the feeling that all important methodological literature was written in Sweden. This was probably not the case, but in a Nordic context it was indeed Swedish ethnologists, or more exactly some specific authors, who supplied the premises for the methodological perspectives used in Norwegian folkloristics and ethnology, determining the direction taken by our indigenous discussions on method. Books by Bo Eneroth, Karl-Olov Arnstberg, Billy Ehn, and Orvar Löfgren were among those that found their way to Norwegian reading lists, and all of them provided methods and interpretative tools for the cultural analysis of the present day. For it was the present day that Swedish ethnology seemed to be primarily studying. In other words, contemporary cultural analysis took priority over cultural history.

This book, "Cultural History: An Ethnological Method Book" evidently represents a counter to this present-oriented methodology. The editors themselves relate their project to the change in methodological focus brought by the cultural-historical turn. This means that the starting point is no longer contemporary questions about how to conduct interviews and observations – and subsequently how to interpret the material – but the infinite wealth of material objects and written historical texts and sources that can be explored with the aid of various methodological and theoretical perspectives. This return to the historical roots of ethnology is interesting, but more about that later.

Nine authors together consider sources and methods in interesting and partly differing ways. Newspaper articles, kitchen furnishings, outdoor clothing, archival series, and other things are tested against close reading, micro-historical perspectives, contrasting, bricolage, and perspectives on organization. In this context I will highlight three essays which particularly contribute to the overall methodological focus of the book. Rebecka Lennartsson's article "Mamsell Bohman's Tickets" describes in detail how methods are developed during the working process and how to work with sources; how

one can understand the sources one reads, and how questions and answers constantly produce new questions. Oddly enough, basic descriptions like this, where we try to convey what we actually do, can be among the most difficult texts to write, but Lennartsson manages this in an exemplary fashion. The reconstruction of what fieldwork is like in the archive is of great epistemological value for anyone about to engage in this for the first time.

Fredrik Nilsson's article about "Distortions – Clues to Cultural Analysis" also provides a basic description of what the research process can be like. Here Nilsson uses various theoretical perspectives such as organization (Latour) and context (Darnton) which help a researcher to go through material and arrive at certain research questions, and to understand one's sources and finds and place them in their spatial and temporal contexts.

The aim of the book is to convey how knowledge comes into existence, and this is described in "Knowledge out of a Vacuum" by Karin Gustavsson from the perspective of close reading. What we do when reading closely – whether texts or images – is demonstrated here from a linguistic angle, through the meaning of the vacuum (the meaning of what is not there), what happens when something is given a name and is thus made visible, and the significance of the researcher's position. Given that it is such a widespread and frequently used method, far too little has been written about the methodology of close reading, which makes Gustavsson's article a welcome contribution.

The editors, Lars-Eric Jönsson and Fredrik Nilsson, introduce the book with a historical survey entitled "On Ethnology and Cultural-Historical Methods". This is interesting for several reasons, but what strikes me most is that it can be understood (putting it in extreme terms) as a plea for the reestablishment of cultural history in Swedish ethnology. Admittedly, the reestablishment has been in progress for some time in Sweden (and some people never abandoned the historical perspective), but the contemporary perspective has dominated heavily. For us neighbours who have grown up with the Swedish methodological literature it is therefore pleasing that Swedish ethnology is back on its old track. Since the editors themselves bring up the discipline-based methodological development of ethnology in Sweden, they could well have contextualized this by looking at neighbouring countries as a

contrast. For the Swedish development has not taken place in a vacuum, but has also left its mark on the discipline in the other Nordic countries.

When I discovered this publication earlier, I quickly put it on my students' required reading list. The need for books that systematically discuss methods from a cultural-historical perspective is constant, so I was truly pleased to find a fresh example of the genre. Another reason why the volume is good as a textbook is that it has a wide embrace in the choice of materials, methodological tools, and theoretical perspectives. In my opinion, it is best suited to higher levels for students who are about to tackle research projects of their own and face large amounts of source material and thus can relate to the methodological challenges discussed in the book.

Ane Ohrvik, Oslo

Political Projects and Uncertain Cultural Heritage

Politiska projekt, osäkra kulturarv. Kampanjer och förhandlingar i det sena 1900-talets Sverige och Europa. Lars-Eric Jönsson (ed.). Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 14. Lund 2017. 142 pp. ISBN 978-91-983690-1-4.

■ The central theme of this edited collection is the political use of the concept of "cultural heritage" in Europe, seen through cultural heritage policies in the 1990s and the early twenty-first century. In recent decades the discussion of whether cultural heritage is static or dynamic has been a recurrent theme in political discussions in Europe. In parallel there has been a lively academic debate, pursued in many books and seminars, on cultural heritage as a political instrument. The book inscribes itself in this debate.

The focus is on Swedish cultural heritage: Swedish arts and crafts, culinary heritage, cultural environments and citizenship. A well-written article by Anneli Palmsköld on Swedish arts and craft highlights the role of exclusion in the making of cultural heritage. This article describes very explicitly, down to each stitch, how certain sewing techniques, for example, are included and some are excluded. It is through this process of excluding parts of what could have been heritage that the idea of Swedish arts and crafts has developed and selected certain

traits, in this case stitches. Hereafter words like traditional, authentic and true values are used to describe the heritage.

The editor Lars-Eric Jönsson's article about the concept of citizenship and political campaigns reflects political developments in Sweden in recent decades. In 1997, the then Prime Minister of Sweden Göran Persson received a research report – later called into question – stating that a significant proportion of school children did not view the Holocaust as a historical fact. This resulted in several conferences and in 2001 it was decided to create an official institution, "The Living History Forum", to work with democracy, tolerance and equality for all people. The article demonstrates how the focus in a debate about cultural heritage policy changed from the issue of poor historical knowledge to the question of representation and identification.

Another theme in the book is how cultural heritage is used as a tool to mobilize humans and resources and to reform discourses and transform practices. In her article about the Linderöd pig, Moa Petersén exemplifies this transformative role in yet another Swedish vision, "Sweden as the new land of food". The biological heritage has been commercialized – the Linderöd pig represents dynamic potential and politically explosive nature. Moa Petersén describes how the Linderöd pig was developed over time and how, for example, the farm Ängavallen as a contrast to the industrial produced animal has the Linderöd pig as part of the ethics concerning the treatment of animals. Consumers have since entered the scene of culinary heritage in new ethical surroundings.

"Cultural Heritage in Sweden" has recently formulated visions about cultural heritage also as a political project. In the overall political vision of 2016, "Sweden that stands together", the basic idea behind the government's cultural heritage policy is that cultural heritage is constantly being developed and shaped jointly by people. Everyone is to have the right to help shape cultural heritage.

This book inscribes itself in this heritage debate and is an important contribution to the debate. It would be interesting also to read a future issue of "Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences" focusing on this very openly dynamic concept based on the political vision "Sweden that stands together".

Bobo Krabbe Magid, Copenhagen

Imagined Finland-Swedishness in the Twenty-first Century

Förestälda finlandssvenskheter. Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland. Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Blanka Henriksson & Andreas Häger (eds.). Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2017. 375 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-364-8.

■ On 6 December 2017 Finland celebrated its hundred years as an independent nation. Many honoured the strong historical ties between Finland and Sweden. A newly published volume *Förestälda finlandssvenskheter: Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland* ("Imagined Finland-Swedishness: Intersectional Perspectives on Swedish in Finland") deepens our understanding of a long history together. Based on a research project funded by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, the publication concentrates on the contemporary look of Finland-Swedish culture.

In the introductory pages the editors, Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Blanka Henriksson and Andreas Häger, explain the complexity of the field. Their intention is to trace how Finland-Swedishness is exposed in texts and media. The picture of earlier studies on the theme and the editors' insights are valuable and very interesting to follow. Perhaps some readers will find the introduction too wide-ranging because of the bricolage of ideas and the definition of the subject, which stretches over many scholarly fields. The editors have to grasp cultural diversities within the Swedish-speaking group and they are numerous, socially and economically. The editors are working at Åbo Akademi, where Sven-Erik Klinkmann is a lecturer in folklore, Blanka Henriksson is a lecturer in cultural analysis and researcher in folklore, and Andreas Häger, Associate Professor of Sociology of Religion. Patricia Aelbrecht, Andreas Backa, Johanna Björkholm, Mikael Sarelin and Sofie Strandén-Backa also participate in the volume.

The Swedish-speaking segment of the population accounts for just over five per cent. Already in the Middle Ages there was Swedish influence in Finland and a Swedish language belt spread on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia. In line with a long and common history the Finnish and Swedish languages worked side by side. Only in a late stage did a normative Swedish culture become evident, responding to a feeling of community and authenticity

among these groups. Then we are talking about the twentieth century.

The Finland-Swedish culture is exposed to a variety of threats, because of its minority position in Finland. Editors and contributors extract cultural meaning out of papers, websites and similar sources. Perhaps there could have been room for more ethnographies, but that is only a speculation on my part. Meetings "on the ground"– at eye level – are sometimes worth considering.

The theoretical perspectives, *intersectionality* and *coping*, are justified in the introduction of the book. The focus is on power and resistance. A cohesive theme is the imagined threats to the Finland-Swedish minority, concrete, symbolic and general.

I appreciate the contribution by Sofie Strandén-Backa and Andreas Backa. They raise a critical question about the interrelated collective and normative Finland-Swedishness, perhaps most characterized by a certain mindset. Their commentary on being an observer to the world is worth reading.

Another contributor, Mikael Sarelin, describes a well-known theme in the archipelagos, the right to fishing and waters. Blanka Henriksson writes about the *snus* (oral snuff) that is an expression of a male Swedish habit in Finland. The debate about the future of *snus* took shape in connection with admission to the EU. The right to *snus* was a sensitive issue that generated particular controversy.

The reader will find valuable articles about Swedish-Finland in a regional perspective (Patricia Aelbrecht), Ostrobothnia as the Bible Belt (Andreas Häger), the conflicts of interest caused by the naming of geographical locations (Sofie Strandén-Backa), tolerance as ideology and coping strategy (Andreas Backa) and stereotypes and clichés about the Finland-Swedes and the saying, "Swedish-speaking better people" (Sven-Erik Klinkmann). The concluding remarks, by Lena Marander-Eklund, concern her own thoughts about the book's ideas and what is likely to be discussed in the future. The Swedish-speaking group is relatively small and therefore it can be viewed from different angles as an interesting laboratory for new cultural analyses.

Johanna Björkholm writes about education policies in Finland and concentrates on textbooks in history. There is a noticeable silence about the Swedish influences in Finland. When something "Swedish" is mentioned, it is usually referring to people in the upper layers of society. Ordinary farmers, fishermen, coastal settlers and working-class families with a Swedish-speaking origin are almost invisible in the educational textbooks.

I recall friends I met during my ethnographic studies in the Volvo car factory, at the shipyards and the ball-bearing factory in Gothenburg and the mine at LKAB in Kiruna. Officially they were named Sweden-Finns (Sverige-finländare). Cultural analysis is seemingly complicated, with many parameters, and keeping track of them is a challenge. Sweden-Finns were not Finland-Swedes.

At the time of writing this overview, I was reading a nineteenth-century biography, authored by the astronomer Gustav Svanberg in Uppsala. According to his story the Finnish student-nation continued to exist at Uppsala University for a long time after Sweden's loss of Finland in 1809 – as if nothing had happened. The Finnish students were treated in the same way as the Swedish students in Uppsala. In the autumn term of 1824, the Finnish nation ceased to exist. Now the Finnish students were counted as the category of "students from foreign locations".

The situation in the 1820s has something important to say about the relationship between Swedish and Finnish cultures. Sometimes the relationship led to uncertainties about language, with a focus on social and historical differences. Sometimes they worked closely together. Here this volume brings great clarity, and I hope it will work as a springboard for further studies. The editors and contributors of articles have done a great job for the benefit of ethnology and human sciences, and I hope many will read the book.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

The Limits of Swedishness in Early Modern Sweden

Jens Lerbom, Svenskhetens tidigmoderna gränser. Folkliga föreställningar om etnicitet och rikstillhörighet i Sverige 1500–1800. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2017. 208 pp. ISBN 978-91-7061-195-7.

■ What is Swedishness? Might one be able to stake out a certain field of play for Swedishness when it emerged on the scene (reality) and find out where its borders are, symbolically and in terms of actual

geography, how these borders have changed over time and why? More specifically this book concerns the period which its author calls in Swedish *tidig-modern*, which of course is a direct translation of "early modern" in English, a periodization concept anchored in an Anglo-American discursive and analytical tradition.

The fact that Swedishness and border are notoriously elusive concepts, difficult to analyse, is made clear rather early on in this book. Swedishness is here a kind of key concept regarding issues of affiliation to a state and of ethnicity, the two primary analytical distinctions Lerbom establishes already in the more informative subtitle of the book: "Popular conceptions of ethnicity and state affiliation in Sweden 1500–1800". Lerbom speaks about two different types of imagined communities, what he calls regnalism, or a state identity based on an imagined political-juridical community, and what he calls an ethnicity which he describes as an imagined cultural identity which, internal social or economic differences notwithstanding, is maintained through a symbolic "we" and "they", and also through inner elements, as he calls them, such as conceptions of special qualities of one's own group, bloodlines, territory, language, common heritage and religion.

But the fact that Swedishness is such an ambiguous concept which opens up to several different domains – state, nation, identity, ethnicity, ideology, language – makes it elusive and difficult in an analytical context, something which with even greater reason could be said about the other key concept in the title of the book, the concept of border/limit/boundary (in Swedish *gräns*). This Janus-like concept turns one side towards the factual reality and another towards the imaginary, the symbolic, a world of more or less charged conceptions about inside and outside, us and them, in this case Swedish and non-Swedish.

If the subtitle of the book is more informative than its main title it is paradoxically also more elusive, since it introduces two other concepts that are not easy to grapple with either, the notions of popular and of conception. While not going into more detail about the conceptual history of these words, it can be stated that a book which charges its title with such examples of what can be called *generalia*, words which are important in different contexts and often are highly abstract – cf. the cultural analyst Raymond Williams's *Keywords: A Vocabulary of*

Culture and Society (Williams 1976, 1983) which describes transformations in the meaning of many of these words over time – implies that the author is throwing himself into a scientific field which is vast and today a subject of intensive debate. This debate concerns questions about nation and nationalism, belonging, identity, questions which have become more pertinent in the new millennium and have resulted in a failure of the predictions of an imminent decline and death of the ideas of nation and nationalism, predictions which only some decades ago were made by, among others, the British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm. The two concepts and the complex reality they are linked to have re-emerged time after time in what looks like a historical return, after an era which seemed to indicate an eclipse of the conceptions of nation and nationalism as governing categories in the course of events. The wars in Balkan in the 1990s and those fought later in the Middle East have once more indicated that the energy load in nations and nation building is of a very tenacious kind. It can rearrange itself according to what different political and religious ideologies might require. The development in Europe, within the EU, in the last few decades also points in the same direction.

These lines of development in today's society, and the imaginary worlds which are linked to them, indicate that Jens Lerbom's book about imagined communities in early modern Sweden has the potential to open up this field of inquiry from an angle which underlines both the long historical lines and the breaches in their development. The fact that Lerbom has chosen the concept of imagined communities made famous by Benedict Anderson from the book with the same name from 1983 means that he has placed his research into a veritable hornets' nest of complex and often competing descriptions and interpretations. Among "the modernists" in the history sciences who have been leading proponents in this continuing discussion about the meaning of nation and nationalism have been Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, who have maintained that notions such as nation and nationalism are a rather modern construction, while the opposing view, led by Anthony D. Smith, has been called primordialism. For the primordialists early myths and conceptions of a chosen people, a chosen nation with a very old history, were a central part of the question of nation and nationalism. The fact that

Israel is the prototype for such a thought model is obvious. Later Smith re-oriented a bit from downright primordialism to something he called an ethnosymbolic paradigm.

Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities has been such a success story because it has a certain fuzziness and ambiguity to it and therefore can be used in rather diverse ways by researchers with different leanings. Anderson himself has written, in a chapter of his autobiography *Life beyond Boundaries* (2016, the chapter has also been published in *London Review of Books* under the heading "Frameworks of Comparison") about his inspiration for the book. These paragons come from quite different intellectual fields. They are the literary scholar Erik Auerbach (who wrote about reality and representation in literature in his great work *Mimesis*), the literary critic and essayist Walter Benjamin and the anthropologist Victor Turner. Anderson's book is quite a boundary-crossing achievement. He himself holds the notion that it is not strictly academic and that it had a polemical intent which was to emphasize non-European aspects of nation and nationalism. The research field in Anderson's book is as wide as can be, with connections between language and reality, ideology, world view and fiction within the social and cultural.

Concerning the book Lerbom has written, I think that the concept of imagined community should be seen as an entry ticket into a complex field in which there are many competing notions and tussles between researchers to be found. When reading his book it soon becomes obvious that, more than Anderson, it is Anthony D. Smith who is Lerbom's guide when he is grappling with the problem of trying to show and understand how an early modern Swedishness is expressed in various circumstances which are documented.

The most important contribution of the book to the history research on Sweden and the Swedish nation building, also Swedish nationalism, lies in the careful and detailed work with different judicial protocols and reports, "requests by supplicants", more than the analytical grasp which is consistently rather weak. These requests by supplicants can be viewed as a common name for addresses and complaints made by individuals or groups and sent to authorities on different levels of the state apparatus. According to Lerbom these requests have mostly been seen and analysed as a mirror of early modern Euro-

pean political culture. The contents of the requests have not interested the researchers to the same degree. And he adds that neither the protocols from trials nor the requests themselves have been used in any substantial way as the basis for analyses or interpretations of possible national imaginary worlds.

The requests which comprise the core material of his investigation deal with trials and other processes of a similar kind which are located in time and place in one of the most turbulent phases of the continuing historical conflict about the dominance over the regions around the straits and the western side of the Baltic between the two kingdoms ruled from Copenhagen and from Stockholm. It was a period that would see the end of Denmark's claims as a great power and the beginning of Sweden's ascendancy to that position in the North, in the seventeenth century and the feud over the provinces of Scania, Halland, Blekinge, also Gotland, Bohuslän, Härjedalen and Jämtland. Especially those conflicts described in the requests and legal protocols, often with a deadly outcome between individuals or smaller groups of people which took place at the border between Halland and Scania during these critical years are looked at in detail in Lerbom's book. The author is above all interested in learning how people on both sides of this "hot" border address each other according to the legal protocols, how much they used national designations or indeed insults and swear words. The most typical of this latter category are "Swedish crook" and "Danish dog". The difficult question, one which Lerbom is unable to give an illuminating answer to, concerns how one could draw any decisive conclusions about how the people in these parts of the world and during this time looked upon their own status, the imagined world they were living in.

Lerbom is unable to supply any deeper micro-historic analysis of the type Carlo Ginzburg performs in his studies, for example, on the world view of a heretical miller by the name of Menocchio in north-east Italy, the object of interrogation by the inquisition and burnt at the stake by the papal church. The case Lerbom describes in most detail concerns an ill-fated wedding party in the 1620s in the border country between Sweden and Denmark, in the village of Hassle in the parish of Skatelöv in Småland, where a guest at the wedding, the soldier Nils Månsson, was singled out as the perpetrator in the killing of another soldier, Sven Ram, who was born in Den-

mark. Lerbom notes that the manslaughter is typical of such emergencies of deadly violence in peasant society at this time: drunken men who in conjunction with some form of social gathering felt that their honour was violated and hence used a knife, gun or some other weapon, in this case a candlestick, on each other. In the Hassle case there is a special dimension because Sven Månsson had started to sing "a discourteous song" containing a text which saluted the Swedes and denigrated the Danish. This aggravated Sven Ram and a scuffle ensued. The question about the extent to which the conflict had anything to do with what can be called "patriotic", "national" or even "ethnic" is in Lerbom's view difficult to interpret. The divide between a Swedish "we" and a Danish "they" leads to the question of the occurrence and meaning of national identities in early modern society, Lerbom concludes.

Apart from a focal point on the border region between Sweden and Denmark in Småland and Halland in early seventeenth century there are also sections in the book which deal with the geographical and political centre, Stockholm, at approximately the same time, and sections on a later period, eighteenth century up to the time of Gustav III.

It must be said that the results of Lerbom's enquiries are rather modest, something which might be ascribed to the fact that the material he uses is insufficient when it comes to drawing more far-reaching conclusions concerning the question he has formulated for his work, or it might be a result of the fact that the theoretical and methodological tools he is using are too ineffective for them to give more definite or more profound answers about the questions of the popular conceptions of Swedishness, Sweden and the Swedish from a historical point of view. What he is able to show is nonetheless, in spite of these limitations, not uninteresting.

He is able to show that the anchorage of identity has moved from an earlier more Christian to a later more decidedly Swedish one. He shares the opinion of earlier researchers that the process of nation building should be seen as a central factor in the creation of the imagined Swedishness he is discussing in his book. The early modern processes of Swedification took place in the meeting between the ones with power and their subjects. As to the significance of the processes he lists four, as he calls them, linked arguments for a different, new interpretation

of what was happening. The first – and the most important – of these is that Swedification was not just about a "vertical" dialogue between those who held power and their subjects. There was also another, more mundane, "horizontal" dialogue going on between individuals in the local community in which "Swedes" and "the others" were problematized. Lerbom's second argument is connected to the first one and concerns the political competence of the subjects. He says that one can hardly characterize the subjects as passive political objects. The picture which emerges is, in his view, one of a meeting between a politically informed collective of peasants and a power group which is not quite certain of the loyalty of the peasantry. His third argument – or conclusion – is that the political interaction and communication took place within a reciprocally shared "identification" or a common "mentality" (his reasoning on this part is derived from conclusions drawn by the historian Eva Österberg). The fourth aspect of his conclusions concerns the fact that it was political crises and changes which enforced a more pointed problematization of what it meant to be "Swedish". On this point he adopts the thoughts of the historian Johan Holm about especially the 1630s being an important breaking point in which those who held power in order to legitimize their status had to form a partially new way of addressing the subjects. But he adds that scarcely the 1630s alone but larger parts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bear the stamp of a sequence of connected external as well as internal political crises.

Maybe it is the lack of a comparative approach which makes the conclusions of the book rather tentative and limited in scope. Would a simple question have been able to lift the problematics of the book to another analytical level? I am thinking about the question: What is Swedishness, what is Danishness? What connects, what separates them? An altogether different approach to the Swedish–Danish border problematics is offered in the ethnologist Anders Linde-Laursen's *Bordering. Identity Processes between the National and Personal* (2010). In that book Linde-Laursen used the double concept of border/bordering as an Archimedean fixed point which made it possible for him to look at questions of national and personal identity, from a new and fresh angle, since he placed border, not identity *per se*, or national, personal identity, at the centre of his study.

In this way he opened up the whole question of what identity is by looking, in quite a postmodern way, at something he listed as mainly three different modes of space: space by prescription, space by negotiation and space by neglect. Strangely enough, that book is missing from the bibliography in Lerbom's book. Nor is the edited volume *Den globala naionalismen* (1998, 2006) by the Swedish and Danish researchers Björn Hettne, Sverker Sörlin and Uffe Østergård included in the list.

Despite my reservations above, the overall impression of this book is that it is well written, based on quite detailed, careful research and an interesting effort to reach further back in time when it comes to understanding questions of ethnicity approached from a historical point of view.
Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Textiles Clothing the Danish Home

Louise Skak Nielsen, Det påklædte hjem. Tekstiler og boligkultur i Danmark gennem 300 år. Forlaget Historismus, Nørre Alslev 2017. 343 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-988849-9-6.

■ It has arrived – the book that shows, from the perspective of ethnology and cultural history, how textiles have affected Danish domestic culture through the recent centuries. This is a full and thorough survey that fills a long-felt need.

The book has two main themes: the general chronological history of more than 300 years of development, and the differences between people from different social strata and cultural environments. We are given a bird's-eye view of the development of society, while domestic culture and the use of textiles in the home is described and analysed from the classical ethnological dimensions: time, place, and social class – and cultural identity. Key words in the descriptions are *need* and *availability*, that is to say, the possibilities and limitations that people had to acquire and integrate different types of domestic textiles in the home. The author also focuses on fashion and style, and the prestige associated with domestic culture.

The main foundation for the monograph, besides the author's own studies from the Præstø region, consists of other scholars' research on textiles and domestic culture. The geographical focus is on eastern Denmark, Sjælland and urban culture. And for

the first centuries the author concentrates on the upper classes, quite simply because this is where most of the evidence can be found.

The book is divided into seven chapters, each of which deals with half a century. This might at first seem like a somewhat artificial division, but when one considers that the book is a study in cultural history, there is a point in letting eras in the history of style guide the presentation here. More and more different cultural expressions coexisted in different settings over the centuries. It is only partially appropriate to speak of "pure" styles in the "right" period.

Each chapter begins with an outline of the general development of society, with changing trends and social categories that set the norm. This is followed by descriptions of homes and fashions as well as interior decoration in different cultural settings – and finally in each chapter an account of the textiles of the period, mainly those of the living room, the bed, and the table, along with examples that were particularly typical of the time. Bed textiles comprise quilts, sheets, pillows, bedspreads and bed curtains; table textiles include table linen, cloths and napkins. Examples of living room textiles are wall coverings, furniture covers, cushions, window and door curtains, carpets, tablecloths, embroidered pictures, decorative textiles, etc.

While domestic culture in the homes of the prosperous bourgeoisie and the peasantry is considered in the first chapters, the fulcrum of the book is the end of the nineteenth century, when norm-setting families of senior civil servants were overtaken by the nouveau riche in finance, industry, and trade. Textiles were mass-produced and *the clothed home* reached saturation point. The descriptions of the exuberant historical styles at the end of the nineteenth century are an excellent demonstration of how interior decoration was a *carefully choreographed atmospheric tableau* (p. 188). One can easily picture it! Also the "cleansing process" that necessarily had to follow.

At the end of the nineteenth century the author talks of a certain levelling of the differences between rural and urban settings, although there were major social divisions and sharp cultural profiles long into the twentieth century. Farmers' homes, for example, where they aimed for or communicated urban culture through interior decoration and textiles, could have been mentioned since there are ethnological studies of these cultural processes, such as

P. O. Christiansen's "Peasant Adaptation to Bourgeois Culture?" in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1978. But the size of the book naturally sets limits to how thoroughly the individual topics can be examined.

The author's special ethnological gaze is evident, for instance, in photographs and memoirs of "wrong" interiors from reality which are not particularly influenced by one style. She admits that homes which are supposedly typical of their time can easily become an abstract construction and that the home in reality is a composite entity with varied references to the inhabitant's own lives. The photograph on page 281 exudes cosiness, making one curious to hear the life story behind the material expressions. That, however, would be beyond the scope of the book. But as we see from the concluding chapter about the supposedly more individualized homes of recent years, the desire to get behind signals and symbols in the home is far from being alien: "The home was no longer just a lifestyle project but had been expanded to become an identity project as well, where communication directed inwards, self-reflection, came to play a crucial part. […] It is considered valuable that the things you surround yourself with have a history" (p. 316).

The English Arts & Crafts movement, which was brought to Scandinavia via Carl Larsson and others and became one of the most important twentieth-century models for interior decoration and domestic culture, is mentioned several times. So too are the later revitalizations, for example, in the Country style. The indigenous Skønvirke style, which spread all over the country in the early twentieth century among the art-interested bourgeoisie and through the folk high schools and the crafts movement, could also have been interesting to see illuminated more, for example, with reference to Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen's *Griffe, hejrer og ulve: Nyt syn på design og møbelindustri 1830–1930* (2015).

The book gives a good survey of a detailed field with a great amount of names and textile types. There is an interesting account of functionalism as a simple and actually rather textile-less style in the homes of the upper social-liberal stratum, while simultaneously in the 1930s and 1940s countless household textiles were woven and embroidered with inspiration from Danish folk culture. Times of scarcity actually promoted luxuriant decorative art among Danish weavers, fabric printers, and textile designers, which would then prove fruitful in the future in collaboration with post-war furniture designers.

The book is a splendid volume with exquisite colour pictures of individual textiles and complete interiors, whether drawn, painted, or photographed. The notes and references are exhaustive, testifying that this monograph is in fact the first concerted survey of the topic.

This is a weighty book, quite literally as well, making it difficult to manoeuvre in it, since source references for both the picture captions and the well-chosen quotations are placed at the end of the book. This applies to the notes and the list of technical terms as well.

The book is well written and easy to read, although there are a few repetitions. On the other hand, the chapters can be read separately, with the in-built repetitions of stylistic features and customs in domestic culture.

The book will make pleasant reading for cultural historians, designers, and practising craft artists, and also for any interested readers both inside and outside the museum world. It can be warmly recommended and ought to lie open on any coffee table, preferably on a white cloth from one of Fyn's damask weavers!

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen, Ærø

Thinking through Narrated Communities and Individual Life Stories

Ulf Palmenfelt, Berättade gemenskaper. Individuella livshistorier och kollektiva tankefigurer. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2017. 352 pp. ISBN 978-91-7331-809-9.

■What is folklore and what is not? In this new and quite intriguing book on narrated communities, individual life stories and collective thought figures, the Swedish folklorist Ulf Palmenfelt advocates for a conception of the folkloristic field which leaves older signposts such as anonymous informant, oral tradition and narrated variants aside and instead looks, in this case, at life stories collected on tape of 132 inhabitants of the Gotlandic city of Visby, from the point of view of narrative analysis. The persons interviewed in 1995 were all pensioners, born between 1901 and 1932, a large portion of them born in Visby, with an almost even distribution by sex,

and they were also chosen to represent all kinds of living milieus in Visby as well as consisting of persons from different social groups. They were explicitly not chosen for their possible skill as storytellers; instead they were supposed to give the interviewers a summary of their lives and also give their views on the way society had developed during their lifetime.

What Palmenfelt is doing in his book is a painstaking close reading of these life stories, often with rather extensive and quite interesting outtakes (transcriptions) from them. The method he applies to his study is an analysis of oral narratives mainly taken from the sociolinguist William Labov's model of elementary building blocks in life stories, which he has combined with the approach Katharine Galloway Young has chosen in her work on what she calls taleworlds and storyrealms, i.e. what happens on a microlevel phenomenologically in oral storytelling. Young is concerned with how storytellers frame their stories, how they can move in the realm of conversation to the taleworlds and then mentally move further into a kind of in-betweenness between these two realms into a third realm, the storyrealm which is really where the story of the teller is taking place. But there are other important inspirations theoretically here, e.g. the concepts of keying and framing in conjunction with storytelling, something we associate with the folklorist Erving Goffman.

Another inspiration for Palmenfelt is the folklorist Sandra Dolby Stahl's insight that the dualism of tradition and innovation need not be absolute in these kinds of stories, but should be seen as a constant re-negotiation of traditional elements and innovations in the performance situations.

An important move Palmenfelt makes as to his theory and methodology is to introduce two concepts: One concerns the point of view of the storyteller, the positionings of the storyteller in relation to his or her life story or different parts of the story. The other concept is a kind of middle ground concept between the storytelling event, the linguistic level, and the mental structures being activated. The second one he calls thought figures, a concept he has picked up from the sociologist Johan Asplund. Both concepts make the analysis more fine-grained. Especially the question of positioning is of great help in Palmenfelt's able hands.

But it is the second one, the question of thought figures, that I find the most intriguing in the book

and also possibly the most problematic as to his conception of life stories and life-story tellers. The storytellers' way of forming their life stories is shaped, he notes, both by linguistic conventions, not least established narrative patterns, and by collective cognitive structures.

This resonates quite well with a view of folklore as a formal mechanism under the control of a given community (in contrast to the rules of literature of a more conventional type where the formal freedom of the writer/storyteller is much greater). In the folkloristic storytelling format, if we follow the linguists/folklorists Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev in their take on folklore as a special form of creation, the restrictions on the storyteller are meant to serve the preservation – or constant re-creation – of certain traditional forms of storytelling, simple forms such as those identified by the literary scholar André Jolles (legend, saga, myth, riddle, saying, case, memorabile, fairy tale and joke).

Palmenfelt goes on to propose that the narrative patterns and the thought figures seem to have an agency of their own. They pop up in the life stories almost beyond the storyteller's control. But there is at the same time a certain difference in scale involved, he maintains. Certain narrative structures and thought figures seem to have force fields which are so strong that they propose themselves even with individuals who in their lives have not been directly touched by them.

But what are these thought figures so eminent in his Visby material, how frequent are they, how many in numbers? If one follows Asplund's original conception of thought figure there is not an infinite number of them. Instead they tend to be rather few and also especially insistent as to their power to hold attention. He names some of these thought figures in his essay "Utkast till en heuristisk modell för idékritisk forskning" (Draft of a heuristic model for idea-critical research) from 1979 in which he introduced the concept. Among Asplund's chosen thought figures, especially pertinent ones are the idea of childhood, individuality, madness and catastrophe, also the seven lean and the seven fat years of Genesis, the great chain of being, *mundus senescens* (the ageing world) and the idea of progress. Asplund's view is that the number of thought figures during a certain epoch is limited. In comparison with the countless number of ideas on the discursive level the thought figures are few, some-

thing he thinks that research on the history of ideas will be able to show empirically.

But if we follow Palmenfelt's research on the life stories of these Visby dwellers the picture looks quite different. The thought figures abound in numbers. Palmenfelt makes a summary of recurring thought figures in his material, something which he calls a subjective, rhapsodic and non-comprehensive enumeration which he has grasped when listening several times to the tapes. The list of thought figures is several pages long, with separate paragraphs on children and young people, working life, household, social care, infrastructure, leisure time, money and prices, violence, and, as a kind of summary of this summary of thought figures, the idea among the life-story tellers of a general ambiguity concerning past times. This most prominent of all his thought figures is the one about earlier times being both better and worse than today: work was hard, painstaking and was performed in difficult circumstances. But at the same time it was equal for all, people helped each other and work was meaningful.

As for the rest of the extensive list of Palmenfelt's thought figures, in my opinion they should rather be seen as discursive orientations steering the transport of yesterday to now in the memory work of these Visby dwellers, rather than as thought figures in Asplund's sense.

And what about Visby and the place it holds in these life stories? Since a key concern for Palmenfelt seems to be to find a navigating point between the individual and the collective, and between the specific and the general, the question of place and sense of place is in his own meta-storytelling something which pretty much conforms with what the geographer Doreen Massey has called a double articulation, a kind of two-way street between the general and the explicit, in which places like villages or cities by way of social, economic and cultural processes are produced as communities, or senses of communities. In this way a place includes, besides its physical extension, also social and temporal relations and subject positions, as the folklorist Seppo Knuuttila has noted when discussing Massey's concept. This is also quite obvious in Palmenfelt's analysis, which focuses on the embedded character of the tendencies in these stories of also being counternarratives which give their speakers an option of different positionings on a multidimensional map. When these Visby dwellers tell their life stories, in

Palmenfelt's view they might be using idiomatic words, dialect and general narrative structures and other collective patterns and thus positioning themselves with their stories of their lives in Visby of the twentieth century (mainly before 1965), using a wide array of thought figures. The stories in Palmenfelt's view have created certain thought figures and at same time the storytellers have been able to position themselves in relation to these thought figures.

But what remains as something of a mystery in the book is the question of community concerning the stories and storytellers Palmenfelt is referencing. Are there not, as the philosopher Avishai Margalit would have it, at least three main types of communities when we think of the communities of memory which Palmenfelt is dealing with here? There is a difference between a collective memory, a shared memory and a common memory, a difference between an open community and a closed one, and there is something which might be called an encompassing community, that is, a community which will make claims to identity formations of different sorts. But the question of these different kinds of communities, how much they might be already given and/or constantly renegotiated, re-invented is crucial here and unfortunately also very difficult to get a grip of.

It is not therefore really surprising that Palmenfelt's well researched, extensive and quite sympathetic take on these life stories will end on a rather tautological note. He concludes by saying that with stories we are able to give form to our memories and make our experiences tangible. Stories can help us understand abstract concepts such as time and place and community. Stories can give meaning to our own lives and the lives of others. By writing the book he finds that he has taken some steps towards an understanding of how all of this is possible. Such an admirably unassuming notion is an apt endnote to this book which is so full of interesting and moving, also sometimes shocking stories, stories everyone who has shared something of the "period's eye", so to speak, is able to relate to. Theoretically speaking the book might not break that much new ground, but it is methodologically sound and quite well written. It is a book full of life stories both extraordinary and quite common, a book which this reader found both charming and an excellent focal point for trying to think through the central concepts referred to above.
Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Loving Your Job

Magdalena Petersson McIntyre, Att älska sitt jobb – Passion, entusiasm och nyliberal subjektivitet. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2016. 281 pp. ISBN 978-91-88168-75-7.

■ Loving your job is a common understanding of being a happy and successful person in a broader perspective. It has become a requirement or an expectation on the part of employer and employee alike. But how is it possible to make a statement about loving your job when you have bad working conditions such as insecure employment terms, meagre possibilities to advance, scant personal development, and little or no freedom to plan and organize your time? Magdalena Petersson McIntyre at Gothenburg University addresses exactly this question in her close study of the retail industry, *Att älska sitt jobb*. She investigates why so many people in this industry say that they love their jobs, why it seems so important to do so and what it means and how it can be understood in relation to the actual development on the labour market which she understands as being in a neo-liberal era.

The book gives people in this industry a voice to tell their version of what it is like to work in this part of the service economy, the requirements that apply, spoken and unspoken, as well as the meanings these have for their view of their work. The retail industry is shown to be an excellent field to study the processes which make us talk about loving our jobs, processes that concern us all and our attitude to and expectations of our working (professional) life. Moreover, the processes by which work and consumption are increasingly interwoven are shown to be very clear in this domain.

Magdalena Petersson McIntyre visualizes how these processes are not just symptoms of the structural changes on the labour market – often explained from a structural perspective of neoliberalism – but also reveal something about agency where subjectivity, dreams about life and ways to feel successful and to be seen as such play a crucial role. Her analysis shows that loving one's job is a way to make sense for those who have a job with poor conditions and no chance to affect them. Furthermore, it shows how the flow of passion and practices has meanings for work, consumption and selling and gives a cultural understanding of what it implies to be a working subject.

Petersson McIntyre continues and gathers with this book her long tradition of research in consumption, organization, employment and gender, as all four are major factors in the analysis. The book is divided into four analytical chapters, based on extensive fieldwork with observations in retail shops, around 30 interviews with employees in different positions in four areas in the retail industry: fashion, beauty, consumer electronics and construction; a literature study of books aimed at people working with selling or who would like to do so. And last but not least a two-week self-ethnography where she was working unpaid in a clothing store. The four chapters address four themes which are of course interleaved: (1) "Charisma and Job Satisfaction"; (2) "Representation and Embodiment"; (3) "Passion"; and (4) "Gender, Intersectionality and Calculation".

The theoretical framework of the analysis is built up around various theories concerning the concept of agency. As the one of the major theorists François Cooren helps us to understand how agency and passion manage our actions. Laurant Berlant, as the other main theorist, helps in observing and explaining the quest for emotional normality. Arlie Hochschild is referred to for the term "emotional work" and for an understanding of real and false feelings. Petersson McIntyre questions this as she thinks that all feelings have to be studied as real even though they are commodified and required by the employer. Here Eva Illouz's way of theorizing capitalism and feelings is a helpful approach.

The gender aspect in the analysis is based on performance theory which builds partly on works by Judith Butler.

The first chapter on "Charisma and Job Satisfaction" analyses working conditions in the retail industry and the way the informants perceived their employment. Through a close examination of the interviews the author reveals the processes going on in the recruitment procedure and how the employees define the requirements they have to meet to be a successful salesperson: displaying your personality, having an interest in the product and being convincing are some of the competences which are articulated – things you can't learn but need to have. Furthermore, Petersson McIntyre demonstrates how feelings are an important part of the job as a salesperson and that these have to be true, not feigned, as the customers have to be convinced. By examining the feelings combined with the insecure and chaotic

conditions of a neoliberal labour market the author finds them to produce an understanding among the employees of the working conditions as natural, which is why they are accepted. She thereby understands the processes of individualizing and personalizing one's success as a salesperson as a way to be subordinated to capitalistic logics where the relations on the labour market are natural and cannot be or should not be challenged. If you fail, the problem is seen as individual, which leads to further subordination and even more experience of failure by the individuals.

The second chapter, "Representation and Embodiment", focuses on the relation between the embodiment and passion studied through norms of appearance and clothing. In the last few decades companies have paid increasing attention to the emotional commitment of their employees to the company goals, with the result that they are transformed into the employees' own personal goals. As appearance plays an important role in many places in the retail industry, the author analyses the requirements of the employees to embody the organization, and she examines which meanings of a specific appearance are mediated and justified. She uses Chris Warhurst's concept of "aesthetic labour" and others to understand how the specific body work is done, especially in fashion shops, where the employees are expected to represent the organization through their appearance and body. The informants expressed their love of fashion which Petersson McIntyre explains through a consumer logic which is about loving fashion as a consumer and hence – by working with fashion – the employees get close to fashion both as private persons and as working persons. This leads to a blurring of the borders between work, spare time and consuming, which again reveals how the employees' interests are interwoven with the employers', thereby keeping up a feeling of agency, free will and autonomy as a reason for a specific way of understanding labour. Summing up, she finds that the shops set up requirements for their employees to identify themselves with the shop brand and to be interested in their products, while the employees describe their own free will as the reason for this relation.

In chapter three "Passion", Petersson McIntyre investigates how interests, as a kind of passion, can be understood and how they are used in the retail industry to inspire the employees to specific behaviour at work, leading to up-selling. Interest was found to be the main characteristic required by the employers. It was important as it leads to trustworthiness which again was indispensable for being a successful salesperson. However, interest cannot be learned and it is not articulated in a specific way by employers or sales training. Anyway, everyone has to have it. The author uses the concept of agency to understand how important different feelings and characteristics, attached to interest and passion, are for inspiring a specific way of acting at work and how they create meanings for the employees – which again cause positive effects in the selling relation to the customers. She is inspired here by Cooren's upstream and downstream model and takes Hochschild's analysis of the feelings in the service economy one step further from being false feelings to be real and productive.

The last analytical chapter, "Gender, Intersectionality and Calculation", analyses how gender and intersectionality are used actively by the shops and in the work as a salesperson. It discusses how notions of gender, cultural background, age and even body shape flow between employees, customers and bosses. It is a system where power shifts between the different agents and where some can have more advantages than others. The author shows how the shops work actively with these mechanisms – especially about gender (but also other prejudices and notions). They are selling an aesthetic experience where, for example, bodies are commodified which is expected of the employee without being articulated or paid for.

Petersson McIntyre's analysis of a world hidden behind the shining shops, beautiful people and sparkling eyes of the salespersons we all meet in our daily life in capitalistic societies is – although not completely surprising – very much eye opening. The way she analyses feelings as agents suddenly gives an understanding of how processes of affiliation and loyalty to the employer are going on and are actively used in industries with bad working conditions to cause acceptance of these.

Petersson McIntyre has a convincing showdown with Hochschild's understanding of real and unreal feelings, which the people in the service economy could not keep apart. She instead explains how these feelings can be understood as real in all cases as they give meaning to the individual practices around the work.

The book is a good starting point for further studies of the retail industry or similar studies in other sectors/industries as it gives a lot of good insights into the industry and the emotional work that is done on the job. It also shows an interesting approach to understanding the processes and negotiations taking place on a neoliberal labour market with a rare view from an agency perspective. It shows the processes around the changed working conditions which seek to maintain the loyalty of the employees while inspiring them to act in a profitable way for the company, while keeping an eye on the individual strategies for maintaining a meaningful life.

Sabine Køhn Rohde, Copenhagen

To Work!

Birgitta Theander, Till arbetet! Yrkesdrömmar och arbetsliv i flickboken 1920–65. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2017. 393 pp. Ill. ISBN 987-91-7061-243-5.

■ As a young reader who devoured books, I loved to read about Anne of Green Gables, Girls in White, Kulla-Gulla, and the Lotta books by Merri Wik. Studies show that I was far from being alone in having a special relationship to this type of books (see e.g. Åsa Warnqvist (ed.), *Besläktade själar: Läsupplevelser av Anne på Grönkulla*, Lund 2009). At that time the thought did not strike me that these were girls' books related to occupational life. This book, "To Work!", brings out the relationship between girls' books and occupational work.

The literature scholar Birgitta Theander published her doctoral dissertation on girls' books, *Älskad och förnekad: Flickboken i Sverige 1945–65*, at Lund University in 2010. There she showed that the protagonists in girls' books were not passive girls indulging in dreams of romantic love; instead they did work of various kinds. In the book reviewed here, on "Occupational Dreams and Working Life in Girls' Books", Theander has broadened the timespan to cover the years 1920–1965 in an attempt to find the roots of the descriptions of occupational life in the girls' books. She asks what kinds of work the heroines of girls' books did, and what phenomena in society the girls' books were inspired by. Did girls' books follow the trends of the time, and did they have an emancipatory effect? This book is impressive in many ways. The author has analysed no less than 1,600 girls' books

published in Sweden during the studied period. Half of the books are Swedish originals, the other half translations. She focuses on the leading characters in the books and concludes that almost a thousand of these 1,600 girls' books are about occupational dreams and working life.

The book is divided into different sections, with the first part presenting the girls' books as a cavalcade of occupations. Thirteen chapters consider the different occupations: in child care, housekeeping, teaching, office work, art, and many more. Health care takes up a relatively large space, as the series about Sister Ann Barton (Helen D. Boylston) and similar books were extremely popular reading among young girls. Theander's explanation for the popularity of the nurse books is that the profession, the training, and the patients are portrayed with humour and engagement. What she does not bring up, however, is why the nursing profession used to be a dream for many young girls. Here I think it was a romantic notion of the profession that impelled young girls to read about the hospital setting and dream of a future as a nurse, rather than the description of the profession itself. The second part of the book is about more general features of girls' books, examined on the basis of the time, the occupational novel as a genre, and the personal characteristics ascribed to the protagonists. Work is portrayed as an adventure for the young girls, and the work itself is of value. Theander also discusses the role of girls' books as regards gender equality. In the concluding chapter the author relates to previous research in the field.

While the book is impressive in its approach, as a scholarly work it is somewhat problematic. This is due to the absence of theoretical perspectives and the failure to discuss central terms. The concept of *work* is not problematized at all, nor is the genre of girl's book. There is a very short discussion of the genre where the author says that a girl's book is a book that was regarded as a girl's book in its own time. The link between society's visions as regards women's education, what girls' occupational dreams actually looked like, and these particular girls' books ought to have been problematized more. In the last chapter the author briefly presents her observations about the way society has developed, but to be able to study girls' books as a mirror of their time, this should have been done in greater detail and in a more problematizing tone. In this chapter

she relates her study to previous research. This part ought to have come earlier, since it is not until page 301 that we are told that Boel Westin arrived at the same conclusion as Theander back in the 1990s, that Swedish girls' books in the twentieth century were full of working, studying, and writing women. There could also have been further discussion of how occupational life is related to the surrounding notions of a woman's place being in the home.

The book is easy to read and richly illustrated, and many readers will no doubt experience a sense of recognition. Besides the text itself there is an appendix where the 1,600 books in the study are presented alphabetically by author. This is an admirable achievement and a good starting point for future research.
Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should if possible be sent by e-mail or on diskette. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; if necessary the language will be edited by a native speaker. Articles may be submitted in the Scandinavian languages for translation, but articles in Finnish should be translated in Finland before submission. Articles will undergo peer review. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

Articles should not be longer than about 20 pages of typewritten text with l .5 line spacing, approx. 50,000 characters. Please aim for clear, concise language, remembering that you are writing for a non-scandinavian audience. To make the translator's work easier and to avoid misunderstandings, authors are recommended to add technical terms and expressions in English in brackets or in the margin. Quotations should not be too numerous nor too long.

Legends to figures should be brief, not including anything that is not discussed in the text of the article. Legends should be written on a separate paper and clearly numbered. The illustrations – photographs, drawings, and tables – should be clearly numbered. Credits (archives, photographers, etc.) should be stated at the end of the legend. Figures should be referred to by their number, not "the table below" or "the photograph above". The placing of the figures in relation to the text should be clearly marked. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

Notes should be avoided as far as possible. References to authors or book titles should be included in parentheses at the relevant point in the text. Notes should only be used for clarification or discussion.

The list of *References* should include only books referred to in the text. Details should be presented as follows:

Balle-Pedersen, Margaretha 1981: The Holy Danes. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 11.

Frykman, Jonas 1988: *Dansbaneeländet. Ungdomen, populärkulturen och opinionen*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Löfgren, Orvar 1992: Landskapet. In *Den nordiske verden* I, ed. Kirsten Hastrup. København: Gyldendal.

Reviews of new dissertations and other books of broad general interest should be 4–5 A4 pages long with 1.5 line spacing, 8,000–10,000 characters. A review should consist of a brief presentation of the content and method of the work, followed by a comparison with similar significant works, and ending with a personal evaluation.

Reviews of other ethnological and closely related works should present the content and method and a personal appraisal. The length should be 1-2 A4 pages with 1.5 line spacing, approx. 5,000 characters.

Reviews written in English or German should be submitted by e-mail or on diskette.

When in doubt, check the format of previous issues of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*.

The author will have an opportunity to check the translation and make any necessary changes. When the manuscript has been approved, no changes in proof will be tolerated unless there is an obvious risk of misunderstanding.

Translations and proofs should be returned to the editor as quickly as possible. The deadline for manuscripts, at present l September, must be observed so that publication is not delayed.

Authors of articles receive two copies of the journal.

This issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* starts with a call and a question about what has long been one of the key concepts in ethnology: *the ordinary*. Although not always problematized or even highlighted, this concept relates to most of the articles, biographies, and reviews in this issue. Focusing on the ordinary is, in short, explicitly or implicitly a strong part of ethnology.

In this issue we find articles investigating themes such as materiality, gendering, performance, identity, power, and citizenship. This is executed through studies in empirical fields like the Danish Army, story telling, recycling, transformed landscapes, mass vaccinations, elite football, cultural diversity, children's views on the end of the world, controlled medical trials in everyday situations, and the history of citizenship and the right to vote.