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THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Cover illustration: In 1896, Artur Hazelius incorporated this embroidered textile from Alsace into his Judaica collection at the Nordiska museet in Stockholm. The cloth (1754) has been used at the ritual hand rinsing preceding the seder meal at pesach. During one period, it may also have served as an apron. It is now exhibited at the Judiska museet in Stockholm. Photo: Mats Landin.

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Editorial
By Jonas Frykman

At the turn of the millennium Europe has been increasingly integrated, as information, capital, and people have been set in motion across borders. Parallel to this, there is a clear cultural condensation. Value-laden concepts such as nation and region, tradition and cultural heritage are held up in both political and economic spheres, reaching deep into people's everyday lives and thoughts. They express an aspiration to find a cultural foothold in a phase of rapid transformation – not as compensation for something lost, but as an active co-player in development. The past, distinction, and belonging are entities which always exist as elements in the lives of groups and individuals. And in certain circumstances they are made to *happen* – they are mobilized and allowed to play a crucial role. This cultural mobilization has become an important topic in Scandinavian ethnology. What is studied is how folk patterns, traditions, places, and artefacts are recharged and given a different, sometimes new meaning.

By means of historical comparisons, this year's issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* focuses on the current obsession with belonging. Barbro Klein begins by discussing the role of museums in activating a sense of national Swedish belonging at the last turn of the century, drawing parallels to today. She shows how shaky the foundations were for raising the rather filthy Swedish peasant on a pedestal, and the justification for excluding groups such as Roms, Jews, and Samis. The people involved in this construction were usually, like Anders Zorn, internationalists. But once the selection was made, all later definitions of the cultural heritage had to refer to the direction chosen back then. Today there is less doubt about what is Swedish, although there is greater openness about accepting new features. But since it was "the Volk" that received a genealogy, today's immigrant groups will also be defined as belonging to another heritage. What would have happened if place had instead been chosen as a basis for identity? Would it then have been easier to accept diversity?

If the museums provide the props, it is the actual situation that makes the sense of belonging happen. Tine Damsholt depicts an event that fired Danish national sentiment 200 years ago, the Battle of Copenhagen. The battle against the English navy that was a military defeat for the Danes was turned into a cultural victory because the heroic resistance mobilized a sensibility about the country and citizenship. It was the liberation from absolutism that created the national as a space where something personal and deeply felt could happen. With a parallel to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, she shows how people in 1801 could be seized by a feeling that "Wir sind das Volk".

The region today is emerging as the most productive geographical unit when it comes to creating belonging. Marit Hauan shows how people in North Norway have successfully enhanced the potential for identification by playing on the contrast with the centre. In the region one can use the moral advantage that nations are no longer permitted to invoke in their interaction. How different from the days of the Napoleonic Wars! The region shows a culturally productive emphasis of centuries-old differences which have contributed to self-esteem, political attention, and the localization of resources.

Niels Kayser Nielsen is even more pre-

cise in his description of how a cultural heritage happens; how certain sequences of action – in this case hunting – activate memories, myths, and fundamental values. Belonging is thus embedded much more deeply in people's practice than in ideologies. Both landscape and ethnicity are things that are activated, not something that *is*. Hunting, like other rituals, creates something familiar as a contrast to the unknown, through movement; it happens through drama. This makes the definition of the cultural heritage constantly subject to reappraisal and change.

In Camilla Maartmann's description of the hygienic education of the Norwegians people between the wars there is a heavy emphasis on action. She focuses on habit, showing how the definition of the citizen became increasingly associated with the outside, while the temperament became secondary. It was a matter of synchronizing a population and making them smile with equally well-brushed teeth. But here rituals, habits, and actions became tools for emphasizing similarity and turning them into modern people.

Using quilting techniques as an example, Maarit Knuuttila shows how a female craft has been assigned symbolic meaning in recent years. Artfully sewn quilts are now bearers of identity, showing the owner's skill and belonging. What was formerly kept deep within a context of home and the female sphere now became an example of how the past is used to make a difference.

Ella Johansson's thought-provoking article about differences and similarities seems to be discussing something other than what happens when national or local cultural patterns are mobilized, because it focuses on forms of narration. It is in fact a plea for differences, a warning not to erase the boundaries between us and the others. In the light of her analysis, it could be said that museums, national identities, regional and local distinctions based on tradition and history are narratives of differences. They can be used to maintain respect for cultures and societies deserving to be judged according to their own distinctive features. The modern focus on similarity, viewing everyone as essentially the same, risks tearing down the cultural and social frames around the individual and leaving him alone without a cultural or social protection. The article is thus an optimistic close to an issue that has shown how the politics and practice of difference have taken shape in Scandinavia past and present. This may be needed when we know that distinction can also be used to uphold the exclusive as a contrast to the alien, and when native patterns are increasingly set up against those of immigrants.

During the year it has become possible for highly qualified Swedish scholars to be promoted to the rank of professor. This means that their competence, rather than the availability of professorial chairs, decides their title. This possibility has previously existed in Norway. We therefore take the opportunity to present this year's newly appointed professors. Several of them are already well known to readers of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. The issue closes with detailed reviews of new dissertations and a comprehensive survey of ethnological works published in Scandinavia in the past year.

Foreigners, Foreignness, and the Swedish Folklife Sphere

By Barbro Klein

The unprecedented immigration into Sweden during the past thirty or forty years has placed new and challenging demands on all societal and cultural sectors, including the institutions and areas of knowledge devoted to the study, preservation and presentation of vernacular traditions.[1] How are the more than one-hundred year old cultural historical museums – the very bastions of Swedishness – coping with the new situation in a country which, despite its historical minorities, has long regarded itself extremely homogeneous in terms of religion, language, and culture? How do scholars and museum curators represent the traditions of the new arrivals? How do members of immigrant cultures themselves wish to be represented in their new land? Questions such as these are intensely debated in many parts of the world. In Sweden they have become even more urgent than before because, in the mid-1990s, the government enjoined all public institutions to take into consideration, in all their activities, the fact that the country is "multicultural".

In this paper I will address these questions and reflect upon some of the ambivalences, contradictions and paradoxes in the relationship between foreigners and foreignness, on the one hand, and that which I call the Swedish "folklife sphere" or "folk cultural sphere", on the other.[2] With these terms I mean such intellectually close relatives as the folklife museums and the folklife archives, the academic fields of folkloristics and folklife research, and the movements dedicated to traditional crafts *(hemslöjd)*, local history, folk dance and folk music. All of these have had as their object, in different ways and proportions, to study, preserve, celebrate, present, promote, redesign or sell aspects of vernacular, expressive life forms. Like many other peoples, Swedes selected some of their most cherished national symbols from the folklife sphere: the peasant costumes, the fiddle tunes, the annual festivities, oral narrative art. It has often been noted that one reason that this sphere delivered so many symbols to nation building is that peasants were believed to live stationary lives inside the borders of the parishes into which they were born; as a consequence, they were believed to be more closely connected to the native soil than the effete urban bourgeoisie. However, peasant traditions were seldom exhibited or sold in their pristine condition. Instead, they were made more pleasing, esthetically and morally: verbal traditions were cleansed of superstitions or erotic humor and crafts were redesigned to suit refined tastes. As Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren noted long ago, folklife research and related activities were modernist projects aimed to discipline an unkempt populace and purify its cultural products (Frykman and Löfgren 1986, cf. Eriksen 1993).

Today, the folk cultural sphere is very much alive in such contexts as the handicraft, local history, folk dance and folk music movements. In the academe, however, it leads a precarious existence. In 1972, Swedish folklife scholars gave their discipline the name ethnology and since then – or for a period parallelling the recent immigration – many ethnologists have worked to strengthen their ties to the social sciences and deconstruct their links to the folklife sphere and its roots in murky or inflated national heritage politics. In particular in the 1970s and 80s, the study of peasant customs, rituals, material culture and oral traditions was often dismissed as an embar-

rassing or, at best, peripheral activity. In a parallel development also the study of contemporary rituals, narratives, and material traditions came to be looked upon as marginal.[3] These developments have not only led to limited scholarly activity in these fields, they have also contributed to a lack of interest in the vernacular and expressive traditions of immigrants and their descendants. Although many contemporary ethnologists – along with sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, historians and a host of others – study ethnicity and encounters between native Swedes and newcomers, few do so in conjunction with the folklife sphere. Employment, health care, schools, and linguistic adjustment have seemed to be much more important as issues than customs and folklore. While such priorities are understandable, the lack of scholarly interest in the vernacular traditions of immigrants has contributed to the impression that neither they nor their descendants belong within the folk cultural sphere. Despite the fact that the folk dance or crafts movements have sometimes invited immigrants into their activities, museums and the scholarly world still send out the message that the folklife sphere should be reserved for phenomena perceived as truly Swedish.

In addition, there has been a tendency in Sweden to overlook the important roles that scholarship in other parts of the world has ascribed to traditional expressivity. Such forms as traditional clothing, instruments, dances and foods not only survive in exile or diaspora but tend to take on new importance as symbolic commodities.[4] For example, dress is a complex marker of ethnicity in the modern world (Eicher 1995, Noyes and Bendix 1998) and native clothing is de rigeur when indigenous peoples participate in UNESCO gatherings, multi-ethnic festivals or anthropology conferences. Therefore, to ask what happens when widely divergent aesthetic and traditional repertoires confront one another in Sweden, is not to pose questions about trivia but to address often essential aspects of identity politics.

However, to understand the contemporary relationship between the folk cultural sphere and cultural diversity one needs historical reflection. Therefore, I will begin with a few comments on the relationship between the early representatives of the folk life sphere and foreigners and foreignness. Thereupon, I will address tendencies in the relationship between the folklife sphere and some historical minorities in Sweden. On that basis, I will turn to the relationship between the folk life sphere and recent immigrants and refugees. I will emphasize the paradoxical categorizations, exclusions and tacit assumptions that have guided those who shaped the Swedish folk cultural sphere in their relationship to foreigners and foreignness. I will also point to the, sometimes surprising, persistence of these categorizations and assumptions.

The Founders of the Swedish Folk Cultural Sphere and the Paradoxes of Foreignness

Museum builders, artists, composers, craft school teachers, scholars, and literary luminaries were in the vanguard when traditions and life forms of Swedish peasants were incorporated as important components of the national cultural heritage. Significant in that process was the founding in Stockholm of the Nordiska museet (Nordic Museum) in 1874 and the open-air muse-

um Skansen in 1891, both by Artur Hazelius, and the founding in Lund of the Kulturen (Cultural Historical Museum) in 1892 by Georg Karlin. Artists and intellectuals such as Anders Zorn, Karin Larsson, Carl Larsson, Ottilia Adelborg, Gustav Ankarcrona, and many others not only applauded these efforts but also collected, described, exhibited, painted, reinterpreted and redesigned folk customs, textiles and architecture for a discriminating public. Together with the budding local history and handicraft movements they worked to preserve, improve and render sellable the most beautiful of Swedish peasant creations. What they produced was a special Swedish cultural mélange with a distinct esthetic and moral profile. The mixture grew in importance and today Swedes easily recognize it and all its idealized overtones – in many cases with shivers or loving irony (cf. Frykman and Löfgren 1986). Furthermore, this mixture keeps delivering material for business logos, tourist slogans and other symbols of Swedishness around the globe (Löfgren 1993).

What relationship did this cultural and esthetic vanguard have to foreigners and foreign creations inside and outside Sweden? Perhaps it goes without saying that the relationship was full of contradictions and paradoxes. For one thing, peasants were not always adored. On the contrary, often they and their cultural products appeared as foreign as the most distant of races. For example, in an oft-quoted statement which was first published in 1888, Finnish-Swedish cultural historian and folklorist Ernst Lagus wrote as follows:

> An uncritical adoration of the so-called national, can easily turn into the first nail in the coffin of good taste. A return to old forms can easily become a return to barbary and tastelessness. The rings in a negresse's nose could at the most appear charming to the negro who is her lover, and the multi-colored sauna cloth of the archetypal Finno-Ugric woman can in itself not claim a privilege on being idolized in the nineteenth century as a protype for beauty (Lagus 1888:151, cf. Smeds 1989, Löfgren 1993:38; my translation).

Lagus was not the only one at the time who described the indigenous peasantry in the same racist associative flow with which he wrote about black peoples far away. To many in the elite, peasants (and even more so industrial workers) did constitute a dark and foreign race. Indeed, we really do not know precisely how it happened that the celebration of the noble peasant won a victory over the disdain for the dirty stranger who tilled the earth. One reason, however, must be the hard work of folklife scolars, museum founders, artists and representative of crafts movements to improve the peasant creations and streamline hybridities and regional diversities (cf. Bendix 2000).

Another paradox in the relationship between the founders of the folk cultural sphere and foreigners inside and outside Sweden is the fact that the very idea of "folk culture" came to Sweden from abroad and was part of a massive international intellectual current (cf. O'Dell 1998). Hazelius, Zorn, and the others delivered modern impulses from the world outside at the same time that they created and consolidated a Swedish national heritage on the basis of folk traditions. Anders Zorn is a particularly intriguing case. He spent the 1880s traveling abroad and painted as many Turkish, North African, and Spanish folklife scenes as he painted Swedish ones. He admired the Orient and collected Egyptian

artifacts with the same ardour with which he amassed southern Swedish carriage cushions and Norwegian wall hangings. Moreover, although he himself was the son of a peasant woman from Mora in Dalarna, he married Emma Lamm who came from an upper-class Jewish family in Stockholm. In addition, – as can be seen today in his home in Mora – he was fascinated by the latest developments in telephones and heating techniques. In that way, far from belonging in separate compartments, tradition building and modernity utilized one another, and even "cannibalized" upon one another (Appadurai 1996). Yet, to contemporary Swedes, Zorn is hardly known for his multi-cultural tastes and wide international interests but as a painter, collector and formulator of that which is regarded quintessentially Swedish. The folklife sphere and its emphasis on things Swedish contributed to a process of selective memorialization in which significant parts of Zorn's creativity were forgotten among the public at large.

Yet another relationship between the folklife sphere and the world outside Sweden were all the competitions with other nations (Löfgren1993: 36–41). Hazelius and others eagerly participated in world's fairs, for example in Philadelphia 1876. In these the folk arts of different nations were sometimes even more appreciated by the public than motor cars or telephone designs. Which country has the most genuine and tasteful bentwood boxes? Where do we find the most splendid weavings or pleasing fiddle tunes? Such competitions and comparisons, made it possible for nations to single out nation specific traits. In addition, because of the competitions and because of other kinds of documentation the world over, scholars came to realize that many traditional phenomena, from textile patterns to myths and fairy-tale types were not culture-specific but wide-spread and sometimes even universal.

However, at the same time as collectors, scholars and exhibitors in different countries competed with one another and learned from one another, they seem to have thought that, when it came to folk traditions, the borders between nations should not be transgressed. The national folk cultural heritages should be kept uncontaminated of impulses from abroad and the authenticity of the treasures guaranteed (Bendix 1997). And this idea seems to have been firmly implanted in spite of the fact that scholars constantly noted leakages across borders and, in addition, often devoted great efforts to tracing the diffusion of culture traits across vast geographical distances. In part, this contradiction was dissolved along class lines: a main assumption was that peasants were basically conservative. They were believed to accept new cultural traits only with great reluctance whereas cosmopolitan artists were thought to borrow trends and techniques freely across borders, sometimes at a dizzying rate. It seems to have been self-evident that academic arts should be transnational, cosmopolitan and innovative whereas the arts of the folk should be pure, traditional, and close to the national soil.

The vast topic of cultural diffusion cannot be further pursued here. I wish to emphasize, however, that now in the year 2000, the paradoxical idea that the folk arts are specific to nations or cultures, still remains more or less taken for granted within the folklife sphere. A basic assumption not only in the crafts movements but also among many museum curators and

scholars seems to be that the traditional arts of other countries may be beautiful and pleasing. But they ought stay where they are. Despite all the indications of borrowings across national borders, it remains self-evident to many that it is genuine and recognizably Swedish traditions that should be preserved and promoted, not the hybrids that are formed when phenomena migrate across distances (Klein 1999). As Mary Douglas (1966) reminded us long ago, the problem is not foreignness per se, it is foreignness in the wrong place, i.e. inside the borders of one's own country.

The Folklife Sphere and the Historical Outsiders: the Roma, the Jews, and the Sami

Like most Europeans, Swedes have a history of exclusions and discrimination when it comes to the traditional arts of ethnic outsiders who have long resided inside the country. Yet, the relationships are not predictable and a multitude of contradictions can be detected. Also, the attitudes vary considerably vis-à-vis different groups at the same time as individuals belonging to these groups have employed a wide range of strategies in their interactions with

"Gypsy Camp" at Skansen, 1904. This photo, taken by Arthur Thesleff, is a part of the Thesleff collection, now housed at the Kungliga biblioteket (Royal Library) in Stockholm. Note the midsummer pole in the background.

Swedes. These strategies will be largely left aside in the following survey of tendencies in the interaction between the Swedish folk cultural sphere and the Roma, the Jews, and the Sami.

Like other sectors of Swedish life, the folklife sphere has continuously maintained a paradoxical relationship to the traditions and arts of the Roma, a relationship that oscillates between fascination with an exotic people and discrimination of troublesome outsiders. Cultural historical museums and folklife scholars have long been interested in the exotic aspects of Gypsy culture, albeit in different ways and with varying intensity at different periods. As early as 1904, Skansen arranged a "Gypsy Camp" in conjunction with a Spring festival (Thesleff 1904); however, this arrangement does not seem to have been repeated. Furthermore, Swedish folklorists and musicologists have long studied Gypsy narrative art and music. For example, folklorist Carl-Herman Tillhagen's 1947 book of tales told by Johan Taikon is a wonderful, albeit patronizing, collection which romanticizes and celebrates the traditional life-style of the Roma at the same time as it warns against their contemporary life-styles. Like many other writings about the Roma this book oozes with ambivalence.

At the same time as scholars and museum curators have been fascinated with the Roma, their work has been mixed with contempt or with heavy-handed attempts to assimilate a foreign group.[5] The degree of discrimination is often astonishing, as folklife scholars as a matter of course take up "the Gypsy problem" and describe the begging, fortune telling, quackery and theft of Gypsies. In 1946, for example, the Nordiska museet sent out to its informants a questionnaire entitled "Gypsies". The questions posed on the five-page questionnaire are almost entirely in the negative: "What is known about the honesty of Gypsies? Are they known to steal? Give concrete examples of this. Have they committed more serious crimes? ... Has there been a belief that Gypsies abduct children?"[6] Roma themselves were not asked to answer questions about their own culture. It would be many decades before anthropologists and ethnologists would do so in a substantial way.

Moreover, despite the presence of Roma in Sweden since the Middle Ages and despite the interest in them on the part of early museum founders, exhibitions of the culture of Roma have been rare. Not even the striking clothing worn by gypsy women with a background in Finland have been a subject of interest from the folklife sphere. In particular the skirts are highly intricate pieces of work that are of central importance in the daily lives of many of the perhaps 20 000 Roma who now live in Sweden (Olsson 1998). Yet, not one of all those who are nowadays engaged in preserving and revitalizing Swedish folk costumes has considered the possibility of including the female Gypsy dress in the national repertoire of folk clothing. Furthermore, it must be considered remarkable that the Svenskt visarkiv (Swedish Folk Music Archive), a national institution in Stockholm, has no recordings neither of Gypsy nor of Jewish music. (It does have an outstanding collection of Sami song, however). Actually, it is only recently that there are indications that more attention will be paid to the culture of Roma in Sweden. In 1999, a culture house called Romano Centro Culturako opened in Malmö. In part initiated from within the

Roma community this center will also contain a museum. The center is the first of its kind in Scandinavia.

The relationship that the Swedish folk cultural sphere has had to Jews differs from that to the Roma. Records of Jews living in Sweden go back to the 1500s, but it was only after 1775 that Jews could live and work in Sweden as citizens without obligation to convert to Christianity. Jews have arrived in different migration waves and among the circa 20 000 Jews who now live in Sweden there are different group formations and different ways to mark Jewishness.

It is not easy to put one's finger on the exact attitudes held in the early folk cultural sphere vis-à-vis Jews and Jewish culture. First, distinguished Jews were active both within the cultural historical museums and the handicraft movement. But they participated as learned, professional Swedes, not as Jews.[7] Second, at the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish itinerant salesmen who had fled pogroms in Eastern Europe came to play a role in the formation of Swedish cultural historical museums. Selman Neuman, for example, made important acquisitions for collections which were eventually housed in the Kulturen in Lund (Stare 1997: 46–47). Furthermore, both Georg Karlin and Artur Hazelius at the Nordiska museet worked actively to acquire Jewish objects for their museums.[8]

However, at the same time as Jews – intellectuals as well as itinerant salesmen – participated in the efforts to save Swedish folk culture and at the same time as museum founders gathered Jewish objects, Jews were surrounded by silence or were characterized in stereotypically negative terms. In particular as itinerant salesmen, they are described as purveyors of the kinds of cheap, mass produced goods that the museums and the crafts movements fought against. The dubious character traits which are often routinely ascribed to Jews (Wright 1998) are revealed in letters written by Artur Hazelius and journalist and folklore collector Eva Wigström. For example, in 1879, when on a tour in the province of Skåne to buy artifacts for his museum, Hazelius complained: "In Skåne the Jews have come looking for silver, and there is not a single cottage which has not been visited by twenty Jews looking for silver" (cited after Bringéus 1992:127). And in 1885, while traveling in the district of Östra Göinge in Skåne, Wigström wrote to Hazelius:

> In these districts you could still see whole rooms covered from floor to ceiling with tapestries painted in various colors, with motifs taken from the early history of the Israelites. But Jews buying up articles for foreign museums negotiated with the owners so that these hangings, probably along with many other objects of cultural historical value, have already been sent abroad (Wigström 1887; cited after Bringéus 1992:127–128).

One is struck by the unreflected way to describe Jews as hawkers, prepared to take the finest of Swedish folk art treasures and smuggle them out of the country to eager buyers abroad.[9] But regardless of whether their role is seen as positive collecting or as ruthless misappropriation, it is evident that Jews have played a considerable role in the establishment of the collections of the cultural historical museums and in the preservation of Swedish peasant treasures. At the same time, this state of affairs is not noticeable, neither in the works of folklife scholars nor in the histories of the cultural historical museums.

On the contrary, reading through the annals of early folklife research one could

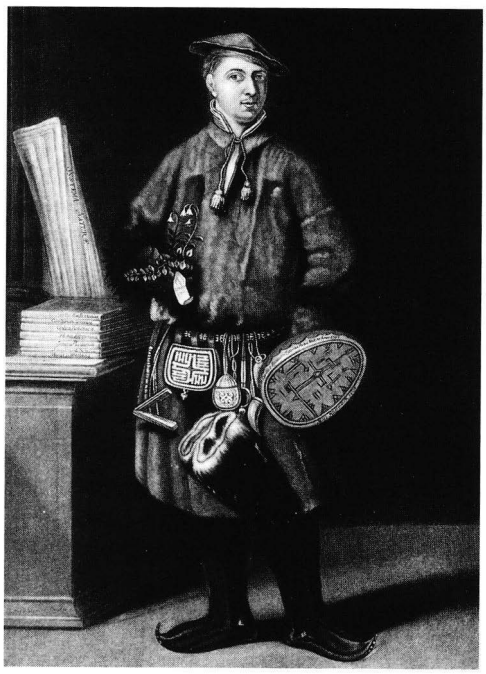
easily get the impression that Jews have never existed in Sweden. And ethnologists of the last few decades have done nothing to change this impression; only a handful write about Jews or mention them at all.[10] It seems that folklife scholars have not been able to imagine that there could be Jewish traditions, or a richly developed vernacular religious life also in Sweden. To this day, Jewish festivals and rituals have never been described or even alluded to in any of the many introductory textbooks about festivities of the life cycle and the annual cycle in Sweden. And, on the whole, this is true of the festival calendar of the Sami and the Roma as well. It is as if it were self-evident that Jewish or Sami or Rom folk culture could not have a place inside the Swedish tradition calendar. One result of this is a remarkable lack of insight and knowledge, a lack which breeds more silences and stereotypes. This is not least true within the academe. In the middle of the 1980s, I heard an anecdote about an instructor in ethnology at a Swedish university who was asked by a student: "How do Jews celebrate Christmas?" After a great deal of reflection, the teacher responded: "Well I suppose they do it just like everybody else".

It is likely that there will be more insights in the years to come. Jewish culture and Jewish life are now getting more recognition than ever before in Sweden. This is in part due to such initiatives as the founding of the Judiska museet (Jewish Museum) in Stockholm by Aron Neuman in the 1980s. And recently, there have been exhibitions at other cultural historical museums as well, such as a comprehensive and well-researched one in 1996 at the Kulturen in Lund (Landberg 1997). In addition, the Nordiska museet has initiated the collecting of reminiscences of Holocaust victims residing in Sweden (Johansson 2000) and there is now an extensive debate concerning the possibility of a future Swedish museum on the Holocaust. I shall return to this debate presently.

Also the case of the Sami is full of contradictions. But the complications differ from those that pertain to Roma and Jews. For one thing, ethnological research focusing on the Sami is far more extensive than that which concerns these groups (cf. Fjellström 1985). The Sami are well represented in Swedish folklife museums, including in a large permanent exhibition at the Nordiska museet. I shall mention a few aspects of the relationship between the folklife sphere and the Sami.

One aspect is historical depth: there is evidence that co-existence between Sami and other Swedes extends far back in history. As early as the Middle Ages and through the seventeenth century, it was customary to deliver reindeer and accompanying Sami herders as diplomatic gifts during state visits. Sami were toys of the state, not unlike other indigenous peoples in other colonial situations. Indeed, the Sami were the very embodiment of the conquered exotic others (Broberg 1981–82) and powerful Swedes occasionally donned Sami outfits to mark the incorporation of the conquered exotics. For example, in conjunction with the defense of his doctoral dissertation in medicine in 1735 in Holland, naturalist Linnaeus had a portrait painted of himself in which he wore a Sami costume that consisted of disparate components. The hat was a woman's and derived from one group and the drum came from another group.

By the time that the Nordiska museet



Portrait of botanist Linnaeus in a Sami costume in 1735.

and Skansen were founded, the Sami were well established as the favored primitive others within the Swedish territory. As early as 1874, Artur Hazelius exhibited (in the very first museum space on Drottninggatan in Stockholm) a diorama entitled "Autumn Move in Lule Lapp District". A similar arrangement was sent to the world's fair in Paris in 1878 and to other international exhibitions. Furthermore, a "Lapp camp" was built at Skansen as early as 1891, i.e. the year when the museum opened.[11] At this time, Sami clothing was also popular as play or masquerade costumes in the upper echelons of Swedish society. On many photographs one can observe that Sami costumes were donned almost as often as the costumes of Rättvik and Leksand in Dalarna. It should also be noted that the Nordiska museet has long been engaged in serious research on Sami culture and instituted a special position in Sami studies in 1939. In addition, Sami culture was long a standard component in introductory courses in folklife studies.

Yet, despite a history of celebration of Sami traditions and despite a great deal of research, Sami traditions and esthetics have not always been accepted within the folk cultural sphere. Lilli Zickerman, for example, the founder of Föreningen för svensk hemslöjd (The Association of Swedish Handicraft) expressed a strong dislike of Sami craft. With all its "primitive" materials such as sinew and horn it could not be regarded as anything but a "curiosity" without value, she wrote, a curiousity to be placed so to speak *"outside the boundaries"* of true Swedish folk craft (Zickerman 1918:230; my emphasis). In other words, Sami craft could not possibly be included in the same category as "real" Swedish folk craft. Zickerman's view never became dominant and today Sami arts play a central role in many Swedish contexts. Nevertheless, grey zones remain. Museum curators and textile experts still find it difficult to categorize Sami traditions. Many cannot understand why the Sami dress might have a different identity political status than "normal" Swedish folk costumes.

When we focus on the relationship between the folk cultural sphere and historical minorities – and these include not only Roma, Jews and Sami but also Travelers and Finnish speakers in the north-eastern valley of the Torne River –, the discussion slides, almost by itself into categorizations and boundaries. Sometimes it appears as if customs, costumes, and crafts have been excluded from exhibitions, books, or uni-

versity courses not because of any dislike of the traditions themselves but because there have been no natural categories to place them in. Nomadic or urban peoples cannot easily be fitted into the given territorial template of provinces and parishes. And when the categories were not ready-made, it seemed easiest to exclude the materials.

The Folklife Sphere and the New Foreigners

If a certain openness and curiosity toward foreigners and foreignness, both inside and outside Sweden, could be detected on the part of the founders of the folklife sphere, it appears that this interest abated as time went on and that exclusions, silences and discrimination became established as self-evident truths. Coupled with the limited interest in expressive traditions during the last few decades of the 1900s, these attitudes have not constituted a good foundation for welcoming the multitude of foreign ideas, tastes, traditions and life styles that have arrived in Sweden after World War Two.

In some ways, the situation today is just as ambiguous or paradoxical as that which predominated when Anders Zorn and Artur Hazelius were active. Like people in other wealthy countries, Swedes of all social strata travel more extensively than ever before. They are accustomed to visiting exotic countries and receiving foreign visitors at home. However, with regards to the immigrants or refugees who live inside Sweden, native Swedes are often perplexed. As has been noted, many seem to think that the situation of immigrants primarily concern the social services, the schools, the hospitals, and the employment market. It is much more confusing to speak about immigrants in conjunction with folklife museums, handicraft, and local history. Even though both official attitudes and the attitudes of regular Swedes now seem to be changing, in part because of the new governmental instructions, there are many museum curators and community leaders who feel deep discomfort when facing the new tasks. Some seem to think that issues concerning immigrants and refugees are so infected and the terminologies so difficult that it is better to avoid involvement than risk mistakes. Many Swedes emphasize that foreign or exotic traditions can be wonderful and inspiring as long as they stay where "they belong". When people try to reestablish them in milieus into which they have migrated, something negative happens and "genuine" traditions are lost or destroyed. Some Swedish commentators emphasize that newcomers purposely wish to forget all kinds of baggage inherited from the past. After all, have they not left their homelands in order to adopt the blessings of a modern civilization and throw away the yoke of age-old traditions?

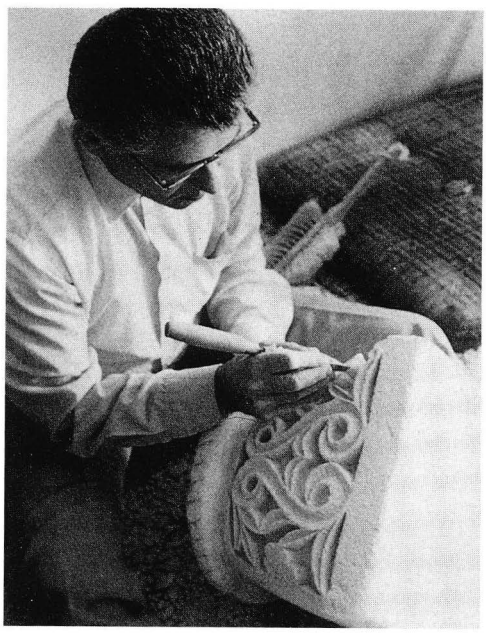
But is it possible that people who have emigrated or fled from countries with rich and varied traditions in crafts, rituals, music or dance would forget it all in a new country? Is it, for example, possible that all the people who have emigrated from Turkey and settled in Sweden have left behind them all familiarity with the remarkable Turkish crafts traditions in the form of ceramics, embroidery or carpet weaving (Glassie 1993)? Is it possible that all these émigrés have lost their ability to distinguish good craftsmanship from poor? Of course it is not and, in fact, a few highly skilled embroiderers, carpet weavers and

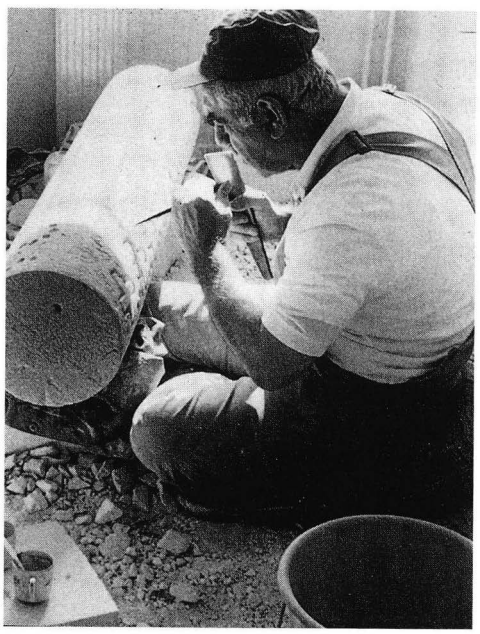
tailors have reestablished some of their art in Sweden. Many others engage in crafts, music and other forms of traditional expressivity within immigrant associations and in other contexts.

But at the same time, could it not be said that traditional connoisseurship and accomplishment do wither away in a new and different culture? Of course that happens. Yet, research in immigrant and ethnic communities in the United States and elsewhere has amply demonstrated that just as often immigration can spark new creativity (Klein 1998). In any case, what always takes place as a result of migration and resettling are changes. These changes can be subtle or dramatic, great or small, but they take place and they touch all areas of life, including those which fall within the "folk cultural sphere".

It is not difficult to find examples of the co-existence of persistence and change. Take the spectacular Syrian Orthodox Saint Afram Church in Geneta in Södertälje south of Stockholm. The church was completed in 1987 and the decorating was primarily done by Syrian Orthodox stone carvers who have emigrated from Midyat in south-eastern Turkey and settled in Södertälje. All in all, they carved ornaments with which they were well familiar from their region of birth. But they had to make one basic change. In Midyat they had carved in a soft local stone. In Sweden, however, they were unable to find anything comparable in the form of natural stone. Eventually, they decided to use light concrete (Flinck 1987:57).

A different example is the so-called "Wednesday" feast with which Iranians conclude the old year and inaugurate the





Stone carvers, emigrated from south-eastern Turkey, work in light concrete to complete the interior decorations at the Syrian Orthodox Saint Afram Church in Södertälje, Sweden. Photo: Maria Flinck.

celebration of the new. The feast customarily takes place on that Tuesday night which precedes March 21 any given year. Since the 1980s, thousands of Iranian-Swedes have celebrated this event on a big football field in Hallonbergen, a satellite town of Stockholm. All over the field, little fires are lit and over these people jump to cleanse themselves of the pollution accumulated during the year. Recently, however, people have also begun building one big fire "just like your Swedish Valborg fires" (lit on April 30). On the soccer field there are also booths in which festival participants are taught how to celebrate "a proper Iranian New Year". The evening concludes with a gigantic dancing party in which great numbers of young people participate. Many older Iranian-Swedes have assured me that a mass event of this kind does not take place in Iran and never has. The jumping over little fires is a tradition linked to the family or the neighborhood, a tradition that has lately been frowned upon as pre-Muslim and Zoroastrian (Klein 1997:24). Outside of Iran the event has assumed special importance as a political protest against the present regime in Iran and many people report that they have experienced even grander get-togethers in other places in the Iranian diaspora, such as "Tehrangeles" (i.e. Los Angeles). But at the same time, many older immigrants wistfully think back on the ways in which this custom was enacted when they grew up; they find the mass events in Sweden and elsewhere puzzling and even repulsive.

It is not always easy for people to accept that when one settles in a new land, there will be inevitable changes in the ways that foods ought to taste, rituals should be enacted and craftsmanship executed. One need only think of how Swedes from Sweden react to the kinds of Swedishness that have developed in Swedish America. Swedes from Sweden are often taken aback by phenomena which they regard as sentimental, ugly or vulgar displays, such as gigantic water towers refashioned to look like Swedish coffee-pots (Klein 1996, 1997). But by the same token, Swedish-Americans who count many generations in the United States are convinced that they are the ones who are preserving the genuine Swedish traditions, not the secularized contemporary Swedes. Increasingly, one can hear similar clashes of convictions as new arrivals from Turkey, Iran or Ethiopia encounter the rituals and customs that have developed among their Swedish-born cousins.

Cultural Historical Museums and Ethnic Diversity

How do the established folklife museums and similar institutions within the folk cultural sphere deal with the governmental requirements that they take Sweden's multiculturalism into consideration in their work? How do these custodians of Swedish national culture meet the new situation and how might they do it in the years to come? Will we see a spate of "home-land" exhibitions (i.e. exhibitions of the cultures that emigrants come from), a well-established genre in countries with extensive immigration, such as the United States (Eaton 1932)? Or will we see a focus on the new and "hybrid" expressions that are developing the new country? Or will immigrants be invited to curate their own exhibitions? Let me conclude with a few thoughts on these questions.

Since the recent government decree, some institutions have found interesting

and creative ways to take note of immigrant cultures in their exhibitions.[12] Even so, some of the solutions may have more to do with the values and tastes of the Swedish public than with those of immigrant groups. One example is the recent exhibition *Kvinna i Världen* (Woman in the World) at the Hallwylska museet (Hallwyl Museum) in Stockholm. Once the palatial home of a nineteenth century aristocratic family, this museum contains amazing examples of contemporary furniture and housewares. But it also houses extensive collections of paintings and other objects that the mistress of the house, countess Wilhelmina von Hallwyl amassed on trips abroad. In 1999, the museum collaborated with *Livstycket* ("The Girdle") on the *Kvinna i Världen* exhibition. *Livstycket* is one of several organizations in which women from different countries work on textiles at the same time as they learn Swedish. The textiles, which often feature stylized animals and other wild or exotic touches, are designed by renowned Swedish textile artist Vanja Djanaieff, whereas the actual work, primarily printing and embroidery, is done by immigrant women. The resulting scarves, bags and other objects are sold in a boutique in central Stockholm and the enterprise has become a smashing success among middle class consumers.

The exhibition at the Hallwyl museum included not only these textiles but also portraits of immigrant women.[13] As a whole, the exhibition was beautifully done in that selected pieces were tastefully placed out in the grandly furnished rooms of the palace. Yet, in no way did these textiles represent "immigrant" traditions. On the contrary, what visitors saw was modern Swedish design manufactured by immigrant labor. In a sense, this was an effort to educate and discipline both laborers and the visitors, not unlike the efforts of the early folklife movement. The creativity of the folk was improved upon and transformed into something pleasing to a discriminating audience. Actually, had they not been told so, visitors could not possibly have realized that what they saw was the industry of people with roots far away from Sweden. As has been the case so many times before, foreignness was hidden.

In a thought-provoking article Per Rekdal (1999), head of Universitetets Etnografiske Museum (The University Ethnographic Museum) in Oslo, wonders why it is so important to the government in a country, such as Norway, that museums include immigrant cultures. The question could just as easily apply to Sweden. After all, Rekdal emphasizes, the desire to be included in a museum generally does not come from the immigrants themselves but from the "political establishment" or the "liberal intelligentsia". He suggests that a partial answer could be that "by including the immigrant cultures in the museums, the majority culture could also include them in ... *their* own value hierarchies, thus making the display of cultural difference an expression of an overarching cultural equality" (Rekdal 1999:116).

There is a great deal to this explanation. But, as Rekdal himself recognizes, it is only partial. It overlooks other issues, in particular those concerning citizenship rights. If people live in a new country and become citizens of it, ought they not also be included into its public institutions? This issue is as fraught with ambivalences and paradoxes as many others that have been touched upon in this text. Yet it seems to me

that inclusions and invitations into the public sphere must be more important than the exclusions and silences to which outsiders in the Nordic countries have been subjected for so long. It also seems to me that Swedes who count many generations in their country must get used to thinking about the new cultural, aesthetic or religious repertoires in their country – such as divergent ways of building houses of worship and new mass rituals in public spaces – as *Swedish* or potentially Swedish or Swedish of a different kind. This does not mean that museums should impose upon new immigrants – or upon anyone else – forms of representation that they do not want. Rather it means that recent immigrants – as well as historical minorities or majorities – have the right as citizens of a country to be included into its heritage community, if that is their wish. We are speaking about questions of cultural citizenship.

Most of those who work in the cultural historical museums know that they are facing great challenges. They are expected to include new kinds of people, new kinds of knowledge and new ideas of esthetics and morality. They are asked to recognize that cultural categories, which have long been taken for granted in the Nordic countries may not apply at all to people from Asia, Africa or Latin America. They are asked to work with people who will want to be represented in ways that may not please them. To handle such new demands and dilemmas, new arenas of study must be developed. One phenomenon that could be studied, for example, are the many private or semi-public "mini-museums" that have sprung up all over Sweden: in Ethiopian-Swedish or Croatian-Swedish associations and homes, for example. These are sites in which people control the ways in which they are represented. Oftentimes these sites contain mixtures in which powerfully nostalgic objects co-exist with highly politicized and controversial homeland symbols that might offend outsiders. It might be deemed impossible or undesirable to reproduce such exhibits in Swedish museums open to the public at large. Yet, the study of sites such as these could give crucial insights into the diverse realities and desires of new Swedish citizens.

In Sweden there are now intense debates concerning a "Världskulturmuseum" ("Museum of World Culture") which is being built in Gothenburg, and concerning a "Förintelsemuseum" ("Museum on the Holocaust") which is less firmly advanced in its planning.[14] Let me say a few words about the latter. The immediate impetus for the plans for a Holocaust museum was a (now disputed) research report according to which an astonishingly high percentage of youngsters in Swedish schools cited total ignorance of the Holocaust and of the events that led up to it. The findings resulted in various measures, such as substantial economic allocations for the study of genocides, plans for a Museum on the Holocaust, the distribution in schools of a highly acclaimed booklet about the Holocaust (Bruchfeld and Levine 1998), and a government-sponsored high level international conference on the Holocaust in February 2000.

While observers applaud these initiatives, many have also pointed to the paradoxes and ambiguities in which they are embroiled. Some think that all these efforts can be seen as moral outlets for guilt-ridden Swedes who escaped two world wars and who have never been able to discuss openly

This miniature (ca 35x30x25 cm) *sukkah* was made in the 1980s by David Mankowitz of Farsta outside Stockholm and is exhibited at the Judiska museet in Stockholm. A *sukkah* is a temporary shelter that lacks a solid roof and is decorated with leaves. During the *sukkoth* festival in September-October, Jews all over the world take their meals and sleep in a *sukkah*. The temporary life in this simple dwelling is commemorative of the harsh existance in the wilderness during Exodus. Photo: Mats Landin.

the xenophobia and the racism inside their country (Pred 2000, Sawyer 2000). Another problem is that the victims of the Holocaust are portrayed primarily as victims. Indeed, very little in the extensive Swedish debates has dealt with the everyday, religious, or learned culture of those who perished or survived. One reason for this is that there is so little awareness on the part of the Swedish majority that there could be anything special about the cultures of these groups. As has been noted, next to nothing has been forthcoming from the specialists on vernacular culture – i.e. the ethnologists and the curators at folklife museums – on everyday life of Jews in Sweden, and comparatively little has been written about the Roma.[15] It is as if it were easier to think about these outsiders as dead victims than as creators of vibrant living cultures.

In many ways, today's ethnologists have not only continued the well-established silences concerning the expressive culture of outsiders, they have also reinforced them. In a field concentrating on Swedish peasants, students were never given an opportunity to discover the Swedish women who made *gefilte fish* and observed *jahrzeit* days

(Jacobowski 1967) and they do not have many opportunities to do so today either. It seems to me critically important that Swedes do not now commit the same errors with the refugees and immigrants of different backgrounds that have already been committed with the Roma, Jews, Sami, Travelers and other historical minorities and outsiders. It is important that newcomers be offered inclusion into public spheres in such a way that also their customs, traditions, foods and music *can* be shown if people wish to show them. Display and open debate must be a better way to increase knowledge and prevent discrimination than hiding and silences.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize three issues. The first is the need to reinvestigate and reevaluate parts of the seemingly well-known history of folklife studies and its relatives within the folk cultural sphere. For example, it appears that even at their most nation-centered moments, the founders of this sphere were more open to influences from foreigners and foreignness than our history writing acknowledges. There were leakages that have not been accounted for. At the same time the founders and their followers established – as if by rote – a number of categories, inclusions and exclusions that have not only persisted but have also become reinforced in the course of the twentieth century.

Second, I wish to emphasize that – contrary to an opinion that can often be found in European scholarship – the customs, traditions and expressive forms that are studied, exhibited or sold within the folk cultural sphere are no mere residual trivia of little importance to modern peoples. On the contrary, because of their high potential as symbols, these phenomena have a capacity to arouse positive or negative emotions. As components in a public sphere they can be powerful and potentially dangerous political instruments. This is particularly true among peoples who live in exile or are rebuilding homelands. In the same vein, museum displays or the descriptions of customs and rituals in the text books of ethnologists and other scholars are no mere harmless mirrorings of life styles or cultural dreams. Both in what they say and what they ignore, they are instrumental in shaping images and stereotypes and in *performing* knowledge (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000).

Finally, it seems to me that, in the long run, the critical and impassioned debates surrounding the plans for a Holocaust Museum and a Museum of World Culture are likely to have positive consequences. Hopefully these debates will make it possible for all Swedes, regardless of background, to acknowledge that the tangible and symbolic results inside Sweden of differerence and of migrations across the earth are not anomalies or exceptions. They are the normal state of affairs – even though the institutions within the folk cultural sphere for so long have shied away from recognizing this.

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Notes

1 At the onset of 2000, one fifth of the nearly nine million inhabitants in Sweden are counted as immigrants or as "persons with a foreign background". The question of who is and who is not an immigrant is being revised. At the moment not only people who were born in another country are classified as such but also people who have been born in Sweden to immigrant parents. – Versions of this paper were presented to the annual meeting of Norges museumsforbund (Association of Norwegian Museums) in early June, 1999 in Lillehammer, Norway, and, later the same month, at the seminar "Belonging in Europe" at Lillö, Sweden. The seminar was arranged by the department of European Ethnology at Lund University and sponsored by the Erik Philip Sörensen Foundation. Many thanks to Jonas Frykman, Orvar Löfgren and other seminar participants for their comments on the oral version, and to Karin Becker and Lotten Gustafsson for critiquing the written manuscript. – The research upon which this paper is built was conducted within the framework of the international project "Folklore, Heritage Politics, and Ethnic Diversity", funded by NOS-H and NorFA.

2 The word "sphere" derives from Jürgen Habermas' (1989) notion of the "public sphere". This sphere is to be seen not only as a domain of social life in which "public opinion can be formed" (1989:232) but also as a domain where "underexamined, undemocratic, or exclusionary practices" can be criticized (cf. Noyes and Bendix 1998).

3 There are, of course, exceptions. A handful of important studies on expressive culture in peasant and contemporary life were actually published during this period. Among them are Jochum Stattin's (1984) structuralist analysis of the supernatural beings of streams and lakes and Bengt af Klintberg's celebrated books on modern legends (for example, af Klintberg 1986). Furthermore, ethno-musicologists made some important contributions to the understanding of music and dance among immigrants (see, in particular, Ronström 1992). It should be added that, at present, the interest in vernacular, expressive forms is once again on the increase.

4 While there is little scholarship on these matters in European countries, tradition building among immigrants and ethnic groups was long at the heart of folklore scholarship in the United States (Klein 1998).

5 A recent example of the long history of ambivalence in folklife studies is a book by Karl-Olov Arnstberg (1997) on the interaction between Swedish social workers and Gypsy clients.

6 Since 1928, the museum has sent out long questionnaires to informants who volunteer to respond. The questionnaires are to be answered in writing and some informants have answered questionnaries for decades. Through the years, the number of informants has stayed about the same, i.e. around 400. After fifty years, the responses to the questionnaries are normally open to the public.

7 For example, Carl Robert Lamm, who like Emma Zorn belonged to the eminent Jewish family Lamm, was a member of the executive board of Föreningen för Svensk Hemslöjd (Swedish Handicraft Association), when it was formed in 1899.

8 It is difficult to know why Hazelius and Karlin collected Judaica. Eventually, the Judaica collection at the Nordiska museet came to encompass some 150 items, mostly of a ritual nature. In 1932, the majority of these items were transferred to the main synagogue (Mosaiska Församlingen) in Stockholm. It appears that museum curator Ernst Klein was instrumental to this transferral. These objects are now on loan at the Judiska museet (Jewish Museum) in Stockholm. Many thanks to Cecilia Hammarlund-Larsson for guiding me through the catalogue cards of the Judaica collection at the Nordiska museet.

9 The selling of artifacts to buyers abroad has long been a matter of great concern to the cultural historical museums (Stavenow-Hidemark 1998:174).

10 Among the few works in which folklife scholars mention Jews more than in passing are: Arnstberg and Ehn1980, Ek 1971, and Fredriksson 1998. A unique text is an article by C. Vilh. Jacobowsky (1967) on Swedish-Jewish manor life. To my knowledge, this is the only emic description of Jewish life printed in a Swedish folklife publication. Many more studies on Jewish themes can be found in such fields as sociology and history.

11 Gunnar Broberg (1981–82) describes a number of exhibitions and theatrical shows in different European countries featuring live Sami. Many Sami appear to have regretted their participation in such events, although they earned money from them. It does not appear that Sami were ever in control of the ways in which they were displayed. Thus

their case differs from that of European and North American Jews who actively sought participation in world's fairs so that they could control the ways in which they were represented (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). – Broberg also discusses the many controversies that have surrounded the "Lapp camp" at Skansen. Also today, many Sami are critical of the undignified and patronizing ways in which Sami and Sami culture have been portrayed in this installation.

12 One example of an excellent exhibition is the one in Lund on Swedish-Jewish culture which is mentioned above. Another example, an exhibition entitled *Gud har 99 namn* (God has 99 Names), opened at the Kulturhuset (House of Culture) in Stockholm as this article was being completed. As a part of the exhibition, viewers are offered an opportunity to join bus rides to Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh, and Catholic houses of worship in different parts of Stockholm. A striking number of young people took part in this exhibition as guides and a striking number of young people were among the visitors.

13 I thank Karin Becker for her astute observations during our joint visit to the exhibition.

14 One significant aspect of the "Museum of World Culture" is that it challenges the customary and taken-for-granted division of labor according to which exhibitions of Swedish and (sometimes) other north European materials have been shown in folklife museums and exhibitions of all other cultures in ethnographic museums. To pave the way for a future museum on the Holocaust, a government committee entitled *Forum för levande historia* (Forum for living history) has been appointed (Jönsson 1998) and museums on the Holocaust in other countries are being studied, among them the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City (Shandler 1999). – Some of the ideas expressed in this and the following paragraph were debated in a seminar on Holocaust museums at the DIK symposium in Uppsala, May 17, 1999, in particular by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. An important discussion of the topic can be found in Eva Hoffman's (2000) review of Peter Novick's book *The Holocaust in American Life.*

15 Although I am not addressing these issues here, I am of course aware of the role of homosexuals as victims of the holocaust and of the long exclusion of homosexual culture from the folklife canon.

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Being Moved

By Tine Damsholt

The tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall was celebrated in November 1999, because 9 November 1989 – the day when the border crossing points between East and West Berlin were opened – was singled out as the event that started the unforeseeably rapid transformation of the Cold War world-view with which my generation had grown up. An announcement about new travel rules for East Germans, read on television by a member of the politburo, led people to gather at the crossing points in Berlin. Finally, the border police, who had also been watching the television but who had otherwise received no new orders, raised the barriers, and people poured across the border, families were reunited, and people began to climb the wall, to demolish it and sell pieces to the tourists who flocked to the scene – and all of this took place in full view of the rest of the world via the mass media.

From one day to the next, the Europe we thought we knew was transformed. Or was it? As ethnologists we have learned not to believe in such quick cultural change, and of course a number of conditions must already have been fulfilled before this could have happened. Yet the swift transformation of Eastern Europe could also give us a new perspective on similar cultural upheavals in the past.

In traditional accounts of cultural history it used to be common to claim that national romanticism made its entry into Denmark with a single event, the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 (e.g. Vibæk 1964: 242).[1] This has now been questioned, as the factors for the emergence of romanticism have been sought in the rise of the bourgeoisie, industrialization, capitalism, and science. And it has been pointed out that the national revival only concerned the educated public sphere in Copenhagen. But what if these explanations are not sufficient? What if there actually was an incredibly rapid change, a popular revival, a cultural mobilization?

In this article[2] I want primarily to look for the conditions for such a cultural mobilization in the emotional field: to look at the already established cultural structures or discourses, the political culture in the public arena, the emotional culture, the mixture of feelings and politics, the patriotic discourse. But I also want to look at the Battle of Copenhagen and the associated military mobilization. Both serve as a basis for a discussion of subjectivization processes, cultural mobilization, and especially the interplay between physical presence in the public space, the embodiment of the patriotic rhetoric in rituals, the internal emotions, and the popular movement. The battle in 1801 and the associated cultural mobilization is thus a reason to discuss the link between subjectivization and the different ways in which people can be moved.

The Public Space

Even in our modern age, when we regard the mass media as crucial for political movements, it was the physical presence in the public space – East German citizens who filled the streets and squares shouting "Wir sind das Volk" – that in a literal sense crossed and crushed the wall. The physical filling and embodiment of the public space has been decisive in modern democratic political cultures, at least since the French Revolution.[3]

A number of historians have described the French Revolution as a laboratory for a series of changes in political culture in our

part of the world (e.g. Hunt 1984; Landes 1998; Outram 1989; Schama 1989). It led to the implementation of the political theory of the contract that is still the core of most prevailing political philosophies which regard the people as the true sovereign body. Only the power exercised in agreement with the will of the people is legitimate. The problem, however, was and is how to determine the will of the people, both in political philosophy and in practice. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his *Du contrat social* (1762), had defined *la volonté générale* as something different and more than the sum of individual wills (*la volonté des tous*). The general will was determined by the interest of the general good. In this sense the people came into existence in its aspiration for the general good, with the individual subordinating his own interests out of concern for the collective. The people, understood as the group of citizens, was constituted through the general will.

The contract theory thus implies a specific perception of the state and of the citizen. Civic freedom, which emerges from the discourse as the crucial human right, therefore means that the citizen complies with what has been decided by the general will (Boll Johansen 1989:228). The citizen's ethical imperative consists in putting aside his own interests in favour of the general will and for the sake of the general good, which ultimately means the willingness to give one's life for the fatherland. Subjectivity as a citizen should thus mean a specific perception of oneself in relation to the whole. Both the individual as a *citizen* and the union of citizens as *the people* become the two crucial entities, according to the logic of the discourse, whose individual and collective subjectivity are essential for the political Utopia. This also means that everyone must claim to speak on behalf of the people or for the good of the people in order to be allowed to speak, and this makes every representative of the people problematic and open to attack. That is why the East German citizens cried "Wir sind das Volk". They thus robbed the ruling politicians of their status as representatives of the people.

The problem of representation was not solved with the French Revolution. On the contrary, there was a struggle between rival discourses over the way in which it might be guaranteed that power embodied the general will. The revolution thus engendered a new political culture, which tried to legitimize the new form of state, both through rhetoric and visual symbolism (Hunt 1984) and through physical expressions in the new and sensitive public space (Outram 1989). In this production of political forms, symbols, and practices, which may be viewed as "a series of transformation scenes" from one form of political legitimacy to another, the individual bodies in the public space played a decisive role. The attributes and the reverence formerly associated with the person and body of the king now had to be moved and reinterpreted to and in a new context. It was a part of the bourgeois revolution that "the gaze of society", which had previously been directed at the king and the aristocratic culture of the court, which "existed to be seen", was instead switched to people's interiors (Outram 1989:42, 80), but also that this virtuous interior had to be staged in the public space as a form of theatre.

As the historian Joan Landes has pointed out, the paradox of popular representation must be taken into consideration

> when the sovereign is faceless and in the majority, when the ability to speak on behalf of the people or to represent it is always in danger and subject to objection. For the same reasons, the democratic body politic requires a stage and must be constantly performed (Landes 1999:163).

With the end of absolutism in France or, as in the Danish-Norwegian unitary state, with a new interpretation of absolutism,[4] the focus shifted from the king's body as the embodiment of the state and sovereignty to the people, and hence to the population as those who gave their bodies to the body politic. The public space became the stage where the utopian subjectivity of the citizens and the people was to be embodied.

Celebrating and staging princely power in the public space was already an integral part of absolutism. The French Revolution, however, created a new cultural phenomenon in the form of didactic state festivals which instead staged abstract values such as reason, the supreme being, equality among citizens, and the shared duty to the fatherland. One such new ritual was the *Fête de la Fédération* in 1790, on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, which inspired "local" political performances in several European countries (e.g. England, Colley 1992). For the *Fête de la Fédération* the Champ de Mars was transformed into a huge amphitheatre with an "altar to the fatherland" at the centre. Thousands of national guards swore their loyalty to the constitution at this altar, with its inscription proclaiming that all mortals were equal and that virtue, not birth, made the difference. A new revolutionary religion was created, "a cult of federation", which was more or less in opposition to the existing church but simultaneously borrowed from its established iconography (Schama 1989:414, 502, 768). By holding the same ceremonies all over the country, the nation was symbolically bound together.

Emotional outbursts played a major role in these political rituals; contemporary sources record that, in the early days of the revolution, no event failed to end in collective "patriotic tears and embraces". Paradoxically, this "general sensibility emotionality" was associated with the new political system, in which the individual was at the centre (Vincent-Buffault 1986:243). Yet when emotions were publicly staged, the individual was at the centre but the individual's place in the collective was simultaneously stressed. The individual acquired meaning via his or her place in the whole. In that sense, the rituals may be regarded as part of the subjectivization both of the "collective" subject, *the people*, and of the individuals who were the smallest common denominator, the "feeling" unit of the people.

In the new political discourse and culture, the subjectivity of the people was of central importance, but in a special form which stressed both the individual and the collective and made the subjectivity into a shared focus. In that sense the attention was directed towards ways of establishing this desired subjectivity, which in Michel Foucault's terminology could be called disciplining, subjectivization, and the technologies of the self (Foucault 1979, 1983, 1988). A number of factors may be pointed out here: the cult of sensibility, patriotism, and the idea of the self and the sublime. These factors will now be considered on the basis of the thesis of a link between subjectivization and ways of being moved.

The Cult of Sensibility

One prerequisite for understanding this change in the political culture is the eighteenth-century European culture of emotion, which focused on feelings as the seat of a person's proper moral responsibility for society. The historian Simon Schama has shown how a "cult of sensibility" combined with a fascination with classical citizens' republics was an integral part of "the cultural construction of the citizens" in France in the late eighteenth century. The same was also true in many other parts of Europe, where the educated class of nobles, citizens, and intellectuals cultivated the same ideas.[5] Unlike the rococo court culture with its concentration on external formalities (manners and style), the focus was now on the interior (virtue and morality). Nature rather than culture, spontaneity rather than calculation, innocence rather than experience, the soul rather than the intellect, and so on. Feeling strongly for something now became a sign of a noble character; possessing *un cœur sensible* was seen as a precondition for morality (Schama 1989:149).

The more recent perception of reason and emotion as two opposing categories is thus a problematic approach to an understanding of the eighteenth-century concept of sensibility. Feelings and a sense of duty or morality were not perceived as separate entities. The key concept was sensibility, defined as "the capacity for extremely refined emotion and a quickness to display compassion for suffering" (Todd 1986:7), which was supposed to be expressed in spontaneous acts such as weeping, fainting, or falling on one's knees. Being emotional was not the same as living in the grip of passions, giving oneself to amusements and sexual excesses. Reason had to be enlisted to assist the soul, so that passions were transformed into "sentiments" under the control of reason (Mai 1994).

A sense of compassion was regarded as the fundamental element in a person's moral improvement.[6] Art, which was the central medium of the cult of sensibility, often depicted people in need and emotional torment. Paintings and especially novels, plays, and poetry were expected to arouse compassion and simultaneously be morally instructive.[7] Stories of the hardships of heroes and heroines, and especially the detailed description of the emotional expressions they provoked, served as instructions for how to behave and express one's feelings (Todd 1986). In this staging of emotion, tears were essential and therefore described in detailed terminology: from sniffs to floods of tears (Vincent-Buffault 1991: 16–18).

With the textualization of these emotions – descriptions of how feelings were perceived and expressed – literature could work as emotional guidance and hence moral instruction. The letter genre, providing natural intimacy in a semi-official genre, was preferred in the novels of sensibility. It concealed the distinction between fiction and reality and made it natural that the account of events should be accompanied by descriptions of the feelings they provoked. Letter writing is moreover one of the technologies of the self: writing is a way of showing oneself, of revealing one's soul, which is opened to the gaze of other people and hence to one's own gaze. In this objectification of the soul, letter writing and self-scrutiny were two sides of the same coin (Foucault 1995). The eighteenth-century literature thus contained narratives

about the self, which was staged as a subject for action, emotion, and morality. Reading and self-knowledge became connected and emotionalized.[8] Reading, writing, and feeling became central elements in the technologies of the self.

The aesthetic cultivation of bodily outbursts of emotion such as crying must be seen in the light of the cultivation of the natural, including theories of gesture as mankind's first ("natural") language. Spoken language and stiff codes for social intercourse were regarded as alienating and at worst incapable of representing "real" emotions. Pantomimes, tableaux, ballets, and "attitudes" (stylized outbursts of emotion) became popular forms of art which conscientiously staged "the natural".[9]

The focus on emotions, affects, and attitudes was not just an aesthetic phenomenon but was also based on the philosophical discussion of sensory experiences as constituting the self, and was therefore accompanied by the associated scientific investigations of the nervous system as the seat of sensibility (Barker-Benfield 1992). In connection with the gradual contrasting of the sexes in the course of the eighteenth century (Laqueur 1990), women acquired a special meaning as being by nature "morally superior" to men, since the capacity for sensibility was linked to bodily constitution and the nervous system. The finer female build, and hence the greater emotionality and moral superiority, would secure the *home* (which gradually became the preferred scene for the emotions) as the foundation of morality. This same emotionality, however, also made women irrational, and the gendered body was therefore used as an argument for the exclusion of women from the political arena (Outram 1989; Landes 1998, 1999).

The interest in sentiments, whether it was positive or critical, and the scientification of the emotions – the objectification and division of the nervous system, physiognomy, and gesture – may be seen as discursive practices, which constituted emotions as an object by means of investigation and classification. The objectification of feelings in science and art, the detailed description of how emotions were felt and expressed, may be regarded as a precondition for the ability of individuals to recognize such emotions in themselves. The textualization and definition of the links between emotions and bodily movements was one of the prerequisites for a person being able to "feel" at all, and a significant element in a subjectivization process.[10]

Inner and Outer Movement

An important element in the interest in the self at this time was the aesthetic theories of the *sublime*, of soul-shaking experiences as a central field in self-knowledge. It was in the encounter with unfathomably large phenomena in the senses and in nature that the sublime arose. The transcendent meeting with "terrible beauty" meant that the individual had to relate to new sides of his character and hence get to know himself.[11] Powerful sensuous experiences thus became a crucial medium for analysing the self, for exploring and naming hitherto unsuspected essential forces and hence one of the technologies of the self in a subjectivization process. The movement that was expected to arise in the self through the encounter with nature was thus closely connected to the movement of the individual in the landscape. Bodily perceptions

One characteristic of the Empire style was that, unlike previous fashions with their corsets and high heels, they facilitated movement. Moving and being moved were two sides of the same coin. *The Ryberg Family* by Jens Juel, 1797–98. Statens Museum for Kunst.

and practice were therefore a prerequisite for emotional "movement".

The sublime was gradually institutionalized in set elements such as waterfalls and mountain peaks, but also in more domesticated versions in the landscape garden. This "state-of-soul garden" was built to awaken and nourish certain sentiments. By all sorts of emotions, from gaiety to the sweetest melancholy, the gardens were supposed to lead to humanity and beneficence (Taylor 1989:300, 298). Garden strolls thus became one of the technologies of the self, a way to improve oneself via the emotions aroused by the garden.

The experience of nature and landscape presupposed new forms of movement. Walking or strolling in a landscape became a way to combine body and soul, to come closer to both inner and outer nature and hence to the self. The aestheticization of nature and moral philosophy were united with the new forms of physical movement in the interest in the self. In Orvar Löfgren's words, the different ways of experiencing the landscape combined metaphysics and microphysics.[12]

Strolling in nature meant a new way of moving; instead of the stiff, well-controlled promenade, which involved tensing the muscles for each individual movement, the movements were made softer, freer, and more "natural". This development can also be observed in dance and military tactics (Kayser Nielsen 1993). In linear tactics, strictly disposed line formations advanced on the battlefield and fired many rapid salvos when ordered; this required a mechanically learned discipline, since every movement was associated with a command. However, this was gradually replaced in the latter half of the eighteenth century, with the introduction of the light infantry, using individually aimed fire and tactics and individually fighting soldiers. Independent positioning and use of terrain were important ingredients of the new tactics, requiring greater initiative of the individual soldier, who was now expected to be able to assess what was the most useful way to act in any situation. Military training in bodily skills developed not just the individual's physical abilities and a new pattern of movement (with running, jumping, and swimming), but also independent thinking. In this light, military training could be regarded as a subjectivization. It established some

of the possibilities for the development of new forms of subjectivity and perhaps the utopian citizen's awareness, whereby the individual himself had to choose to act in order best to serve the fatherland. The military training of young men from the peasantry is thus an exemplary illustration of the links between subjectivization and inner and outer movement (see further Damsholt 2000).

Subjectivity

I have emphasized above the cultural preconditions for a certain kind of subjectivity. Subjectivity is crucial because any cultural mobilization presupposes a form of subjectivity or self-determination in the population group that is to be mobilized; otherwise it is just coercion. Cultural mobilization must thus appeal to self-determining subjects, but precisely because the mobilization is cultural, there are set frames for the discourse concerning the ways of speaking to concrete individuals.

The point is that subjects are defined, on the one hand, as free individuals, acting purposefully in their own practice, but on the other hand there is room for only specific forms of practice in a given context. The individual's self-awareness as a freely acting subject thus presupposes a place in a set relation to the society or the culture of which he or she is part. This means that a subject is always at once not only subjected but also self-determining and self-aware.

One of the main theorists of the relation between culture and subjectivity is Foucault. His analyses of discourse and disciplining (e.g. Foucault 1969/1972 and 1975/1979) are thus about how specific types of subjectivity are formed. Discourses shape particular subject positions, while discipline, by means of surveillance and training, produces subjects with the right understanding of their place in relation to the whole, since they do not feel the duty as an external demand but as an internal concern. However, these analyses are somewhat narrow, as Foucault puts the greatest emphasis on subjection and domestication, whereas the actual analysis of the formation of subjectivity as self-awareness is insufficient. The point of analysing subjectivization is that it is free subjects with a consciousness that must be produced, not mechanically obedient slaves.[13] More interesting are Foucault's later works on what he calls

> technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault 1988:18).

Foucault's point here is that it is precisely via individuals' work with themselves, and via their "freedom" and ethics of the self that subjectivization takes place. The subjectivization process at once conducts and recognizes the subject's self-determination. And it is a characteristic of modern society that the relation between the citizens' freedom and subjection is problematic, and solutions are sought both in political philosophy and in practice.

As mentioned above, the subjectivity of the population came into focus at the time of the French Revolution. The political discourse was based on "the fiction of a neutral but embodied (because natural) subject, an individual capable of subjecting passion and interest to the rule of reason" (Landes 1998:132). This civic subjectivity

was a utopian ideal, but the subjectivity of the actual population deserved great attention, according to the patriotic logic. The actual population had to be improved. However, there was room for differing opinions as to how the desired subjectivity – in the words of the time, patriotism – could be established. There was thus agreement about the desired effect but not about which measures to implement.

The differing views were expressed, for example, in the debate about the military reforms in the late eighteenth century which transformed the army of enlisted foreigners into a national army consisting of conscripted peasant's sons. The willingness of the peasantry to defend the fatherland and offer their lives for it was therefore crucial for the success of the reforms. Some people thought that economic conditions and free rights were most important, while others felt that enlightenment was decisive for subjectivity. The idea that being born in a country was grounds for patriotism also played a major role in the debate, since it was claimed that patriotism arose from love of one's native district.

A central message in the official patriotic rhetoric, however, was that all the nations who lived side by side in the Danish-Norwegian unitary state, with the king as the shared father of the country, could be good citizens of the same fatherland. Patriotism was thus a feeling that could in principle be shared by all citizens, as its cause and origin were subordinate to the actions it would guarantee, in relation to its effect. Patriotism was primarily a sense of duty and responsibility, which was supposed to elevate the individual above specific interests and experiences. What is interesting here is that it was an *emotion* like patriotism that became a central virtue in the complex of patriotic ideas. Because of the theories of sensibility, feelings were regarded as the thing that would ensure the ideal responsibility and subjectivity of the population.

Technologies of the Patriotic Self

Many circumstances may be regarded as important stages in a gradual subjectivization of the population taking place on many different levels; from the agrarian reforms that gave individuals from the peasantry a new legal status and changed the conditions for production and culture, to more special cultural phenomena which affected only a small part of the population. We shall concentrate here on a special type, in the form of the patriotic rituals[14] which, more or less inspired by the French renewal of political culture, played a role in the Danish-Norwegian unitary state. Patriotic celebrations were held in private homes,[15] in public spaces,[16] and in semi-public spheres such as the officers' corps, where they excelled in celebrating the birthdays of the king and the crown prince. Mostly the figures who were the objects of the celebrations were not present, and instead of the monarchy, people (as at French celebrations) staged and hailed the abstract values of equality and duty to the fatherland.

In the French rituals, young women dressed in white appeared as representations of the ideas of liberty and reason. At the Danish festivities, the female sex gave their bodies to a similar classically inspired patriotic iconography. These celebrations, to which the military were admitted free of charge, often included allegorical tableaux: for example, an obelisk of fake marble could be erected, with the inscription "for the favourites of virtue and benefactors of

the people: the king and the crown prince". "Three officer's daughters, dressed in white, with myrtle wreaths on their heads and laurel wreaths on their shoulders, surrounded this monument" and recited an adulatory text in chorus (*Det danske Krigsbibliothek* 1794 vol. 1:132).

At other celebrations all the participants rose and shook hands, swearing friendship and fidelity to each other. Forming a circle and holding hands in this way to symbolize equality and fraternity was a favourite ingredient of French revolutionary festivals, for instance in connection with the planting of liberty trees: "Around the civic mast would circle dances 'en ronde': a joining of hands of different ranks and orders in the fraternal unity established by the new order" (Schama 1989:492). The officers' corps were not alone in celebrating royal birthdays. At the Court Theatre there were "official patriotic" masquerades in which peasants and fishermen (or at least bourgeois gentlemen dressed up like that) performed tributes to the symbol of the royal dynasty together with (dressed-up representatives of) the other estates of the realm, all defiling past an obelisk while singing patriotic songs (Pedersen 1998:62).

These celebrations may be seen as what Landes describes as the necessary political theatre, a performance of the utopian patriotic body politic in which all estates and citizens were possible and necessary actors. The crucial thing here was presence in the physical space and hence an embodiment of the patriotic rhetoric, enacted by more or less anonymous participants, many of whom were public employees, both military and civil, and their families. The rituals used many elements and symbols from the political culture of revolutionary France. The repetition of the same activities, the use of the same symbols such as liberty trees and female representations of the republic, were an important element in the construction of a sense of community (Hunt 1984). The speeches and choreography of tactile experiences and physical presence created a ritual in which the unity and equality of the population were "confirmed" and symbolically created.

The Danish celebrations described here may be seen as integrated in a European patriotic culture, but also as rituals in which a patriotic subjectivity could be created. By virtue of the physical disciplining through ritual, the people involved not only had words and actions put in their mouths and bodies, but this embodiment of the patriotic ideals also enabled new means for the perception and consciousness of the self in the individuals who lent their bodies to the rituals. With the choreography of the ritual, they were physically moved, but this meant that they were also emotionally moved. In this way, the rituals were one of the technologies of the patriotic self. This kind of subjectivization was to play a major role in connection with the cultural mobilization associated with the Battle of Copenhagen.

The Event

With the new political culture, the cult of sensibility, and the patriotic discourse, a number of necessary conditions existed for an emotional mobilization, but presumably they affected only a very limited part of the population. Subjectivity as patriotic citizens was more utopian than a reality. With the military mobilization and the Battle of Copenhagen as an event, however, these conditions acquired a broader significance.

The political background to the Battle of

Copenhagen was the policy of neutrality that Denmark had pursued and profited from in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The Danes even dared to challenge England from 1798 by letting the navy convoy merchant ships under the Danish flag and prevent them from being searched by the English, even though some of these ships were French or were carrying goods for France and her allies. It was hoped that this offensive neutrality policy would be successful because of England's hard-pressed military situation and isolation, but in December 1800 England demanded that Denmark should leave the newly formed League of Armed Neutrality (which was intended to ensure the convoy policy). Denmark, however, could not leave the League without immediately challenging the alliance between the Russian Tsar and Napoleon, whereby Sweden could take over Norway with Russian support and Prussian troops would attack Schleswig and Holstein (Feldbæk 1990:347–51).

Faced with this threat, Denmark had to accept war with England, despite the poor prospects, in order to demonstrate its unflinching loyalty to the League of Armed Neutrality and Napoleon's Continental System. The Danes therefore flatly refused the English demands and initiated the military mobilization that would soon be necessary when an English navy with Lord Nelson as second-in-command attacked the Danish defences at Copenhagen on the morning of 2 April 1801.

The most important role of the defences was to maintain control of the Royal Deep (Kongedybet), from where the fleet, its installations, and the capital could be bombarded.[17] This was in reality an impossible task, since the necessary fortifications had been planned but not built for reasons of economy. A defence therefore had to be improvised, with an attempt to maintain Danish control of the Royal Deep by means of block ships, that is, firmly anchored vessels with no sails or means of manoeuvre, out in the deep (Feldbæk 1985:79–80).

The English fleet was superior. Not only were all the ships manoeuvrable and had 50 per cent more guns, the crews were also well trained professionals, whereas the majority of the Danish crews were untrained; in time of war the few professionals had to be supplemented with conscripted sailors, with little or no military experience, from the coastal districts of the kingdom. The difficult mobilization of the required men therefore started early. All the men eligible for conscription from maritime districts were called up, and the majority of these – the Norwegian sailors – had to be transported through Sweden. Several infantry regiments, consisting of young peasant conscripts, were brought on board, and as late as 18 March all the men in the towns who had "no other civic duties or useful and indispensable trades" were summoned to volunteer. Besides the wages and medical assistance that the conscripts received, the volunteers were given a cash sum of 15 rix-dollars. In addition, the royal summons contained threats of coercion if the necessary numbers could not be raised on a voluntary basis and "the subjects' courage and desire to defend the beloved fatherland" did not suffice (Feldbæk 1985: 113). Almost 2,000 volunteered. Most of them were from Copenhagen, the majority being craftsmen and general labourers, since the guilds and the employers had been informed by the chief of police to put "patriotic pressure" on their employees. Some

of the burghers were already organized in a civic guard, and a voluntary student corps was formed on the last day of March.

The mobilization did not just concern the manning of the fleet. Some of the army were posted along the Sound and the coasts of north Sjælland, while 11,000 men occupied Hamburg and Lübeck. On 19 January 1801 orders were issued for a militia of 18,000 men, consisting of retired soldiers who had returned to their farms (Wolter *et al.* 1992:18). This militia was called up, but despite the optimistic and patriotic mood, there was a shortage of officers and equipment. The militia men in Jutland were ordered to muster with scythes on shafts, "a frightful weapon in the hands of a brave Dane" (Feldbæk 1985:84–87). In addition, the many self-constituted voluntary militias were regulated with "a general summons to the defence of the fatherland in time of war", with the defence of the country being a "sacred duty" for every Dane, including those with no experience of using arms. Compared with the preceding century of peace, there was a "total" military mobilization of a large proportion of the peasantry as well, turning the patriotic rhetoric into a reality.

The idealistic speeches about dying for the fatherland also became a reality, with 467 deaths on the Danish side, 535 wounded, and 1,779 prisoners of war (Feldbæk 1985:227). Although the Battle of Copenhagen was a clear victory for the English and a defeat for the Danes, it was not interpreted that way. The English superiority, the courageous Danish resistance, and the uncertainty about the motives behind Nelson's proposed truce made it possible for the battle to attain an important place among the national myths (Feldbæk 1983a,b).

The question of whether the outcome was a victory or a defeat for Denmark was avoided in the official report, which ordered the information in a narrative structure that led to the specific interpretation: the numerical and technical superiority of the English was described first, then the course of the battle. It reported Nelson's dispatch of a negotiator immediately after an observation of the serious situation of the English ships, suggesting the causal connection: Nelson wanted a truce because he was in a tight spot (Feldbæk 1983a:28). This was the start of a fixed tradition in the perception of the Battle of Copenhagen: that the Danes, despite their military inferiority, fought so bravely that the English had to ask for a truce – an assessment that needs modification (Feldbæk 1983a,b, 1985).

Cultural Mobilization

The Battle of Copenhagen and the associated military mobilization were not just an occasion for a Danish national myth but also a reason for cultural mobilization. The battle involved not just those who were mobilized to fight and their relatives.[18] The civilian population in Copenhagen was also deeply involved. Patriotic sentiment was at boiling point among the burghers (Feldbæk 1985:17), but in purely practical terms they had to be prepared as well; the chief of police had issued orders to ensure that people on land were prepared: they had to stay at home and have water on hand if the enemy sent "fire-lighting substances", and instructions were issued about how to extinguish and defuse bombs.

The townspeople followed the battle from balconies and elevated viewpoints such as cranes, reporting to the crowds below, although many had difficulty seeing any-

thing for the smoke. But the dead, the wounded, and the severed limbs that were brought ashore were visible to everyone. Stories were quickly spread about wounded men who urged others to continue the fight and shouted "Long live the King!" from their stretchers. The mood in the city is described in contemporary and later accounts, which give the impression that the whole city looked on and, despite the pain of defeat, hailed "the matchless heroism ... shown by our people", which united the population (Biering 1966:110–111). After the battle, it was said that the fishwives on Gammelstrand curtseyed to Captain Lassen from the block ship *Prøvestenen*, which fired the first and last shots of the battle (Feldbæk 1985:15). Strangers shook hands in the streets, and gaiety at the expense of the English spread over the city. The poet Adam Oehlenschläger later wrote in his memoirs that

> The sense of the old heroic glory at sea had quite taken control of the nation, and especially the capital. All the petty vices of the time ... had ... hidden in the corners. On the other hand, fraternity, benevolence, mutual help and assistance were displayed everywhere (after Biering 1966:115).

A recurrent element in the cultural mobilization was the singing of patriotic songs. The 25-year-old reserve surgeon Søren Vendelbo wrote to his young wife on the evening before the battle, that songs "by our best poets" had been distributed on his ship, among both officers and enlisted men, and that these were sung on the deck. A couple of days before the battle, the actor H. C. Knudsen had performed patriotic songs at the Royal Theatre, dressed as a sailor, to the delight of the audience, who went around the streets after the show, singing the songs. And during the battle Knudsen encouraged the men fighting at the Quintus battery with songs and declamations in the middle of the bombardment. Some of these songs were already known (such as the still used royal anthem,[19] *King Kristian Stood by the Tall Mast*), written in the latter part of the eighteenth century by prominent patriotic poets, some of them military officers. But the battle was also an occasion for over a hundred new songs, many of which were sold as broadsheet ballads and later appeared in various collections (Albertsen 1975:21).

Many songs were set to tunes that were already well known from club songs and ballad operas, so that the public could join in. The tune of the *Marseillaise* was also frequently used, often with slightly rewritten lyrics. Many of the songs start with "To arms", "Get up and fight", "Wake up", and other urges to defend the fatherland. Songs appeared not only in Danish, German, and Swedish but also French and Batavian (Rahbek 1801). Danes abroad wrote songs and sent them home (Biering 1966:122).

The author Pram published "a rhymed chronicle composed in songs" with appendices explaining the events behind the individual verses, to be used for the enlightenment and encouragement of bold sailors and militia men. Many of the poets used references to naval heroes of the past. There was no doubt that God was on Denmark's side in the just struggle, although there was no discussion of the reason for the English attack, presumably because the matter was not as clear-cut as the patriotic rhetoric demanded. On the other hand, the idea of an "imagined community of citizens" crossing the nations – a central feature in the patriotic rhetoric – figures in many songs.

Just as much was sung about Norden and Nordic brothers, and Danes and Norwegians fighting side by side, as here in *The Song of the Danish and Norwegian Sea Warriors* by Tüchsen (from verse 2):[20]

For how can enemies withstand,
True Dane and Northman hand in hand,
In combat for the Danish land,
Who willingly do battle!

Or in *War Song* by Winding, to the tune of the *Marseillaise*:

Ye Nordic heroes, wake for battle!
Take up your swords and fight again!
No scoundrel foe shall dull our mettle;
: Fail ye not our neighbour and friend :
How can we let neighbours be taunted?
No! we shall show that we are men,
We'll drive the foe away again.
Our hearts will flame and beat undaunted.
To arms, to arms we call!
To battle, one and all!
March on, march on, let British blood
Upon our furrows flood.

As in many other songs, the text is close to the French original. The *Marseillaise* was known for its ability to mobilize people, and the Danish version derived its strength from that. Whereas the subject of the original was the French people, the Danish songs used Danish and Norwegian metaphors, such as that the defence should stand "solid as a mountain" (*fjeld*). There was frequent emphasis on the Danish and Norwegian nations as brothers, extending a hand to each other, dancing on the wrecks of the enemy, and fighting side by side. The patriotic fraternity of the nations was embodied in these images of battle, in which bodily experience, brotherhood, and the will to defend the fatherland were tied together in one movement. The feelings aroused by this shared struggle play an important part in the songs, and this perhaps corresponds to the actual experiences of the battle, in which Danish and Norwegian men more or less unaccustomed to the sea actually gave their bodies to defend their country and perhaps even die for it.

Another recurrent motif in the songs is the heroic future. The idea of the Danish or Norwegian heroism, which had been slumbering but would now be aroused again, is found in many songs, anticipating the idea of the national spirit, which was to be revived among the general population. Later, romantic and national poets like Oehlenschläger and Grundtvig would also hold up the battle as the event that aroused "the spirit and glory of antiquity" in Denmark (e.g. Grundtvig 1838/1877:268).

Some of the songs appear to have had a deliberately didactic content, in keeping with the patriotic improvement project. Here is Abrahamson's *National Defence Song*:

Seize your arms, o Danish man!
Hear your native country call,
Follow you who follow can,
Up to triumph or to fall!
Seize your arms, o Danish man!
It is for your fatherland!

The king and especially the crown prince play a part in many songs, but the feeling of the duty to defend the fatherland is at least as often evoked in terms of the more abstract concepts of the fatherland and Denmark, and songwriters built up a stock of designations for this abstract whole consisting of the twin kingdom and its people: *Danmark*, *Dania*, *Dannerriget* (Realm of the Danes), *Dans sønner* (Sons of Dan), *Dannemænd* (Danish men), and *Dannebrog* (the Danish flag), *Fædreland* (Father-

land), *Fødeland* (Native Land), etc. In the songs it is the fatherland that seeks to mobilize its citizens, thus speaking to those who already feel that they are citizens. But the songs did not necessarily presuppose a patriotic subjectivity. By invoking the entire Danish and Norwegian nation as sons of the fatherland, and the conscripted soldiers and seamen as citizens of the fatherland, the songs could also have a subjectivizing effect in their own right. They textualized the patriotic feelings and were thereby one of the prerequisites for the ability of the singing individuals to recognize themselves as patriotic subjects, as an embodiment of the defence of the fatherland.

Death for the Fatherland

Those who fell in the Battle of Copenhagen embodied the abstract patriotic rhetoric about dying for the fatherland as a civic duty, and their funerals were staged in a way that emphasized this exemplary value. According to Captain Abrahamson's report a few years later (1804) the citizens of the capital vied to support the maimed and wounded and to honour those who died "the glorious death for their fellow citizens". The report starts with several pages in defence of such expressions of gratitude and attacks those who refused to honour the fallen, a fact which shows that the national sentiment after a while was no longer so unambiguous. Some people had even criticized the constant obsession with the event, while others lamented the waning patriotic sentiment (Biering 1966:132).

In Abrahamson's report the funeral ceremony is extolled as an exemplary patriotic ritual. It brought together citizens of both sexes and all classes, including many of those who had fought in the battle, as they followed the bodies of two fallen officers and the remains of fifty of the fallen brothers on foot from the seamen's hospital to the cemetery outside the ramparts of Copenhagen. Here they formed a circle around the graves along with students from the Crown Prince's Lifeguard and sang Abrahamson's newly composed *Være Fred med Eder Alle* (Peace Be with You One and All), which honoured the fallen who had been steadfast in the battle against superior forces. The last two verses run:

Peace be with you one and all!
Call not back those who did fall.
At your grave we shall not weep,
Be it on land or in the deep,
But with honour, thanks and praise
Recall our brothers all our days.

Yes, we sing with grateful pride,
For it was for us you died,
Thanks, you heroes stout and good!
Thanks for every drop of blood!
Precious is your noble story!
Everlasting is your glory!
(after Knudsen 1802:11–12)

The text underlines the fraternity between citizens, between the fallen and the survivors. After the song, the coffins were lowered side by side, thus underlining the unity of Danish citizens of all classes; it was new for officers and privates to be buried together. White-dressed girls also featured in this patriotic ritual:

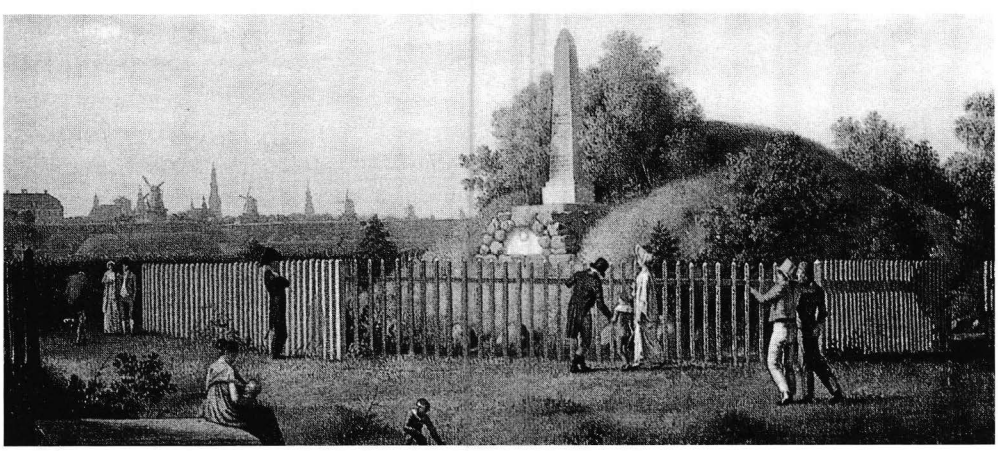
and then a considerable number of white-clad daughters of the middle classes*) went forward and scattered flowers in the graves, on the bodies of the courageous fallen.

*) On such occasions the common people cannot, and those of high birth or rank will not, feel or show emotion (Abrahamson n.d.:10).

Despite the rhetoric about fraternity among people of all classes, the ceremony belonged in the bourgeoisie and the class of officials who were already familiar with the patriotic ideas and, just as importantly, the cult of sensibility, in which feelings were not only textualized but also a bodily language developed as a "grammar of emotions". For Abrahamson and like-minded people to be able to recognize an act as an expression of emotion, it had to observe set rules of iconography, gesture, and patterns of movement. Within this framework the reactions of the peasantry or the nobility could not be classified as emotions.

Abrahamson nevertheless had firm expectations of the effect of the ceremony, claiming that people went home with "their hearts full of fraternal gratitude" and resolved to follow the "most honourable example" of the fallen when the fatherland and the defenceless once again needed to be defended. The chief effect of the ceremony was thus to arouse feelings which could then morally improve those involved, thereby creating more good patriots. In this and other ceremonies, speeches, songs, tableaux, and symbolic movements in a more or less public space were combined in a ritual. There were thus many ways to speak to the participants, which increased their chances of being moved.

Fully in accordance with the rationale of the cult of sensibility, it was believed that the fallen and the feelings expressed for them could have an improving effect on the survivors. On the same day a collection was started for a monument to "fallen defenders of the fatherland", and 276 citizens from all over Denmark took part, ranging from the top nobility via officials, merchants, clergymen to ordinary craftsmen in small provincial towns. A poem was also published and sold to raise contributions. Both the collection and the monument were intended to preserve the feelings aroused through-



The soldiers' grave at the Holmen cemetery. It was new to have a common grave for officers and privates, but the officers had their names inscribed on simple natural stones forming a semicircle around the mound. The painting depicts an exemplary patriotic and emotional tableau with a nursing mother after Rousseau's recipe, an invalid to the left, an officer and sailors looking on and remembering the fallen, and a child learning about the exemplary behaviour of the fallen and the duty of citizens to defend their country. C. W. Eckersberg, *c.* 1810. Det nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg.

out the kingdom: in the navy "the ancient, calm, noble self-esteem that is inseparable from all heroism and elevated above all marks of honour; in the general public the feeling was enthusiastic and boisterous" (Lahde 1810).

The foundation stone was laid on the first anniversary of the battle, with songs, speeches, and cheers. The memorial, which contains both classical elements (the obelisk of Norwegian marble) and Nordic elements (a kind of burial mound surrounded by natural stone), illustrates the transition from the patriotic, classically inspired iconography to the national romantic cult of the Norse past as a link with the country's ancient heroes. The inscription – "The wreath the fatherland gave shall not wither on a fallen warrior's grave" – continues the theme of the patriotic rituals and the textual wreath presented in the songs.

The monument honoured the dead. A "token of honour" was produced for the survivors, a medal awarded to 225 men, of whom a large share were ordinary sailors, soldiers, and volunteers. One side bore the inscription "Courage defends" and the other "The King bestows honour, the Fatherland shows appreciation" (Abrahamson 1802). In this way the patriotic rhetoric and symbolic language reached far beyond the capital, in that the men who received the medal came from all over the country.

Besides the funeral ceremony, numerous events were held after the battle to honour the naval heroes, and sermons were written about them. Carsten Biering, who has described the poems and songs commemorating the battle, argues that, although several editions of the songs were intended for the rural militia and people outside the capital, this "Copenhagen event" cannot have meant much to the peasants (Biering 1966:131). It is striking, however, that several of the peasant reminiscences from this period mention the Battle of Copenhagen,[21] and Anders Andersen from Holevadgården on Fyn not only mentions the battle in his "accounts book" but also writes down the words of three songs "which were sung on Easter Sunday, 5 April 1801, when they buried those who were killed in the battle on Maundy Thursday, 2 April, between the Danish and the English, in the roads of Copenhagen" (Rasmussen 1982:228).

Anders Andersen could perhaps have read about the event in the newspaper, but he was also a non-commissioned officer in the militia and had been called up. He kept a month-by-month record of the progress of the war, not just the distant events but also the call-up of the militia, their homecoming, and the quartering of troops. These peasant diaries are a laconic genre, and we do not get any impression of how Anders Andersen felt about the defence of the fatherland. Like a large part of the peasantry, however, he was directly affected by the military mobilization and this, together with his earlier military training as a conscript, may be the explanation for his identification with the Danish navy, as revealed in his account of the battle:

> APRIL. On the second the English engaged in a sea battle with the Danes in the roads of Copenhagen harbour for four and a half hours, with much bloodshed on both sides, and the English forces were superior to ours, but the English nevertheless first had to stop the battle and hoist their flag of truce, but there was such courage in the Danes that they did not want to stop, even though so many lay dead and wounded, the half-dead and the wounded shouted hurrah (Rasmussen 1982:30).

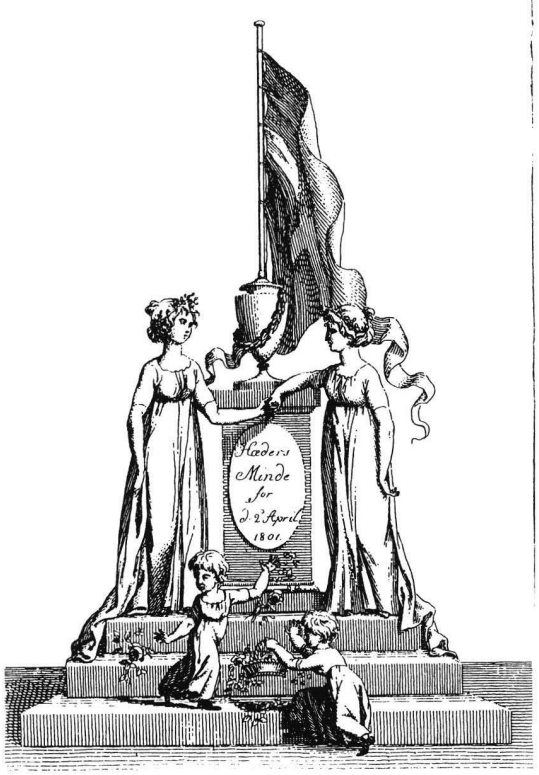
The militia man faithfully repeats the national myth about the English being under pressure and the Danes showing such enthusiasm, and we must believe that he, like so many of his contemporaries, perceived it that way, just as we must believe that the songs from the funeral meant something to him, since he copied them in his book. This case also shows that the myth about the outcome of the battle and the songs about it could be well known even among the peasantry far from Copenhagen. One single peasant does not make for a popular revival, but perhaps it would be to underestimate the significance of the military and cultural mobilization to view it as solely a Copenhagen event. Apart from this one diary we have no sources to show how the conscripted rural soldiers and militia men perceived the battle. But we do know that many of those who actually took part in the battle were from the peasantry. The peasants encountered the patriotic rhetoric in the military, for example, in the songs that put words in the mouths of the participants, and they gave their bodies to the rhetoric about defending and dying for one's country. The military mobilization in itself may have had a subjectivizing effect, and it is not unlikely that the patriotic concepts were an important framework for the way in which the people involved perceived and reflected upon their participation (see further Damsholt 2000).

Patriotic Theatre

The battle reached outside the capital and the military circles in other ways. It was celebrated in many places, and several plays on the subject were written and performed in provincial towns. Oehlenshläger's *The Second of April 1801: A Dramatic Situation* interweaves a love story with the battle and conveys the anxiety of the next-of-kin. Burghers, students, and rural soldiers spontaneously praise the Danish heroism and the defence of the fatherland, and class divisions are dissolved when this motley gathering of people utter the final words in chorus: "Here we stand smiling hand in hand, united through virtue and civic spirit" (Oehlenschläger 1802:43).

Binau's *Love of the Fatherland or The Wounded Sailor of the Second of April 1801: An Original Patriotic Play in a Pageant*, performed for the first time in the small town of Assens, portrays a sailor's widow and her son's feelings after the death of the father. Her broken heart is only consoled by the thought of the joy and duty of dying for the fatherland, while the son looks forward to being big enough to "fight the Englishman when he comes back". An invalid sailor who has lost his son in the battle passes by and promises to take care of them. The pageant ends in the best didactic manner, praising death for the fatherland as the greatest happiness.

Citizens of the province were not only able to witness moving patriotic pageants in plays like this; they could also take part in commemorations or "patriotic tableaux" arranged in churches and town halls all over the country by H. C. Knudsen to mark the battle. This "voluntary singer of the fatherland" spent his summer holidays travelling round the country arranging "National Feasts" to collect money for the wounded and the widows and children of the fallen. The ceremonies had a fixed structure, with Knudsen as the only figure appearing throughout. He sang and recited patriotic poems in front of an "altar to the fatherland" in a flower-adorned hall, while



Sange

Fædrelandshøitiderne,

Danmarks anden April

til

Ahmindelse.

Sungne, samlede og udgivne

ved

H. C. Knudsen,

kongelig Skuespiller.

Kiøbenhavn 1802.

Trykt hos Direktør Johan Frederik Schultz,

Kongelig og Universitets-Bogtrykker.

The title page of a collection of songs sung at Knudsen's rituals. He claims in the introduction that when standing by the altar to the fatherland he witnessed and now wishes to convey the "feelings" that the Danes have for their king and country: the patriotism and civic spirit that the battle had aroused in "the people of the twin kingdom" (Knudsen 1802).

local officials and military men appeared in uniform, and women in white were recruited to form a decorative background and symbolize the nations and the patriotic virtues (Nyrop-Christensen 1970).

On the altar was an urn, symbolizing the heroic patriots who had given their lives in the defence of Denmark on 2 April. The urn was a well-known iconographic element in the landscape gardens of those days, where the sight of urns and tombs was expected to provoke the desired tears and sympathy. Knudsen's altar to the fatherland was a symbol combining religious elements and well-known allegories in neo-classical style, already filled with meaning and expectations of emotional reactions. The ritual, besides Knudsen's singing and declamation, consisted of young girls dressed in virgin white, placing a wreath around the urn, a clergyman making a speech about the significance of patriotism, community singing, and the collection of money for survivors or invalids (who sometimes took part

in the ceremonies as well) – a suitable offering from "the patriotic congregation".

In this staging of shared patriotic enthusiasm, the repetition of the same rituals all over the kingdom was a crucial part of the symbolic construction of the participants as united across barriers of time, place, and social and cultural differences (cf. Klein 1995). Although it was only a limited proportion of the population that took part, the rituals may be regarded as an attempt to create an "imagined patriotic community", in which the individuals merged together in the general patriotic will, becoming a homogeneous group of good patriotic citizens. The rituals initiated the individuals into the patriotic collective and can, as we have seen, be regarded as part of the technologies of the patriotic self, as a form of subjectivization, with the rituals and the community songs putting the right words and actions in the mouths and hands of the participants and establishing positions for subjects with the right sentiment for the native land. The rituals choreographed concrete individuals in outward and inward movement.

The cultural mobilization could thus in itself shape the subjectivity of the participants, since it spoke to the emotions. As part of the eighteenth-century philosophy of the education of the self, these patriotic rituals and their regimentation of sensory experiences and physical direction of the masses may be seen as a detailed organization of sensory impression and hence a mobilization of the body and language that went beyond words (cf. Nilsson 1996). All the senses were set in motion in one and the same experience, which may be regarded as a technique for intensification: for the condensation and demarcation of the symbolic space in which individuals were initiated into the patriotic fellowship. We do not know what effect the rituals had on the ordinary participants, but judging by their popularity (Nyrop-Christensen 1970) we must believe that they worked. It is important to bear in mind, however, that even if they moved the people involved, it is not certain they did so in the intended manner.

Although the rituals may have aroused other feelings than the desired ones, there is no doubt that people in those days believed that if an event was to change the individual self, then one had to be shaken, in accordance with the theory of the sublime, and the ceremonies with their sensuous staging were well suited to do this. The idea of ceremonies as effective means for the formation of the desired subjectivity is expressed in exemplary fashion in Laurits Engelstoft's book from 1802, *On the Influence that Education, Especially Public, Can Have for Instilling Patriotism: An Essay in State Pedagogy*. Here the author operates with classical "subjectivization techniques": tuition in history, narratives about exemplary conduct, and physical training.

What was new, however, was Engelstoft's suggestion to "promote patriotism with sensuous means". Engelstoft emphasized the necessity of influencing the heart, which he claimed could be done through the senses. Ceremonies, national festivals, and national plays had to be created, so that one could stage "instants" which "shook a young person" and were not forgotten. He therefore proposed the institutionalization of a youth festival[22] which could fill the heart with the noblest sentiment; for this it had to have "a stamp of importance" and "a solemn pledge must be made and certain symbolic actions performed, intended to

move and elevate the heart" (Engelstoft 1802:57). We recognize here central elements in the French didactic festivals and the Danish patriotic rituals. With their soul-shaking properties, the solemn ceremonies may be understood not just as staging the patriotic speeches but also as a technique for subjectivization via the creation of the right emotions and hence the right civic consciousness. The ceremonies were also regarded by contemporaries as what Foucault would later call one of the technologies of the self.

Discursive Movement

The way in which ceremonies to mark the Battle of Copenhagen addressed the emotions in order to improve the people was fully in keeping with the patriotic culture of sensibility. With its rhetoric and iconography, the cultural mobilization drew on this, but it also represents an important stage in the transformation of the discourse, at the transition between patriotic and national logic. In this transformation the focus was gradually shifted from the crown to the people, from a classically inspired iconography to the Norse past, from the cult of the lone hero to the common people, from patriotic fraternity between nations in the same fatherland to a nation bound together by language, history, and national spirit in a native country of their own. In this transformation, the fatherland changed from meaning an abstract political union of citizens to become a national landscape.

The cultural mobilization described here represents in many ways a stage in this transition or this discursive watershed. This is probably due to two circumstances: the patriotic rhetoric about dying for the fatherland was embodied for the first time on a large scale, and the ordinary people were affected by a military and cultural mobilization of a hitherto unknown scope. It was not totally without a basis in reality that people could speak of the second of April as the day that "awakened the strength of civic spirit anew". It is symptomatic that the cultural mobilization was interpreted as "the arousal of the national spirit". Despite the named heroes, it was primarily the anonymous crewmen who gave their bodies for the defence of the fatherland, and embodied the people as the historical subject. The patriotic talk about the people and the citizens as patriotic subjects, who would work for the good of their country through useful acts, was thus more than rhetoric. It became concrete experience in a large share of Denmark's young men.

The battle and the mobilization in the country may be regarded as a "performance" and embodiment of the notion of the people as the true subject and the sovereign body, and therefore an important stage in the discursive transformation whereby the king lost his significance and the people came into focus. This, together with the patriotic rituals, was part of the subjectivization process by which the people became political subjects in the popular political movements of the nineteenth century. The culmination was the abolition of absolutism and the introduction of democracy with the Constitution of 1849.

Physical movement and the emotional movement that went with it was also of great significance in the nineteenth century, but in a new way, in that the concept of fatherland was transformed into a concrete landscape to which a specific group of citizens – the nation – was connected by growing up in it. The idea of indigenous-

Punch bowls and snuffboxes with motifs from the Battle of Copenhagen were used as gifts to the officers who had taken part. They could thus serve as personal objects of memory parallel to the nation's official memorials. Det nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg.

ness, which had played a role in the patriotic debate as one of the possible sources of patriotism, thereby took on a crucial significance in the national discourse. A decisive factor here was that painters, poets, and authors, for whom nature had always been a self-evident motif, with the new national gaze now saw it as national landscape. The perception of the natural landscape became the preferred technique for recognizing "the national self" (see further Damsholt 1999). The patriotic rituals and the experience of the landscape were two of the technologies of the self, which merged in the middle of the century in the frequent political meetings in open air, such as those held in the national scenery of Himmelbjerget. The national gaze indicated a new form of public space for the necessary performances of the democratic body politic.

Conclusion

In the discursive transformation, different forms of movement – physical, emotional, and political – were linked together in new ways. This transformation and the ensuing new meanings and forms of practice should scarcely be viewed as a planned result. The patriotic discourse, the cult of sensibility, and the political culture of revolution were essential for the cultural mobilization in connection with the Battle of Copenhagen. Another important background was the military mobilization, which was so exten-

sive as to make the battle into an event for a large share of the population. The military mobilization may be seen as an expression of a state strategy,[23] and it is also tempting to view the cultural mobilization as such. Yet this would be too limited. In relation to the already existing factors, the military mobilization probably triggered a cultural mobilization, but this involved a number of factors, individuals' aims and forms of practice which cannot be reduced to an expression of the will of the state. The cultural mobilization was no doubt welcomed by the state in the specific situation, but it was also a part of the gradual change in the political discourse which ultimately formulated the demand for the end of absolutism.[24]

Foucault has stressed the absence of a strategic subject behind the discourse; he points out that a discursive transformation instead takes place behind the backs of the subjects involved, as it is at the same time a more or less contingent result of their diverse and contradictory forms of practice. In this perspective on cultural mobilization, many other factors are involved besides a strategically acting state. The cultural mobilization should rather be regarded as an unintended result of a subjectivization process. But the individuals involved were not just prisoners of the discourse or the bodily discipline. They may have been moved physically and emotionally, but perhaps not in keeping with the main intention. Precisely because one can view the mobilization as a subjectivization, they are to be regarded as subjects who helped in various ways to alter the logic of the discourse through their practice and movement. This shaped the part of the discursive transformation that we can recognize in retrospect as the birth of national romanticism.

With the battle and the patriotic staging of the people as the real subject, physical and emotional movement were tied together in new ways, becoming part of what we can recognize as a subjectivization process which was essential for the century of popular movements. From the popular movements of the nineteenth century, with their mass meetings in the national landscape, we can trace a line back to the French Revolution and forward to today's demonstrations. Because the frame around today's societal reflection also draws on the basic figures from the philosophy of the French Revolution, about the rights of man, the sovereignty of the people, and the representation of the common will, performances of the democratic body politic still play a major part. Physical presence in public space can still be decisive. Here the abstract political demands and rights can be embodied and thereby become more than rhetoric.

When a political movement takes physical shape, however, it can not just embody the slogans but also set off developments that no one either intended or predicted. This was shown by the citizens of East Germany on that November evening in 1989 when they took an announcement on the television seriously and embodied the new political signals by flocking to the frontier barriers. Their actions became catalysts in a development that neither they themselves nor the state officials who decided the new exit rules could have foreseen or perhaps wished. Thus there is not just a link between physical movement in public space, emotional movement, and political movements, but also between the

movements of individual subjects within the set frames, and the movements of these frames. One can thus be moved on many levels.

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Notes

1 Henrik Steffen's lectures and Oehlenschläger's poems (*Digte*, 1801) are also included in the aesthetic category of important events.

2 I am very grateful to my colleague Søren Christensen for constructive comments on an earlier version of this article.

3 This symbolic creation of the people as a unity through physical closeness was a feature of the French Revolution, which was deliberately recreated as an associative threat at political demonstrations in the mid-nineteenth century, for example, at the meetings of the Scandinavianists in Copenhagen (Nilsson 1996).

4 Absolutism was gradually interpreted as a second social contract, one between the prince and the people as the true sovereign. See further Damsholt 2000.

5 The cult of sensibility is of course full of contradictions, with large geographical, social, and chronological variations. There are nevertheless some shared features on which I wish to concentrate in the limited space available here.

6 Feelings were also of fundamental significance in the pietist revival which, with its emphasis on a personal and emotional relationship to God, was important in the development of a heartfelt emotional language.

7 Novels depicted the archetypes: "Virtue in distress", who is either rescued into the safe haven of marriage, possibly after the improvement of the man through the encounter with her unassailable virtue, or else is released from her troubles by death. "The man of feeling", because of his sensitivity, is seized by the wretchedness of the world and tries with varying degrees of success to do good, or else he dies (perhaps by his own hand) of unhappy love. Richardson's *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), Rousseau's *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), and Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) are classic in this genre.

8 This is particularly the case in Rousseau. Feelings, life, reflections become inseparable from reading and writing (Darnton 1984:227–228).

9 Basic human feelings such as fear, despair, and admiration were portrayed in attitudes (often "quotations" from classical art), especially by female artists in the field. A language of emotions was thus developed which could be read by those with a classical education, just as copperplates illustrating affected body language, in contrast to a modern, "natural" body language, provided examples to be followed (Klitgaard Poulsen 1998).

10 For more detailed discussion and analysis of the relation between emotions, language, and discourse see Abu-Lughod & Lutz 1990.

11 In the theories of the sublime there is great variation, for instance, as regards the question of whether the sublime was to be found in nature or in the self (Mortensen 1993).

12 Orvar Löfgren has emphasized this link between motion and emotion in many of his works, most recently in his analyses of tourism (Löfgren 1999).

13 In his late works Foucault further developed this problem in the discussion of forms of "governmentality", which is a discussion of different ways in which the conduct of individuals might be directed through their "freedom" and ethics of the self (e.g. Foucault 1983; Gordon 1991). For a deeper discussion of the subjectivity problem see also Damsholt 2000.

14 The definition and analysis of rituals is inspired by the analyses of the French festivals previously referred to and by Klein 1995.

15 For example, in the Zinn family, where the festivals even honoured the French revolutionary ideas; see Thalbitzer 1906.

16 For example, with the events to celebrate the rights of citizenship and the laying of the foundation stone for the Liberty Memorial.

17 The defences of Copenhagen were vulnerable because the only channel into the harbour could be blocked (with sunken ships) and the navy closed in, while mortars (with twice the range of canon) could simultaneously bombard the naval base and the city while being out of reach of the city.

18 The concern of the relatives for their loved ones in the armed forces can be followed in extant correspondence between officers and their wives (Feldbæk 1985).

19 In Denmark we have both a royal anthem, *Kong Kristian stod ved højen mast*, from Johannes Ewald's patriotic ballad opera *Fiskerne* (1779), which hails the crown, the navy, and the good patriots who defend the country against the traditional enemy, Sweden, and a national anthem, *Der er et yndigt land*, by Adam Oehlenschläger from 1819 (1823), which hails the landscape, the people, and their history in the manner prescribed by national romanticism.

20 *Danske og Norskes Søekrigeres Sang*, like the next quoted songs, *Krigsvise* and *Landeværnssang*, is cited from *Samling af Krigs-Sange til Erindring om de Danske og Norske Helte, som den 2 April 1801 tapperlig forsvarede sig imod de modige Britters overlegne Magt, tilligemed Sange, som bleve afsiungne ved disse faldne Krigeres Jordefærd den 5 April* (Copenhagen, 1801).

21 Anders Pedersen of Ørsted, Slesvig, for instance, states that "On 2 April a bloody sea battle was fought between our navy and the English navy" (Biehl Hansen & Poulsen 1994:161). For more on Danish identification in peasant diaries see Damsholt 1998.

22 Engelstoft later developed the idea of a "civic confirmation", that is, a ritual that initiated young people as citizens.

23 This kind of perspective has been developed by the ethnologist Thomas Højrup (1995:151). In the light of his theory of state, the mobilization could be regarded as interpellation, that is, a nomination of certain types of subjects who are activated in agreement with the political practice of the state.

24 Ironically, but also symptomatically, the monarchy was made into the villain in the interpretation of the Battle of Copenhagen that became general after the end of absolutism: the Crown Prince granted Nelson a truce without understanding the tight situation in which the English found themselves because of the bold efforts of the Danish people (Feldbæk 1983a). The monarchy lost the battle, but the people won.

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"And I Know of a Land Far Away to the North"

North Norway and Regional Exercices

By Marit Anne Hauan

Elias Blix was born in North Norway (Nord-Norge), more specifically in Gildeskål, in 1836 (died 1902). He became a theologian, Professor of Hebrew at the University of Kristiania (Oslo), and was appointed Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1884. In 1889 he returned to the university. Since his death he has been best known for the hymns he wrote, and in North Norway he is particularly appreciated for the song "Å eg veit meg eit land" ("And I Know of a Land"), with the subtitle "Barndomsminne frå Nordland" ("Childhood Memories from Nordland"). The song is a sentimental tribute to his native district, which he had left at a very early age, never more to live there. The first verse runs:

And I know of a land far away to the north
With a radiant strand between mountain and firth,
Which I visit with pride, where my heart's firmly tied
With the finest, the finest of bonds.
I remember, I remember
I remember so well yonder land!

Some time before the turn of the century, Elias Blix thus described this part of the country "away to the north" where he was born as "a land" and "yonder land". The name Nord-Norge had still not come into general use then. The song may justly be called a *regional anthem*. It is sung in many different contexts when people from the north of Norway gather to mark special regional occasions. When the North Norwegian football team Bodø-Glimt played in the Norwegian Cup Final in 1975 and won the King's Cup at Ullevål Stadium in Oslo, the first team from North Norway ever to do so, the match ended with 22,000 spectators rising to sing this song. It is easy to interpret this event as an expression of joy that a North Norwegian football team was victorious for the first time in what is perhaps our most important national arena: the football pitch. One may wonder why they did not sing "Seieren er vår" ("Victory is Ours"), which is perhaps the best known Norwegian battle song, or the team's own battle song, "Bodø-Glimt – Superlag – det er det beste vi har i dag" ("Bodø-Glimt, Superteam, the best we have today"). Twenty-one years later, for the first time ever, two North Norwegian teams met in the Cup Final. Before the match, as an item on the programme, the same song was sung, with a Nordland girl in folk costume leading the singing from the centre of the pitch. Normally only the national anthem is sung before the Cup Final. For this occasion the most important unifying regional song was elevated from a spontaneous exercise to become part of the official programme. Why was the regional anthem chosen? The answer may be obvious: the match was a national concern since it was shown on the only nationwide television that existed at the time. The event was not just about football, but just as much about regional identity and patriotism. The song was presumably sung as a statement in an ongoing debate about identity, in which the description of reality mainly takes place outside the region. When viewed in this way, the event, together with many similar episodes, was an act of identity politics based on the experience of being inferior in the shaping of the national identity and its politics.

North Norway is a Region in Norway

What is special about North Norway? From the viewpoint of the capital, North Norway is on the periphery of the country. No other part of Norway relates to its geography in the same way as do the three northernmost

counties (Finnmark, Troms, and Nordland). It is not just that the people in this geographical area call themselves Nordlanders (*nordlendinger*), but according to linguists (Jahr & Skare 1996:12) they also speak the same dialect – North Norwegian (*nordnorsk*). In order to explore how a cultural content is given to the regional, I shall look at the history of this part of Norway at two different points in time: around 1890 and in 1992, and the hundred years between these dates are firmly in the grip of the poet-clergyman Petter Dass. In the wake of the modern nation-building process that took place in Norway from the mid-nineteenth century until around 1950, this part of Norway was the only geographical area to be regionalized. Here I want first to show one side of this regionalization process, which – like the formation of the nation – was the work of an élite, and then I shall give examples of the representation of the regional and local culture that the inhabitants of the "periphery" choose to use as a public narrative when the region is a well-established fact in their own and other people's consciousness.

The concept of region has its origin in the two Latin words *regio* "district" and *regere* "to rule". The term *region* thus refers to both territoriality and power (Niemi 1997). On the one hand we can follow I. B. Neumann's statement that "regions lie where politicians want them to lie" (1992:63) and view regions as politically created entities. In today's European politics there is a closely related idea as regards the division of the countries of the European Union into transnational regions, such as the Barents region and the Baltic region. On the other hand there is at the national level an institutionalization of parts of the nation into an arena of power or a shared administrative area: an institutional, administrative region. North Norway may be regarded as an institutionalized unit particularly because of the state's regional policy (which in Norway is known as "district policy"), which defines this part of the country as a unit and has done so at least since the Regional Plan (Landsdelsplanen) for North Norway was published in 1951. This plan was a product of national policy, a parliamentary report which was intended to stimulate the modernization of "this backward region", as a result of which it was also called the Development Programme for North Norway. This programme has been described as the prelude to Norwegian district policy as a whole (Bratrein & Niemi 1994).

The state's regionalization of the northern part of Norway has not taken place in a vacuum. "Regions are created and changed – but not in just any way," writes the historian Peter Aronsson in a study of the role of regions in Swedish history (1995:8). It goes without saying that this is also the case with this region, where the place's own actors have played an important role over the years in the formation of the region. The Nordlanders' Association (Nordlændingenes Forening), founded in 1862 in Kristiania, as Oslo was known then, assembled people from the three northernmost counties in Norway. They were working purposefully for what they called a North Norwegian rising, specifically, "justice for this part of the country, economically, socially, and culturally" (Niemi 1997). "Justice" and modernization went hand in hand in this setting. It was precisely in this context that the term Nord-Norge was coined to cover the three northernmost counties. Ac-

cording to the historian Einar Niemi (1997), this took place around a coffee table in the association's premises in Kristiania in 1894. The reason for the new name was twofold: It was felt necessary to arrive at a unifying term which could define and motivate the entire north of Norway, and this term had to be able to serve as a vital symbol for the development (read modernization) of the area which the association wished to promote. Inside the area itself, there were also many actors engaged in this process. Several newspapers marketed themselves as "The Newspaper for North Norway"; the first was *Tromsø*, which called itself *Dagblad for Nord-Norge* as early as 1915. Various organizations were formed under the same designation, such as The North Norway Fishermen's Union in 1916, The North Norwegian Import Company in 1919, the North Norwegian Press Association in 1920, and nationwide groups and associations acquired and still have separate divisions for North Norway. The focus on regionalism has varied through the century, but there is no doubt that the early mobilization for a territorial regionalism – an ideological struggle for the far periphery of the country in the name of modernization – has also created and maintained ideas of community and a shared identity far beyond a political or administrative context.

Both regionalization and regionalism have derived their nourishment from above and from within. But it cannot be concealed that the creation process, until the last few decades, has been heavily dependent on the élite, in the form of politicians, academics, businessmen. The University of Tromsø, the most northerly university in the world, was established in 1972, with the express goal of searching for knowledge *about* the region *for* the region. In 1994 North Norway also acquired its own cultural history in two volumes, the first part of Norway to do so, with the politically adopted justification for the project being that it was a part of "all the cultural activity that can help to reinforce the identity of the North Norwegian population through a knowledge of their own past".[1] This shows that there is a direct line from the coffee table in Kristiania to the present day. The "élite" still feels a responsibility for strengthening the people's sense of community and identity.

Petter Dass – Serving of the Region

One historical figure in the regional landscape towers higher than all others. He is often called "Herr Petter", but his name was Petter Dass, born at Herøy in Nordland in 1647. His father came from Scotland and was a businessman in Bergen for a few years before settling in Herøy, where he began to trade with the fishermen and peasants. His mother was the daughter of the bailiff of Helgeland, one of the most prosperous landowners in this part of Norway. At the age of just six, Petter was left fatherless and was placed in the care of relatives. He received private tuition together with a cousin in the home of his foster-parents, the pastor of Nærøy and his wife. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the Latin School in Bergen, and in 1666 he matriculated at the University of Copenhagen. At that time a degree in theology from the University of Copenhagen was the only way to become ordained as a clergyman in Norway. In 1669 he began his career as tutor with the pastor of Vefsn. He rose to become assistant pastor in Nesna four years later. From 1683 to 1689 he served as resident chaplain in the same place, until he was appointed pastor

of Alstahaug on 18 May 1689; this was the wealthiest parish in what was known in those days as the North Lands (Nordlandene). In 1673 Petter Dass married the stepdaughter of the pastor of Vefsn. They had two sons, one born before the wedding. One of the sons drowned at an early age, while the other succeeded to his father's office.

In the course of Petter Dass's professional life as tutor and clergyman, he wrote *Nordlands Trompet* ("The Nordland Trumpet"), a poetic description of the provincial landscape, and countless occasional poems, catechetical hymns, evangelical songs, a biblical songbook, three books about the Bible, and texts in Latin, besides a large number of letters. His complete works, published by Gyldendal Norsk Forlag in 1980, comprise 1,286 pages. In addition to his ministerial duties and his prolific writing, he ran the farm belonging to the rectory and managed cargo traffic with his own boats. Dass died in 1707 at the age of sixty.

In any discussion of the cultural sources of North Norwegian regionalism, Petter Dass is a central actor. In 1874 the historian A. E. Eriksen began his book *Nordlands trompet samt Viser og Rim af Petter Dass med Oplysninger om Forfatterens Levnet og Skrifter*, a selection of Dass's works and an account of his life and writings, with the words: "One of the oldest, most highly respected, and most wide-branching families in the north of Norway in the latter half of the seventeenth century ..." He thus put a regional focus on Petter Dass and his poetry. By asking the question: "Who has described the Nordlander more truly than Petter Dass?" he hinted at the role that Dass would play in the future North Norwegian discourse (Eriksen 1874:LV).

Sixteen years after Eriksen's book appeared, a new illustrated monthly saw the light of day. It was entitled *Nordlands Trompet*, and the first issue had an attractive picture of Petter Dass and a poem composed by the well-known Norwegian poet Jonas Lie. The form of the poem was borrowed from Dass's own "Den norske Dale-Vise" and was a tribute to the pastor "who was a true son of Nordland". It concludes with a warning to the Nordlanders (1890:3):

Nordlander, take heed of time,
to waste it would be a crime.
Don't stand on the shore like the man,
the current swept away
with his boat, ah well-a-day!
So that you do not see
everyman in his glee
carrying off your fish
to fill up his own dish
while you're left whistling like siskin.

While Petter Dass was regarded as a pioneer in his times, the Nordlanders of 1890 were warned about missing the tide of development that the new age had brought.

This publication, which appeared every month for two years, was intended for the enlightenment, entertainment, and edification of people in the northern part of Norway. The initiative came from an association called "Fembøringen", a name referring to the Nordland boat with its five pairs of rowers. This later became the Nordlanders' Association, founded by Nordlanders living in Kristiania. With this initiative they wanted to create a channel for contact with the north, to draw attention to artists and cultural personalities from North Norway, and to highlight current North Norwegian problems such as transport, industry, sea rescue services, and so on. The periodical was also involved in the collection for a memorial to Petter Dass, which

was erected at Alstahaug in 1906. The Nordlanders' Association played an important role in defending the north of Norway in the capital, and it was a significant counter in the game played between the development of North Norway and the Nordlanders' efforts in the capital. In 1922 the association decided to award the Petter Dass Medal to "persons who have contributed to the esteem, prosperity, and success of the Nordlanders' Association, and to persons who have rendered special services to northern Norway" (Ytreberg 1962: 173).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the capital was already an arena for a North Norwegian élite who believed that North Norway was so undervalued that the province had been forgotten in the development of the national. Parallel to the work of procuring and manifesting knowledge about the historical roots of the area, periods of greatness in North Norway, the old earls of Hålogaland, the folklore, and the North Norwegian officials who showed such a talent for writing, the association promoted ideas about modernization and justice. The classic spirit of nationalism thus acquired a North Norwegian counterpart. The North Norwegian regional movement at the end of the nineteenth century may be viewed as a mild rebellion against the state and against capital; in other words, it was not commissioned by the state in its work of creating a new and independent Norway, but was instead a complement and perhaps a counter-move. The movement chose the same symbolic elements that had been used in the Norwegian nation-building process: folklore, old customs and beliefs, ancient heroes and heroic deeds are the ingredients of which this early regionalism was built. Regionalism at this time was based on the ideas of nationalism; the struggle was for a modern, future-oriented region based on modernization as understood by the élite.

It was in this context that Petter Dass was singled out in earnest and given a significant symbolic position. In a sense he was proclaimed the regional skald, and frequently used in the regional argumentation and in regional events, for example, in the choice of a title for the monthly *Nordlands Trompet* and in the naming of a medal in his honour. In the first issue of the monthly, the historian A. Chr. Bang started his series about Petter Dass by declaring that, of all the outstanding men bred by North Norway, Dass was the best-known, "whose halo was most radiant", even though he had been forgotten by the learned world (p. 23). Bang used turns of phrase such as "the noble metal, the pure gold always comes into its own" (p. 24), and he ended his series by declaring that "Of all the Nordlanders, he is the one who has been of the greatest significance for the development of his people, and therefore a Nordlander will always proudly name Herr Petter Dass as the best and dearest son of the north" (no. 5, 1890:162). For Bang this was no mere bombastic formulation; he was convinced that Petter Dass was fundamental for the regional history and further development of Northern Norway.

It should be noted that it was a circle of people from North Norway living in the capital who chose Dass as the symbol of a modern region. In this connection it may therefore be interesting to ask whether it actually was the case that Petter Dass's essential role was created by modernity, and whether the attention devoted to his life and poetry could have arisen without modernity as a context.

The active Nordlanders in the capital were an academic and bourgeois élite who were pursuing a regional identity-creating modernization project and who found an excellent and dynamic symbol in the poet-pastor from Alstahaug. But it was not his unpretentious small poetry or his religious songs that the learned élite concentrated on. *Nordlands Trompet* was the selected work, where religion could be dethroned and regionalism elevated.

The Nordland Trumpet

It was not just before 1900 that Petter Dass and his poetry were held up as something genuine, as a link connecting the past with the present, as an instrument for raising the Nordlanders out of oblivion and instilling pride in North Norwegian regionalism. Throughout the twentieth century, Dass continued to be the uncrowned king. When Kjell Heggelund and Sverre Inge Apenes edited Petter Dass's complete works in 1980, they described *Nordlands Trompet* as "The heroic poem about the Norwegian fisher-farmer". The justification for this new name was that this was a work which turned the poor, grey Nordlanders into heroes, "Herr Petter even found their dialect good enough to use in parts of *Nordlands Trompet*", write the editors. The literary scholar Nils Magne Knutsen ascribed six different characteristics to the work. *Nordlands Trompet* is a didactic poem, a self-portrait, a book about nature, a religious poem, a book about our daily bread, and a book about belonging in one's region (1989:7). The poet J. S. Welhaven (responsible for the rediscovery of Petter Dass through his description of "The Poet from Alstahaug" in 1856), A. E. Eriksen (editor of the first version of Dass's collected works with "Information about the Author's Life and Writings" in 1874), and N. M. Knutsen all agree that Petter Dass differed significantly from contemporary writers, in many ways, and especially through his conscious dedication of the work. Whereas authors who described the provincial landscape usually did so for other learned people, Dass extended the circle of intended readers in an unusual way. Although he also saluted the clergy and the rulers, he did something extraordinary for the times when he wrote:

Hail ye Northland settler-men
from the host of the house to the toiling swain
Hail ye homespun-clad farmers
Who could look out on shore as well as on fells
And salted down red cod in barrels for winter.

Petter Dass went even further in his dedication, managing to include every group of the North Norwegian population, including those without property:

Hail to tenant farmer and crofter as well
Each freeholder with his shoreside flock
Of all kinds of means and talents.

When Petter Dass was trying to have *Nordlands Trompet* published, he dedicated the work to Ditlev Vibe. Vibe was no tenant farmer but an influential man, chief secretary in the Danish chancellery with responsibility for all ecclesiastical matters, including appointments. The work still did not appear, either because Herr Petter was too insignificant a person in the eyes of the Danish-Norwegian authorities or because the topic was not considered interesting enough. The popular character ascribed to Dass by posterity was scarcely part of his political project. In his time there was no regional movement in progress. Although

one could love one's fatherland, whether this meant the nation or the local setting, this love, according to the Swedish ethnologist Orvar Löfgren (Ehn, Frykman & Löfgren 1993:43), was different from today's. People swore loyalty to the king and put their trust in God. Serving the nation in today's sense was unthinkable until after the French Revolution.

We see a clear dividing line between the early regionalists' use of Petter Dass and the contemporary use of the same man. When Dass came into the limelight at the end of the nineteenth century, the project was to mobilize a North Norwegian identity and create a force to fight for a just division of benefits and modernization, but also to create visions of the future development and education of the inhabitants of that region.

Several scholars in our days have been concerned to single out Petter Dass as the first to articulate a North Norwegian identity, and the people's poet and parson and as a kind of protest poet (Apenes 1978; Knutsen 1989:5–8). The use of Petter Dass in our times also includes a symbolic dimension. The research élite in history and cultural history is still attracted to *Nordlands Trompet*. Every work of North Norwegian history has several quotations from Dass, often the same one recurring in the different works.[2] Quoting from this poem gives a North Norwegian dimension to any work. It is easy to interpret the use of *Nordlands Trompet* as a form of guarantee. There is a guarantee of authenticity in a North Norwegian product with a pithy quotation from *Trompet*, even if the product is a history book, and this guarantee rests on Petter Dass's regional renown. The use of his works still carries ambiguities such as identity and regionalism. From 1900 until the present day, the struggle for the region and the formation of a regional identity has gone in waves and has focused on different things, but it was in this period that the region was created, motivated by, among other things, ideas about the unfair division of wealth and the lack of insight about the knowledge and resources in the region.

With a great deal of effort it might be possible to find even older ancestors of popular regionalism in the north, but as I see it, it was the nineteenth-century élite that instigated and pursued the regionalization process. It was initially created as a counter to the nation's low prioritization and insufficient understanding when it came to its northernmost districts. The local population were receptive to an understanding of their part of Norway as a northern region, and the early regionalism gave a foundation for popular collaboration and cultural identity-building on the basis of the region. The various local communities and ethnic groups in the north have expressed in many contexts their belief that "North Norwegian" is something shared, a counter-identity to "Norwegian". In both referenda about joining the European Community, the majority of people in North Norway have voted no. The labour movement has had its greatest support, proportionately speaking, in this region throughout the post-war era. It has been and is an awareness of the "North Norwegian" as a counter to the national identity that has found expression in political movements, in cultural movements such as the North Norwegian Song Wave, in regional literature and art, and it was expressed with particular clarity when the king came on his royal tour of the north.

A Cavalcade of Local Culture under Regional Direction

Whereas the royal tour of the former king of Norway, Olav V, in 1959 was a display of modernization with its efficient and future-oriented "monuments" such as sophisticated bridges, airports, harbours, factories, newly built hospitals, town halls, and schools, today's Norwegian king and queen were met in quite a different way when they undertook their royal tour in 1992.

Of course houses had been painted, flowers planted, and roads tarred, and new chains of office had been purchased for the mayors who lacked them. Both before and during the royal visit there was no shortage of public expenditure of time and money, at both municipal and county level. A selection of churches, hospitals, and old people's homes were made ready to receive their majesties, dinners were planned, and a series of new monuments had to be unveiled. Around these ritual events which are repeated on every royal tour, however, there were other items on the programme for the royal guests. These were mainly connected with local culture and history. An army of media people followed the tour, describing it for newspapers, radio, television, and weekly magazines. The local communities knew that the eyes of all Norway were on them. This was a unique opportunity for the places visited by the king to say something about themselves and, for once, to have the attention of the entire nation via the mass media. The North Norwegian localities eagerly grasped this opportunity. They selected what they wanted to emphasize as distinctive features of each place, composing a rich and varied menu.

The conservation of buildings was on the agenda in Mosjøen. The museum director Hans Pedersen's guided tour of the old, restored timber buildings received plenty of coverage in the newspapers: "The grand sight of old Mosjøen was in stark contrast to the Lego-and-concrete Mosjøen that no one looked at twice during the royal tour," wrote the newspaper *Nordlys*. The re-creation of a former workers' quarter into a picturesque middle-class area was the centrepiece of the royal visit. Newly painted and polished working-class homes with middle-class occupants do not necessarily tell us anything about the past, but perhaps say something about the values that prevail in present-day Mosjøen, and which were considered important enough to be shown to the king. Workers' districts are nothing unique to North Norway. But it is specifically North Norwegian for three tribes – three ethnic groups – to have lived together for several hundred years. The ethnic diversity of the region was manifested in several places, as in Lakselv, where all the cultural items were presented in three languages: Sámi, Finnish, and Norwegian. And it was "happy children" who sang about Little Johann and about Stallo. By articulating ethnicity in the cultural presentations, a symbolic world is mobilized. It is a new feature of North Norwegian culture that we wish to highlight this distinctive property of our region. The desire to show off our ethnic diversity does not go back any further than the Alta action at the start of the 1980s, which was a struggle to protect a watercourse from being dammed and to enforce the rights of ethnic minorities in the area. By mobilizing this side of history in a "royal arena", the symbolic value is reinforced.

In several places the historical identity was carried back to the Viking Age. Bjarkøy,

Borg in the Lofotens, and Brønnøysund treated the royal visitors to full-blooded Vikings and Viking history. On the island of Bjarkøy the focus was on the heritage of the Viking chieftain Tore Hund. There are regular Tore Hund festivals in this municipality, which employs a Viking leader instead of a cultural amenities officer. The message of the local "Tore Hund" to the royal family at the end of the visit was: "Tell the people in control down south that it is their own doing if the Nordlanders turn against them. Subsistence is not easy up here in the land of fog, the land of winter, the land of stone. ... The Nordlander is like the lumpfish. He is mean, and he smells, and if you take the sea from him, then he will bite all round. But if you get a taste for him, you will find none better" (*Kongeferden* 1992:62). The Viking is one of Norway's most important symbols. Our polar heroes are compared with Vikings, we include Vikings on our 17th of May processions and in our ceremonial speeches, and we exhibit them in museums. On the one hand, Bjarkøy places itself securely in a realm of national symbols by choosing the Viking Age as its own past. On the other hand, Tore Hund is an ambivalent symbol. He is not just a bold and splendid Viking but is also pointed out by Snorri Sturluson as one of those who killed King Olav the Holy at the Battle of Stiklestad in 1030. Bjarkøy manages to say something about its national affiliation and also about its local character in its choice of identity marker.

On Hamarøy the people chose to hail a great North Norwegian celebrity, the author Knut Hamsun (1859–1952). Many of Hamsun's novels are set in North Norway. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1920 for one of the most widely read portrayals of North Norway, *Growth of the Soil*, and he achieved international recognition early on, unlike the purely national figures of Tore Hund and Petter Dass. Several of Hamsun's novels have been made into films during the last few decades in North Norway. The films have managed to visualize both Hamsun's texts and the culture and nature of North Norway. Despite Hamsun's success as a writer regionally, nationally, and internationally, he has an ambiguous status in North Norway, not because of his works, but because of his political involvement during the Second World War. Hamsun chose the wrong side; he sympathized with Hitler and became a member of the Norwegian Nazi Party, NS. His position as a famous poet and depicter of North Norway makes him important, but he is at the same time highly problematic because of his stance during the war. Tore Hund, on the other hand, can be interpreted as someone who fought against centralization and hence against repression. In addition, he lived so long ago that his personality has been erased, giving way to the characteristics that can be ascribed to him as a Viking and a regional chieftain.

In the village of Finnsnes, in Lenvik, Finnsnes Water was used to create a song tableau intended to give the impression of the living conditions of the people of Lenvik around 1850. Fishermen came rowing home from their fishing in slim, newly built Nordland boats. They were met by their wives and children on the quay and the beach rocks. As the men rowed in, the people at home sang songs about living conditions – songs about the past written in the last twenty years! It was raining in Finnsnes. The king walked on to the quay to express his thanks for the event. The tab-

leau was a present from Finnsnes to the king and queen, besides which the royal couple were given books about local history and *sjyvotter* (coarse homespun mittens for use at sea). This was not the first tableau they had witnessed, nor was it the first books on local history they had received, nor for that matter the first mittens. The food they were served at the outdoor lunch together with a hundred or so inhabitants of Lenvik earlier in the day was also fully in line with the prevailing tone of the visit to North Norway: local ingredients, local resources, and local knowledge. The opening words of the Finnsnes tableau joked about this: "Does the King want a string of raw fish, or is he tired of it?" The boats, the seafood, the activities associated with history of a coastal people were frequent ingredients of the royal tour.

Coastal culture has grown to become a huge project in North Norway, and in fact along the whole coast of Norway. It is also a concept with an ambivalent symbolic meaning, allowing local museums, the tourist trade, municipal politicians, and various associations to act in the same symbolic field. Both Petter Dass and Knut Hamsun through their writings have provided building blocks for this movement, in the form of descriptions and pen pictures of people, ways of life, resources, and climate along the coastal strip of North Norway. The works of both writers have been used with delight and insight.

The communities visited by the king seized the occasion to tell about themselves and their distinctive character. The communication took place not just between the royal family and the local population. There were reports every day from the royal tour on the major national stage – the NRK television channel – in the main news programme at peak viewing hours. The Oslo newspapers, the big newspapers in the rest of Norway, and the local press followed the tour from day to day, and the weekly magazines were there with their photographers and journalists. The selected venues were local settings where the masters of ceremonies for the occasion were often museum directors, bureaucrats responsible for culture, and cultural associations. The presence of the media involved the whole nation in the ceremonies. The local settings showed that the ceremonies were not just a matter of communicating with the royal family, but that they had the opportunity to highlight the region and the cultural diversity of North Norway for a national and international audience. This was a vital impetus for the efforts expended on the arrangements.

Conquering the Public Space

The local communities consciously chose to use the past and traditions to incorporate the king in their local environment. Instead of just being incorporated in the Kingdom of Norway, they also chose to incorporate the king in their own choice of values. It was obviously a matter of integrating the royal family (and the nation) in the North Norwegians' own values and ideals, as a counter to the integration process which they themselves feel they have been a victim of. By focusing on local history and local traditions, they gave the new king clear insight into what the inhabitants of these places in North Norway want to be, and examples of how they consciously build their identity from what they perceive as special about their local context, with distinct references to how it has "always"

been. But this communication was not directed towards the royal family alone. The king and queen stated clearly how pleased and touched they were by the reception they were given everywhere in the region. But did they detect the local territorial strategy? The newspaper *Adresseavisen* reported on 20 August 1992 that: "A charming Princess Märtha Louise had to admit that she was not quite clear about where she was, when she came aboard, and where she was to disembark. But she is certainly satisfied with the trip." It is perhaps legitimate to ask whether the royal family was disoriented or if was just the journalist who lacked a map and compass.

The Norwegian anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, in his slightly ironic way, has declared that "hardly any mood is more modern than nostalgia" (1993:47). Very few people would deny that. It is a simplification to believe that the use of the past in this connection is only a matter of nostalgia. The royal visit to the north showed to perfection that the past is a great resource in today's North Norway. Not the past as authenticity, but the past as an idea, a backdrop, and a copy. Bringing the local, regional culture to public attention on precisely this occasion must be understood as an attempt to challenge national values and to change the relations of strength between region and nation. It is a political act. The use of the past is about something more than reconquering one's homeland and bringing the monarchy into the region on the region's own premises. It would be far too simple to claim that regionalism has moved from the intellectual and political élite to the general public. Through Norway's nation building the national cultural symbols were selected and charged with meaning in a process of constructing a national identity. In North Norwegian region building the same type of symbols were chosen. Regionalism together with shared experiences of inhabiting what has been defined as the periphery of Norway – as the peripheral region – has created the cultural category of Nordlanders. The message is ambivalent: North Norway and the Nordlanders belong to the nation, but they want to define the terms by which they are to be citizens of the nation, and the meaning ascribed to this. It is not just that they want to make their local community into a part of the national project on their own premises. The small local communities have been in a vulnerable position for a long time. Fish catches have varied from a full load to empty nets, the quota distribution policy has put obstacles in the way of recruitment to the fisheries in districts where it was a natural career for a man to become a fisherman; unemployment and out-migration have created a seedbed for pessimism. By actively producing striking new symbols for one's native district from the historical repertoire, one has a chance to build up new optimism and pride, to give the regional identity a new meaning, based on values, morals, and the hope of a better future. In the explicit reference to "a positive and strong" past beside the sea, this work implicitly contains a view that the modernization of society has not only been a good thing. Through the choice of ambivalent symbols, the new image that is formulated shows that the periphery is out of step with the centre. It is the ambivalence of the symbols that makes them powerful and easy to unite around.

From this viewpoint, the royal tour of North Norway in 1992 was a success. But

there are some obvious implications associated with these acts of identity politics in the public arena. The royal tour mainly followed the coast, and the king was presented with the emphatic message that "if you take the sea from [the Nordlander], then he will bite all round". This resembles the processes described, for example, by Brit Berggreen (1989) as characteristic features of Norwegian culture building in the nineteenth century: all we need to do is to replace the peasant with the fisherman, the mountains and the interior with the coasts and fiords. Can today's choice of regional symbols have other consequences than good, favourable ones? It is evident that the category of Nordlander risks becoming just as limiting as the national identity category.

The anthropologist Frøydis Eidheim writes in her study *Sett nordfra* ("Viewed from the North") that "it seems important for people to have 'memory material' from the past to give meaning and legitimacy to the interpretation of present-day events" (1991:9). She adds that there is a "major tendency or an inclination among the people [of North Norway] to handle potentially any kind of topic in terms of a comparative north/south perspective" (1991:5).

The historian Einar Niemi has put it like this: "North Norway is still a special object for national politicians when district policy and productivity come up for discussion. The perception of 'the North Norway case', as it was served to us as early as the eighteenth century, has been extremely tenacious. At the start of the 1990s a member of parliament could still call the Nordlanders and the people of Finnmark lazy, unenterprising, and reluctant to venture into business, preferring to rely on social security and state transfers; they were almost like children" (1994:209). The cultural expressiveness, both regional and local, that was manifested during the royal visit is perhaps most easily understandable as part of a firmly structured tradition which thematizes north-south relations in various ways on the basis of a North Norwegian understanding of reality.

The region is defined as a periphery, and as a periphery it shows a kind of fighting spirit for its own cause, an aspiration to be accepted on its own terms. A struggle is being fought about honour, dignity, and morality, although no one has blown the whistle for the contest to begin. The struggle is about the power of definition, about the meaning that cultural identity should have.

Various weapons are used. In the course of the last forty years no less than three books about the region and for the region have been published with the title "And I Know of a Land Far Away to the North". All three contain texts about the region. The most recent appeared in 1999, with texts and beautiful pictures of North Norway.[3] One of the biggest banks in the region, Nordlandsbanken, also uses the same song as background music in its television commercials.

The last verse in Blix's hymn to North Norway runs:

And so often I *long* on this country to gaze,
And its pull is so strong when I'm far, far away.
When the spring wakes again then I yearn with such pain,
That to weep, just to weep's all I can:
I remember so well yonder land!

Longing is perhaps the magic word. Not to see the land, but to avoid having to defend it all the time. Nevertheless, in longing

there is still the risk of worshipping a category that has a repressive effect on those who find themselves within the geographical framework the category is supposed to cover, which in cultural terms has its identity outside the community. The category may also have the effect of excluding young people who would rather take the building blocks for their future identity from a more global and virtual context.

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Notes

1 The idea for a North Norwegian cultural history was formulated in the action programme "New Deal 1988–91" from the Regional Committee for North Norway and Namdalen. This committee is a state-financed regionalization body.
2 I should admit that I belong to this group and that I have several times found it comfortable to lean on Herr Petter's poetry; his texts can work well as both poetic and historical alibis.
3 The first book was published in 1959 by Friends of the Home for North Norwegian Students and Pupils in Oslo, the second from 1991 contained texts by twenty writers associated with the province, while the last is a collection of texts and pictures by the humorist Arthur Arntzen, the literary scholar Finn Stenstad, and the photographer Ola Røe.

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Food, Hunting, and Taboo

Cultural Heritage in Practice

By Niels Kayser Nielsen

When we drive across Jutland at the weekend to get to and from our summer cottage on the west coast, on the stretches through the plantations of central Jutland we often pass a row of cars parked on the verge or up a forest road; we may also glimpse a group of men in camouflage clothes with dogs and guns. It is a turnout of hunters. This is the weekend, time for battle. Some deer are going to bite the dust; or a fox; or a few hares and a couple of pheasants – whatever the season has to offer.

You breathe in the morning air or enjoy the sunset, depending on the time of day. And you remember. The ticklish feeling in the stomach in your childhood, when, armed with an air rifle and a pocketful of pellets, hands damp with excitement, you crouched behind fences to shoot sparrows; or the foxhunts with dachshunds in your childhood, and later in adult age the fresh smell of raw elk flesh at Nämpnäs in Österbotten in Finland, on those blood-red autumn days, when the meat from the hunt was divided up at the local cooperative butcher's. Always that pleasingly acrid smell of freshness, blood, and game – and nature.

And then there is the myth in our family about my maternal great-grandfather, the agricultural labourer and crofter with his eighteen children (with two successive wives, mercifully), who had to make a living at times by poaching on eastern Fyn, and who was taken by surprise one night in Rønninge Bog, so that he had to jump in the water and stay there with only his head above the surface until the danger had passed. He survived. So did his children, but the oldest ones had to be put in a children's home when their mother died. Among them were my grandmother, who told me the story.

But how natural is hunting, when all is said and done? That is the question to be considered here, together with another question: How come we still go hunting when it is no longer a necessity of life? Is it done out of love of nature? If that were the case, then we might content ourselves with a brisk walk. Is it out of concern for the wild animals, an element in game preservation? Surely nature can take care of that herself. Is it due to ancient instincts and aggression? No, that kind of argument does not sound credible. Is it not a reflection of a desire to get out into "God's free nature"? In that case, there would be no need to shoot anything. In short: these answers are insufficient. We must look elsewhere.

My thesis here is that hunting involves cultural heritage in practice. In this case one inherits not by looking and observing, but by doing. At the same time, hunting also says something about inheriting: what we inherit is not authentic, but always reshaped. Inheritance does not consist of reproduction but also of reworking. In this sense, hunting is an expression of the combination of traditionalization and detraditionalization. Or in more concrete terms: hunting condenses both a tradition-filled residue of a self-sufficient economy and an ultra-modern perception of nature. Hunting combines cultural elements with very different temporal rhythms. Hunting is simultaneously an expression of our ambivalent attitude to nature and culture, and to history and habit, so that hunting, despite its seeming lack of ambiguity, is filled to bursting point with paradoxes.

These opinions are indebted to Simon Schama in his major work *Landscape and Memory*, where he says that the way we view and interact with nature conceals

myths, memories, and obsession, going back to time immemorial; in other words, despite our mechanical relationship with nature, we also carry on a heritage that rests on a symbiotic relationship with nature. Schama points out that the duality of culture and nature is often understood too exclusively, as two complete opposites. In his view it is wrong, since for all our culturality a healthy portion of nearness to nature lives on, despite all manner of notions about nature as being one (Schama 1995: 14).

Besides the aim of illuminating hunting in itself and the relationship between hunting and food, I intend to examine the culturally transmitted aspect of hunting: that culture is not just one thing, that culture is ambivalent, a process rife with internal contradictions. Just as phenomena like nation, gender, class, ethnicity, and identity are not unambiguous entities but always in conflict and change, the same applies to the concept of culture and its transmission. Culture – and cultural heritage – does not exist as a fixed and defined entity with a beginning and an end. Culture and the cultural heritage keep moving, containing conflicting elements which help to keep the pot boiling, to keep culture alive. If it were not for this internal tension, culture would lose all its ambiguity and thus stiffen and die. There would be nothing to inherit.

So when we still go hunting, even though it is not necessary, it is due not least to the fact that hunting, like culture, is a ritual replay of a number of central themes in our lives, especially including our problematic relationship to nature, which we constantly seem to need to rework symbolically and ritually. But what is a ritual, and how can one speak of hunting as a ritual?

Hunting and Ritual

The point here is that hunting, like any other ritual, contains ambivalences, paradoxes, and conflicting tendencies. These ambivalences are not primarily of a social kind or, if you like, have nothing to do with economic cycles. The hunting ritual is not connected with tensions in social history. As Catherine Bell (1992:106) has said, people do not come to a ritual to have their social problems solved; people come to a ritual to thematize problems of a *longue durée* character, more profound, less visible problems at the bottom of our mental preparedness, which go back hundreds of years, sometimes back to classical antiquity and the beginnings of Western culture.

At the same time, it is important to remember that ritual contains a bodily dimension (Kayser Nielsen 1997a:123ff.). Ritual always includes motion; it is about display, manifestation, and representation. Ritual cannot be reduced to a state of consciousness; it is rather a state of action. Ritual is not something one thinks, but something one does. Rituals are not messages but situations.

This means that rituals cannot be rationalized after the event. The ritual is not an expression of a plan that precedes the action. The ritual should not be understood as coming from an idea about what one wishes to express and then expresses. This outlook could lead to the notion that ritual is a concerted phenomenon with no contradictions. Yet rituals are not like this at all. They are situation-bound thematizations of tensions and conflicts. Rituals assemble, concentrate, and configure themes of life which appear disconnected and full of tension, but in such a way that this tension is thematized in a particular traditional form, which is, so

to speak, inherited by negotiation. The tension is at once present and in the process of being eliminated. In other words, the form of the ritual is important in that it is the actual formal course of the ritual that gives the sense of eliminating the tensions inherent in the content. One admits and thematizes the inherent tensions and ambivalences, one clothes them in a form which makes it possible to relate to them in the shape of a "ritual mastery" (Bell 1992:107ff.).

This ritual mastery has the character of an exchange between the body and the surroundings. As a rule, rituals are always enacted as a performative practice in a spatial context (Kayser Nielsen 1997a:125). Via actions in a space, an arena is created, which in turn has a reciprocal effect on the body that moves through the space. In this connection Catherine Bell (1992:99) speaks of the circularity between the body and the surroundings.

This is the core of hunting. It is a formalized series of actions in a space where the actual hunting arena has a physical reaction on the people involved. They take part in the hunting, they help to shape it by virtue of the actions that they perform in the situation, but at the same time they are themselves coloured by the hunt and its essence. No one comes away from a hunt unmoved or innocent. One has, in a literal sense as well, dirt on one's fingers, soil under one's nails, and perhaps even blood on one's hands.

But what are the profound ambivalences that are ritually thematized in the hunting situation? At bottom it is the distinctively European dual view of nature. To begin with, however, when dealing with hunting it seems to be relevant to shed light on our view of meat and food. This view is not acquired in pure, unmediated form, but through a cultural lens which has a classifying effect via preferences and taboos. Let us therefore begin by looking at this and then go on to examine which view of nature serves as the foundation for our taboos. I do so on the basis of the conviction that hunting ultimately consists of a culturally inherited thematization of our view of nature which is expressed, for instance, in the values we attach to meat and food.

Food and Taboo from a Cultural Point of View

The fact that meat is so highly desired in the European culture group, and perhaps especially in Northern Europe, need not be due to biological necessity. This is what a biologistic approach would claim: that we eat what is nutritionally good for us. But perhaps it is because meat has a distinctive status and meaning. Just think of the gondoliers of Venice, who are often seen with a matchstick in their mouths. This symbolizes that they have just eaten, that they can afford to eat meat and therefore have little shreds of meat stuck between their teeth. Meat is not just of high nutritional value, but also of high cultural value. When the Britons started eating meat on a grand scale again after the austere post-war years, it need not have been because of a bottled-up physical need for proteins. The explanation may just as well be the desire for social and cultural distinction: meat was an excellent means to show that new and better times had arrived, and that they could afford to partake of this prosperity.

This social challenge to the biological thesis that we eat meat because it is nutritionally good for us is one side of the matter. The other side concerns the ques-

tion of food considered from the semantic point of view. For it turns out that we do not use meat arbitrarily. As in other cultural contexts, we operate with order and classification; this is what culture consists of. In other words, meat eating is regulated.

This regulation takes place through the tabooing of certain foodstuffs. Although meat seems to be exceptionally suitable as food, it is simultaneously hedged with suspicions, prohibitions, and taboos. So much meat is theoretically available to us, but we would never dream of eating it. There is probably far more "forbidden" than "legal" meat. We reject the majority of the potential meat that is at our disposal (Simoons 1994:297). Meat is surrounded by more prohibitions than plants. Or to put it another way: it is only when food has passed the cultural hurdle that consists of prohibition and taboo that one can begin to adopt a stance on selection criteria such as taste, price, nutritional value, and so on (Simoons 1994:298).

This tabooing is a controversial phenomenon. People have widely varying views of what types of food should be tabooed. More exactly, the grounds for the taboos are rather different. They vary from ecological common sense to psychological explanations to reasons that have more to do with philosophy and the history of religion.

One scholar who has claimed that ecological considerations lie behind the tabooing of certain types of food is Marvin Harris. He maintains that when the Hindus abstain from beef as food, it is because people in India are well aware that it is ecologically unsound to eat plant-eating cows when one can just as well go directly to the source and cook and eat the plants, besides which it would be unwise to eat an animal that covers several central needs. An ox can draw the plough in small spaces that cannot be cultivated by tractors, and it can take narrower turns, which is an advantage in small plots. A 35-horsepower tractor may be able to plough the soil ten times faster than a pair of oxen, but it costs twenty times as much to buy. Oxen provide fertilizer which can be used as fuel, and the sacred cow can supply milk (Harris 1986:57f.). From such a pragmatic ecological point of view it is wiser to protect cattle than eat them. The latter would be equivalent to farmers in the past using all their grain to make bread, leaving none for seed. Here Harris quotes Gandhi's statement that the Indian cow was worshipped not only because "she gave milk, but because she made agriculture possible" (Harris 1980: 253).

Harris has a similar explanation for the taboo on pork as meat in the Middle East. Here too he thinks in rational, materialistic terms: the shortage of trees and the dry climate in that part of the world do not favour pig keeping, since pigs crave shade, water, and mud, as well as a varied diet. Cattle do not have such sophisticated demands. So the Jewish and Muslim taboo on pigs as food may be regarded as a kind of cultural rationalization after the event: the animal was difficult to manage anyway.

Harris's explanation may seem simple and plausible, and we know of some equivalents from Danish cultural history. For instance, the local historian H. K. Kristensen has looked closely at pig keeping in western Jutland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here too it was difficult to breed pigs because of the shortage of forest. The pigs of western Jutland therefore got their "pannage" (pasturage in woodland, feeding on acorns and beech-mast) in the

more forested eastern parts of Jutland. These mast-fed pigs tasted better than pigs kept in sties, people claimed. But when the pannage in southern and eastern Jutland ran short in the course of the eighteenth century, tastes changed, and now pigs kept in sties and fed on oats, vetch, and peas became the best. Some people even maintained that pork from mast-fed pigs was dangerous for nursing mothers, and that the milk could harm the suckling infant (Kristensen 1978:30). This is not a case of a true taboo, but we cannot ignore the degree of rationalization after the fact and adaptation to given circumstances.

This brings us close to our first point: that it can be difficult to draw the line between a practical and "natural" explanation on the one hand and a symbolic and cultural explanation on the other. For where does one begin: is it the case that the pragmatic strategy constitutes the foundation and is then enclosed in symbolic rituals? Or is it the desire to create meaning and order with the aid of symbolic strategies that is the starting point, and these are later given a pragmatic justification? With these questions in mind, we may now approach the other approach to the explanation of taboo, which stresses the symbolic effect of establishing order and meaning.

This type of explanation is represented particularly by Mary Douglas. In her view, when pigs were tabooed, it was because they were unclean in classificatory terms. Pigs could not be made to fit the taxonomy. She refers to the Old Testament laws about the kind of meat that was considered edible. It was only meat from animals which chew the cud and have cloven hooves, that is, primarily cattle, goats, and sheep. Pigs, which are not ruminants, meet only one of these criteria and are therefore in a classificatory no man's land. They are outside law and order and thus unclean and inedible (Douglas 1966).

Partly related to this kind of explanation is the kinship taboo, which has been explored by the Swedish ethnologist Karl-Olov Arnstberg. He asks the question: how come we find cat food disgusting and believe that we would be defiled if we ate it (Arnstberg 1994:15ff.)? The answer is that the cat is too close to us so we cannot eat its food. Likewise, we cannot eat cat flesh because the cat is almost a friend of the family, and how could we eat our friends? This is, according to him, also the explanation for the taboo on eating horse and dog. And as for the taboo on pork, he shares Douglas's view, but he also believes that the prohibition on pork is due to the fact that pigs, like humans, are omnivores. In other words, food taboos like these are associated with cultural "laws" which say that the things which are closest to each other also need the greatest possible symbolic difference: it is at the boundary that differences are most visible. Ultimately, this is once again a matter of classification, order, and meaning.

Arnstberg's approach is taken to its extreme by Marshall Sahlins (1978:175), who claims that what is edible to humans is determined by an inverse relationship: what is closest to us is also most inedible. With gentle irony Sahlins talks about our "sacred dog", which we respect and honour and talk to, as if it were one of the family, and about its self-assured conviction that it is protected when it comes to being eaten. According to him, biting into dog meat would be akin to incest. An outsider would say that we have tabooed dogs as food. In this connec-

tion Sahlins also makes the interesting observation that the animals we give names to are, as a rule, the ones we do not eat, whereas inedible animals do not deserve names (Sahlins 1978:174, note 6).

Frederick J. Simoons's view is based on another type of explanation. He explains the antipathy of Jews and Muslims to pork as going back to the time when they were nomads and wished to make a clear distinction between themselves and the settled farmers who found it easier to keep pigs, while the latter could create an independent self-image and build a cohesive culture by rejecting the camel meat that the nomads ate. Conversely, Islam is an example of the use of a special kind of meat, in this case camel, as a cultural and identity-creating symbol. Here the taboo has its positive antipole (Simoons 1994:199).

One significant factor remains to be explained, however: that it is also taboo to eat meat that is far from our housekeeping and cuisine. Fox, bear, and wolf are not considered edible, even though these animals could be optimal foodstuff as biological nutrition. They are wild animals with low-fat, protein-rich meat. Yet here we must admit that the biological explanatory model has its limits; it must ultimately yield to culturalistic elements. Of course we cannot wholly ignore the fact that people generally eat what is good for them, but this is not a universal and invariable rule. Perhaps in the final analysis it is also more important to study the relationship between food and taboo as a research object than as a research concept, that is to say, that it is more important to look at how the concept is used by people in real life than to aim for scientific precision (Arnstberg 1994:17). When all is said and done, scientific precision is less decisive than the question of what meaning taboos are used to express.

We must thus look elsewhere to find explanations, and here it is natural to return to hunting and the folk view of the relationship between nature and culture. Perhaps we can find in the very essence of hunting an explanation for why we – as part of our cultural heritage – find certain wild animals inedible and therefore taboo them. The thesis is that we are dealing with a distinctive European outlook on nature, which in hunting we translate into cultural heritage, not just as an idea but also in action.

The Sentimentalization of Nature

In the course of the eighteenth century there were a number of crucial changes in our Western European view of nature. The sentimental outlook, which emerged as the twin to the worship of utility from the middle and especially the end of that century, was the foundation for a romanticizing view of nature, expressed, for instance, in the emotional infatuation with the garden as a concentrated form of nature. Agrarian was contrasted here with Arcadian. This meant a contrast between those who cultivated the soil and those who cultivated nature (Larsen 1997:106ff.); those who cultivated – in the original sense – the soil were now perceived as less cultural than those who savoured nature.

This nature worship resulted in the creation of gardens and parks which were supposed to look natural. In other words, they were not so much supposed to be nature as to be *like* nature. As the pioneering English gardener J. C. Loudon pointed out in 1830, interest in gardens is strongest in countries where the cultivation of the soil is at its most advanced, whereas gardens

are inappropriate in countries where the soil is not cultivated to the same extent (Thomas 1984:262). Paradoxically, this emotional approach to nature as constructed nature requires a distanced relationship to nature. The "English garden" had to grow up naturally in a country where enclosures with hedges and devotion to agriculture had placed the landscape in new frames.

In contrast, this sentimental view of nature appears to have caught on much later in the desolate forested regions of Scandinavia. Here, right up until the twentieth century, it was a far more certain sign of civilization, especially among farmers, to clear the trees and till the soil around the houses and the village, making sure that the "dangerous" forest did not gain the upper hand. Here nature was something to be feared. As late as the 1930s, a Finnish crofter in Karelia said that there had to be a large open area around the farm, so that one was not swallowed up by the forest (Virtanen 1998:42f.).

But the "wild" and sentimental view of nature also appeared in other countries than Britain, when the "kingdom of necessity" was receding and there was a surplus in relation to the immediate utility value of the soil. The history of landscape painting tells us about this; the art historian Jørn Guldberg (1997) has shown that painters tried to reduce nature's traces of cultural landscape after 1850, when nature was staged in such a way that it invited admiration and astonishment. This is often associated with cultural scepticism and critique of civilization.

Simon Schama's study of the cultural history of the landscape, which starts from his Jewish ancestors' mythically and mystically coloured bison forest of Białowieża in the border zone between Poland, Lithuania, and White Russia, is in many ways to be regarded as a historical illustration of the thesis of an increasing sentimentalization of nature in the years around 1800. Schama's point is that, while nature – also as landscape – is deep inside us, landscape is culture rather than nature (Schama 1995:61), and he illustrates this thesis by citing the Baltic German scientist Julius von Brincken's uncertainty when he arrived at Białowieża in 1820. What was he to do with the forest? Should he adopt a utilitarian outlook or a historical and poetic one? And what was he to do with the bison? Should he count them and chart their prevalence? Should he examine the young bull that was brought to him, and undertake a meticulous anatomical dissection? Or should he savour the bison meat in the local inn? He was faced with a dilemma: whether to look at the bison and the forest primarily through his scientist's eyes or as the emotionally and respectfully "poetic" man that he also was (Schama 1995:48ff.). Schama is in no doubt about the outcome, but he also knows how the history proceeded: von Brincken became poetic and sentimental and increasingly perceived Białowieża as a modern-day Arcadia; he saw it as one large, wild garden that was a fitting object for the longing for nature that typified the *Bildungsbürgertum* with their scepticism of science.

In Denmark this dual outlook on nature also had its consequences. One expression was in our view of the garden. Not only among the nobility and the bourgeoisie, but also among the rural populace as well, there was a rapidly spreading idea of an emotional relationship to nature. When the Grundtvigian cooperative farmers, thanks to hard work and "enterprise" in the late nineteenth century had achieved sufficient prosperity,

they now began to lay out gardens not just for utility but also for decoration, as a place to observe the beauty and differentness of nature. The freehold farmer Niels Kristensen of Oksbøl wrote with a certain degree of pride in a letter to his brother Terkel on 6 May 1898:

> I have now put our garden in order, fenced it all around, planted 500 spruce (white), laid a lawn with the aid of green turf, etc. I shall now start the worst of the spring work, namely, moving the byre and demolishing the old one, but the days are getting longer now (Sørensen 1984:137).

New times have come to Oksbøl. The thematization of this spiritual surplus in the form of emotional nature worship is also clearly expressed in Jens Skytte's novel *Hjordkilds Have* ("Hjordkild's Garden") from 1907, where we read that

> The very first autumn and winter, while the other men of Ugum, following ancient custom, were busy taking things easy, Kresten and Eskild set about trenching Kileageren to turn this piece of land into a garden (Skytte 1907:92).

A "wild" and organic nature is constructed, as an antipole to arable fields. This view of nature also influenced the outlook on hunting as a whole and poaching in particular (the same Jens Skytte and his brother were keen hunters). The desire to cultivate was accompanied by a longing for wildness: both wild landscape and wild and uncontrolled human nature (Thomas 1984:242ff.). The wild mountains and forests where nature was still intact were consequently believed to be the home and haunt of savage, primordial people, who were no longer scorned for their "natural" wildness. They were now also venerated (Thomas 1984:260).

This dilemma is condensed in the hunt. The poacher, who is intimately associated with the sentimentalization of nature, now became a distinctive symbolic representation of our view of nature. He is a blend of villain and hero. Poor and dangerous, but also self-willed and self-sufficient. Gone now are the massive hunts with hounds of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public events at which royalty and nobility manifested themselves – and were easily visible in the open landscape (Kjærgaard 1992:211). Hunting was increasingly individualized, and the most individual of all hunters was the lone poacher, hunting in stealth. He could now be made an object of folk idolization with its duality of fascination and fear.

The Folkloristic Other: Poacher, Fox, and Raw Meat

This folkloristic side of hunting has been well studied by the Swedish ethnologist Ella Johansson in her rich analysis of different types and typologies of hunting. Her study is based on fieldwork and conversations with elderly people in western Hälsingland in Sweden, one of the most southerly wildernesses in the country.

She too points out how the Swedish peasant in the course of the nineteenth century, especially the first half, became increasingly oriented to tillage; the yield of the fields was what counted. Peasants identified with the arable landscape and distanced themselves from the forest. The trading item of former days – shooting game to sell on the market at high prices – lost in value in relation to crops (Johansson 1997:74). This gave hunting opportunities to other groups of the population who had more use for the forest and its game than the farmers had. In addition, they were forced

out to the periphery of human settlement and hence closer to the forests and the bogs, living in small houses where they gained a livelihood from being day labourers, forestry workers, and servants – and also from the game in the forests.

This symbiotic relationship to the forest, however, was not without consequences. As Gísli Pálsson (1996:74) has put it: "Hunting activities are frequently regarded as love affairs where hunters and their prey seduce one another; hunters must enter into relationships with game animals in order to have any success and *vice versa*." It is at least certain that the folk view of hunting contains the idea that hunting could run in some people's blood for generations, so that the instincts of the game have their counterpart in the hunting instinct.

This idea is found in numerous versions all over the world and seems to go so far back in time that one may rightly speak of a *longue durée* figure. Frederick J. Simoons, basing himself on the theories about the omnivore's dilemma formulated by the psychologist Paul Rozin – "is it dangerous or healthy?" – argues that this notion is the origin of the idea that "you are what you eat" (Simoons 1994:305). Certain groups in East Africa eat the heart or the blood of lions and leopards to acquire the strength of the animal. Some Indian tribes ate dog meat to gain the courage of the dog, and so on. But the reverse also applies: that people wanted at all costs to avoid acquiring the characteristics of certain animals and therefore tabooed them as food. This view of the food potential of different animals also seems to occur in European hunting folklore.

A particularly great risk of being infected by animals in this way is believed to have made itself felt among poachers, for whom working with the soil was torment, whereas "running with the gun" felt like a liberation, which outsiders must no doubt have regarded as a kind of self-destructiveness. For the same reason, poachers were also regarded as bad husbands and fathers, since their way of life was not compatible with a sense of social responsibility and normal modes of self-discipline. A passion for hunting was better suited to young bachelors and eccentrics.

This symbiotic and passionate relationship to the forest, where trees and game enter one's blood and threaten to "devour one",[1] contains yet another relationship to the forest as regards ownership. Strictly speaking, the concept of ownership cannot be used in this context. Unlike the farmers' view of their cultivated private property and their right to the part of the forest that they might own, the hunter and the poacher rather had a reciprocal relationship to the forest and to game. "Owning" the forest is thus one thing, but it is quite another thing when the folklore speaks about "collecting" things from the forest. Rather than utilizing and exploiting the forest, this meant benefiting from it by accepting what it had to offer, whether mushrooms, berries, or game. It is not like an ownership relation with an objective mastery of the forest, but rather treating it as a helpful partner. It is a relationship on an equal footing, and it is always essential to stay on good terms with the forest and its potential. Hunting is thus not a matter of killing, but of sharing in the forest, which means moving in the forest. There is a built-in risk, however, that the darkness and wildness of the forest may cause a person to get lost. The intrinsic character of the forest invites one to lose

one's way, especially if one encounters the forest in a particular mood (Pahuus 1994).[2]

A typology akin to that undertaken by Ella Johansson can be found in the work of Bertrand Hell, who has studied perceptions of hunting rights in Southern Europe and Central Europe. He too thematizes the simultaneously reverent and condemnatory notion that hunting can enter one's blood. This idea is likewise connected to the fear that the hunter will become wild because of his close contact with the "black blood" of the quarry (Hell 1996:208). This fear is not as pronounced in Central Europe, where hunting has historically been more regulated and organized than in Southern Europe, where people, as in Scandinavia, hunt because they feel they have a perfect right to do so. Here too it is more a matter of "collecting" the fruits of the forest and the wilderness, but as in the Nordic outlands, here too the free and uncivilized right to hunt is accompanied by a corresponding respect and fear about being struck by "hunting fever". This risk is not so great for those who hunt in groups and hunting parties, as it is for the sole hunter or poacher, who lives and moves alone in the forest. The smaller the collective, the greater the freedom – and the danger of becoming one with or at least identified with the wild animals of the forest (Hell 1996: 210).

That this danger of "hunting fever" exists at all is due to the link with yet another *longue durée* idea, namely, that the hunted animals have different degrees of warm-bloodedness. Red deer, roe deer, and wild boar are the "warmest" and at the same time the animals that gave off the strongest smell. Especially the offal from such animals can provoke fever and wildness, whereas the animals' extremities, such as the haunch or the hindquarter, which are further removed from the animal's "core", are not feared to the same extent. Such milder and moderately warm meat can therefore be considered acceptable food, which can even be given a gastronomic place of honour.

The classifications of game do not end here, for the warm-blooded animals can be further classified. The folk taxonomy divides game into "red meat", for example, from deer, "black meat" from wolf and wild boar, and "stinking meat", for example, from fox, marten, and weasel. The last type of meat is the worst. The idea that it stinks may have some factual basis in the smells secreted by the animals, but it is just as much a symbolic phenomenon. Their meat is regarded as too "black", since their weakly developed digestive system leaves them unable to digest the blood of the other animals they eat. Wild blood thus accumulates in them.

In this connection it is not without interest to note that the movement for the prevention of cruelty of animals which won victories in England in the nineteenth century, resulting in the prohibition of cock fighting and bull baiting, did nothing to protect the fox (Kayser Nielsen 1992: 302ff.). It continued to be hunted without mercy, as it could be compared with a sly thief coming in the night, so the battle against it also had a moral vein. The fox had to be eliminated (Thomas 1984:163). Squirrel meat, on the other hand, is all right, for the squirrel, although it is wild and lives in the forest, is not a beast of prey. Squirrel meat was eaten in certain parts of Finland (Talve 1997:112), just as bear has been eaten in Russia and the Caucasus.

Meat from wild animals is eaten by solitary, wild, passionate hunters who live

close to nature. In their "fever" they are attracted by the dark, warm, heavy meat of game animals. They consume meat which agrees with their nature. But this kind of meat does not attract people who do not hunt, that is, the peaceful village farmers, who prefer lighter, brighter meat, especially from castrated domesticated animals (Hell 1996:214). Correspondingly, it is considered both dangerous and immoral to serve "warm" and bloody meat to women, since they are unable to resist the inner force it contains (Hell 1996:210). If not before, now it becomes evident that the fear of "black, warm meat" and its consumption among the hunters and poachers of the margins is in reality a matter of the farming community's internal efforts at civilizing and mental control. As we have seen so often, nature here is coloured by culture.

The Hunt, the Meat, and the Fear of Nature

Hunting is thus ultimately a ritual re-enactment of the fear of uncontrolled natural forces inside and outside people, which have the power to knock us over. In the well-organized, collective, and civilized hunting teams of village farmers or in the aristocrats' elegant and distinguished hunting parties, it is possible to keep a cool head for the brief duration of the hunt, but it is different for those who mix with the wild animals of the forest every day. A poacher cannot keep a cool head, but he has a sense of the dangerous and untamed: fox, bear, wolf; in other words, he is after wild animals that eat other wild animals, whereas farmers hunt hare, pheasant, and so on. For that reason the poacher is so fascinating in his duality of wild strength and damnation. He incarnates the wild nature that we both fear and admire. As Simon Schama (1995: 14) writes, the myths about nature and its whims continue to live, exerting an influence that we do not normally notice. They have never wholly disappeared from our culture. We may speak of cultural heritage and tradition.

It is here we finally come close to pinning down the relationship between meat, taboo, and cultural heritage. The cultural history of hunting in Western Europe over the last few hundred years tells us that the meat we eat must be culturally edible, and to be edible it must match our civilized, that is to say, distanced relationship to nature: not too much and not too little nature, but still nature and hence something other than ourselves. This nature-meat must be "natural", that is, harmonized: it may not include our pets, which are not nature; nor should it be too wild, too pure nature, for then we ourselves become savages – one would become like the poacher, a slave to hunting, instead of being the master of the hunt. In the form of a ritual re-enactment, hunting thus thematizes a culturally inherited duality as regards nature: giving oneself up to the whims of nature, but simultaneously having control over oneself and the situation. This inherited duality is part of our shared memory; a memory that is not explicitly thematized as in history books and monuments, but as traces and actions that we follow without thinking very closely about it.

Heritage by Doing

Hunting is thus an example illustrating that cultural heritage is something that happens and takes place. Hunting makes it obvious

that cultural heritage is an activity. This means that hunting and meat also carry memories – and hence continuity. We know this well: for instance, from Proust's madeleine cake, the smell of which led him to search for lost times. This dimension of elements of tradition, that they are not just constructions but also bearers of memory, is discussed by Paul Connerton in his learned study *How Societies Remember*. The point of the book is that societies remember, not only by inscribing – in the concrete sense of writing down – but also through the body, for example, in tastes and gestures. His argument is that memory is not just an individual but also a collective phenomenon which takes place via what he calls "incorporating practice", that is, corporeality (Connerton 1996:72ff.).

This bodily memory is part of a larger bodily knowledge and cognition by doing, which is also expressed in other areas. It can happen, for example, in the form of learning a special national identity which is not characterized by manifest symbols and official community, instead being experience-based by being associated with a special practice in nature and hence, basically, open and accessible to everyone (Kayser Nielsen 1997b). In concrete terms it takes place by learning a landscape and making it one's own by moving in it. In this way a landscape becomes not just a space or a place, but ultimately a home (Kayser Nielsen 1999). Here, the body does not tend to seek a state of rest; rather it is the body's capacity for ex-istence, i.e. transgression of mere standing, state and stance, which, in moving, enables the body to display potentiality and openness towards its surroundings. This ex-static and open body is symbiotic and relational. It does not occupy space, but rather inhabits space, turning it into place – and home. This implies an identity elaborated through actions, involvement and experiences much more than being the outer expression of changeless essence and rigid immutability.

This distinction between the state of being and belonging – as part of a cultural heritage – is elaborated in Ruben Oliven's book *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaúcho Identity in Brazil* (1996), in a portrait of the cultural heritage of the gaúcho culture in Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil. Here it is striking that this cultural heritage is sustained by movement and perception such as music festivals, maté drinking, horse riding, dancing etc. Such activities are not mirrors of an identity reflecting the region of Rio Grande do Sul as home; rather they are activities creating a relational context and community of meaning to be part of, by means of common bodily actions and experiences, where you are both an active or originating force and a reactive and responding force – as in Nordic hunting with its cultural heritage of common actions and common meaning.

Putting Hunting in Cultural Historical Perspective

Hunting, as part of our Nordic cultural heritage, is about why and how we use both taboo and ritual to organize our cultural relationship to nature in a broad sense. In hunting we relate to our heritage which says that food and meat are not just nutrition but also a cultural phenomenon hedged with symbolic codes and imperceptibly accepted and implicit meanings, the origin of which seems to go very far back. In this case tabooing plays an important role as part of a culturally organized view of meat

and nature.

At the same time, the features in the cultural history of hunting outlined above show that the kind of latent semantic units that tacitly give meaning to our food are not uncontested by social history. We do not simply inherit from the society around us; the cultural heritage is in fact constantly challenged and disputed. Our view of nature is heavily influenced by the way we use arable land and forest for purposes of production. This also applies to the part of our cultural heritage that is expressed as practice, in other words, heritage by doing. Once again we find confirmation that cultural analysis without social history is pointless, blind to change and historically conditioned conflicts. For hunting too, cultural analysis should mean analysing everyday phenomena in order to expose deeper patterns of culture which tell us something about fundamental societal values and conflicts.

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Notes

1 One of the most famous of the Finnish tangos (*Uralin pihlaja*) is about the fear of being swallowed by the forest. The beloved one has been transformed into a rowan tree and is therefore unattainable. The fact that the scene has to be set in the distant Urals underlines how painfully present the risk is in the folk conceptual world.

2 This state has been described with great insight in a literary form by another Nordic writer, Sari Malkamäki from Finland, who writes about her leading character Maisa that she loved her trees (outside her home) "without knowing their names and without knowing how many there were of them". When she closed her eyes she could feel the sap pulsating under the bark. One fine day the local residents' association decides that the trees should be felled because they block out too much light in the gardens. Maisa protests in vain and has to live with a new view from her kitchen window. "You could see so far now that it made your eyes sore" (Malkamäki 1998).

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Clean and Decent
The Ideology of Hygiene and the Practice of Cleanliness in Inter-War Norway

By Camilla Maartmann

The outward appearance of the body combines the three facts that people have, are, and create a body. *Having* a body refers to a person's mastery of the body. *Being* a body means that our identity is indissolubly associated with our embodiment, and *creating* a body is our attempt to represent our embodied identity. At the end of the nineteenth century, when mankind acquired a new knowledge of the connection between bacteria, infection, and disease, the norms for the shaping and presentation of the external body were changed in several respects.

This article[1] examines the changes that took place in Norway in the inter-war years, when it became more common for people to have running water and sanitary facilities installed in their homes, and the work of spreading information about hygiene flourished. By pointing the spotlight at some historical aspects of body and cleanliness, it is possible to illuminate how much and in what way the new hygienic ideologies changed people's relationship to cleanliness and the outer appearance of the body. These matters will be examined against the background of questionnaire material collected by the Norwegian ethnological survey, *Norsk etnologisk gransking* (NEG) in 1994. The questionnaire on "Personal Hygiene in Former Times" deals with various aspects of washing and body care, material circumstances and sanitary facilities, and themes such as menstruation, toilet conditions, vermin, and parasites. The material consists of 113 replies from all over Norway. The informants were mostly born between 1915 and 1930, and their responses describe their childhood, adolescence, and the time up to the establishment phase. As many as 83 per cent of them grew up in rural Norway, the remaining 17 per cent in towns and cities. The questionnaire deals with topics which are personal and delicate, so the responses have been de-identified by NEG. In this article the responses should be viewed against the background of the hygienic conditions among the Norwegian peasantry in the nineteenth century, as described by the Norwegian folklife scholar Eilert Sundt in his 1869 study of cleanliness in Norway, *Om Renlighedsstellet i Norge.*

Hygienic Visions between the Wars

The inter-war years are reckoned as a period when the attention devoted to cleanliness, health, infection, and bacteria was at its most intense. Official health policy had long been concerned with the significance of cleanliness for health and well-being. The link between disease, infection, and uncleanliness had been discussed for a long time in medical contexts in the nineteenth century, but the concrete reason why individuals and groups were afflicted by illness and epidemics was still not known, and several theories succeeded one another. The bacteriological understanding of disease was gradually established. In 1882 Robert Koch discovered the bacillus that caused tuberculosis, and the year after that the cholera bacillus. The 1880s can therefore be called the breakthrough of bacteriology, and that decade marked a new era in the evolution of medicine (Grøn 1933). Hygiene became a new science at the end of the nineteenth century, and the first Norwegian Department of Hygiene was opened in 1893 at the University of Oslo. *Hygiene* is connected with the Greek goddess of health, Hygiea; it denotes the scientific art of health intended to keep people fit and healthy.

From the start of the twentieth century a large-scale hygienic information campaign was mounted, the aim of which was to improve the state of health of the population. Through magazines, books, and lectures the campaign sought to communicate the newly acquired knowledge of bacteria and infection, and through this to argue that hygiene must become a natural part of everyday life. The rhetoric used was simple but effective. Every individual and every society that understood the significance of hygiene was to be regarded as civilized, cultivated, rational, and decent. These ideas were disseminated through various media; an example is the concise declaration in the book *Bad i bygd og by* ("Baths in Village and Town"): "primitive and low people are often not very clean" (Møinichen & Ween 1938:7).

Besides hygienists, health experts, medical scientists, and other academics in scholarly settings, teachers, practising health workers, and humanitarian organizations helped to manage and define the new ideology of hygiene. With science as a medium, a new attitude to clean and unclean was to be internalized in the people. Dirt was the root of all evil. Dirt was bacteria, and bacteria was dirt, and in this way the invisible was visualized in the visible (Schmidt & Kristensen 1986:71). All forms of uncleanliness therefore had to be combated. The nation was supposed to consist of clean, strong, fit, and healthy individuals. Everything that could be associated with the opposite – all that was dirty, weak, and sick – had to be eliminated, or at least regulated. The authorities' demands embraced not only the public arena but also the private sphere. It was no longer a private matter how one chose to care for one's home and one's body. It now became a social concern and a duty to society.

The years from the recognition of the characteristics of bacteria until around 1910 have been designated the bacteriological period (Schiøtz 1939), with reference to the idea that influenced the work and initiatives used in the struggle against diseases. From 1910, on the other hand, social hygiene became the new field of interest. Instead of, as previously, fighting against disease, bacteria, and death, one could now fight for health and cleanliness. The idea was that a clean and healthy body was also a body free of disease. An important instrument in this work was *public hygiene*, which devoted its work and attention to separate groups of the population. Against this background, different branches of hygiene were distinguished, such as *occupational hygiene*, *school hygiene*, and *military hygiene*. The hygiene project, however, was no longer confined to washing and cleanliness by means of soap and water. The campaign gradually included health and hygiene in every sphere. The slogan of *mental hygiene* was "a sound mind in a sound body", which meant that the psyche and morals also had to undergo a purification process. Closely associated with mental hygiene, *sexual hygiene* dealt with how sex affected physical and mental functions. The work to eliminate the sickly and weak elements in the population and bring out the strong and healthy elements included studying the significance of hereditary diseases and abnormalities for public health (Berner 1938). *Heredity hygiene* crossed the boundary between private and public to such an extent that it was perceived as desirable to intervene in reproduction in individual families. With the aid of re-

wards, such as tax relief for families with "controlled, well-cared-for children", also described as "satisfactory products", and with sanctions for families with tendencies to sickliness, it was possible to influence the qualitative development of the population. In this connection, certain deaths, even at young ages, were to be considered good for social hygiene, according to Carl Schiøtz, M.D. (1939:44), professor of hygiene and bacteriology at the University of Oslo, and one of the leading champions of school hygiene and schoolchildren's health.

Cleanliness in general and bathing in particular was ascribed a complex meaning by the hygienic authorities. Taking baths not only prevented disease and promoted the individual's health; it also improved personal well-being. The Norwegian minister of social affairs, Lars Oftedal, declared in 1922 that he was convinced that a man who sets off to work newly bathed and newly shaved does a better job than a person carrying a burden of dirt and sweat and superfluous stubble. Apart from the value of water for hardening, strengthening, healing, and preventing disease, cleanliness ensured that people would simply feel healthier, more inclined to take an optimistic view of life, and consequently more friendly to those around them (Larsen 1972: 7). All in all, the significance of bathing was so important that the performance of the act could not be left to chance and to people's ignorance. A bath was not just a bath. It could be abused and done in an imprudent or incorrect way. In books informing about hygiene we therefore find exact instructions for how to prepare, perform, and finish off a proper bath.

"Laugardagen" – The Weekly Bath

When the Norwegian Health Act was passed in 1860, it decreed that every municipality should set up a board of health. This would make it easier to check the state of health in the local districts. Doctors had long been concerned about the uncleanliness they claimed to have found in much of the country, particularly on the west coast, where leprosy was widespread. In 1854 the head physician D. C. Danielsen at the lepers' hospital in Bergen had expressed his horror at the lack of cleanliness in this area:

> Uncleanliness is just one of the ugliest habits of the coastal population. It penetrates everywhere. It is not just inside the houses that one encounters this uncleanliness, but all tools, clothes, even the body bears its disgusting stamp (Sundt (1869) 1975:VIII).

The lack of cleanliness was attributed to the poor way that women discharged their chores in the home, and this was the reason for the creation of a prize for an essay studying women's housekeeping in the fiords of western Norway, and one result of this competition was the study by the clergyman Eilert Sundt: *Om Renligheds-stellet i Norge*. Sundt has subsequently been regarded as a pioneering researcher in the social sciences. From an ethnological point of view it is particularly his method, as formulated in the following policy statement, that is admired: "I want ... to put myself in the position of the peasantry themselves, to place myself in their living conditions and their point of view, and thus describe and explain" (Sundt 1975:42). Through his studies Eilert Sundt arrived at the conclusion that the state of cleanliness was not so bad. It was in fact surprisingly good. While there was a shortage of soap

and water, he argued passionately for the good will of the common people, and defended the women's alleged lack of cleanliness by pleading that men must also be aware of their responsibility and create the proper conditions for women's housekeeping chores (ibid.:19).

In Eilert Sundt's accounts from the 1860s, Saturday was the cleaning day of the week, when people washed and prepared themselves for Sunday. Sundt shows how the Norwegian word for Saturday, *lørdag*, derives from the noun *laug*, meaning "wash" or "bath". Saturday as bath-day can be traced back to pre-Christian times (ibid.:48). Sundt believed that the name of the day came from the cleansing bath that was part of people's ceremonial preparations for Sunday. Women and men, it is true, did wash away dirt on other weekdays, and they were careful to wash their hands before meals, but it was only at the weekend that they expended any great effort on making themselves clean and tidy. On Saturday they washed the visible parts of the body, such as the face, neck, and hands. Other parts of the body were washed for the major annual festivals such as Christmas, Easter, and Whit.

Even before the breakthrough of bacteriology, doctors claimed that an annual bath was not sufficient cleanliness to keep a body fit and healthy. Yet it was not until the twentieth century that doctors, with the aid of scientifically based hygiene, formulated a programme with clear goals for what was to be considered sufficient cleanliness. A weekly bath for the whole body was regarded as a minimum demand; it should preferably be done more frequently. The face, neck, and hands should be washed daily. Hands should be thoroughly washed before every meal and after going to the toilet, and otherwise kept clean throughout the day. Underwear should be changed and hair should be washed once a week. In contrast to these explicit goals, the NEG material shows that the degree of cleanliness observed by Sundt in the 1860s was largely maintained a good way into the twentieth century. In other words, the practice of the people was for a long time out of step with the ideal set up by the expert panel on hygiene in the inter-war years.

For much of the population, it required a great deal of effort to comply with the new demands issued by the authorities. For many people the harsh reality was that water had to be fetched in buckets from a well or a tap. It could be a long distance from the house to the source of water, especially in summer when wells could dry up. Very few people had sinks with drains. All the water that had to be laboriously brought into the house also had to be carried out again after use. Electric hot water heaters were rare; most water had to be heated on the stove. Few people had a separate bathroom in the home. Other rooms, such as the kitchen, the living room, or a side room usually had the additional function of a bathroom. This differentiation of the house was due to the desire to wash the body in privacy, without having to show oneself naked to other members of the household.

For the vast majority of the NEG informants, Saturday was still bath-day, as it had been in Eilert Sundt's time. Children were bathed in a tub on the kitchen floor, whereas adults preferred to take a wash-basin, cloth, and soap to some room where they would not be disturbed. The cramped housing conditions that were a reality for very many people, however, made it problemat-

ic to wash in privacy. Small homes without bathrooms required specially adapted solutions. One way out could be for the different members of the household to be assigned a regular time when they could be alone in the kitchen, a room that was always nice and warm. Adults could also bath in tubs, but this required more water and work than a less extensive body-wash. The fewer the sanitary facilities, the more work a bath involved, as this woman remembers:

> At home we had a wooden tub that we bathed in. We had to heat the bath water on the stove. We carried the water from the well. In dry summers the well was empty, so we had to carry the water a long way. It wasn't just a matter of carrying the water in. We had to take out the dirty water and throw it on the dunghill.

Not many had a bathtub of any kind, where the adults could have a proper bath without much trouble. Bathtubs were either factory-produced or home-made makeshifts. Very few people had bathrooms, so the tub was placed in the basement or the washhouse. It was not unusual to let two or three weeks pass between each weekend wash. Some people bathed only at Christmas, others at Easter and Whit as well. On these special occasions a large tub of water was heated and all the members of the family washed according to age and rank. To save water, it was usually changed only once, and as the dirt floated up to the surface it was skimmed off. People would wash their hair and change their underwear on a Saturday, even though two or three weeks could pass between each wash. The men sharpened their razors and removed their stubble, and everyone changed into clean Sunday clothes.

The individual acts that made up the bath for Sundays or feast-days together constituted a bodily transformation, which in its regularity and complexity took on the character of a ritual. Newly washed hair and body and clean clothes marked a transition of the body from one state to another, a renewed state of cleanliness:

> Purity refers to a quality of being. Even when this quality appears on a being's surface, it is perceived as the manifestation of something deep inside (Illich 1986:28).

With these words Ivan Illich illustrates the symbolic alterity and transformation involved in the bath as a purification process and a rite of renewal. By being repeated as fixed acts at specific periods of the year, baths marked a qualitatively different time which distinguished itself from everyday trivialities. At the same time the home was also thoroughly washed, so it smelt of the Sabbath when a newly bathed household gathered in a freshly cleaned home on Saturday evening. According to Edmund Leach, marking festivals and solemn occasions is a way to construct and order time:

> The interval between two successive festivals of the same type is a "period", usually a named period, e.g. "week", "year". Without the festivals, such periods would not exist, and all order would go out of social life. We talk of measuring time, as if time were a concrete thing waiting to be measured; but in fact we *create time* by creating intervals in social life. Until we have done this there is no time to be measured (Leach 1971:135).

Both the bath as a regularly repeated act and the individual's perceptual experience of cleanliness, holy days, and special occasions may be seen as markers of time.

When champions of hygiene in the first decades of the twentieth century agitated for weekly baths, the idea of a weekly

wash-day was already ingrained in the people. The solid tradition of Saturday as wash-day and bath-day is illustrated in the way that the gradually increasing numbers of public baths were forced to alter their opening hours to be able to meet the influx on Saturdays (Møinichen & Ween 1938).

The Bacterial Threat and the Fear of Infection

On the other working days of the week, people tried to keep the visible parts of the body clean. They washed their faces and necks in the morning, and it was important to have clean hands at table. The daily wash was done in the kitchen, which was the only room in the house where there was always water. This was where the enamel washbasin was kept, and the bar of soap beside it could be home-made or the well-known "Sunlight" brand. The water was rarely changed between each user, which saved water and avoided unnecessary work. Those who did not have sinks with drains would pour the used water into a slop bucket. The daily wash of hands and face therefore required relatively little effort. People were not dependent on warm water, and the wash basin did not call for a private sphere. The wash could be done where the water was available.

The questionnaire responses paint an unambiguous picture of men and women, young and old, taking pains to have clean hands all through the day. Yet statements differ as to when and in what context hands were washed. Among many of those who grew up in agrarian settings, it was common that people did not wash their hands until they became visibly dirty:

> In my environment clean hands and nails did not matter so much. The kids had to wash their hands before meals if they were very dirty. Otherwise they went without washing until the evening. Kids with filthy hands, dirty fingernails, and snotty faces were a common sight.

Hands had to be clean for meals, when mixing with people outside the family, and of course for Sundays. But it was only when they were visibly dirty that they were washed.

In the responses from urban settings and other classes in society, however, we find a different view of when hands should be washed. Here it was not just unheard of to have dirty hands or fingernails every day; hands had to be washed before meals even if they were not visibly dirty, and they had be washed after every visit to the toilet or after having touched money. This was the direct result of the new hygienic norms and the fear of bacteria and infection. Hands acquired a new status as a latent source of infection when the bacteriological understanding of disease revealed that uncleanliness could be an outright threat to the individual's well-being. Dirt was a visible symptom of bacteria, but the crucial thing now was that bacteria were not visible to the naked eye. This led to new routines for when and how often hands were to be washed, and how bacterial threats could be avoided. It was in urban contexts and the upper strata of society that the hygienic ideals first caught on. This was also where sanitary facilities such as baths, running water, and water closets were first installed, so that people had the opportunity to attain the ideals. It could be a major revelation for a town boy to experience other sanitary conditions and practices when he visited his grandmother in the country:

It is the washstand in the kitchen I remember best. The water bucket stood on a low bench. The ladle hung alongside. Everybody drank from it. On a higher bench was the washbasin, always with used water in it. A bar of home-boiled soap lay beside it. It is this water in the basin that I remember with disgust. It was well used, of an indeterminate colour, and floating on the top was a thin film of dirt and soap residue. This was where I had to wash my hands before I went to the table to eat. But worst of all was the towel. Wet and dirty. The men must have rubbed off the dirt on it. I could see that. It was not nice that every summer diarrhoea was rife among everyone on the farm. We were constantly running to the outside toilet by the barn.

Knowing the link between bacteria, infection, and disease, a fear of contagion developed early among some people. The ultimate consequence of this was a reluctance to touch other people's hands:

One was afraid of all kinds of infection! This was before antibiotics were able to combat many diseases. Tuberculosis was still feared, as was polio. Older people can remember that they did not like shaking hands with people. They could have an infection of some kind. There was a clergyman in Trøgstad who was giving a speech at the bazaar (c. 1935–40). Open sandwiches were served at bazaars, and the rector ate, but he did not eat the bit of the bread that he had been holding: his fingers could have carried an infection since he had shaken hands with so many people. And there are stories of people who wiped the door knob with a cloth after strangers and possible infection carriers had touched it.

The idea that insufficient cleanliness could be downright dangerous for health was completely new, as is illustrated by the fact that in Oslo in the early twentieth century the latrine men could be seen eating their packed lunches right after having emptied the buckets, without any thought of needing to wash their hands first (Kjeldstadli 1990: 310). Among the informants there are also those who say that it was an *ideal* that hands should be washed even if they were not noticeably dirty, but it was nevertheless rarely done. Instead people followed the old convention that dirt was a visible substance which in certain circumstances was undeniably disfiguring, but far from dangerous.

Hungry Lice Bite Hard

In the nineteenth century vermin such as lice, fleas, and other parasites were a very common feature of people's everyday life. It was considered a part of general cleanliness to keep free of vermin and parasites, but this required a struggle that many families in cramped housing were unable to win. In the inter-war years vermin were much less of a torment. Occasional parasites were still frequent visitors to many houses and families, but both the responses to the questionnaire and contemporary studies of public hygiene suggest that vermin were not as widespread as during Eilert Sundt's study tours in the 1860s. In addition, there were more aids to eliminate vermin, and there was less tolerance.

Scabies is the name of a skin disease caused by the itch mite. The mite lives on and in the upper layer of skin and digs tunnels into the skin, where it lays eggs which are continuously hatched. The infection causes a severe itch and may give a rash of small red papules on the surface of the skin. The tunnels in the skin can be seen with the naked eye as fine grey streaks. Before creams were available on the market, doctors recommended several different ways of protecting oneself. In the 1850s the head physician D. C. Danielsen, whom we met above, advised people to rub the

whole body with tar and roll themselves up in a carpet. This position was to be maintained for three days. On the fourth day one could put on clothes, but not until the seventh day was the tar to be washed off (Sundt 1975:344). The common people, however, chose a different solution. Sundt's book describes how, with the aid of a sharp knife or a needle, people cut the skin, picked out the mites, and crushed them between the nails. This method was not particularly effective, however, since new eggs were constantly being hatched in the tunnels.

The skin disease *favus* (Norwegian *skurv*) is a type of ringworm caused by a fungus that attacks the scalp. The favus leaves repulsive sores and crusts, is yellowish and smells revolting, writes Sundt (1975:359), who refers to an earlier military practice whereby soldiers with favus were regarded as unsuitable for military service. Some people took advantage of this as a way to escape duty, and the district physicians complained that it was hard to eliminate favus because the men let it thrive for that reason. Sundt nevertheless says that favus was not very widespread in his day.

Lice were also well known among the Norwegian peasantry in the nineteenth century. As a friend of the people, Sundt was full of understanding for the impossible struggle that many households waged against lice, but he was seriously shaken and indignant when he witnessed people picking lice from each other and then putting them in the mouth – exactly as monkeys remove fleas from each other. That was beyond the limits of his benevolence and understanding. Neither scabies, lice, nor fleas were considered shameful among the common people. The attitude was that these parasites affected everyone, both clean people and dirty. On the other hand, it was considered very humiliating to have favus.

When NEG distributed its questionnaire in 1994, there were questions about experiences of scabies, favus, tapeworm, lice, and fleas. Some people answered that they contracted scabies during the war but that they had no knowledge of favus. No one stated the causes of scabies, nor did anyone reflect upon whether this disease was disgraceful and tabooed. Others had been tormented by tapeworm as infants. Infections from cats and dogs, or eating vegetables direct from the field without first washing them, were cited as explanations. In other words, it was associated with the thoughtlessness of children, not with uncleanliness. Flea bites were not regarded as shameful either. It was unpleasant, but it could happen to the best of people, and it had little to do with cleanliness. It was easy to pick up fleas in the byre, and they could come in straw mattresses. It was fairly easy to shake them out of the clothes and crush them between the nails.

Lice, on the other hand, were directly associated with uncleanliness, and it was therefore disgraceful to have them: "It was common that lice occurred in homes, but it was never mentioned. It meant great shame to have lice," writes a woman who was tormented by lice several times when she was growing up. Many of the informants had painful experiences of lice, but since it was scandalous and embarrassing, people tried to keep the secret in the family. There was a great fear of being labelled as lousy and unclean. A woman tells how humiliating it was when the hairdresser found lice on both her and her sister: "We felt like lepers, and as we walked home it felt as if everybody could see by looking at us that

we had lice." However, it was the people who repeatedly had lice who were stigmatized in the local community. The scourge of lice was greatest among children, and several informants recall their fellow pupils' hair crawling with lice. For this reason a woman from Oslo started at a private school instead of the local public school that she would otherwise have attended; she believed that lice were less widespread among private school pupils.

For fear that their own children would be infected, mothers gave strict orders not to go near children who were known to be infested with lice. These children were ostracized by the others, as this woman relates:

> Lice were dreaded vermin. A close neighbour, in my opinion, had chronic lice. We had strict orders not to set foot inside that door, and at school we had to hang our coats and hats far from their clothes. Those children suffered a lot. They were called Louse-Nelly and Louse-Guri. In the break they would just stand by the wall, and they had no friends.

The usual method for getting rid of lice was to wash the hair thoroughly. To destroy the eggs, the scalp was rubbed with paraffin or mercury ointment, known as "grey ointment". When this had been allowed to take effect, the hair was washed again and systematically combed with a fine-tooth comb. Most homes had a comb for lice. Its teeth were close together, so that the lice eggs were detached from the roots of the hair. The lice were liquidated by being crushed between the thumb nails. One woman remembers well the elaborate process she had to undergo:

> A chair was placed on a spread-out newspaper in the middle of the kitchen floor and I myself sat on the chair wrapped up in a big towel. Then my scalp was sprinkled with paraffin which was then rubbed well in. Then my hair was washed with green soap and rinsed. And then the torture with the fine-tooth comb began. Mother scraped my scalp, and after every stroke she stared at the comb and crushed with her thumb nail any lice, eggs, or maybe it was just flakes of dandruff. I don't remember how many times I was washed with paraffin, but I was fine-combed every time after I washed my hair for a long time afterwards.

The continuing taboo on lice is shown by a recent report in the Oslo newspaper *Aftenposten* (8 nov. 1998) on the lice scourge in the schools of the capital. The fact that it is still a sensitive topic today creates problems for the efforts of the local health authorities to eliminate lice. The families that are affected keep the lice attacks secret from school and the health service, which makes the struggle to limit infection tricky. This is despite the information from the health authorities that lice can infect other people even when hair is washed daily, and the problem has nothing to do with uncleanliness.

Smells of Byre and Blood

The attention devoted to the body and cleanliness was long concentrated on what could actually be seen. In the 1920s and 1930s, however, smell became the new hygienic sense (Schmidt & Kristensen 1986). The great distance between the social classes in the inter-war years gave rise to new notions about cleanliness. The clean, odourless body became a new class marker and an important means to assert oneself socially and distinguish oneself from other people who smelled. The battle against smells became synonymous with the struggle for hygiene, and an internalization of hygiene meant being able to discern other people's hygiene (ibid.:183):

My mother had an extremely good sense of smell, and she could smell guests' clothes in the hall and towels in the guest rooms, and she knew from the smell who had been using them. An unpleasant ability, she said, which she did not tell strangers about, for as she said: "Most people don't wash often enough and don't change to clean underwear." I knew full well which of my friends came from clean homes, but of course I did not speak about that.

The quotation illustrates that it was now the nose that registered uncleanliness, not the eye. The idea of the odourless body led people in agricultural settings to try to screen themselves from the smell of the animals, and men and women tried as far as possible to keep the smell of the barn from impregnating their hair and clothes. Those who worked with cattle wore separate clothes in the byre and covered their hair well. After the work in the byre was done, they washed their hands thoroughly and then changed into other clothes before entering the house. Smelling of the byre could at most be accepted on weekdays, but when people mixed socially there was little tolerance for that kind of odour, and it was said that girls who smelt of the byre risked being wallflowers at local dances.[2]

Odourlessness was not just about class hierarchy and class consciousness. Smell was also determined by gender, as is shown by the monthly efforts of women and young girls to confine the smell of menstrual blood, a smell that was described in the leading contemporary encyclopaedia as "unpleasant and penetrating" (*Salmonsens Konversationsleksikon* 1924).

With new ideas about hygiene, cleanliness, and health, menstruation was incorporated in the medical discourse. Doctors at the time had an ambivalent attitude to menstruation. They were anxious that young girls should be brought up to regard menstruation as a natural part of being a woman. At the same time, they believed that menstruation belonged to a woman's intimate sphere and therefore had to be concealed from the outside world. The Swedish folklorist Denise Malmberg (1989) claims that it was the ideology of the hygiene movement – that all the secretions of the body should be washed away or hidden – which led to the introduction of various types of sanitary towel in the inter-war years. An earlier Swedish practice to which Malmberg refers, that women did not use towels but just let the blood flow, is mentioned by only one informant in the Norwegian sources. Nor does Sundt shed any light on how women dealt with menstruation in the nineteenth century. Sanitary towels and the accompanying belts were on sale in Norway from the start of the twentieth century, but it was the introduction of tampons and disposable gauze pads in the 1930s that would make it easier to satisfy the requirements for cleanliness and odourlessness. None of the female informants had used tampons, and very few could afford to buy disposable pads. Instead they knitted or crocheted towels from thick cotton yarn, or sewed them using several layers of material. A loop was sewn to either end of the towel so that it could be attached to a cord or band around the waist and thus kept in place. After use the towels were soaked in cold water and then washed and boiled. If they were solidly made they could be used over and over again for years. The home-made towels did not hold the blood very well, and few women had so many that they could change several times a day. The fear that the blood would leak and leave stains on the clothes, and the anxiety that

someone else might detect the smell of menstrual blood is what the female informants remember best.

The responses indicate that menstruation was, if not downright shameful, at least hedged with silence. Few of the female informants' mothers had told their daughters anything about menstruation. The daughters were therefore wholly unprepared when their first period came, and menstruation was not discussed between mother and daughter afterwards either. Several scholars have pointed out that menstruation has long been regarded in a negative light by researchers of culture and history. There has been a tendency for scholars to consider it only in terms of taboo, prohibition, and cultural impurity (e.g. Malmberg 1991; Rosenbeck 1987). Cultural research thus joins the ranks of negative perceptions of menstruation, not unlike the attitude of hygienists and doctors in the inter-war years to what they described as a burden and "a cross placed upon women, which they have to bear" (Brandt 1927:51). Many of the female informants give the impression that menstruation was a self-evident and for them natural part of a woman's life, which they did not associate with restrictions, prohibitions, shame, or difficulties. Likewise, we may assume that for many of the women the monthly bleeding was a welcome sign that they were not pregnant. On the other hand, there was also another reality, the unpleasant and unsatisfactory sanitary towels which caused problems and anxieties in everyday life.

Happiness is a White Smile and Your Own Teeth

Oral hygiene was incorporated in the hygienic discourse in the inter-war years. Just as the body was supposed to appear clean, neat, and odourless, now the teeth had to give the same immediate impression.[3] The history of the toothbrush goes back to prehistoric times, but it was only in the course of the nineteenth century that the real breakthrough came, with industrially produced toothbrushes. It could therefore be said that systematic tooth-brushing was a result of the entry of hygiene into everyday life. Mass-produced toothbrushes could be sold cheap and were therefore in principle available to all social classes. The responses suggests that many people nevertheless did not have a toothbrush, which in many settings was regarded as a luxury article.

If one did not have a toothbrush, then some other implement could be used. This could be a sharpened sliver of wood, a coarse cloth, or simply the fingers:

> When Mother grew old and infirm she had a lady who cleaned for her. She was in her sixties and had very yellow teeth. She had never had a toothbrush in her mouth. But after every meal she took the hem of her apron and rubbed it over her teeth. And I often saw that she broke a match and cleaned her teeth with it.

Toothpaste was at this time a relatively new product in Norway, and for most people it was too expensive to be used on a regular basis. Instead of toothpaste an age-old cleaning agent could be used: salt, whether coarse- or fine-grained. Salt could be put directly on the toothbrush or dissolved in water. It was not just a suitable and cheap substitute for toothpaste, but also a good abrasive for removing coating from the teeth. It was not without good reason that the spokesmen and -women of the hygiene campaign recommended salt (*Husmorboka* 1938). Physiologically it is an appropriate

cleaning agent because the body's own tissue fluids contain 0.9% salt. A salt solution will therefore not cause any reactions in the mouth. As an abrasive for removing coatings, salt is better than most crystalline substances because it dissolves in saliva. It removes the film from the teeth without grinding them. Salt has also been used to ease toothache in many cultures, including Norway, but tobacco and warm metal were mentioned more frequently as ways to deaden pain, both of them old familiar methods according to the Norwegian folklorist Reichborn-Kjennerud (1944). Household soap, coke, resin, and ashes were alternative cleaning agents, or simply fresh water.

The responses suggest that there was a relatively radical change in dental care in the inter-war period. Whereas the informants' parents had paid little heed to the ideal of regular tooth brushing, for most of the informants themselves it became established practice to brush their teeth daily. The probable reason for this difference is that many of their parents' generation already had false teeth, whereas the generation to which the NEG informants belong encountered the new standards in school, where they were thoroughly informed about the mysteries of dental care.

School Demands and Maternal Toil

At an early stage the schools passed on the information that was to teach pupils how to turn the new ideals into practice. The responsibility of this institution for public health may be traced back to 1860 and the Health Act, but it was only after the turn of the century that it was systematically implemented with the aid of school doctors and dentists, and nurses who checked whether the pupils had vermin (Alsvik 1991). The first school doctors were employed in Oslo and Bergen around 1900. In the subsequent years a school health service was established in most municipalities, although it was not until after the Second World War that there was full national coverage (Bøhmer 1991). Whereas the big towns could have several school doctors as well as public health nurses, specialist doctors, and physiotherapists, in the smaller municipalities it was the district physician or some other doctor who also served as the school doctor (ibid.). Most of the informants remember educational campaigns being launched about hygiene, health, and health in schools. But it was primarily in dental care that they received concrete tuition, when toothbrushes were issued with instructions for their use. Municipal dental care in schools was established in 1910, but for a long time it was only available in occasional municipalities (ibid.). There is a great deal to suggest that educational campaigns about dental care in schools were of relatively minor importance for the spread of toothbrushes in Norway. Several of those who did not have toothbrushes as children received one when school dental care was established in the municipality.

Some teachers also made their own check-ups of the schoolchildren. Hands and nails, neck and teeth were inspected before the school day began.

> Our teacher had a magnifying glass that we had to put our fingers under. Many children had dirt under their nails and were given a pick to clean it out with. Another teacher had a washbasin set up in the corridor. If anyone came with dirty hands they had to go down to the brook to fetch water and wash before school work began.

The significance of school as a controlling

body is clear from the way that several of the informants stress how important it was to have clean hands, face, neck, and teeth on days when they went to school. On other days, however, they were not so scrupulous about the daily wash.

Many people felt that the campaigns in school were both positive and informative, but the "lice ladies" wear a feared institution. These were the public health nurses whose job was to check whether the pupils had lice. If it was shameful to have to wash in front of the other pupils in the class, it was even more humiliating to be brought into the nurse's office after being found to have vermin. A female informant who attended infant school in Stavanger says that the lice ladies were constantly going round the classes examining the children's hair. She remembers one occasion when a girl in the class was taken to the nurse's office, and she was subsequently shunned by the other children in the school yard.

On the home front, housewives acquired a key position in passing on society's new knowledge and ideals. Crucial importance was attached to motherhood, not just for the individual and the home, but also for society. It was a mother's responsibility to bring up the citizens of the future. In the home it was her duty to convey the ideals to her children, to guide and correct them on the way to becoming clean and cultivated people. A sense of cleanliness had become a female virtue, and therefore a woman's and a housewife's natural and moral duty. It was housewives who had to assume responsibility if members of the household did not pass through the social control, and lice-infested children were the most extreme sign that she was unable to keep the family and the home in a satisfactory state. The mother had the responsibility for the cleanliness of the body as long as the children were small, but she was also expected to ensure that the rules were followed when the children had become big enough to look after themselves. Every single member of the household manifested through the appearance of the body the housewife's ability to live up to her moral duties as the home's expert on hygiene, health, and upbringing. The mothers therefore performed their own inspections within the four walls of the home, and ensured that all were clean and tidy before they went out into the social space. If the children's hands were not clean or if their teeth had not been brushed well enough, she took the cloth and the brush in her own hands.

Inside the home it was less important to live up to the norms that prevailed outside the home. The members of the family relaxed their standards as regards visible cleanliness. Doctors, however, were among the people who could pay unexpected calls, entitled to have access not only to the home but also to the body. Several informants remember how the mothers ensured that they always had an extra set of clean underwear ready for such occasions. One woman recalls the doctor coming to visit when the whole family had been struck by the "Spanish flu", a global epidemic that afflicted Norway and Europe in 1918 and 1919. It was just before Christmas and the doctor was suddenly at the door. The woman remembers her mother's despair when she had to confess that she had not had time to change the children's underwear.

Control by school and the outside world created a dividing line between the home as the backstage and the outside world as the front region of the stage, to use Ervin Goff-

man's well-known concepts (1959). The desire to present oneself in accordance with society's conventions also required a great effort to overcome insufficient sanitary facilities and limited resources. It was important that all the members of the household should as far as possible comply with the prevailing norms of cleanliness, thus contributing to the housewife's respect and acceptance.

The impact of the new ideals depended on the mother's work in the home. Mothers thus became an important link between the national hygienic project and the individual follow-up in everyday life. The powerful position of the school in communicating knowledge and exercising control, however, suggests that the mothers nevertheless did not enjoy the full confidence of the hygienic administration. They were responsible for hygiene in the home, but were subordinate to the concerted alliance of teachers and school doctors who carried out constant inspections of the children.

Knowledge, Power, Control

In the inter-war hygienic project, discipline, observation, and classification were of crucial significance. These are strategies that Michel Foucault has emphasized in his analyses of power. I view Foucault's term power as a non-normative concept designating mechanisms and discursive practices which are not necessarily concentrated in the power of the state, but work at different levels of society. In other words, power in Foucault's sense is a *relational* concept and something that is exercised, rather than being a fixed institutional entity (Foucault 1981:92ff.).

In Foucault's analyses, power and knowledge are two phenomena that presuppose each other in modern society (Foucault 1980:51f.). With the aid of power strategies, modern power has amassed a knowledge about the population, both as a whole and as individuals. In the inter-war years, mass studies were one of the most important tools used to chart the health and hygiene of the population. With the aid of comprehensive surveys, the authorities acquired a knowledge of the people's hygienic standard and health, a knowledge which then provided a basis for correcting and changing what was perceived as detrimental and unwanted. By amassing a knowledge of the population as a whole through data on the individual, an *individualized knowledge* was established. Foucault goes on to say:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects (1982:212).

While knowledge of the individual was being established, there was a parallel process whereby the individual learned to regard himself or herself in a specific way, depending on which category he or she was placed in.

Power may be seen as the mechanisms that permeated everyday life: as the implicit control in the social space and the explicit control in schools and in the home. Discipline, control, and observation were all power strategies which were used directly in relations between teacher and pupil, between parent and child, and more covertly in the relation between collective and individual, between state and population. "Dis-

cipline rewards simply by the play of awards, thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process," as Foucault writes (1979:181). With the aid of positive and negative sanctions, undesirable deviant behaviour by pupils was corrected to conform with the clean and hygienic ideal. Pupils were rewarded with praise or punished by being made to wash in front of the rest of the class. The individual's respect in the eyes of other people could rise or fall depending on how well he or she lived up to society's cleanliness norms. The competence of the housewife was likewise judged by the cleanliness of the family members' bodies. Neighbours, teachers, parents, and the hygienic administration may be regarded as the agents of power. They all took part in the project to check that individuals, adults and children alike, conformed to the expected standards, and this simultaneously marked a boundary between normal and abnormal, desirable and undesirable. As a counter-measure, the individual could establish a dividing line between the private and public spheres. The strategy may be seen as a form of resistance to the new hygienic ideology. This also agrees with Foucault's view that where there is power there is also resistance (Foucault 1981).

For Foucault, however, it is important not to portray power as negative and destructive, but rather as productive (Foucault 1982:175). Through the acquisition of knowledge about the population as a whole, individualized knowledge and power strategies gave the administrative apparatus an opportunity to improve the people's health and longevity. The first half of the twentieth century saw a decline in the prevalence of tuberculosis and a reduction in mortality (Kjeldstadli 1990). This was due to the increased knowledge of infection, better hygiene, and generally improved conditions as regards drinking water and housing standards. Power can consequently also be benevolent, as Foucault puts it in almost poetic terms: "it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body" (Foucault 1981:143).

The Body Is the Mirror of the Soul

We began by noting that a person both is and has a body. This phenomenological observation concerns the person's own perception of his or her embodiment, explaining why people relate to the body as both a subjective and an objective entity. The fact that a person *is* a body means that we are organisms with a particular biology, structure, and size. People are identical to their bodies, so that individual and body are two aspects of a whole which cannot be conceived of without one another. Together they make up a unique human being. On the other hand, people feel that they *have* a body in the sense that the body becomes an organism beyond the control of the individual. The body becomes an "it", an object with a life of its own. A distance arises between the individual and her body, as the individual perceives that she has a body at her disposal (Berger & Luckmann 1966:50). According to Niels Kayser Nielsen (1993:52), this objectification of the body is about the individual's self-reflecting distance, when the body is not just present as a *fait accompli* in its raw immediacy, but is on the contrary perceived as malleable.

The malleable body brings us to the last point in the phenomenological approach, namely, that people also *create* their bod-

ies. The exterior of the body is shaped by regulation and control, by movement and action, and by changing or reshaping the form of the body (Turner 1992:20). This bodily design changes in relation to the dimensions of time, place, social stratum, gender, and age. In this article the focus has been on changes that took place with the coming of the hygiene movement and its effects on inter-war Norway. Although terms like health and general physiological resistance were important parts of the hygienic propaganda, this was rarely expressed explicitly by the informants as a reason for keeping the body clean. It was more important to present a body that was in keeping with the social norms and conventions of the time. For those who grew up in rural areas, it was not shameful to be a bit dirty on weekdays, as long as everyone was clean and tidy on occasions such as Sunday, feast-days, and social gatherings:

> Sixty years ago we washed because we were dirty. It was no shame to smell of sweat and the byre on weekdays. No one expected woollen trousers and dresses to be spotless. But there was a greater difference between weekdays and Sundays. The house had to be washed, the body and clothes had to be clean. It is no chance that the word for Saturday means wash-day.

Bacteriology and the struggle for hygiene certainly changed the norms for the appearance of the external body, but the questionnaire responses show that it took time for these norms to be fully accepted. For all strata of the population, however, it became of crucial importance to be able to master the fields of the body, and not to provoke distaste in other people through visible dirt or bad smells. There was an ever-present risk that people would exclude the individual or the household from the ranks of the respectable. "Uncleanliness was sort of like a deadly sin. You could put up with a lot, but uncleanliness was definitively a valid reason to exclude someone," one woman writes. The struggle for cleanliness was not just a struggle to be among those who were classified as clean and decent people. Dirty and vulgar people were outsiders.

Through time the struggle for hygiene taught people to look at their own lives with the eyes of medicine or science. The acknowledgement of the significance of the hands in spreading infection led to new routines as regards when and how often they were washed, and how bacterial threats could be avoided. The discovery that plaque on the teeth caused decay promoted dental hygiene. The fact that bodily secretions like snot and saliva were also latent sources of infection laid the foundation for restrictions and recommendations such as the use of handkerchiefs and the prohibition of spittoons in public places. By referring to bacteria, infection, and caries, the representatives of the hygienic administration between the wars invoked both rationality and science, and this evidently led to a breach with earlier practices according to which people cleaned themselves for more symbolic reasons, for special occasions such as Sundays and feast-days. Mary Douglas (1984) argues that hygienic measures are basically an expression of symbolic systems in which narratives of clean and unclean are used to order and categorize our thoughts. The questionnaire responses indicate that for the individual it was above all a matter of creating, shaping, and communicating one's bodily expressions by conveying as far as possible a sense of cleanliness, so that nothing of the body

could be smelt or perceived by other people.

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Notes

1 This article is based on my major thesis "Kroppen som sjelens speil. En studie av den rene og kultiverte kroppen i mellomkrigstiden", submitted to the Institute of Culture Studies, Department of Ethnology, University of Oslo, 1998.
2 The non-acceptance of byre smells nowadays is illustrated by a recent case in Norway when a mother was relieved of responsibility for her two children because they smelled of byre and she herself was alleged to smell of sweat (*Dagbladet* 14 Dec. 1998).
3 Closely connected with the struggle for dental hygiene was the work for a healthy, balanced diet (Lyngø 1997).

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Patchwork Quilts and Their Symbolism

Maarit Knuuttila

My Quilt 1942

This story is about a quilt, one so old and so lovely.
I was but a child, sewing patches together by hand.

Never had we a machine, I doubt if we even needed one.
Pieces of father's thoughts, his traditional clothes,
they made the quilt's top, dark as they were, all that we had.
So we had to live with that. Patches were thick, unadorned,
yet this quilt was warm, and as such unforgettable.

And the backing, grey as well, made of daddy's drawers,
striped was the flannel, as if worn by some prisoner.
Warm and soft, the kind there is no more, good after countless washings.
Back then we used lye, and it worked fine,
with water of Saimaa rinsing our clothes,
this is how we made them clean, no pollution then.

Thinking back to the childhood's joy.
It was time of war, the quilt like a charm,
so warm in the winter, if you only knew.
In the night, under the quilt, the warmth felt heavy.
I made it myself, though I was only ten.

T. Kervinen

This poem, written by Terttu Kervinen from Imatra, is a fine illustration of the variety of ideas evoked by quilts. On one hand, they are associated with poverty, frugality, and modesty, on the other with the pride and joy about something you have done with your own hands. A quilt is a mirror of its time, representing values and ideals, which are deemed, obsolete in modern society. Quilts have been used as a metaphor for describing entities, which consist of smaller parts, or something which is perceived as being incoherent. In other words, quilts serve as a symbol for a number of things. The symbolism of Finnish quilts is closely associated with the object itself and its meaning as a whole, whereas the symbolic meaning of American quilts is considerably more intricate. Earlier, it was untypical to give names to the patterns formed by the patches in the quilt top, while there are thousands of patterns, as well as their names and symbols, in the USA.

In this article I will look at quilts as a Finnish phenomenon, with a comparison of their symbolism to that of American quilts towards the end. I have used mainly material I collected for my B.A. thesis, consisting of letters, photographs, newspaper articles, information bulletins and catalogue entries of regional museums, and the artefacts of the quilt exhibition which was held at the Ostrobothnian Museum on January 13–February 25, 1996. The writers of the letters about quilts were all women except one; everywhere in the world, majority of quiltmakers has always been, and still are, women. I have had quiltmaking as a hobby for almost 20 years myself. During this time, I have completed countless patchworks, taken part in courses, and taught quiltmaking to others. Furthermore, I have learned about quilts through research, literature and foreign contacts.

A Finnish Quilt

In Finland, quiltmaking is often considered an American phenomenon, which is not surprising, given its long and strong tradition in the United States. This tradition is kept alive through research, acquisition and exhibition work of museums, guilds[1], and education. In addition, most of the books and magazines about quiltmaking are published in North America.

The texts dealing with the history of

quiltmaking have traced its roots several thousand years back, sometimes to Egypt, sometimes to China. Still, it is emphasized that it was in the United States where the current form of the method developed during the last two centuries. Resulting from international contacts and literature, many phenomena associated with patchworks and quilts, like the practise of giving them a name, have landed on our soil from the West, giving this field of handicraft a very American image. However, we Finns have a quiltmaking tradition of our own, with its origins in the 18th century.

The oldest quilt in Finnish museums is from the late 18th century, but there are bed covers, "embroidered quilts", of a similar nature which are even older. Embroidered quilts were made of women's old quilted silk skirts with marseille embroidering which were very fashionable until the 1760s. As new trends deemed quilted skirts old-fashioned, the precious, often beautifully embroidered skirts were turned into covers, under which even members of royalty could spend their nights. It is told that when King Gustavus III himself stayed overnight at Nuhjala mansion, he slept under an embroidered quilt, in other words under what used to be the skirt of his hostess (Pylkkänen 1982).

In the 18th century, pieces of used clothes were also turned into church textiles, many of which are preserved in the Finnish Orthodox Church Museum in Kuopio. Most of the textiles made with the quilting technique are from the monasteries, churches and chapels of Karelia. The majority of the existing textiles were made in monasteries, but many peasant women wanted to show their love for their church or chapel by making a useful textile out of their own fabrics, or of old clothes donated by women of the gentry (Säppi 1998: 2–3).

Were the indigent people making quilts as early as the 18th century in Finland? At that time, it were only the wealthier Finnish households who used quilted bed covers. The common people still slept under blankets and rags. Towards the end of the 19th century, the use of quilts was becoming more conventional, but it was not until the early 20th century before they established themselves as regular bed covers in every Finnish home. According to Toivo Vuorela (1979: 467), "a quilt is a bed cover which is made by sewing together patches of cloths in different colours; *originally used by the common people*, they became popular among the gentry at the end of the 18th century." However, he does not present any arguments to support this statement, so we can only speculate about the early stages of Finnish quilts, as written material and actual objects are very scarce. The people's recollections of quilts I have collected and the quilts in Finnish museums provide information about the quilts of the 20th century and about their makers.

Quilt - Embodiment of Frugality

Quilts have very rarely, if ever, been made of completely new fabrics purchased for this purpose. Making and using patchwork quilts has been perceived to stem from a necessity: when you cannot afford buying one, you have to make it yourself. And were proper fabrics not available, the quilt top was made of patches. Quiltmaking is rarely associated with women's artistic expression or folk art, rather bed covers and other works made of patches are, in a way, seen as a substitute for something more valuable, like a duvet. Naturally, this notion is

supported by the materials and methods of quiltmaking: duvets and wall hangings were made of new materials, whereas most Finnish quilts are made of residue patches, used clothes, or other discarded fabric. "After making summer dresses for my daughters and something for myself, I had a stack of fabric pieces. These patches were new, so I didn't have the heart to throw them away" (I. Raski).

In Finland, homespun fabrics were replaced by factory-made ones in the 1920-30s at the latest, with an increasing use of factory-made clothes. However, making clothes for women and children at home was never completely given up (Lehtonen 1984: 607). Pieces of fabric, resulting from sewing, were usually available at every household. Also, those who did not make their own clothes might be given patches by their acquaintances. Old and worn-out clothes have usually been cut into material for weaving carpets in Finland. However, not all the parts of clothes are suitable for carpet-weaving, so they could be saved for quiltmaking instead. Clothes have been regarded as family valuables and they have been preserved, and sometimes even given as an inheritance. Especially during the Second World War, it was fashionable, yet also necessary, to take advantage of everything old: clothes were repaired, turned inside out, patched up and preserved (Lehtonen 1984: 612). In addition to old clothes and sewing residue, fabric samples of textile factories, which used to be available at draper's and tailor shops until the 1960s, have served as material for quilts:

> Next door, on the other side of the street, was the Grönmark's tailor shop. Suits, coats and other gentlemen's clothes were made there of finest English wool cloth. The sample pieces of their cloths, light-coloured for summer suits and darker colours for winter ones, were tied together from one end. Samples of discontinued designs were put into sacks. My grandmother used to pick up these sacks full of patches, collecting a great amount of this valued material over the years (S. Homerus).

Typically, quilts were padded with cotton wad, which was available at shops. Wool would have made the quilt warmer, but usually it was too expensive to be used as a filling. The fabric for backing was usually bought at a shop: cotton, cretonne, flannel, or calico. Sometimes the backing was made of flour sacks, or of patches as well. In other words, material for quilts comes from a wide variety of sources, including leftover cloth from individual households, handicraft, and textile industry. The backing and wad may have been new or recycled from an old quilt, too. The quilts in the collections of Finnish museums have only few large individual pieces of cloth, except on the borders. The fabric has been taken advantage of extremely thorough, even to the extent that a number of smaller pieces of fabric may have been sewn together to form a single square patch.

Pieces of Time and Longing for Beauty

With a quilt top, it has been possible to repair parts of a worn-out duvet, or make a completely new one. Sometimes patches were sewn together to make a "quilt cover", inside which the old duvet was then placed. The sewing was sometimes done manually, but most often with a sewing machine, which were introduced in the 1860s and became household items in the early 20th century, even in poorer families (Talve 1990: 167; 348; 386). Even though the introduc-

tion of sewing machines has speeded up the process, quiltmaking has still been time-consuming and it has taken place, similarly to other handicraft and hobby craft, when other work has allowed some spare time; a quilt is a collection of both pieces of fabric and time.

A quilt is a reflection of the ideal woman and woman's work of each era. The fact that quilts were made of old clothes and residue fabrics is an indication of a way of life which carefully made use of all existing material, even though new material would have been available as well. Quilts and rag carpets are forms of Finnish handicraft which demonstrate this attitude very clearly. For a woman, her meticulous use of time and material may have been a way of showing that she is practical and that she is capable of housekeeping.

At home, we were carding, spinning, and sewing the wool. We wove beddings, and of course carpets. The sewing machine was buzzing all the time. My grandmother was sewing, as well as the servant girl. We made quilts when we had time from other chores (S. Holmerus).

When the aim was, however, to create something beautiful and decorate one's own home, limited financial resources, lack of time, or frugality were not an obstacle. Usually, there was an attempt to make quilts out of readily available material. The beauty of the quilt has brought joy to its maker and the one using it, but its making may have had other purposes including self-expression, showing off, or a need to make one's home more presentable. Of course, the design and decoration of a quilt have been limited by its purpose, the material available, no access to a sewing machine, and the skills of the quiltmaker. Still, there have never been two quilts alike: the material used for quilts makes each of them unique, as few households have had large enough amounts of patches to make many similar quilts.

Even simplest designs have involved composition: "My mother made a long stripe by sewing together a number of patches. Then she sewed the stripes together and arranged the colours so that there were never two similar patches next to each other" (S. Huttunen).

The most popular design of Finnish quilts has been "Log Cabin" which makes it possible to vary the design through choice of different colours and to make the finished quilt as beautiful and presentable as possible. The central squares of the "Log Cabin" are often of the same colour in order to create a sense of uniformity in the quilt top. The composition of the patches surrounding the square creates a variety of patterns, making the basically simple and universal design unique.

Stitching is another way of decorating a quilt and making it more beautiful. There have been ready-made stitching designs commercially available, and they have obviously been regularly used in duvets, the top of which is made of one fabric. At its simplest, the stitching of quilts follows the pattern of the patches in the quilt top, while more complex designs have regularly been used on the borders, for example butterflies, clover, hearts, and flowers.

Each quilt was different and recognizable. We all had a quilt of our own. I, the firstborn, had one made of very little patches. It had many burgundy-coloured patches, but also a number of grey, black, and green ones. Somehow I seem to remember that there were no yellow, bright blue, or loud red patches in the quilt. Mother had a good

sense of colours and she knew how to use them when weaving carpets or embroidering linen. So, her quilts turned out very beautiful, even though the material that was available and its colours placed their limitations. When a quilt was completed, it was spread out on the floor, on top of clean carpets, and each of us got a feel of the quilt by leaping onto it in turns. Then, we would admire the patterns together. Mother looked happy and satisfied (S. Huttunen).

Duvets in the Bed, Quilts in the Storehouse

The way quilts were used reflects their status and value compared with other textiles in the household. In Finland, quilts have played second fiddle to duvets which have been very esteemed beddings, typically first used by the parents of a family. A bought duvet was valued higher than a self-made one, which in turn had a higher status than a quilt! Quilts were often made specifically for children, but usually they were given a used one, like in the family of master tailor Manninen in Vaasa: a new quilt was first used by parents, after which it was given to their three children. When turned sideways, the quilt was big enough for all three little siblings (A. Nygren). In addition to children, quilts have been used by youth and servants who spent their nights in the attics and storehouses. In other words, quilts have been associated with the family members with a lesser status and to less presentable premises of the household.

In addition to places and people of a lower value, quilts were also associated with poverty; many of the women who have written to me believe that, in general, quilts were used by people who were worse off: "In the past, quilts were used by poor people, as they didn't have the money to repair their worn-out duvets otherwise." However, quilts have been common in all social groups, only their material and the quilting methods have been different, depending on wealthiness. Women of the gentry made their quilts of silk patches with complex methods, whereas poorer women had to settle for material from their everyday clothing and for more straightforward techniques.

The Expanding Meaning of Quilts

At home, the quilt in question was used as a bed cover until the year 1950, approximately. After becoming worn-out and fluffy, it was used in the shed during the cold season as a blanket for cows and piggies. Eventually it returned to the "circulation of nature" via the compost (L. Mäki).

A great number of quilts have probably returned to the "circulation of nature", thrown away as something useless and old-fashioned, when modern, light-weight duvets became available. Many women wrote me and said they now regret having done that and been unthoughtful; later they have started to appreciate old things: "There are so many things and objects that should have been saved and preserved. Maybe there wasn't time, maybe it was lack of understanding" (L. Leivo). Today, a whole new set of symbolic values are attached to old things, which applies to quilts, too. They are no longer directly associated with poverty and frugality, instead they signify something different.

I don't think I have any of the first quilts. I gave them away when I got myself new lightweight duvets, and all the children were already adults. You always want to have new things in your home, and, unlike now, I didn't think so highly of the old things then (E. Laitinen).

If some old quilts have made it to our time, they are considered a very important mem-

ory of mother's or grandmother's handiwork; there is very little "visible" left of women's daily work to future generations. The majority of women's household chores have been, and still are, such that, by their nature, they leave behind very few concrete things; maybe this is why textiles made by mother or grandmother have such great sentimental value. The most central places of homes are reserved for things of the past which help us to reminisce about different events, periods of time, or people. Often, a quilt evokes powerful memories of war time: how it may have been lost somewhere during the period of evacuation, or how they were made and used during and after the war, when there was a shortage of materials. Also, there may be memories of events in the family, often brought back by a single patch which originates from clothing worn by the one reminiscing herself. These recollections can be quite precise, even decades after the childhood. A lady from Kajaani remembers the colour of every patch there was in her quilt. The memories are clear thanks to daydreaming on the quilt, which served as a storybook for a little girl:

> I have always liked quilts. As a child, I found them softer and warmer, and looked more beautiful than the duvets bought at some shop. All of us children spent often time examining the patches, trying to remember whose shirt, dress, drapes was the origin of each patch. Also, we argued about who got to sleep under the quilts, since, as far as I remember, we had only two of them. Furthermore, I remember how wonderful it felt to be wrapped inside the quilt, sitting in an armchair, when I was ill, with high temperature (A. Säikkä).

For children, a quilt can also be a symbol of a certain place, a part of a solid whole. It may be associated to a specific location, like summer cabin or a storehouse, or it can characterize grandparents' house:

> I made then a quilt for myself, too... My grandchildren took a fancy for it just as much as I once did for Miina's [quilt]. If I take it out of the room, there will be a revolt. They say that it doesn't feel like the same old place at all, if the quilt isn't there (A. Toivanen).

Patchwork Quilt or Log Cabin?

> I have made 16 or 17 quilts, mostly with the cabin method, and countless quilted armchair covers. I have planted them all around Finland, except one, which is in Nicaragua now. I must have completed my first work in 1946, after which there was a long gap, and now I have made the rest during the last decade. I found the inspiration for these latest ones on an adult education course (E. Laitinen).

Different temporal, spatial and social environments have brought changes to the meanings and symbols associated with quilts. Above I gave a general description of Finnish quilts and the meanings that have been associated with them in the past and present. These meanings will always be there, even though the makers of Finnish quilts and patchworks are becoming more and more integrated with the global quiltmaking community which has a language and symbols of their own. This way, at least among the quiltmakers, a new symbolic language, understood only by the members of the community, will be attached to quiltmaking.

An obvious example of a new specified symbolic language in Finland is the quiltmakers' desire for giving a name to their works. This is something that has not been customary here: had it whichever design, a quilt was always thought of as a quilt. The meaning of the object has been focused on the whole instead of details. In spite of its

Every autumn, a number of Finnish women start working on a quilt at an evening course and become acquainted with the "cabin technique", completing eventually a quilt which can also be called Log Cabin, due to the structure of the quilt top. Pictured here are Aira Vartiala and Lea Vuorinen. Photograph: J. Vartiala.

history of 200 years, quiltmaking has been a marginal activity in Finland in the sense that no original system of symbols or names has been born. Still, on the whole quilts are significant, with a variety of associations: poverty, frugality, thriftiness, diligence, and precision. A quilt may be a symbol for grandparents or a memory of one's mother's industrious hands, "which were too busy otherwise to make other material things", or for example a metaphor for a whole which is made of a number of pieces. The "cabin technique" has been known, without a name, in Finland already in the mid-19th century, maybe even earlier, and it has been so popular that most of the quilts in Finnish museums have been made with this technique. The name "Log Cabin" has arrived in Finland probably from the United States through quiltmakers' channels of communication during the last couple of decades (Knuuttila 1996).

A "Log Cabin" block consists of a red central square which is surrounded by rectangular patches sewn to it. The red square represents a hearth, the heart of the home, while the rectangles stand for the dwelling, the log cabin, protecting it. In the USA, this setting has been very popular already in the late 19th century. It is thought that the popularity of this design is based on the American do-it-yourself ideology of the era. Quilts have a connection to Abraham Lincoln, too; his election campaign was symbolized by a modest log hut, and involved the idea that, in spite of a poor background,

anybody can reach a noteworthy position through hard work (e.g. Jenkins & Seward 1991). Still, the origin of the "Log Cabin" block remains unknown, and there is no real evidence of it being associated with the American ideals. It is possible that the design existed earlier, and it was simply renamed at some point.

The "Log Cabin" is not a singular example of names given to quilts; it is characteristic for American quilts to be named and classified, at least when it comes to so-called traditional[2] quilts. But where do these named designs come from? It is uncertain, whether the quilts of the 19th century and earlier were made according to already existing designs, which were named after some event, or has some historical or personal event served as an inspiration for creating a new block. In any case, the names of countless blocks recount historical events of the United States, and especially the way women experienced them (e.g. Smith Schabel, 1981).

No concrete evidence of quilts have remained from the earliest stage of immigration in the 17th century. European immigrants brought with them very little material property, but a rich heritage of handicraft. The oldest preserved quilts are from the late 1750s, when America disengaged itself from England, its motherland. The quilts of that era consisted mainly of squares and triangles. It was not until the early 19th century, when the technique of making quilts of blocks was introduced; this resulted in a need to give names to the blocks so that they could be distinguished from each other.

A single block could have a number of different names. The names changed from one *area* to another: somewhere a block was called "Rocky Road", while elsewhere it was called "Prairie Rose". The names changed *temporally*, too: "Rocky Mountain Road", which was popular in the 1850s, was renamed "Beauty of New York" in the early 20th century after the Art Deco movement of the era. Furthermore, different nationalities or communities might name a block after some events or other things that were important to them. In addition to historical milestones, the names have very often been, in one way or another, connected to nature and the area peopled lived in.

Even though there have been a great deal of territorial, temporal and social differences, the names of the blocks have, for the most part, established so that many quiltmakers can recognize the majority of blocks by their name. Women are quite capable of both expressing themselves through quilting, and of interpreting works by members of their own quiltmaking community.

For American quiltmakers, it is possible to reminisce and portray visually turning-points of the history of their country by using blocks of that era, or by choosing a design which feels suitable for depicting the quiltmaker's own life or that of her ancestors. During last decade, Finns have also joined this international quiltmakers' community, adopting its "language" and mindset, and started to classify, distinguish and label the phenomenon, which earlier was considered very uniform. In my opinion, this proves how powerful a medium quilts can be to their makers. In the past, a nameless quilt could be seen as a manifestation of women's excellent ability of housekeeping. Today, it is different: readymade duvets are cheap, whereas quilts, with their materials and working hours, are many times more expensive. Quilts have become

so dear to their makers that they deserve a name, for example "Log Cabin".

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Notes

1. In many countries, the association of quiltmakers is divided into local guilds. In Finland, there are 50 guilds around the country, under the Finn Quilt Ry. association.
2. Quiltmakers divide the designs to tranditional and modern ones, and regard themselves as either traditionalists or modernists.

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Difference or Similarity
Narrativity, Politics and Theory
By Ella Johansson

Among the most significant directions in the humanities and social sciences of the last decade is the interest in the types of texts and narratives that are produced in academia. Anthropologists like Clifford Geertz (1988), James Clifford and George Marcus (1986) – influenced by the latter's university colleague, historian Hayden White (1973, 1987) – have moved the focus from what is perceived and methodically processed in the field to the textual representations that are finally submitted by the anthropologists. Although this interest in texts theoretically originates from a post-structuralist and postmodern position, the quest to scrutinize how "the Other" is represented, to expose the Western, colonial and male gaze, may be understood as an – or perhaps *the* – ethical and political project of today's intellectuals. The two discourses of "writing culture" and "the Other" are of course also specifically connected in anthropology and ethnology through the question of the roots of these disciplines in, and continuous relation to, the projects of colonialism-imperialism and nation-building respectively. In philosophical debate and connected forms of social theory *the Other* is also an important category – in what has come to be called the "Ethics and Difference Debate" – not from the perspectives of narrativity and representation, but for more straightforward ethical and political implications (see *Theory, Culture and Society*, May 1996, especially Lash).

There can be no doubt that this text is conceived in this general setting of *text critique* and *ethics and difference*. I will however also be aiming at the more formal aspects of narrativity as well as the logical and sociological aspects of the production of knowledge in the form of scientific texts.[1] The "material" which will form the examples consists of two works in the field of migration studies from the early 1980s, which are classics in the sense that they have been much read and used, for example, as required reading in various types of education for a long time. My ideas about difference stories and similarity stories, however apply just as much to more or less any literature on cultural (and other genres of) history, social anthropology or any representation of "cultures".

Two Classics in Swedish Migration Studies

Before elaborating on narrative structures, let me present the texts I have used, at first merely sticking to their content and my interpretation of their political context and their content in the "ethics and difference" discourse.

The first book, the social anthropologist Lisbeth Sachs's dissertation *Onda ögat eller bakterier? Turkiska invandrarkvinnors möte med svensk sjukvård* ("Evil Eye or Bacteria? Turkish Immigrant Women's Encounter with the Swedish Health Care System") was published in 1983 and based on fieldwork which started in 1975. This "encounter" is described as a clash, or a collision. It remains somewhat unclear, however, whether this is a clash between cultures or between culture and science. The Turkish women's image of disease and of curing of disease – which involves the evil eye, spirits, amulets, verses from the Koran as well as massive syringes generously handed out by authoritative and self-assured physicians – is thoroughly explained to us. Our understanding of how difficult it must be for these women to function in the Swedish health care system is substantially

increased. This is a book that is still much read and in use, for example, in different kinds of educational programmes, especially the courses in multiculturalism mainly attended by women in public services such as the welfare, school, or health-care systems. This book was written in a specific political context. It is in practice a polemic against the ideology of assimilation which was the official policy of the Swedish state up to the early eighties. Until then Sweden understood itself as "the Model", a welfare utopia and the "spearhead of modernity" among nations (Ruth 1984). This was an ideology which was universalistic, but – of course – also chauvinistic. The fact that everybody in the world is equal meant that they were not only "alike", but "like" Swedes. Swedishness was not reflected upon, however. Swedes just happened to be more modern, wealthy and rational than most other nations. If some people were different this was because they were not modern. They were instead regrettably behind Sweden in a uniform process of linear historical development and progress. This was in itself no real difference, but of course a good reason for wanting to be a Swede.

The other book, *Det otydliga kulturmötet: Om invandrare och svenskar på ett daghem* ("The Blurred Culture Encounter: On Immigrants and Swedes in a Daycare Centre") by the ethnologist Billy Ehn, was published in 1986. It is a fieldwork-based study of a daycare centre in a suburb of Stockholm which has one of the highest proportions of immigrant inhabitants in a Swedish area. Immigrant children – especially Turkish children – are in the majority. Do Turkish children in daycare centres define a problem as large as Turkish women in health centres? The non-Swedish parents might indeed be worried that their children are taken outdoors in cold weather, that boys and girls go swimming together and that they are allowed to "play doctor" – examining each other's bodies – without being interrupted by the staff. Some of the staff members, especially those sympathetic to the values of multiculturalism, were very likely to explain everything about the children and their parents – including features such as being tired in the morning, having golden teeth or a sense of rhythm – as expressions of their cultural characteristics. On the whole, however, Billy Ehn concludes, the encounters take place in a strikingly smooth way. People's – the staff's and the parents' – ability to adapt, change, understand and cooperate is "stronger" than their cultural belonging or ethnic identity. Ehn asks himself what it really is that "meets" in a cultural encounter: cultures, representatives of cultures, or individuals? His view is that the coexistence works because people are facing each other as individuals, and not as representatives of ethnic groups or cultures.

Billy Ehn's book should be understood in the context of the revision of the official immigration policies that took place between the mid-1970s and early 1980s. The project of assimilation was then given up, officially in a declaration of a new cultural policy, and Sweden was from now on described as a multicultural society. Integration became a keyword, stating the right both to maintain and to develop one's own culture and to participate in society as a whole. This can be described as a shift, at least in the official rhetoric, from univeralism to particularism. A benevolent interpretation of these declarations would be that there was an official acknowledgement

that things that had previously been understood as neutral, universal, scientific and modern now could be understood as simply Swedish, and thus negotiable. Ehn's book, however, is written partly as a critical comment on multiculturalism, stressing the limited ability of culture to provide an explanation for social relations. Multiculturalism as a catchword is not an unequivocal term. In the discussion between, for example, Charles Taylor and Jürgen Habermas, it has been placed at one pole in the dichotomy of universalism and particularism, of liberalism and communitarianism, as a quest for justice versus a quest for recognition (Taylor 1994; Bauman 1996). If the state recognizes that people are different, because of their cultural or ethnical background or identification, this could, given a political meaning, imply that they have different needs and different rights, which should be met in different ways. In an extreme form of application, where people are primarily seen as partaking in society as representatives of ethnic groups rather than in terms of individual citizenship, this is comparable to an apartheid policy (Callewaert 1984). In Sweden a culturalization started, which at the same time became a problematization of immigrant people (Ålund & Schierup 1992). The debate has parallels in gender politics and different kinds of feminism, where the contradictions between the quest for equal treatment and for recognition of difference are easier to see and have had greater political importance (Benhabib 1992).

Besides the more analytical sides of difference ethics and politics, one could bring up the question of how much the multiculturalist policy really means in practice. It seems that multiculturalism in the Swedish form does not reach much further than an interest in exotic food, dress, dance and customs. These are mainly displayed at multicultural festivals intended to increase tolerance and understanding. And, as we are reminded of in reading about a daycare centre; How much more could difference and multiculturalism mean in a society that keeps its members in what at that time was a uniform, government-controlled education system, based on a specific "universal" value system, from the age of 2 to at least the age of 18? How much education, and which forms of "similarity creating", are a minimum for holding together an advanced modern state? Ten years after Billy Ehn's work, another study was carried out in the same area to see how the daycare staff of the 1990s handled such questions. Their resolution was that in order to support what they judged to be disadvantaged children's possibilities to work and partake in society, they would have to concentrate on teaching the children Swedish language and culture. This was regardless of the fact that the staff, at least in the situation where they were interviewed by the researchers, displayed a self-reflexive, relativistic and contingent view of Swedishness. They set the problem with the answer that gave the study its title: "This is a Swedish Daycare Centre" (Ronström, Runfors & Wahlström 1995).

Two divisions at the daycare centre in Billy Ehn's study, "Delight" and "Tranquillity", are in themselves good examples of both problems and advantages in the two strategies of universalism and particularism. In the multiculturalist and particularistic "Delight", great attention is paid to the children's cultural background. The young and enthusiastic staff encourage the children to do drawings and tell the group about

their cultural background. This is often a hard task, since these expectations do not seem to be relevant or intelligible to the children. The meeting with the parents, however, turns out to be a pleasant and successful social event, as everybody takes part in preparing a multi-ethnic meal and becomes an active participant in the informal meeting procedures after the meal.

In the other division, the universalistic and assimilative "Tranquillity", the staff members are middle-aged, secure women of working-class background and values. Their attitudes are close to the post-war welfare state's project of scientifically based social engineering. All children are seen primarily as Swedes, and the teachers' methods of healthy and rational child rearing are applied to everybody equally: "Here we make no difference between the children". The daily routines work out well and the children seem confident and satisfied, regardless of background. For the evening meeting with the group of parents, the staff cook the meal. They serve the parents – in this division mainly Turkish Muslims – mashed potatoes and the typically Swedish dull everyday sausage "falukorv" (whether this was prepared with or without pork the author does not state). The meeting is predominantly used for information and admonitions to the silent parents.

These texts have been presented here mingled with the discussions and interpretations for which I have used them for several years in the teaching of undergraduates. A secret side effect of my work of problematizing these books, as well as other texts, was however the lurking suspicion that the narrative structure of a text – a text dealing with people: socially, culturally, ethnographically, historically – has a lot to do with the kind of scientific conclusions and the kind of difference ethics they produce.

The Scholar as Storyteller

There are some logics of form and narrative rules that are hard to set aside when writing an academic or scientific text. In order to be virtuous and produce good research in the world of scholars, you have to solve a problem. This can be the interpretation, understanding, explanation or solution of an enigma or a puzzle. When the story starts, and the problem is defined, the best possible takeoff is when the object of study can be depicted as being as strange, puzzling and as different as possible. The more puzzling and enigmatic the problem is, the better the feat of solving it will appear. If the author can introduce what seems like a very big problem, half the success is already guaranteed – provided the scholar is able to sort it out during the guided tour through the material which is the next part of the story, whether this material is a group of people, a set of amino acids or a series of equations. When the story is told we should ideally be convinced that the puzzle has been solved by the author and is not a puzzle any more.

To make the argument clear I would like to represent the scholar as a storyteller in the verbal sense, as a person in bygone times who perhaps made his living telling stories to an illiterate audience in a crowded cottage, a medieval knightly court or an oriental kasbah. This is to underline what folklorists call "the performance situation". The scholar is standing in front of a demanding audience of connoisseurs. They expect him to produce a story, at the same time innovative and exciting, as well as

taking an informed and well-considered position in the prevalent genres and discourses. I have chosen to underline the narrative performance by rhetorically presenting the storytelling academic as someone who springs from an old-fashioned edition of the *Arabian Nights*. Translated into these oral codes, the basic conditions of a scholarly work seem to be the author saying something like this:

"Listen to this," – introducing the problem – "here is something we can agree upon as being very strange, but gather around me while, and I will tell you my story, and you will understand it all." And later: "When I started telling my story, you were ignorant and thought that this was strange, but now that you have been listening to me you understand what this was about, and you don't think it is strange any more."

A simple figure of basic scientific explanation, and narration, would look like Figure 1. A problem is created and made to seem alien at the beginning of the story, and during the narration it is identified and "brought home" again, integrated as familiar knowledge by the true hero of a scholarly story, the author and researcher himself. In the humanities and social sciences the story, still described with the oral performance metaphor, would be something like this:

"Look at this tribe (or subculture or people who lived a long time ago). Don't you think it is strange that they do (did) all these strange things, and don't they seem to be very different from us? But please bear with me for a while, and I will tell you more about them. When I have finished you will understand them and see that they are (were) not so different from ourselves."

Admittedly, I do not think the element of problem solving and explanation is as dominant in the humanities and social sciences as it might be in the natural sciences. The task of producing the problem, of identifying difference and strangeness, is no less important. When it comes to sociology, and ethnology, which in Northern and Central Europe more or less exclusively deals with

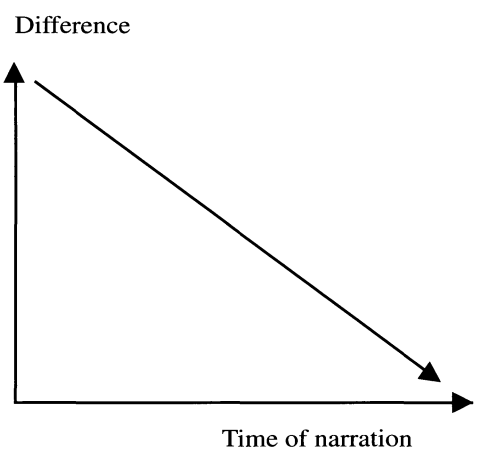

Figure 1.

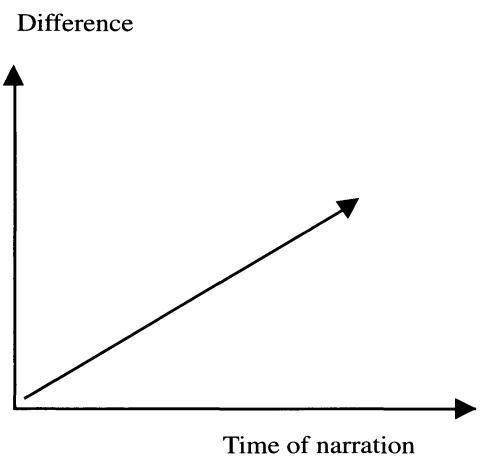

Figure 2.

one's own culture, it is necessary to alienate and exoticize what the group does. But the project of creating an academic perspective which has a distance is also important when other cultures and eras are studied, since the academic perspective should be different from ordinary man's common-sense, perhaps prejudiced, understanding of "the Other". The design in Figure 2 may illustrate this narrative figuration.

This figure starts off with identification and understanding and at the end of the story it creates alterity, difference and alienation. The storytelling scholar seems, in the most simple way of putting it, to be saying:

> "You all probably think that we who live here are quite normal and well adapted to common sense and rational circumstances, but listen to what I can tell you, and you will see yourselves in a different light, and realize that you are as strange as anyone you can think of."

Since all academic text have to both identify and solve problems, any text needs to have sub-narratives of both kinds, although, as I will elaborate later on, either a difference or a similarity story will have to dominate. In the case of ethnographic text (ethnographic in a wide sense), however, I do not think the explanatory, integrating narrative has to be the dominant one.

Setting the Plot

Lisbeth Sachs starts by describing an environment that is familiar to all Swedes, a doctor's consulting room in a district health centre. A visiting Turkish woman is acting strangely, however. She is extremely scared, apparently by the kind nurse and the friendly doctor. She does not allow the doctor to examine her obviously very ill, barely conscious, baby (she has actually come there in the first place for the routine check-up of her older son). Lisbeth Sachs soon explains this situation by making us understand how strange the situation is in the eyes of the Turkish woman. The informal and friendly doctor scares the woman precisely by *not* wearing a uniform, *not* providing prescription and injections and *not* behaving in an austere, strict and authoritative manner. The kind nurse frightens the woman by being blonde and blue-eyed and by touching and complimenting the child. The nurse is in all these respects a model example of a person who has the evil eye, and the evil eye is also the cause of the baby's illness. The mother will soon go to Turkey to cure the baby. She has only come to see the doctor because she hopes for injections or medicine which will increase the older son's appetite, making him fatter and healthy looking.

In the introductory part of "Evil Eye or Bacteria?" Sachs tells us this very powerful and shaking story, a narrative that no one who has read will ever forget. The story depicts a situation which is very problematic, not only because the woman is very strange and different, but also because we soon realize that our own culture looks very strange from the woman's point of view. A fearful breach opens up right where we expected nothing but security and domestic ground. The pattern of starting with a familiar situation and then introducing and increasing difference is repeated in the book. The women's world-view and behaviour are certainly made understandable to us, and thus explanation and a certain elimination of difference is as one theme in the book. This is also how it is used by the social services employees, as handbook information provided in extension courses

in "immigrant issues proficiency". Yet the main narrative structure, the arguments which have political, ethical and theoretical consequences, is about pointing out and making us recognize that difference and strangeness exist also in areas which we think are normal and unified. Lisbeth Sachs is saying:

"You all think you know what disease is, and understand it as a universal human phenomenon, but listen to my story and I will show you that it is really something very different from what you think."

Billy Ehn starts his book by introducing a problem. A lot of things are happening in Sweden: "Sweden is not the same any more." A Sikh tram driver is not allowed to wear his turban at work. Muslims from Uganda in a housing estate have a problem with how their toilets are oriented, in relation to Mecca. Many similar examples are given, but there is an understatement. The real problem is perhaps not the differences that are manifested in turbans and toilets, but the confusion that prevails, not least among the Swedes themselves. How much do these things really matter? How much should we make of them? To Billy Ehn it is not the "amount" of difference in itself that could be a problem, but rather that the "diversity", the "multiculturality", is not "structured in a way that people know who they are dealing with and what is expected from them" (Ehn 1986:11).

Just as the structure of Lisbeth Sachs's text is set by a story in the introduction, Billy Ehn's story continues in the way his introduction indicates. Although Ehn is actively looking for problems and difference, in his encounter with people he finds that they are quite intelligible, sensible and understandable. He visits a fundamentalist family, and in them meets a humorous and open couple, not at all puritan, they giggle the same way Billy Ehn does when a strip scene comes up on the television which is on in the background. They also show a strong commitment to the rights of women and to men's and women's mutual responsibility for housework. At the daycare centre he approaches the no-nonsense nurses who insist on treating their Turkish children like Swedes, and finds that they have created an environment that is peaceful and beneficial, not least for the Turkish children. The most alienating and difference establishing view of "the Others" to be found in the book – apart from the infamous sausage party – is perhaps the tendency that prevails in the staff group with a multiculturalist ideology to explain various things the non-Swedish children and parents do as due to their "culture".

Billy Ehn could in some ways be said to tell a story about difference, since he is saying:

"You all think you know what culture, and a multicultural society is, but if you follow my story you will realize that these things can be understood, and might work, in a different way."

But his story about what people really are, and thus his ethical, political and theoretical argument, is one about similarity:

"You all think there is a problem because there is so much difference and so much cultural variation in our society, but listen to what I say, and you will realize that we are all basically quite similar, and also all quite rational, as in most cases we do not allow the small differences between us to destroy our relations."

From one point of view there are only two, mutually exclusive, options in this: to tell a

story about difference or to tell a story about similarity. But stories are of course from other points of view something much more complex. The pleasures of telling or writing – as well as of listening or reading – are not primarily the familiarity of the narratives and genres but the innovations and surprises that are produced within them. One reason why stories can be rich and exciting is that they are composed of a large number of elements or sub-stories. In this composition of small narratives lies the opportunity to modify the grand story, and avoid the mistake of making it one long boring argument for either difference or similarity. Perhaps a more correct graphic representation of the texts we are considering would show a lot of small vectors adding on to each other. Some of those would be going in other directions than the main trend, but it is these diverting stories that make the story original, reasonable and clever. It is still interesting to see how the basic structure – the grand narrative that the small narratives in all their complexity still end up forming – in Sachs's and Ehn's books are set already when the introductory examples are presented. There seems to be a first paradigm story which sets the pattern of the grand story to come. According to narrative theory, the structure should not be resolved and clear until the story is finished. This is not the case here. Perhaps we could rather speak of scientific narrative genres which demand to be established very early in the story.

Old and New Stories

A thoroughly consistent and outspoken story about either similarity or difference would not only be boring, it would also cause objections. But a too complex story would also be impossible to read. I would stress that the difficulty of combining the two perspectives is due to the conditions of the narrative performance. A lot of toing and froing between difference and similarity would simply produce a bad story, a story that does not make a statement.

There are however also theoretical reasons for the dichotomy between difference and similarity stories. This is partly based on the incoherence and incommensurability between two methodological perspectives. This opposition is most prominent and consciously treated within social science, but is always important whenever people are represented as social and cultural beings. On one hand there is the structural, holistic, collectivist perspective. From a theoretical, epistemological point of view the story about difference would correspond to methodological collectivism, for which society is something different from, and something bigger than the sum of its members and their consciousness and intentions. Stories about similarity would go with a processual, methodological individualist perspective, in which cultural and social phenomena are rooted in, and can be studied through the individuals (Giddens 1984; Gilje & Grimen 1992). From an epistemological point of view the two sociological modes of conceiving society, as well as the difference I spot between a difference story and a similarity story, could be seen as a "gestalt switch problem". In this, two images or conceptualizations could be drawn from the same basis, but they are mutually exclusive. It is not cognitively possible to perceive both perspectives at the same time.

This difficulty, or impossibility, of doing justice to all aspects of the material in one

text is however also connected to the contradictions between the ethical and political claims the two perspectives have. These demands of recognition and the demands of justice, protests against discrimination and protests against chauvinistic non-recognition might be all justified, but they are also mutually exclusive. Let us see what the ultimate consequences of the two narratives would be in both theoretical and ethical/political respects.

If the similarity perspective were carried out with real consistency, we would go for understanding and intelligibility. This would leave us with a number of stories about rational and fully transparent individuals who are determined to do what is best for them. This is what creates society, which is nothing more than the sum of what its members do, their "transactions". In practice this even tends to be what they do consciously and with good intentions, as this insider perspective implies a solidarity with individuals' own view of things that will hardly focus on destructive strains. The similarity story is ethically pleasing, as individuals are treated with respect. Yet if the perspective is carried out with real consistency you will not get stories about society or culture at all. Instead there will be an economizing and utility-maximizing theory about Rational Choice and Economic Man. It might of course be a *Homo economicus* who maximizes values that seem strange and "different": he might hold the values of, for example, ritual and religion the highest, or those of being intoxicated, or the circulation of little green sheets of paper. But once the cultural value hierarchy is made clear and understood, the story about similarity merely keeps repeating that every man is rational and acting exactly the same way we ourselves would have done, if we shared his circumstances and values.

The difference, or structural, holistic, collectivist, perspective, on the other hand, would not give recognition to a rationality that would unite human beings and make them intelligible to each other. In its most clear-cut and absolute forms it does not consider individuals' thoughts and considerations at all. Culture or Society, i.e. what is explicitly said to be the subject of ethnology, anthropology and sociology, is really the subject that is studied. The problem with this extreme is that seeing society as a kind of organism, body or spirit, is something that can be done on a metaphorical level, but largely this project remains unintelligible to us. The "society" or "culture" that embraces us still remains a mystery, a phantom.

In both traditions there are obvious ethical and political projects involved. Bronislaw Malinowski's version of functionalist theory is clearly directed against Mauss's structuralism, in the former's statements that "savages" make individual, rational and economizing decisions, and are thus just as much *Homo economicus* as you and I (Mauss 1925; Malinowski 1926). In *The Gift* Marcel Mauss was aiming at creating a general theory of human exchange which would include the economics and the economic thinking of our own Western society as a special case developed in a specific historical context. Our own modern and capitalist culture thus comes out as another example of difference, as an exotic and contingent variation of the basic theme of exchange.

Werner Schiffauer (1996) has shown how the present focus on the ethics, epistemol-

ogy and relevance of cultural anthropology has produced trends and practices which he labels "the fear of difference" (see also Hannerz 1996:30ff.). He identifies a trend, especially among young researchers, who hold difference to be politically incorrect. This is something I recognize from the immediate reactions of my students, although this is always combined with an equally immediate sympathy for the multiculturalist ideology (see e.g. Abu-Lughod 1992).

Ehn and Sachs both criticized the Swedish state's official immigration policies. It is of course not fair to let their criticism point them out as personal advocates of a particularistic communitarianism versus a universalistic liberalism. They were both reacting against the negative aspects they could identify in the politics, or perhaps even the Zeitgeist that was predominant when they did their respective fieldwork. I believe that Ehn's *Det otydliga kulturmötet*, although based on a transactionalist tradition in the Swedish ethnology of the late sixties and early seventies, was also pioneering in new ways of interpreting culture in the late eighties. This was perhaps the beginning of the same strain that now has amalgamated into the "fear of difference" trend that Werner Schiffauer identifies.

It seems especially important to underline that the difference stories do not necessarily, in fact do not usually, point out a difference between us and them, the west and the rest. The last chapter in Lisbeth Sachs's book is not an analytical conclusion, but a final story which tells about the author's visit to a Turkish village. There she falls ill. She recognizes that her own fear and panic in this situation, her dependence on her own cultural system and suspicion of the one she is visiting, is as strong, stubborn and "primitive" as that of the Turkish woman who was the leading figure in the opening story.

Lisbeth Sachs' narration about difference is very much like the story Durkheim told when producing the foundation for a science of the social in his *Suicide*:

> "You all think you know what suicide is, but listen to me and I will show you that it is something completely different from what you believe it is."

After Durkheim, French anthropologists, historians and philosophers, in a structuralist tradition, have continued to tell us that familiar and universal things like gifts, marriages, sex, childhood, production and so on are certainly very different from what is commonly held, and that the social is happening on a level very different and separate from our individual thinking and choice.

When the difference perspective is carried out consistently, it should thus not just point out difference between us and them, but also recognize Western and modern culture as basically "primitive", founded not on rationality but on specific mythologies, rituals, power relations, exchange forms and kinship systems. The project in the structuralist or classical anthropological and sociological tradition was merely to challenge the common-sense view of ourselves as the rational and individualized ones (Mestrovic 1993). This holds an ethical project which is different from that of the similarity perspective. If the similarity perspective could threaten to reduce the Other to oneself, making everybody into modern Westerners in some form, the structuralist difference perspective could maintain the enigma, integrity and particularity,

not only of the Other but also of our own. I myself feel that in the present situation this latter would be the more interesting perspective to promote, merely because it is a more or less forgotten project. Taken too far it would of course also have its backlash in both demonization and fetishization of culture, avoiding and unable to explain evidence that people very often, regardless of cultural background, are perfectly able to transcend culture and operate on universally intelligible terms. There is no real resolution. The similarity stories are connected to ethics that can be rationalized and universalized. They tend to advocate justice, equality and human rights. The difference stories have a non-generalizable ethic which emphasizes humility, recognition, empathy and respect for the Other, even when the Other is strange, incomprehensible and even repulsive (Levinas 1969; Benhabib 1992; Gardiner 1996).

The ethical and political dynamite in the two perspectives is not because neither of them can be proved right, but because it is so easy to prove them wrong (or at least to show that the perspective one does not embrace is wrong). The storyteller is taking a great risk, because whether he is telling a difference story or a similarity story, the people told about can always – and indeed rightly so – claim that he is misrepresenting them. The minority, be it an ethnic, social or religious group, or perhaps men or women, have a strong case in their resistance and self-defence. Since a similarity story does not recognize their specificity and a difference story does not treat them as equal, there is always cause for criticism, and this is also what happens all the time. Who is allowed to study and tell stories about whom is a question of power and the possibility of resistance. Sometimes groups achieve conditions and positions where the risk of their being studied and interpreted by others is very small. They have managed to monopolize the right to describe and interpret themselves.

It is important to stress that "difference" on an empirical, descriptive and narrative level in no way has to imply difference in an ethical discourse. Whether differences between people should be significant to what their rights and obligations should be is something entirely up to human decision making (Moi 1999). Justice and equality are of course not drawn from real similarities between people, but about how much significance their differentness should have for their rights in society. Nor does an identification with the values of universalism or individual rights – which have a liberal origin in the history of ideas – mean a necessary identification with modern liberal ideology as a whole. In most cases it is not the values themselves that are disputed in politics, but the means of getting there and the borderlines between what is private and what should be handled by the state. Let us hope that ethics and politics will continue to deal with what the ethical and political significance of difference should or should not be, and how the conditions to which we aspire can reasonably be achieved, and not about whether difference really exists.

Thus there can be no real way to judge what is right and wrong in the choice between difference and similarity stories, but there can of course be both well and badly written stories of both kinds, from ethical and political points of view as well. One can only urge the writer to be aware of whom or what he or she is debating and

hope for stories that are critical and transcend the trends of the present. Which perspective is trendy and overused and which perspective is threatened or defined as outmoded at a certain point in time will still of course always be under dispute. Courage and commitment, however, can hardly spoil a story, nor can humility about the historical relativity of one's own position.[2]

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Notes

1 Important sources of inspiration were also the discussions with two friends who have been working with narrative forms in scholarly writing. These are the Norwegian historian Ingar Kaldal (1994) and the Swedish archaeologist Elisabeth Rudebeck (1996, 2000).
2 This article was published in a less elaborate version in Johansson 1997 and in a Swedish version in Johansson 1998.

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Biographical Notes

Axel Steensberg 1906–1999

Axel Steensberg, professor, dr. phil. and dr. agro. h.c., passed away quietly on 3 March 1999, aged 92. We have lost a great humanist with a tireless, intrepid spirit of inquiry. Axel Steensberg has influenced Danish and international research and debate in many ways for more than half a century, and many have been influenced in their professional life by his example and by his generosity of spirit, in Denmark, Britain, France, and even Australia and China.

Axel Steensberg was born on a farm in West Jutland and started in agriculture, but a stay at Askov Folk High School, at the age of 20, changed his life. After obtaining a teaching degree he proceeded to study geography and history at Copenhagen University, where he graduated in 1937. His work as a student at the National Museum had involved him in village archaeology and surveying Celtic fields in Jutland for Gudmund Hatt. Steensberg had also worked since the 1930s at the Folklife Department of the National Museum and in 1946 he became head of the department. Here he pioneered excavations of medieval and more recent villages (Bolle, Pebringe, Hejninge, Store Valby, Borup Ris etc.) using the method which the English called "digging in open areas", when the English medieval village group adapted his methods in the 1950s. As leader of a research department Steensberg initiated systematic investigations and collections of threatened Danish cultural heritage. In his period he started investigations of peasant farms, estates, industry and craft.

His personal engagement and enthusiasm involved him in much organizational work on committees and boards. In 1954 he started ethnological study at Copenhagen University, and in 1959 he became professor of the subject entitled material folk culture. Steensberg retired, however, ten years later to devote his time to research. His students are still serving the Danish museum world well.

Axel Steensberg's background gave his research works and contribution to the history of ploughing implements and the development of agriculture the dimension of an insider's experience and opinion, which I, like many other colleagues, have frequently been privileged to consult.

In 1954 Steensberg, as general secretary of the first International Congress of Ploughing Implements in Copenhagen, established a new International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements, with Sigurd Erixon as president. I have happened to be involved and worked with Steensberg on this since 1966, and on his initiative in 1968 together with Alexander Fenton the journal *Tools and Tillage* was started.

Already in his dissertation on ancient harvesting implements, in 1943, Steensberg had included experiments as part of the research process and in the 1950s he worked with Johs. Iversen, J. Troels Smith, and Kustaa Vilkuna on the Draved Experiments. In 1964 Steensberg became chairman of the Historical Archaeological Research Centre in Lejre, the first in the world. Here he fully supported the far-sighted initiative by his pupil Hans Ole Hansen.

After his retirement as professor, Axel Steensberg devoted his time to research, and his works are numerous, substantial, and on a wide range of subjects, especially research on peasant culture and agrarian civilisations. Steensberg became a researcher on a global scale. He also became a world traveller, with expeditions far away from Denmark and Europe, to many places in the Middle East, India, Australia, and four times to New Guinea.

Throughout a lifetime I have been fortunate as

his student, his travel companion on expeditions, his cooperator on numerous projects, co-editor of *Tools and Tillage*, and as his friend, to have experienced the spiritual strength and physical energy which radiated from Axel Steensberg, who always had an optimistic attitude to the future and trust in human beings.

He was an extraordinary and lively person, highly concerned about the matters to which he devoted his attention. He cared less for the personal recognition for his services, although this led to membership of many academic societies, chairmanships of commissions, and honorary titles in and outside Denmark.

Axel Steensberg was a creative, sensitive person, with a sense of occasional intolerance, for he did not suffer fools gladly.

His sometimes restless energy did not prevent him from registering meticulously and making keen observations and cogent documentation, working fast to achieve his goals. Steensberg could be impulsive and sometimes harsh in his criticism of people who did not live up to his demands for quality and effort, and he worked so much himself.

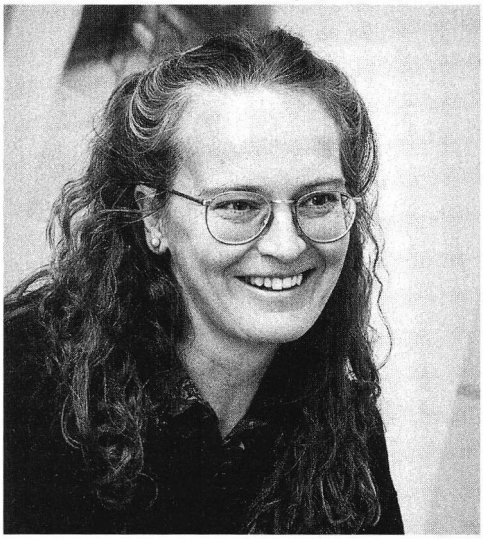
International cooperation and the exchange of thoughts and opinions with foreign colleagues old and young were important in Steensberg's academic life, as his enormous correspondence and his diaries testify. His material is now kept in the Royal Danish Library and the International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agrarian and Food Technology.

Axel Steensberg left his fingerprint on much Danish and international research discussion. With his enormous capacity, he managed to publish up to 440 works. Even in his old age he kept himself oriented in the contemporary cultural debate and did not abstain from expressing his opinions in writing.

Although Axel Steensberg is no longer physically among us, his works still live on. One which reached us after his death bears the significant title "Spirit and Matter". Its last sentence says: "Es ist der Geist, der sich den Körper baut." Those words were written two hundred years ago by Friedrich Schiller in his drama on Wallenstein, which Axel Steensberg had adapted as his own – illustrating the connection between the spiritual strength and the fragile physical body with which he was much concerned in his last years.

Grith Lerche, Frederiksberg

Anna-Maria Åström, Professor at Åbo Akademi University (Turku)



In early 1999 Dr Anna-Maria Åström was appointed to the Kisseleff Chair of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi University. The post comprises research in Nordic culture studies and tuition on the material and social culture and the customs of Finland-Swedes.

Anna-Maria Åström (born 1951) differs from her three predecessors in many ways. She belongs to the first purely urban generation of Finnish ethnologists. She was not trained in the Åbo tradition. After a degree in sociology, political science, and statistics she worked as a librarian and then studied ethnology at Helsinki University and worked as an archivist at the Folk Culture Archive in Helsinki. Since 1987 she has been a researcher at the Finnish Academy and has also initiated and led several projects, such as the current "Town Dwellers and their Places".

Åström's roughly 150 works range over the following fields: manor-house and upper-class culture from a European perspective; urban culture, especially in Helsinki and other coastal towns; customs and rituals in bourgeois and youth culture; Finnish tourism abroad.

As regards theory, her works incorporate historical anthropology and mentalities, inspired by the *Annales* school and Norbert Elias; sociology of culture with a structuralist stamp (patterns, symbols, power), influenced by Bourdieu and Baudrillard; cultural semiotics (Lotman, Bakhtin); the ethnicity and identity problematic, proceeding from the study of the Other.

Åström's most important works are her doctoral dissertation, *Sockenboarne* (1993), which analyses manor-house culture as a whole, using a large body of empirical material to elucidate manor organization, gender aspects, rituals, the symbolic value of artefacts, cultural strategies, and cultural boundaries. The perspective is processual and non-static. The life-mode is put in a European context through comparative studies.

Åström's urban studies began with *Kaskö* (1985), written with Matti Räsänen. The most important themes here are the social structure and way of life in a small town, the official town pattern and the social reality, changes in the local community, language (Swedish vs. Finnish), cultural encounters, and cultural boundaries.

In *Hemma bäst* (1990), a study of childhood recollections from Helsinki, she analyses private in relation to public, transit zones between these, and class differences. Åström reveals the codes for distinction, changeability, and ambivalence in the city's culture.

Her analyses of rituals of various kinds involve the study of history, continuity, and change. The perspectives are structural, semiotic, and carnivalistic.

The project "Cultural Confrontation and Self-Image", which she has planned and led, studies the identity of Swedish-speakers in Finland in their encounter with Finnish-speakers, and encounters related to the cultural capital as a strategic resource. In her analysis of the "dual identity" she draws on Bourdieu, Elias, and Hobsbawm, as well as ethnology in Marburg and linguistic theory.

Anna-Maria Åström is a modern, versatile scholar. She continues positive aspects of older scholarly tradition while being critically open to new theories and methods. A holistic view of man as a cultural being pervades all her research. Her documentation and analysis of bourgeois and urban culture in Finland is innovative. She is also the only ethnologist in Finland to have analysed Russian culture. Her appointment in Åbo is undoubtedly a change of paradigm.

Bo Lönnqvist, Jyväskylä

Kurt Genrup, Professor of Ethnology at Umeå University

Kurt Genrup, born in Kalmar in 1944, took his doctorate at Lund University in 1975, with the dissertation *Gåsskötsel*. In this diachronic study he showed how goose breeding has been associated with different social strata and cultural settings during the life cycle of the goose.

This study led to further ethnogastronomic research on goose consumption and the celebration of St Martin's Day. During his time as an educational consultant in Visby his interest focused on the Gotlandic diet, which he summed up in *Mat och måltidsseder på Gotland* (1992).

Since moving to Umeå University he has been one of the driving forces behind courses in foodways. He has been responsible for distance education on the topic. In 1998 he organized an international symposium on ethnological food research in Umeå/Frostaviken.

Genrup has particularly cultivated contacts with Germany, which has resulted in his *Germania och Moder Svea* (1997). For a few years Genrup was acting professor at Åbo Akademi University, where he is also docent.

Genrup is known for his great enterprise and enthusiasm, coupled with administrative and pedagogical skill. He was one of the founders of the Norrland Gastronomic Academy, and since 1999 he has also been a member of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Lena Gerholm, Professor at Stockholm University

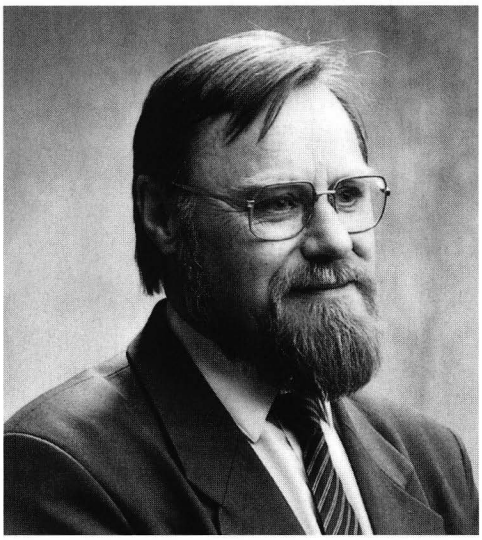
On 1 July 1999 Lena Gerholm became professor of ethnology at Stockholm University. Born in 1952, she had a flying start to her academic career with the dissertation *Kulturprojekt och projektkultur* (1985). It evaluated an experiment in culture policy which sought to stimulate people to engage in shared cultural activities. Lena Gerholm proved to be the right person to undertake this methodologically and theoretically tricky study, which concerned both culture projects and the "project culture" in which she did her fieldwork as a culture bureaucrat. Her discourse analysis of this was ahead of its time.

Gerholm's research is characterized by interviews and participant observation, concentrating on modern social issues. As regards theory, she is result-oriented, driven by a desire to find patterns in complex matters and to answer the question "Why?" Her works on culture theory show great precision and acumen, with a strong empirical foundation.

Gerholm's writings cover such diverse topics as postgraduate education in different disciplines, popular notions of schizophrenia, and Western women's encounters with Islam. The latter project began with two years' field study in Egypt; the overall theme is gender and cultural constructions of reality, a problem also tackled in the book she recently edited, *Begär och behag*.

Åke Daun, Stockholm

Reimund Kvideland, Professor of Folklore at the University of Bergen



Reimund Kvideland, born in 1935, became lecturer in folklore 1966 at the University of Bergen and there built a discipline with the focus on contemporary tradition and process. He was Director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore from 1991 until 1997 when it was discontinued, and he returned to Bergen.

His scholarly works cover several topics. Within narrative and singing tradition he has focused on the transmission of folk stories and songs. Traditional text analysis is demonstrated editions of fairy tales, legends and songs. Children's lore and how they use it is another field of interest. In popular religion he has focused on religious memorates.

Kvideland was the first chairman of NEFA and founder of *Nord Nytt*. In 1971 he started *Tradisjon*, a journal of modern Norwegian folklore and served as its editor for 25 years. He has been President of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research 1989–1995 and president of Société International d'Ethnologie et de Folklore 1987–1990.

Kvideland was a long-time contributor to *Internationale volkskundliche Bibliographie*. He has been guest professor at Indiana University and the University of Washington and guest lecturer at universities in the Nordic countries, Germany, Scotland, India, Canada and the US.

Reimund Kvideland generously shares his wide knowledge of national and international folklore with whoever cares to ask for it!

Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred, Oslo

Mats Lindqvist, Professor at Södertörn College

Mats Lindqvist was born in 1953 and took his doctorate in Lund with the dissertation *Klasskamrater*, a study of cultural formation in the industrial working class which was part of the "Cultural and Class Boundaries" project. Here he renewed the cultural theory of historical materialism with inspiration from Karel Kosík's philosophy, and he has continued this interest in culture theory in subsequent studies.

From the emergence of the working class he turned to the gentlemen of the economic élite, resulting in the fascinating analyses presented in *Herrarna i näringslivet* (1996).

Lindqvist taught at the Department of Ethnology in Uppsala 1990–1996 and then became lecturer at Södertörn College, where he has built up new interdisciplinary courses, with both European and Baltic profiles.

In recent years he has worked on a project which seeks to capture some of the ways in which the market-economy rhetoric permeates today's society. Here, as in his previous studies, he tests new paths to understanding how yesterday's and today's capitalist society have also shaped everyday thinking and acting.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

Britta Lundgren, Professor at Umeå University

Britta Lundgren was appointed professor of ethnology at Umeå University in May 1999. Born in Malå, Lapland, in 1951, she studied at Umeå University, where she became assistant lecturer in ethnology and head of the Forum for Women's Studies. In 1990 she took her Ph.D. with the thesis *Allmänhetens tjänare*, a study of women in the Post Office. She has since written *Den ofullkomliga vänskapen* (1995) and *Åtskilja och förena* (1995, with Inger Lövkrona and Lena Martinsson), besides editing a couple of books.

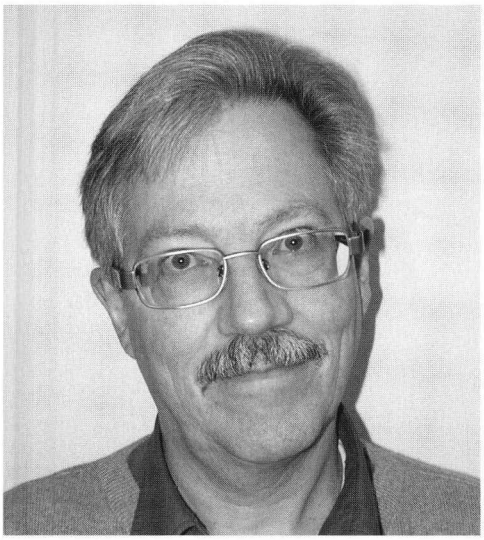
Her theoretical gender perspective has had a great impact on today's ethnology. As acting professor of gender studies in 1997 she applied this perspective in the multidisciplinary setting of the Forum for Women's Studies. She has also taught it to undergraduates, and as member of the National Secretariat for Gender Studies she has pursued the topic at a more general level.

Lundgren is currently leading two research projects, "The Cultural Organization of Hostility" and "Trust Reconsidered", besides working on an anthology about gender and politics.

In the newly founded Department of Culture and Media, where ethnology is one of four subjects, Britta Lundgren is responsible for research and postgraduate education. She has a strong commitment to issues of university policy, and today she is on the University Board.

Billy Ehn, Umeå

Ulf Palmenfelt, Professor of Folklore Studies at Bergen University/Gotland University College



Ulf Palmenfelt was appointed professor of folklore studies at Bergen University in 1998. He was born in 1947. He studied anthropology, ethnology and English at Stockholm University, where he then took his Ph.D. in ethnology in 1994. His dissertation was *Per Anders Säves möten med människor och sägner*.

He has worked as a journalist, in film and theatre, and as a lecturer. He was research secretary at the Nordic Institute of Folklore in Åbo 1995–96 and he was assistant professor of folklore at Bergen University 1996–99. In 1999 he became lecturer in ethnology at Gotland University College.

He is one of the few Swedish ethnologists to identify himself as a folklorist. His special field is contemporary folklore: chain-letters, Xerox-lore, children's rhymes, etc. The connection between patterns of folklore and popular culture in modern mass media is another one of his fields.

His other special field is the folklore of rural Swedish society. He combines methods for analysing contemporary, audio-taped folklore and archived material from the nineteenth century.

Ulf Palmenfelt is a very good lecturer, able to captivate scholars and laypeople. His way of combining historical aspects of folklore and contemporary tradition with a skilful performance of his ideas and thoughts makes him a good capacity for Gotland University College.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Borders and Bridges in Lund 1999

During two weeks in August, just over fifty students and ten teachers from different European ethnology departments gathered in Lund for the Third Tempus Summer School on Comparative European Ethnology. The organizers of the school were Anna Burstedt and Kjell Hansen of the Department of European Ethnology in Lund, and the course was funded by the EU.

Students and staff from departments of ethnology/anthropology in Berlin (Humboldt), Budapest, Copenhagen, Jyväskylä, Lund, Pécs, Poznań, Warsaw, and Vienna took part.

The theme of the summer school was "Borders and Bridges". We had several reasons for choosing this as a theme: It encompassed a wide variety of different cultural phenomena, from nations and regions to social stratification and gender; it gave opportunities for fieldwork based on observations; and, of course, there was the fact that a bridge between Sweden and Denmark was actually being built, and an associated discourse on what it will mean for the future of nationalism and regionalism in the area.

The theme thus captured the cultural flows as well as their disjunctures across national boundaries. The emphasis was on discussion and doing fieldwork.

The course was organized into five different themes, each being studied by a workshop, and elucidated through lectures. These themes were:

- Regionalism – potential or threat?
- Social stratification and new contexts.
- Sweden–Denmark from boat to bridge.
- Food as a conveyer of culture.
- Gender relations in the new Europe.

Students from all over Europe – with little or no understanding of Swedish or Danish – did exciting fieldwork in Lund, Malmö, and Copenhagen for nearly two weeks. An incomplete and brief summary of what the students were doing shows that the group working on regionalism focused on the ways in which regional identities are expressed in postcards and other visual symbols. Social stratification was primarily approached through consumption, and the group discussed class as well as ethnicity, while the group working on the boat/bridge theme naturally discussed the impact of the means of transport on the way we conceive of travelling. The group working on food concentrated on the representations of nationalities among suppliers of food in Lund and Malmö, while the group analysing gender relations studied bodily practices as an expression of gender patterns. Finally, one group of students interpreted the theme of "Borders and Bridges" to analyse "Tåget", the train now converted into a youth hostel in which they all stayed – and stayed very close together.

The pedagogical method used for the short intensive course put relatively low stress on regular lectures, and more on working from existing and newly won experiences made by students. This proved to be an effective way of learning. During the last day's presentations, students displayed a remarkable (in academic circles at least) inventiveness and imagination in submitting their results. Apart from being dramatically interesting, the results also proved to be good research.

The summer school is a result of the wish to improve contacts between different ethnology departments throughout Europe. The idea is that these kinds of contacts on the practical level will facilitate the development of European ethnology as a central arena for understanding present-day cultural changes. One of the objectives is to allow students from different parts of Europe to meet, and in this as well, the summer school was a success.

Anna Burstedt and Kjell Hansen, Lund

New Dissertations

Work in a Railway Yard

Birgitta Edelman, Shunters at Work. Creating a World in a Railway Yard. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 37. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1999. 337 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 91-7153-604-3.

■ The pictures in this book are sufficient to conjure up the atmosphere of a railway yard, with its points and engines and coaches, and the men at work. Switchmen who jump down from shunting engines and boldly connect single cars or whole trains. Railway workers who change points and signals: clear, slow, stop. Shunting staff receiving their instructions in the office and taking out their packed lunch in the breaks.

Pictures of leisure and life at home, on the other hand, are not included. Nor do we see what it was like during strikes; but more on that below.

The titles of the chapters essentially show the arrangement of the book: "Hagalund", "Organization of Work", "Modes of Cooperation and Planning", "Entry to the Shunting Yard", "Learning about 'Us' and 'Them'", "The Arts of Expressing, Impressing and Oppressing", "Perspectives of Work". This thesis makes instructive and liberating reading, unlike the kind of dissertations which abstract the topic *in absurdum*, so that the people more or less vanish.

Birgitta Edelman appears to have studied the work in great detail, obtaining profound insight into working conditions at the Hagalund railway yard in Stockholm. One nevertheless notices that she found it difficult to explain her situation as an anthropologist studying workers and work. There are no doubt many who will recognize this problem; I am thinking of our situation in Göteborg, when we documented the work of dockers and later of shipyard workers, as expressed by Anders Björklund and Gösta Arvastson. Another disadvantage that can arise here is that "the curiosity of the uninitiated" during fieldwork can be obscured and gradually taken for granted.

If I were to mention yet another questionable point, it would be the constant references to Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. The author often makes excellent observations of her own, which do not require any support from her idols.

She has run into obvious difficulty in her attempts to explain some technical terms. One example is the Swedish term *grötkil*, literally "porridge wedge". It is the name of a symbol used in timetables by shunters to describe that a spell of duty includes a paid break which may be taken at a time that suits the work. It was not easy to explain this, even more tricky to translate and explain in English.

A justified question here is, who is the author writing for? Is she writing primarily for the research community. If so, a parallel version should be published in Swedish so that the descriptions and analyses can reach a wider circle of readers, particularly the people whom she observed and used as informants. The knowledge they provided should be returned to them.

I said above that I regretted the absence of pictures of leisure time and strikes, along with documentation of these. These aspects have been described at length (371 pages) by Torgny Karnstedt in *Gnistskärmen*, a novelistic account of a railway worker's life. It was published in 1990. The two books show both similarities and contrasts. *Gnistskärmen* is set in Göteborg, especially in the Sävenäs shunting yard during some turbulent decades in the mid-1980s. It shows us life round the clock from the perspective of a switchman/repair man. As a sample I would like to quote one of Karnstedt's episodes (p. 119):

"Two engines were to come in. Per released the brake and pushed up the loop. When he saw that the rail was out he carefully pulled up the lever and drove it forward a bit. He sensed resistance but did not realize what it was until the engine gave a shake. Seconds later the engine was parked on the sleepers. The forward bogie had driven over a couple of stop cleats which were supposed to stop involuntary motion off the track. The cleats were regulated by a hand switch. Per had forgotten to change them.

"'Welcome to the ski jumping club!' said Thomas... The men from the track department came with a diesel engine, derailment rails and tapping bars to get the engine into place again."

Karnstedt took this episode from his base

material, which consist of what he himself and above all his mates had experienced. Edelman's material consists of her own observations and minutes which she has consulted. Karnstedt's book is not in Edelman's bibliography.

Also missing is another classic in this context, Gustaf Olsson's book *Tåg ut* from 1938 (new edition 1951).

Moreover, it ought to have been rewarding to compare the big shunting yards, Hagalund in Stockholm and Sävenäs just outside Göteborg, especially for the chapter on the organization and its implementation and about the entry of women into this male-dominated occupation. One of the managers who had a good general view of this was Ulf Smedbo, at that time in charge of Sävenäs. It would no doubt have been stimulating for Birgitta Edelman to have a discussion with him. I may add here a development that has occurred since the dissertation was written, that the number of switchmen has decreased, partly because high-speed trains like X2000 can run completely without points.

To conclude, however, I would like to thank Birgitta Edelman unreservedly for writing this book. The fact that she has spent several years following this professional group close-up and writing their contemporary history must be described as a remarkably fine achievement.

Allan T. Nilson, Göteborg

May Day as Ritual Process

Jonas Engman, Rituell process, tradition och media. Socialdemokratisk första maj i Stockholm. Institutet för folklivsforskning. Stockholm 1999. 200 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7153-929-8.

■ Sweden in modernity – modernity in Sweden. In many ways, not least in Swedes' own perception, Sweden is a modern country, perhaps even the modern country *per se*. This self-image has been built up during this century and holds as one of its most characteristic features a very close amalgamation of the notions of Sweden, Swedishness, the Swedish people, and social democracy. Almost without exception, the Social Democratic Party has governed Sweden from the early 1930s till today. The building up of the "Swedish Model", the *Folkhem* ("The People's Home"), the most elaborated Scandinavian welfare state, and therefore most elaborated welfare state in the world, has intertwined moral, politics, national sentiment, and people's shared feelings of their community to a degree which for a foreign reader always surprises by its profoundness even though it hardly can be labelled an unknown phenomena anymore. Yet, this self-assured picture of the most modern, the most developed and, one has often sensed implied behind kind words, the best society of all is in the nineties tortured by doubt, by reflections on itself, its goals and its means, its historic ways of development. The murder of the Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, economic depression in the nineties, and reluctant support for the Swedish EU membership are both tokens and constituents of the new doubt in Sweden. Sweden in modernity – modernity in Sweden.

In many ways, Jonas Engman's study on May Day parades is exactly a study of modernity, of Sweden in modernity, of modernity in Sweden. In seven well-written chapters, the author covers theory and method, historical development and a field report on May Day celebrations in the 1990s under pithy headings such as: "Our Day", "The People's Day", "The Day of Solidarity", "The Day of Ambivalence", preceded by the drier chapters "Rituals, Symbolism and Tradition" and "Material and Method" and summed up in a brief but pointed conclusion. As the doctoral thesis it is, there is not much to say against this choice of organization, given as it is by (German university) tradition, though I myself hold the opinion, or rather wish, that a more intertwined organization would only strengthen the literary qualities of doctoral dissertations and should be allowed. Especially in his chapters on the historical development of the form and content, and the relationship of form and content, of May Day parades and celebrations in Stockholm, Engman shows a fine pen which could have been at work to the benefit of the theoretical and methodological chapters as well.

To the study of a ritual form like the May Day parade, Engman turns to the more than rich anthropological tradition in the field. His guiding star is, above anyone else, the late Victor Turner,

whose well-known vocabulary of scene, social drama, communitas, and stressing of people's active part in the creation of symbolic form and hence the meaning of this form, provides a suitable framework for studying the social democratic May Day demonstrations and parades in Stockholm. Both as a form and as a tool for creating ideology, to maintain and disseminate social democratic ideology, for example, May Day was one of the major forms of creative tradition-making, but later this was reversed as the tradition was perceived as a straitjacket preventing necessary changes in Swedish social democracy and, at bottom, Swedish society. The study's locus of exclusively Stockholm seems appropriate, though I can in no way compare this to other major Swedish cities for an assessment of the choice of place. However, the focus on one place, and the capital, does have the advantage that the reader throughout the study is not lost in sites and places and, more importantly, the analysis can easily be informed chronologically, though more on this side could have been provided – in the full spirit of Turner, by the way.

The symbolic body of May Day demonstrations and parades in Stockholm has been provided with different content in different historical periods and contexts. The first May Day parade of 1890 held a clear link to the traditional spring festivals and their in-built indication of new birth, and it was seen as a connection between peasants and workers as well, an alliance of "little people" which was eagerly sought for. The development of an alliance, however, really emerged in the thirties with the Social Democratic Party in governmental power and its aim to unite Sweden in the *Folkhem*. A nationalistic tone was implied, which grew tremendously during the years of 1940 and 1941. Under the impression of the Nazi threat and the occupation of Norway and Denmark in 1940, the May Day parades were changed into all-embracing national processions, led by the Swedish national flag and not the red banner of socialism. In 1942, with beginning German retreat, May Day was restored as a worker's day, though including more or less all of "little people"; in 1938 the First of May had risen to become a national holiday in Sweden.

It may come as a surprise to Engman, but in this reviewer's eyes the analysis of the war years is the most profound, exhaustive and also elegant in the study as a whole, though the clear resemblance in form and rhetoric of the Swedish social democratic May Day demonstrations to the counterparts in Germany in the thirties probably could have led to even more than Engman achieves. This is a touchy field, however, and I find it good that Engman has taken up the subject at all and pointed out the resemblance. The study could be read for this alone.

In the dissertation, a change in perspective and sources can be detected as Engman approaches the present. After his wartime analysis it appears that we now fairly quickly have to get to what perhaps has taken up the most effort and time in the study, namely, the fieldwork of the mid-1990s. This is a pity, as the changes in the 1960s and 1970s are given a somewhat hurried treatment although this is important material. As his main pivot of analysis, Engman introduces modern mass media, especially television, and shows how the May Day demonstrations and parades were changed to suit this media under a general feeling of the necessity of renewal in the social democratic display. Changes from abroad, such as the Vietnam War and the Greek coup, as well as the general "drift to the left" are also brought into play to explain changes, but not with the same precision as one has come to expect from the first part of the study. The murder of Olof Palme, which in the last analytical chapter plays a major role as a trigger of doubt, is simply taken as a fact known to all, not only the murder but also its shock effect on Swedish society as one of the tokens and creators of doubt. What happened in the 1980s to lead to this climate of severe self-questioning and doubt about the Swedish "third way" is largely presupposed common knowledge and receives virtually no treatment in the study.

The fairness of this assessment by the author can be discussed, of course – there is no doubt that for a Swedish reader the author is right (and the study is published in Sweden in Swedish). However, this jump to the present also makes a leap in the analysis and its potential to be historically informed by itself, as it actually covers the years from about 1890 till today. Thus, the four chapters each dealing with its selected point in history

ends up being exactly that, four points in history. The chapter on the 1890s and the 1930s appear fairly in contact with each other but the loop through chapter five to chapter six breaks the analysis into autonomous parts. This may be intended and well in place, of course, but then an argument about such a disharmonious development should have been put forward. And it is ironic as Turner, quite alone in the choir of anthropologists of his day studying ritual and symbolic form, so often has stressed the diachronic line of analysis in opposition not least to the strong French structuralist tradition but also as a correction to the often quite synchronic American symbol analysis as well, history as an analytical implication and not just "background information".

In his last chapter on the May Day parades and demonstrations of the 1990s, Engman shows how during the ideological and economic crisis in Sweden many multifocal and multivocal symbols have been taken into use. One trope has been irony, which in the study leads to a guarded side analysis in the mood of Bakhtin's carnival studies, and a return to the interest in the spatial dramaturgy of ritual, drawing on a rich potential of studies in the anthropological tradition. The chapter is imbued with the uncertainty of Sweden in the nineties, as revealed in the study, for one, in the question many ask whether the May Day should not find a whole new form as a day for general political issues without processions, the latter seen as tradition without content any more. Insecurity is also part of the author's personal interest in the study, as he notes in the preface, and it is underlined by the chapter's headline: "The Day of Ambivalence". One could ask, however, whether this is the only thing there is to it. Perhaps the nineties, as so usually is the case, appear to be days of ambivalence because they are the present – it is easier to find structure and order in the past.

Sweden in modernity – modernity in Sweden. In many ways, ambivalence and uncertainty are the celebrated tokens of post-modernity. Engman's study shows how the development of May Day not least as a media event has made it into a key ritual form of modernity, it is characteristic of modernity's dramaturgy. The ambivalence about it is perhaps in the same strain, one might suspect. Is the ambivalence perhaps Sweden's way into post-modernity and a process of ending the special Swedish modern, the most modern of all? Engman's study poses further questions, makes you wonder, as all good studies should do. In spite of my critical remarks, I recommend it for reading, not so much for its historic qualities or for its body of knowledge on May Day parades, though also that, but mainly as a study of Sweden in modernity – modernity in Sweden, directly dealing with the ever surprising deep connection of modernity, national sentiment, and social democracy in Sweden. Modernity is a theme the Swedish ethnologists have studied intensively for almost two decades, but as a final overall question one might wonder: did modernity not begin before the late nineteenth century?

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Frederiksberg

The Lord of May

Gullan Gerward, Majgrevefesten. En kulturhistorisk analys. Carlssons bokförlag, Stockholm 1996, 244 pp. Ill. Deutsche Zusammenfassung. Diss. ISBN 91-7203-116-6.

■ Folklorists and ethnologists will be aware that a number of calendar customs take place at other dates than their names indicate. This applies, for example, to the May Ball at Cambridge colleges. Any scholar acquainted with the local customs will know that the tradition bearers – Master, fellows and students – celebrate their college's May Ball in June. The feast of the Lord of May treated in this thesis, written under the supervision of Nils-Arvid Bringéus, is another case in point. The activities discussed took place between Lent and Midsummer, and the author deserves credit for showing that they all belonged to variations of one and the same feast.

The area covered comprises some but not all countries formerly governed by Danish kings, viz. present-day Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, the Swedish provinces of Scania, Blekinge, Halland, Bohuslän and Gotland, but not the former or present Danish dependencies Norway, Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. This wide geographic perspective is certainly necessary for understanding the feast, but perhaps it is not wide

enough. The choice of area seems to derive rather from a need to limit the immense material than from the geographic boundaries of the phenomenon studied.

The time-span treated ranges from the late Middle Ages until about 1870, i.e., the entire history of the feast in the pre-industrial period. It should be noted that pre-industrial is not the same as agrarian or rural; the author deals with noble and bourgeois cultures as well.

Since Gullan Gerward provides a twenty-page summary in German (the captions to the illustrations are translated as well), it will not be necessary to describe the contents of the book at any length. The author presents the feast as rooted in corporations which go back to the Middle Ages (guilds of merchants, craftsmen etc.) and which originally had religious functions along with social ones. In the later Middle Ages, some corporations moved the Shrovetide processions – the origin of the feast is religious, not secular – to the first of May, a day much better suited to northern climes. This came to be seen as the proper time of year for the festivities in question, but whenever the authorities forbade the celebrations they would be moved to another date (the reasons for these prohibitions are not made very clear, and secular and ecclesiastical authorities seem not always to have pursued the same policies concerning the feast).

The general line of the feast's development is one of decline in social status. The feast seems to have originated among the late-medieval nobility, soon to be followed by merchants. Later on craftsmen, peasants, students, grammar school pupils and finally servants (and even later children) would hold their own feasts, but by this time the leading social strata had long stopped celebrating it.

The main figure of the celebration was the Lord of May (*majgreve*), originally a prominent member of the celebrating group. The Lord of May and his bride for the day were followed by their train. The active participants in the feast seem to have come from the same social group, but the onlookers were socially much more diverse. They would also include persons of higher social standing.

Participants of all social groups tried to follow the lead of the nobility in the style of clothing, even if for the poorest classes this meant copying noblemen's attire with the help of flowers and leaves. Gerward does not, however, view the general trend of the decline in social status as a case of "Gesunkenes Kulturgut" but interprets the subordinate groups' feast as a travesty of the nobility's behaviour instead. This interpretation is a central point in the author's analysis. I am not convinced that it is really appropriate, but since two colleagues, who were quicker than me to rush their comments into print, have discussed the matter extensively (*Rig* 79 (1996), pp. 117–122 (Mats Hellspong), *Rig* 81 (1998), pp. 49 f. (Marko Lamberg); cf. also the reply by Gerward, ibid., pp. 95 f.), I shall move on to the question of the book's position in Nordic ethnological and folkloristic research.

For many of the author's Swedish colleagues, the book might look old-fashioned, but, indeed, it is not. This is the first book introducing the Munich School of *Historische Volkskunde* to Sweden and, more or less, to Scandinavia. This method was developed in the 1950s. Boiled down to its very essence, the School's methodological principle is: When ethnologists and folklorists work on historical subjects, they have to use the same sources and methods as professional historians, i.e., archives and source criticism. This sounds very straightforward – and indeed it is – but it also implies a refusal to draw conclusions from material collected in the nineteenth century to explain phenomena of earlier centuries. By recognizing the historicalness and changeability of any cultural phenomenon, the Munich School put an end to speculative assumptions about the continuity in folk culture underlying most earlier research.

These methodological principles were quickly accepted in Germany and the Netherlands, but have so far not had any profound impact in Scandinavia. Maybe this is due to the fact that the innovative currents in Nordic research during the 1960s and 1970s while criticizing the same earlier research as the Munich School, proposed a radically different remedy, namely not to treat material from the pre-industrial period at all.

I shall end this review with a petty note on style. I wish the author had also adopted the

historians' methods concerning references. Her references are partly placed in footnotes, partly in brackets within the text. The reasons for using either way remain entirely unclear (despite the remarks about footnotes on pp. 23 and 29). The style of references follows the conventions of American social scientists, i.e., they ideally consist of an abbreviation made up of the name of the author, the year of publication and the page number. If a work can be cited that way this allows for a quick and easy orientation. However, many of the works consulted by historians of the pre-industrial period and by Gerward as well do not conform to these modern standards: books and manuscripts often lack authors, dates and pagination, resulting in references that in no way give any quick orientation. References to archival material often have to be rather long in order to allow a precise identification. The disadvantage of the author-date system – countless brackets interrupting the text – remains none the less; this even more so, since Gerward laudably operates with a high *Belegdichte*. Furthermore, some of her references give at first sight a rather wrong impression: "Pabst 1971", in fact, refers to a work of 1864 reprinted in 1971, whereas Peder Palladius' *Visitatsbog* (see below) is quoted by referring to its modern editor.

The way Gerward quotes her sources certainly makes it possible to identify the works she has consulted, but this may demand some work, for example, by first checking the list of abbreviations and then the bibliography at the end of the book; here some anonymous titles are entered under the first word but others under the first word in the nominative. Gerward often refers to articles in journals only by giving an abbreviation of the journal, the year of publication and the page number, but without mentioning at all the author or the title of the article (not even in the bibliography). If the author's intention is to save space to the extreme I suggest she only quotes ISBN and page numbers; if she wants to give her readers an idea of what kind of material her argument is based on (primary or secondary, early or late), she would be better served with full references; this even more so, since some checks have cast a little doubt on her presentation of the material.

Space only permits two examples. On pp. 61 f. Gerward writes "When the farmhands' games at Shrovetide were forbidden, the servants – in the same way as grammar school pupils – moved their activities to May Day. Then they roved around the farmsteads at night and presented their singing (FS 1861:116f; Jacobsen 1925–26:93; KS 1884–86:609ff; 1887–89:485)." If one looks up these references (taken from L. Jacobsen's edition of Peder Palladius' so-called *Visitatsbog* (which is not a visitation record) and from articles by G. Strøm and H. F. Rørdam in the journals *Samlinger til Fyens Historie og Topographie* and *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, publishing letters from the Funen diocesan archives and extracts from Lolland visitation records – all from the sixteenth century) one finds in the visitation record on the cited page nothing of relevance but the following sentence: "Hillested 1561 die Philippi et Jacobi: Juventus totam istam noctem consumpsit domatim currendo et cantando: Maj velkommen!" (Hillested, 1 May 1561: The young people spent this entire night running from house to house and singing: Welcome May!). How much this means performances at the farmsteads is unclear. The other sources quoted do not mention singing and visiting farmsteads at all, just nightly revels of young people (not servants!) on that occasion plus – omitted by Gerward – the erection of a Maypole. The entire first sentence quoted at the beginning of this paragraph is thus Gerward's interpretation. It would have been preferable if it had been made clear to the reader what the interpretation is and what is stated in the sources.

Who would recognize a reference like "KBR 1906:129" (p. 41) at first or second sight? This refers to a volume of *Kancelliets Brevbøger* published in 1906. Most other scholars quote these registers of letters issued by the Royal Danish Chancellery as "Kanc. Br." Furthermore, they do not quote the year of publication but the years covered (in this case 1584–88) which is far more relevant for understanding the argument the reference is given for. In this case, however, the source hardly supports the point Gerward is trying to make (a *Kannikedømme* is not a *prästkall* in this period!).

Gerward admits (p. 29) that her book is not easy to read. It is correct that this is partly due to the material dealt with, but she could have helped

her readers by placing all references in footnotes and by using established and easily recognisable abbreviations. In this way it would also become more apparent to readers that she in fact has produced a thoroughly researched and important book on the basis of a very scattered primary material.

Jürgen Beyer, Tartu

Men Becoming Fathers

Charlotte Hagström, Man blir pappa. Föräldraskap och maskulinitet i förändring. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 1999. 288 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-89116-10-0.

■ The title of Charlotte Hagström's book is well chosen. In Swedish *Man blir pappa* can be read with the emphasis on *man*, meaning both "man" and the indefinite pronoun "one", or on *pappa* ("dad"). Translated into English, the same double message has to be expressed in two different sentences: "Man Becomes Dad" or "Becoming a Dad". Thus the title clearly signals the double aim of the book; a study of both parenthood and masculinity in contemporary Swedish society. In addition Hagström has a third objective: to say something about historical changes over the last two to three generations.

Hagström sets out "to investigate what men who become fathers today see as important in the constitution of themselves as parents and what is significant in the eyes of other people" (p. 251). She starts by presenting "the eyes of others". Chapter two, entitled "Images", is an account of a contemporary public image of fatherhood, as presented in advertisements and various kinds of literature giving advice to parents-to-be. In chapters three, four and six, dealing with pregnancy, the delivery and everyday life, Hagström changes the focus to what the men themselves see as important. In chapter five she combines both perspectives in trying to account for how men come to recognize themselves as emotionally involved dads, and how "society" comes to recognize them as proper fathers. In chapter seven she raises or continues various discussions based on what she has already presented in the previous chapters. A thirteen-page summary in English concludes her text.

At the level of description the book confirms a set of impressions one might gain from the mass media and the like. I am convinced that many men in both Sweden and Norway hold notions of fatherhood and masculinity that are very similar to what Hagström calls "the dominant norm". This norm prescribes that a man/father should be engaged in an egalitarian relationship with his partner, should be much involved in the pregnancy, the delivery and the daily care of the children. This is done not only as a duty towards partner and children, but also because it enriches his own life. However, her analyses disappoint me, and my main objection is that they are too superficial. On the one hand she is not critical enough of her own use of theories and concepts. On the other hand she does not manage to account for the richness and complexity of the phenomenon at hand.

For one, I believe she would have done better by avoiding the third main aim of her study, i.e. the question about historical changes. Hagström maintains that "I use the past as a mirror and a comparison" and "I view the past as the basis from which today's situations and conditions originate". But to my mind that is not what she does. There is no comparison, nor historical analysis, there is merely a claim that "that is how it was then, this is how it is now". To me Hagström's problem is that she does not have a theory, a set of concepts, that she can use to account for the historical changes. She makes it very clear that she used to be attracted to Giddens's perspectives on modernity, but she concentrates too much on criticizing his perspective without demonstrating her own approach. Because she dismisses Giddens, and has no other theory that may account for the historical changes she claims have happened, she deprives herself of the possibility of actually using "the past as a mirror and a comparison".

Hagström's critique of Giddens is also slightly off the mark. In itself that is not of great importance, but it reveals another, much more fundamental flaw. Her main argument against Giddens is that in reality people are not free to choose as they please. In order to support her argument she creates a sharp distinction between what is real and what is imagined. This distinction, however,

is very difficult to maintain. Imagination is an integral and inalienable aspect of all perception of reality. Where one ends and the other begins cannot be determined. Hagström's example is how biological infertility imposes itself and discounts the "imagined" freedom to choose to have children. At a certain level she obviously has a point. When a woman does not become pregnant as she wishes the couple cannot just make a rational decision and thus accomplish the pregnancy anyway. Still there is an enormous amount of imagination that went into framing the whole situation so that the absence of conception became a "real" problem in the first place, and the couple also have the choice of engaging in some wilful acts of imagination to make the problem dissolve.

This false dichotomy between imagination and reality is symptomatic of a much deeper problem running through the entire study. Again and again Hagström reveals a hidden ontology which is contrary to what she explicitly claims. In line with dominant rhetoric of contemporary social science and humanities she repeatedly attacks various forms of essentialism. She is, for example, very much opposed to biological explanations of gender characteristics and gender differences. I happen to agree with much of this rhetoric and thus have no problems with how Hagström employs it. My problem is that she does not go far enough, and that she actually builds some of her main arguments on notions that look very much like essentialism, or at least may be labelled reification and objectivism. The most serious of these is her notion of "society" which time and again is presented as if it were a kind of anthropomorphic organism. She talks about a "society" (*samhället*) that has needs, can see and strives to create fathers. But a "society" cannot feel needs, cannot see a man as a father and cannot act in order to create fathers. Hagström's notion of "society" becomes a huge problem in this study because the second part of her main aim is to understand what other people see as important in the constitution of men as fathers. When these "others" become "society", then the second part of Hagström's study becomes analytically impossible.

Hagström's hidden objectivist ontology seems to me to be an underlying reason why so many of her arguments go astray. I get the impression that at an ontological level she is comfortable with her reified and objectified notion of society. For that reason she does not thoroughly deconstruct that concept and in many instances does not specify whom "society" consists of, what are their interests, what discourses they are engaged in, and so on. That is a real pity because most times she starts off quite well. In her second chapter, for example, on images, she clearly identifies the makers of advertisements and the authors of information books, pamphlets, etc. as those who present a particular set of norms (in the plural) of masculinity and fatherhood. She has a good discussion of how these norms have a middle-class origin and have spread from there. But then she stops specifying and makes a quantum leap into saying that this (no longer plural) norm is a "dominant norm" that everyone in society must relate to, no matter whether they agree with it or not. Like "society", the "norm" has suddenly acquired an objective existence; it has become a "thing" with certain essential properties.

In Hagström's analyses the concept of the "dominant norm" is her most important explanatory device: what Swedish men see as important in how they are constituted as fathers is determined by how they relate to this objectively existing, reified dominant norm. This kind of explanation is fraught with problems, and it would take far too long to elaborate on all of them here. Suffice it to say that the concept of a norm has very limited explanatory power. There is never a one-to-one relationship between a norm and how individual men think and act. To what extent actual men really relate to the "dominant norm" is also always an open question. Therefore the concept of a "dominant norm" cannot account for most of what goes into making men into fathers. By being so preoccupied with this particular explanatory concept, and by making the claim that all men cannot but relate to this "dominant norm", Hagström actually deprives herself of other perspectives on how men are constituted as fathers; other discourses, existentialist dilemmas, conflicting cultural models etc.

In all fairness I do believe Hagström is well aware that the processes whereby men are consti-

tuted as fathers can be studied in many different ways. She also makes various attempts at attacking the phenomenon from other angles. But because of her objectivist ontology, and the reified concept of "society" and the "dominant norm", she seems to have trapped herself. Her discussion of men's experiences in the delivery room reveals this rather well. When talking about being present during the delivery of their own child, the great majority of Swedish men report that it was an exceptional experience that produced very strong emotions. And even though most men say it was a positive experience, there are also those who were overwhelmed, felt disempowered and totally useless. Hagström maintains that according to "the dominant norm" men are supposed to be present, to support their partner and experience some kind of intrinsic value in having been part of the delivery. When men say they have had experiences that correspond with the norm, Hagström takes that at face value and does not see it as important to examine what that value is, and why they found it valuable.

The problem with this account is that the mere existence of a norm cannot explain the full meaning of the experience, and how that meaning contributes to the constitution of fathers. Neither can it explain the strength of the emotions and the importance placed on the experience. Hagström's account does not even get close to answering those kinds of questions. First of all, because it is so important for her to give these experiences a social or cultural explanation, she dismisses psychological causes. Rather than developing an encompassing argument, trying to show how both psychological and cultural factors are intertwined, she constructs an either/or situation where one kind of explanation rules out the other. Thus she ends up with an explanation that I find reductionist; the problems men have in the delivery room are basically just a result of a conflict of masculinities. On the one hand the dominant norm says they have to be supportive of their partner, and experience an intrinsic value in being part of the delivery. On the other hand hegemonic masculinity says men have to be in control. According to Hagström it is the men's lack of power and control in the delivery room that produces the strong negative emotions. My problem with this explanation is that it cannot account for the strength of the emotions. Most men experience conflicts between masculinities quite frequently and feelings of being disempowered and useless, even in relationships with female sexual partners, are not that uncommon either. But rarely do these experiences produce such deeply problematic emotions as at the delivery. It cannot only be a consequence of conflicting masculinities and lack of control. There has to be something else involved, something about the meaning of the birth in itself, crossings of bodily borders, and so on.

Finally, I find it hard to understand how it is possible to deal with the topic of fatherhood at such length without seriously raising the question of kinship. From Hagström's study it seems as if kinship is of no concern to men who become fathers. As an example: in her discussion of the choice of name for the newborn child, Hagström focuses exclusively on the relationships between mother, father and child, and the social unit they make up. Thus she primarily talks about having a common family name, with the emphasis on family rather than kinship. But a "family name" does not really belong to a family, it belongs to a patrilineage. That is at least how it is in Norway, and I am quite sure the same applies in Sweden. How it is possible to discuss people's choice of name for their newborn child without also discussing notions of kinship, passing on or breaking the lineage, common identity and historical roots, and so on, puzzles me. There are a number of other instances, particularly in chapter five, where she discusses how men are recognized as fathers by "society", where I believe she ought to have introduced a discussion of kinship. But then again, this may be just an anthropological prejudice of mine. Even so, I find it hard to believe that notions of kinship are of so little importance in contemporary Sweden that they are irrelevant for how men are constituted as fathers.

All in all, I find Hagström's descriptions, of how contemporary Swedish men are constituted as fathers, as well as her presentation of a public image of fatherhood, valuable. Nonetheless, there is little that is new here. It seems to me that Hagström has not learned an important lesson from theoreticians like Turner (whom she refers to in a superficial argument about the meaning of

couvade, the cutting of the umbilical cord). One of Turner's main points is that being in a state of liminality (and the delivery of a child is definitely a very liminal situation) cannot be understood by applying ordinary logic. Throughout the book Hagström deals with the pregnancy, the delivery, being constituted as a father and a dad, as if they are nothing but everyday, mundane happenings. Thus she misses all the existentialist dilemmas, symbolic paradoxes and deep emotional anguish and excitement that such experiences may be about. Hagström is dealing with life, death and regeneration; themes and topics that are conceptual anomalies and the stuff of ritual, myth and religion. Maybe the men's experiences in the delivery are so emotionally shattering because it is an ultimate violation of all rational meaning making. But Hagström avoids such a perspective, keeps both her feet firmly planted on the ground throughout her study, and thus, I believe, prevents herself from dealing with these far more interesting, and, to me, far more important aspects of the topic at hand.

Bjarne Vandeskog, Bergen

On the Outskirts of the Welfare State

Kjell Hansen, Välfärdens motsträviga utkant. Lokal praktik och statlig styrning i efterkrigstidens nordsvenska inland. Historiska Media, Lund 1998. 250 pp. Engl. summary. Ill. Diss. ISBN 91-88930-39-4.

■ Kjell Hansen's dissertation, whose title means "The Intractable Outskirts of Welfare: Local Practice and State Control in the Post-War North Swedish Interior", is a work with connections to both social and cultural science. It analyses developments in North Sweden from the 1930s to the 1990s. The aim of the state welfare policy was to raise living standards everywhere in Sweden, in the name of equality. At the same time, however, the culture in areas far removed from the centre of political power was threatened by all the measures aimed at achieving uniformity. The theme of the dissertation is thus the duality of state welfare policy.

The Janus face of the People's Home (the name given to the Swedish vision of the welfare state) is examined on three levels. As a background to the analysis, Hansen paints a picture of the origin and development of the People's Home. He then studies the relationship between the centrally controlled construction of society and the individual's life-construction in Northern Sweden; here he concentrates on the spheres of welfare policy which have had a particularly great influence on people's everyday lives: agriculture, education, housing. Finally, he explores in depth the individual's life-construction, the shaping of a local and spatial identity as a contrast to the state bureaucratic framework. A key word in the study is *ambition*. This concept expresses a person's individual manoeuvring space within given structures. This tension between "big" and "small" may be seen as the basic idea of the thesis. The geographical focus is Jämtland and the surrounding provinces, but Hansen emphasizes that the problems exist independent of their geographical connection.

The study is based on a large body of material collected over ten years. Much of it was assembled as part of larger projects on out-migration from Northern Sweden, conducted by Jämtland County Administration and Jämtland County Museum in the 1980s. Hansen himself was involved as a researcher on these projects, and now he has had to ask new questions of old material for his thesis. The core of the material is roughly sixty taped interviews with subjects ranging from pensioners to schoolchildren. Hansen treats the interviews as life stories, in which the informants structure their own lives. Societal development is simultaneously reflected in the individual's life course. Via the individual life stories Hansen tries to find general patterns of reaction in the relationship between the local community and the state. Throughout the thesis the informants' voices are therefore interwoven with the general discussion.

Important sources besides the interviews are school essays from the 1940s and the 1980s, leading newspaper from Jämtland (above all obituaries, which illustrate people's life courses and mobility), and archival material in the form of statistics and photographs. The fact that the thesis has taken shape since Hansen moved from Jämtland has of course influenced his attitude to the material: whereas the collection of the material

was "protracted participant observation", the thesis has been written at a distance. The fact that the thesis is based on material collected for different projects weakens the theoretical structure, but it does mean that the discussion is not forced into a predetermined form.

Hansen's theoretical point of departure is the research into little communities in the 1960s, in the spirit of Robert Redfield. Hansen the participant observer is methodologically influenced by transactionalism as developed by the Norwegians Fredrik Barth and Ottar Brox and by Åke Daun in Sweden. In his discussion of the relationship between individual and state structure, he has been influenced by the Dane Thomas Højrup's concept of life-mode as the individual's cultural adaptation within the framework of economic conditions. New Swedish research closely connected to questions about the dichotomy local community/central power is represented by Marianne Liliequist's study of child rearing in North Sweden (1991) and Marianne Wahlberg's thesis on modernization processes in Norrbotten in the early twentieth century (1996). Barbro Blehr, with her thesis (1994) about a North Swedish village in the 1980s, has presented a detailed analysis of how local cultural codes are created and maintained. Blehr has served as a model for Hansen's discussion of local identity formation as marking a boundary with the outside world. Marianne Gullestad's study (1978) of local communities is also mentioned.

The purely theoretical section is very brief. However, Hansen has used an impressive body of research in ethnology and social science. He draws on both Swedish and foreign scholars in the cultural and social sciences, although he often contents himself with brief references. The discussion he conducts in the notes could well have been incorporated in a larger chapter on theory. This would have deepened the scholarly analysis.

The focus in the thesis is thus not on theory. The longest discussion is about fieldwork as a collecting method and the researcher's preferential right of interpretation, a problem reflected in the hegemony of the state vis-à-vis the local community. Problem-oriented material collection could of course have opened fascinating perspectives, for example, a closer examination of the influence of welfare policy on gender roles in the interior of Northern Sweden.

The thesis has seven main chapters. In the first, "Regional Policy Measures and Popular Reactions", he deals with the post-war depopulation of the "forest counties" of Sweden. Based on obituaries, statistics, and interviews, Hansen shows that migration, partly as a consequence of the seasonal nature of forestry work, shaped life in rural Northern Sweden long before the out-migration problem became acute in the era of the welfare state. Migration was the core of life stories told by both old and young informants. "To move or not to move" was the hub around which life circled, and the move was the lens through which one interpreted other people's lives. However, the authorities' problematization of regional development in the 1950s and 1960s created a social climate with a stamp of modernistic fatalism.

In the second chapter, "Land and Provision", life stories of three generations of farmers alternate with a discussion of the mechanization of agriculture and national agricultural policy. The reader makes the acquaintance of the older generation who were traditionally jacks of all trades with low expectations of living standards, and thus supported themselves outside the framework of agricultural policy. The older small farmers' resistance to technical innovations was a rational reaction, since small farming units simply did not require much machinery. The politicians of the People's Home, however, created an image of the small farmers as "sluggish and hidebound". This totally ignored the flexibility that actually characterized this population group. The government loans for modernizing farms meant that mechanization became an "inevitable" fact for the intermediate generation of farmers. For many of them, however, working in forestry was a common survival strategy in an increasingly market-adjusted world. The younger informants also had many occupations, retaining their links with the home farm but providing for themselves with various jobs in industry and services. Both old and young informants told their life stories against the background of the agricultural policy: "That's what the state wanted, but this is what I did."

"The Future of the Children – and of the District" deals with the role of education in the building of the welfare state. The focus is on the opposition between socialization into rural society, which means learning by doing, and the theoretical educational system of the state. Hansen also discusses the duality of institutionalized education: the school functions as a centre of culture in the village community, but it simultaneously represents ideals that lead people away from traditional trades and thus away from their original environment.

From essays written by upper-level schoolchildren in Jämtland, Hansen shows that schooling in the 1990s did not necessarily mean abandoning the native district, as had been the case in earlier decades. For young people in the age of postmodernism, life is open; they are not automatically bound to their birthplace, but they are not compelled to leave it either. Contrasting with this openness, the oldest generation are naturally rooted in the district, while the middle generation are mobile and tend to move away. Hansen also applies a gender perspective, depicting the women's mobility against the background of the men's rootedness. By taking over the family homestead, the men have been more tied to the village of their birth, whereas an element of mobility has long been a part of the women's life cycle, partly through the tradition of serving as maids away from the village.

In "Domestic Life and Housing" Hansen discusses the consequences of inter-war housing policy for the countryside. He paints the ideological background to the policy measures, including the "own your own home" movement in the early twentieth century and the reforms of the 1930s, intended to improve hygiene.

As regards house construction, the city was regarded as the norm for the countryside. The rural population accepted the standard-designed houses, but without abandoning old housing traditions. On the basis of a schoolgirl's essay about her home, written in the 1940s, Hansen shows how modern kitchen standards – with a stainless steel sink – were incorporated in a traditional layout with furniture along the wall. In functional terms the kitchen took over the central place in the home formerly occupied by the all-purpose living room (*storstuga*). The bourgeois view of the kitchen as a separate room did not catch on. Nor did the urban housing policy manage to change the way country people perceived the home: it meant the homestead, more than just four walls: "My home is not very big, just a few small fields and a bit of forest", as a schoolboy wrote in the 1940s.

The centralized housing policy nevertheless left its mark. When urban housing standards were set up as the norm, the rural people realized that they were deviants.

The next chapter, "At Home in the Village", expands on this theme. Hansen discusses the middle class's interpretation of the home as a place for rest and retreat (e.g. Frykman & Löfgren *Culture Builders*). The author's own fieldwork confirms this: home in the countryside is intimately associated with work and provision. The discussion of the home leads on to the concept of *hembygd* (home district). Hansen shows how the informants shape their local identity by categorizing themselves in relation to other villagers. He operates with the designations "native", "newcomer", and "returner", which reflect the mobility that characterizes North Swedish society. On the basis of the interviews, Hansen notes that the returners, and even more so the newcomers, are particularly active in local cultural ventures. This gives them a local legitimacy that the natives automatically possess.

The next chapter analyses the development of the North Swedish interior in the twentieth century on the basis of the concepts of *bygd* (local district), *glesbygd* (sparsely populated countryside), and *lokalsamhälle* (local community). Even when collecting the material, Hansen was confronted with the different perspectives on reality that the concepts stand for. As an employee at the County Museum in Jämtland he met the *bygd*, but when employed by the County Administration he discussions concerned the *glesbygd*, a term that suited the civil servants' outlook best. As a researcher he operates with the term "local community".

The word *bygd* has long been used to distinguish the cultural landscape from untamed nature. Early ethnological research, represented above all by Sigfrid Svensson, has established the

word *bygd* in the sense of a settlement area with a distinct culture. The word *glesbygd* is above all associated with the government's post-war regional policy and its centralist view of the regions, but the inhabitants of these areas have also begun to use the term to stress their awareness of the marginalization of their own areas. The concept of local community arose from the interest in small-scale societies shown by the social sciences and humanities in the 1950s and 1960s. This research trend was a reaction to the increasingly rapid urbanization of the western world. Leading scholars such as Redfield, Ulla Brück, and Ulf Hannerz are Hansen's frame of reference. The term "local community" is charged with positive connotations of being close to people and easy to grasp. It is this, combined with freedom in everyday life, that has made Hansen's younger informants choose their native district rather than the city. However, the author notes that the values – freedom and authenticity – that are mentioned in the arguments are associated with the individual rather than the district. The crucial thing for the informants is self-fulfilment, not their geographical affiliation. The informants have thereby adapted to the living patterns of modernity. This contradicts the general image of the rural population as "backward". Via the discussion of the local community, Hansen comes on to the phenomenon of *regionalism*. He notes that recent regional and also national campaigns have tried to give the word *glesbygd* the positive connotations actually associated with *local community*.

"From Intractability to Resistance" is an analysis of regional movements in Jämtland, from the "freedom movement" of the 1960s to the "liberation movement" of the 1980s. Whereas the former was a reaction to out-migration, the latter was a publicity stunt with a dash of humour, a process of ethnification in which playfulness was one of the strategies. Intractability at the local level, in everyday life, was shaped by the regional movement into deliberate resistance to the central government. The implicit problem of the Jämtland movements, however, was that they tried to combine two opposites: left-wing People's Home values and right-wing national-regionalist ideals. This ambivalence of course applies to regional movements in general. Regional mobilization can be seen as a political project, not originating in the local identification of the grass roots.

In the last chapter, "Marginality, Intractability, Resistance", Hansen sums up his thoughts. He notes that there are three different perspectives on sparsely populated rural districts: that of the central government; the artistic exoticization of "the melancholy of the wilderness" (not studied in the thesis); and the inhabitants' own perspective.

The state's "colonization of the lifeworld" permeates the informants' narratives, but still the interviews reflect their ambition not to give in to the government. State policy has required disciplining, but this has not led to total compliance among the inhabitants of the North Swedish interior. Their strategy has rather been to incorporate the elements that fit their way of life. People's local identity formation has been dependent on the state functioning as an antithesis and a boundary marker. The failure of the welfare state to apply urban models to rural Sweden has engendered new angles on similarities and differences between town and country.

This thesis is very well written, making for a positive reading experience. Stylistically the chapters are forged together like links in a chain, and Hansen's language is vivid and dynamic. The well-chosen quotations from the informants support the argument while adding a human touch. The appendices with demographic statistics on Jämtland are illuminating reference material. However, I would have liked to see a deeper analysis of the interview process; the discussion of *bygd* and *glesbygd* is closely linked to the creation of concepts in the interaction between interviewer and informant. As regards the arrangement of the thesis, the only serious flaw is that the chapter "Between *bygd* and *glesbygd*" could well have been linked to the introductory discussion of theory and method. If it had come earlier it would have given a greater resonance to the analysis of policies on agriculture, school, and housing. The chapter on regional resistance can defend its place in the context, but it is rather loosely connected to the other chapters, which are all permeated with the discussion of central government versus local community.

As a whole, this thesis is both an interesting

contribution to the social debate and a good piece of research into local communities. It will be interesting to follow this research tradition: since Sweden has joined the EU, rural areas like Jämtland have been affected by the Union's structural policy and regional thinking. As the welfare state totters, Europeanization – if not globalization – is expected to save the regions.
Heidi Hummelstedt, Vaasa

Perceiving Motherhood and Fatherhood

Clarissa Kugelberg, Perceiving Motherhood and Fatherhood: Swedish Working Parents with Young Children. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala, 1999. 300 pp. Diss. ISBN 91-554-4372-9.

■ Kugelberg's *Perceiving Motherhood and Fatherhood: Swedish Working Parents with Young Children*, based on a doctoral dissertation, combines an overview of existing work on Swedish family relations with first hand investigation of dual-earner households with pre-school children. The latter, paying attention to men's as well as women's views, usefully contributes to the documentation of the present situation, although none of Kugelberg's findings are unexpected, in relation to previous Swedish studies. *Perceiving Motherhood and Fatherhood* might, however, surprise uninformed foreign readers, who may be envious when discovering the extent of Swedish state support for gender-equal parenting, though perhaps disappointed that practice has changed comparatively little in response to it.

Kugelberg focuses particularly on *discourses* of parenthood and childhood. Her literature review reveals these have always been multiple, with popular opinions often differentiated on class lines, and sometimes diverging from views propounded by church, state and experts. Nonetheless she shows the overall trend has been away from early 19th century authoritarian visions of children as essentially recalcitrant beings requiring 'upbringing' by their parents, to ones recognising children's individuality and the need to foster their 'development'. Mothers, located in the home, were initially seen as the most important for this development, though assorted experts soon emerged to advise them. Fathers were assigned the breadwinning role. However, increased demand for labour after World War Two made the working mother (always a reality in the working class) both normal and accepted, with the state providing increasing support through compensated maternity leave and childcare provision. Following women's state-supported escape from the home came moves to increase fathers' participation in it. These were fuelled by the goal of equalising women's labour market possibilities, and accompanied by discourses recognising firstly the benefits that children derive from close contact with their fathers, and next those fathers derive from increased contact with their young children.

With this background sketched in, the field study element of the book considers how eleven couples with pre-school children perceive and manage their parenthood, and the way in which the discourses they develop often conflict with those prevailing in the employment sphere. Material from the couples interviewed and observed over a two-year period was supplemented by further observations and conversations with workers in the multinational firm through which most of the couples had been initially contacted.

For both partners in the eleven couples, their children were central objects of love and attention. All were concerned with meeting their offsprings' individual needs. All saw them as requiring, for their development, both comfort and tranquillity (principally within the home) and also activity, encouragement and playmates, though varying in how they weighted these demands. Working class parents tended to believe more in their children's capacity to develop on their own, the middle class that they benefited from a pro-active approach, positively valuing pre-school provisioning for the stimulation and social contact it offered.

The families also differed in their attitudes towards and organisation of parental leave. The study documents how, since the early 70s, Swedish parents have been entitled not only to time off work to look after sick children, but also generous blocks of compensated leave (a year at 90% of a specified maximum pay level, at the time of the field work) to be divided between parents as they

choose. Rights to return to work, in a part-time capacity if desired, accompany this. Nonetheless national figures show that whilst both fathers' and mothers' uptake of leave has been increasing, fathers' percentage of all leave taken still stands at around 1/3 of temporary time off for sickness and 10% of the more extended absences. Mothers but not fathers also frequently return to work part-time. Kugelberg's sample fits this national pattern, though she subdivides them into 'conventional', 'transitional' and 'innovative' couples. The former take for granted that the mother should be the sole leave-taker because of her close ties with the young child through pregnancy and breast-feeding. Transitional and innovative couples similarly felt breast-feeding important to the child's well-being but held fathers could become equally close to their children if they spent sufficient time with them. They saw parenting ability as learned, not innate, and knowledge of the particular child and its needs something to be acquired through contact. Kugelberg provides examples of these fathers exhibiting traditionally 'maternal' kinds of tenderness towards their children, though showing that they generally felt more confident with toddlers than the smallest babies, tending to prefer to play with children in vigourous rather than tranquil ways. Nonetheless, even the two innovative fathers took only three and four months' leave for their first child in relation to their spouses' year and nine months respectively. Transitional fathers took one or two months off.

Is the general belief that breastfeeding is important and not easily combined with employment, sufficient to explain these figures? Kugelberg's study suggests that mothers, though valuing paid work, generally enjoy being home getting to know their new babies. They like being the main focus of their child's affection and have to suppress jealous impulses if father appears to become the favourite when they take parental leave. Mothers acknowledge fathers' rights to experience time close to their children, but do not seem to be pushing them to take or increase their share of time off work.

That families typically lose more financially when fathers than mothers take time off, further militates against mothers requesting that they do so, though Kugelberg notes that parents seldom calculate how much paternal leave they can actually afford. Why does it cost more when fathers are off work? Swedish labour markets are still significantly gender-segregated, with women in lower paying sectors and in lower status occupations than men in the same field. Kugelberg indicates that this is caused by stereotyping of men's and women's capacities, and employers' belief that women will have fragmented employment records because of childcare responsibilities. When women do in fact take more time off than men, partly because they have the poorer jobs, this confirms employers' conceptions.

The work-place itself is considered in the book's final and in some ways most interesting section. This shows conflict between parents' desire for flexibility and sufficient free time with their young children, and managers' and unions' view that profitable production requires continuously available, preferably full-time, workers. But it also reveals significant variations between sections of the plant studied in the extent to which these differences of interest could be managed. The less person-specific and the more flexible their work tasks the more easily at least workers' short-term absences could be accommodated. Higher-level white-collar workers often made up lost time by taking work home later. Manual workers' ability to catch up on missed work varied with the specific character and organisation of the production process they were involved in. Less skilled, or multi-skilled manual workers were potentially most substitutable for each other. Here, specific workplace norms became important in deciding whether work mates were prepared to take on each other's loads. Where there were already strong norms of reciprocity, fellow workers (male and female) would cover for absences cause by colleagues' child care needs, without complaint.

Thus Kugelberg's study contributes to unravelling the complex relations between material constraints, value systems and action involved in distributing parenting activities. But by placing 'discourses' at the centre of her analysis, issues of power are not fully discussed. Factors which allow one set of discourses to become the scripts for action while others are suppressed might be

explored further. The constraining force of financial demands and present work-place organisation is fairly clear, but intra-familial power relations, which may be affected by factors besides these, are not explicitly examined. I was surprised, for instance, by how little friction between partners over role allocation was reported, and wondered how this related to the distribution of resources between them.

Nonetheless Kugelberg's work reminds us that values are not entirely predictable from practices and that the two do not always change at the same pace. That some fathers are now heavily involved in childcare may be shifting the views of others who may subsequently seek to change their own practice. How possible it will be for them to do so seems to hang in the balance. Readers should not necessarily be depressed that the 70s legislation failed to produce immediate transformations. But they should be worried by Kugelberg's hints that globalisation's demand for increased economic competitiveness is threatening Sweden's capacity to support its generous compensation for parental leave; and that it is encouraging and legitimating the move towards more inflexible and intensive work practices which the study clearly shows make balancing the demands of parenthood and employment so difficult.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Artifacts as Conservers of Feelings and Memories

Åsa Ljungström, Öster om Arlanda. En etnologisk studie av berättelser och föremål i en hemslöjdsinventering. Etnolore 18, Uppsala universitet 1997, 232 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1206-9.

■ This dissertation, "East of Arlanda. An Ethnologic Study of Narratives and Artifacts in a Handicraft Inventory", lies at the crossroads between the study of artifacts and the study of verbalisation. Its purpose is to investigate how artifacts, retrieved for a handicraft inventory, inspired their owners to narrate and interpret values, life contexts and moral problems connected with the social and historical transformation of the twentieth century. The researcher worked on the assumption that whereas the interviewer's questions refer to artifacts, the replies are narratives about life. The result is thus a combination of artifacts, oral narrative and personal experiences.

The material consisted of an inventory of handicrafts made in the municipality of Sigtuna in 1979-80. It covered 804 items in all, some 30 of which prompted narratives; hence, according to Ljungström, these items meant more to their owners than the other artifacts. The value ascribed to the artifacts is indicated by their position in the home, such as on a shelf in the best room of the house, in a cupboard or drawer, a storeroom or attic.

The study regards artifacts both as useful objects and as reflections and symbols of experiences. In analysing the artifacts and experiences, Ljungström defies the conventional categorisation according to purpose and technique and instead points out the link between use and symbolical meanings. She also brings out the tacit message of artifacts, stressing the importance of their cultural, psychological and social context, and suggests that changes in the use of artifacts indicate changes in the values to which society subscribes. The informants nevertheless wished to speak about other meanings, and it was clear from the interviews that a particular artifact carried far more value for them than its mere instrumental use.

The choice of the 804 artifacts for study was largely determined by the views of the handicraft movement on the material world. The 30 items singled out for deeper study were, by contrast, selected by their owners. The choice was aided by the contexts in which the artifacts were used and the owner's personal feelings. These artifacts serve extremely well as tools for narrative, understood here in its broad sense as oral verbalisation. A question sheet was used to structure the replies giving factual details of the items. The study of verbalisation was founded on Ljungström's intuitive observation. The narratives reveal a marked tendency to evaluate. The analysis covers the artifact, narrator and listener.

Ljungström uses the concept of world view (*världsbild*) to describe the values inherent in the narrator's concept of life. The informant's world

view and vision of history are present in the narratives.

Two thirds of the informants were women. This is generally the case in studies of handicrafts, probably because handicrafts have always tended to be a woman's domain in all the Nordic countries. The items for study mostly belonged to the informant's mother, grandmother or wife, and the responsibility for preserving them in most cases lay with women. Even today, women still see to the purchase and manufacture of most of the artifacts in the home.

Chapter 1 of the dissertation is devoted to the theoretical background, chapter 2 to the field work and potential for interpretation. Chapter 3 deals with questions of food, and chapter 4 textiles. The narrative symbols are described in chapter 5 and the visual symbols in chapter 6. The final chapter outlines the world view that can be deduced from the study. In the opening chapter Ljungström debates the significance of the ideology guiding the handicraft movement, and its influence on the choice of artifacts and the interviewers. The approach is documentary and instructive and hence innovative.

The study is an interesting problematisation of an artifact inventory and the knowledge of the past which this reveals. The picture of the knowledge sought is made wider, and the study clearly presents the fact (already familiar to researchers) that a narrative is not just a story about the past; it is simultaneously a story about the narrator and the researcher. The dissertation covers many aspects and is, as a consequence, slightly difficult to grasp as a whole. The conclusions should be read with minor reservations. The principal merit is perhaps the problematisation of the process and its posing of many good questions. The reader is, however, somewhat disturbed by the fact that the results of the research are used to justify the theoretical arguments propounded in the introductory chapter. While stressing that the interpretation consists of three components (artifact, narrator and interpreter), Ljungström does not fully disclose her own personal role, tending more to assume the part of an impartial outside actor.

Any study drawing on fresh aspects of artifacts and their meanings sheds important new light on human activity, and Ljungström's is therefore a valuable addition to the corpus of knowledge.

Marketta Luutonen, Helsinki

Constructions of Masculinity

Bo Nilsson, Maskulinitet. Representation, ideologi och retorik. Etnologiska Skrifter, 19. Boréa Bokförlag, Umeå 1999. 247 pp. Engl. summary. Diss. ISBN 91-89140-05-2.

■ In the humanities and social sciences it almost goes without saying nowadays that masculinity and femininity are socially and culturally constructed categories. Or actually, there is not just one masculinity or one femininity but many different masculinities and femininities, many different notions and (self-)representations of man and woman, and many different experiences of living as a man or a woman. Some of them can be regarded as hegemonic in society, whereas others are marginalized: they remain outside the realm of proper masculinity and femininity, like the masculinity and femininity of lower classes and non-European peoples and sexual deviants, to give a few examples.

The cultural and social constructions of femininity have been the topic of numerous studies in many Western countries during the last 25 years. As for studies of the constructions of masculinity, the field has begun to flourish more recently, in many countries only since the late 1980s. There is now an expanding field of academic study called men's studies (cf. women's studies) with its own books, journals, courses, syllabuses, etc., and Bo Nilsson's Ph.D. thesis in ethnology is also a contribution to men's studies in particular, as the author himself also declares.

In his book, Bo Nilsson analyses how masculinity is constructed in the representations of men and male action and in the interpretations of the conduct of male persons in certain historical situations. He looks at the signifying practices in which (or through which) particular acts and emotions are given gendered meanings and through which also the very concepts of man and masculinity are given meanings (the semiotic dimension of the analysis). But he also ponders upon the effects that such discourses of masculin-

ity have and how they contribute to the formation of various self-images and identities of men (the discursive dimension of the analysis). He has also tried to see how the body, in particular, figures in the representations of masculinity and the role it has in the definitions of male identities. He basically analyses the verbal (linguistic) representations of men and masculinity in selected materials in Sweden in the twentieth century. As he also admits, the social-historical context of the representations is somewhat briefly discussed. Here ethnology comes close to the approach of cultural studies, where text analyses are made with only passing references to the social-historical context of the texts.

The book consists of a theoretical introduction, a reflective final chapter, and three case studies. The case studies analyse the texts of the Scout Movement in Sweden in the early twentieth century, the deliberations of the police and forensic authorities in the case of some male offenders in Sweden in the 1950s, and the narratives of elderly unmarried men in Northern Sweden that Nilsson himself has collected through interviews. The key question is how masculinity, and proper masculinity in particular, is demarcated and defined in these texts.

The first case study discusses how good and proper masculinity is (or was) constructed in the rules of the Scout Movement, in the Scout Vow, and in some literary pieces that were linked to the Scout theme. According to Nilsson, the rhetorical strategies and the regimes of representation in the texts generate particular kind of scripts for masculinity with, for example, non-European races and lower and upper classes being implicitly portrayed as lacking in true masculinity. This true masculinity, then, consists of self-discipline, self-control, rationality, physical endurance, courage, etc. – all the typical bourgeois ideals of manliness.

The second substantial chapter deals with some criminal cases that Nilsson has selected from the records of the lower courts in the Umeå region in the 1950s. They concern three men who were respectively accused of arson, fornication with an underage girl, and fornication with a boy. The police investigators and the consulted physicians wanted to explain the reasons behind the deeds, and as they were constructing the explanations they also indirectly established a normative male personality. They confirmed what a normal man was like. The diagnoses of the physicians and the rulings of the court were predicated on certain assumptions of man and male sexuality, and they made these assumptions visible. For example: a married man who is not the breadwinner of the family is unlikely to be fully normal; a man has strong sexual desires and it is wrong but not incomprehensible that he may turn to a young girl; proper masculinity is exclusively heterosexual. These authoritative interpretations could also begin to shape the interpretations and self-images of the men themselves.

The next chapter of the book discusses the self-images and identities of elderly unmarried men. The ten men interviewed by Nilsson were born between 1917 and 1937, and they lived in the Västerbotten region; most of them were from rural surroundings. In a sense, unmarried men have often stood for a marginalized mode of masculinity (no children, no spouse, no role as the breadwinner of the family, often no steady heterosexual partner), so it is interesting to study what their male ideals are and what is central in their self-images and representations of the self. According to Nilsson, the men compensated for the lacking masculinity in the narratives they told by emphasizing a work-orientated mode of masculinity: hard work was the central part of their (narrated) lives; hard work was also the hub of their masculinity. The body was a vehicle for doing things, for manifesting the man's capacity for physical work. However, the body is not eternal, and for some of the men it had been painful to face the reality of a body growing old or getting injured. Yet for some it had also been a moment to stop and reflect on masculinity and the conditions of human life. Some compensated for their lack of the markers of hegemonic masculinity by showing disdain for homosexuals or by presenting themselves as martyrs: they said they had always had to help their siblings and parents; hence the difficulties in finding space for their own private life and getting married.

In the final chapter Nilsson discusses reflexivity and its usefulness in trying to think how his own interviews with unmarried men actually may

have presumed and reproduced certain notions of masculinity. Is it the case that the questions and the interview situation in itself with its verbal and non-verbal communication may have presumed and reproduced some taken-for-granted understanding between him and the interviewees as to what is a normal man's life and normal family life. He asks: Do my questions and my conduct confirm established gender categories without my noticing it? (p. 198). This is a pertinent question, and posed at the end of the study it is also a reply to some of the critical remarks that I wrote down when reading the preceding chapters (I will come back to this soon).

In the final chapter Nilsson also discusses the social-historical and ideological context of the Scout Movement, for example (pp. 172–182). But why not do this earlier? In the final chapter Nilsson also introduces the concept of sensibility (historically specific emotional structure, p. 211) and ponders on the meaning of emotions for the researcher. For example, he tells about his own reactions to the blatant chauvinism etc. in the Scout texts, and he argues that reflecting on one's emotional reactions to what one is analysing can be useful for bringing otherwise unnoticeable self-evident things into scrutiny.

As for my reactions to this study: I was not impressed by the first chapters (Introduction, analyses of the Scout Movement texts and criminal/medical discourses) since I felt I had already seen the same arguments and the same conclusions so many times before. They are not bad or flawed chapters; it is just that I do not find them very original. They basically replicate what many historians and sociologists have already said many times before, and, in fact, Nilsson also himself seems to have the feeling that his analyses of the Scout gender ideology and the gendering assumptions of the judicial system perhaps follow the mainstream interpretations too smoothly (see p. 227). I would have advised Nilsson to leave out the Scouts and male criminal offenders and to concentrate on what I think is the most original part in the book and perhaps closest to the author's heart, namely, the one on bachelors. In that section there is reflexivity; the researcher himself is present from the beginning to the end; he also shows the various positions and experiences that people can have and how they perhaps depart from the hegemonic discursive rules of presenting masculinity. Here Nilsson also begins to tackle the crucial question of the limits of constructionism and how people's lived experiences are probably not just reducible to the discursive. The life-world is not only a discursive formation, produced in and through discursive practices. It is quite all right that Nilsson has chosen a more conventional textual analysis perspective, but I think the more dynamic contributions to gender studies in the future will come (and are already coming) from a phenomenologically informed problematization of gender and the body. Nilsson has probably discerned this himself, but he has had neither time nor space to go into it in any depth here.

Basically I agree with the main line of argumentation in the book. However, I think Nilsson might have considered a little more to what extent the implicit evaluations and normative claims he is analysing were primarily comments on masculinity, and to what extent they were actually constructing a binary opposition between man and woman, masculinity and femininity. He says something about this in the final chapter, but I think he should have done it earlier. What I mean is this, for example: When analysing the texts of the Scout Movement Nilsson does not dwell on the fact that some of the ideal qualities of a girl scout (being friendly, helpful, keeping ones word, pp. 74–75) may well have been pertinent for the ideal boy scout, too.

Nilsson discusses the case of the offender Nestander, and he admits that Nestander was described by the physician as mentally deficient in a description that could also have fitted mentally disturbed women (pp. 94–95), but Nilsson nevertheless concludes that this is a case of defining a deficient man. Perhaps, but why give priority to the gender dimension? Perhaps it would be plausible to see it as an act of defining a deficient citizen or a deficient adult? Bo Nilsson assumes that man was the major characteristic of Nestander in the eyes of the authorities, and that in their view un-man was symbolically equal first and foremost to woman. Neither of the assumptions is self-evidently correct: an un-man has also been definable in terms of age (boy-man), as Jonas

Liliequist has also pointed out. I think it is unlikely that the fifteen-year-old Kalle resumed a position as a man in the eyes of the authorities when they were convinced that he was not a homosexual (p. 128). Because of his age he could hardly have such a symbolic position anyhow.

In the texts of the Scout Movement there are derogatory references to old women, as opposed to the ideal vigorous male scout. But perhaps the key point in this rhetoric is age as much as gender: the disparaged creature is an *old* woman, not an old *woman*. If so, it is very possible that an old man could also have served as a rhetorical counterpoint to the vital, healthy scout boy in the cultural iconography of the author.

The unmarried men told Nilsson stories about a life of hard physical work, but is this typical only of bachelors or men in the first place? In the Finnish context it has been pointed out that men in general have shared (and often still do) a kind of cult of endurance and achievement, that a man always does what a man's gotta do, even at the cost of his health (see works by Juha Siltala, Christoffer Tigerstedt and Matti Kortteinen). Indeed, a strong work orientation is visible also in many elderly women's stories about their life in Finland (see works by Harriet Strandell and Matti Kortteinen). I think Nilsson could have given more consideration to the possibility that the work-centred narrative constructions of the self are not necessarily typical of unmarried men only but also common amongst married men and (un)married women.

My question is whether the definitions of masculinity that Nilsson has described were very different from the ones that would apply to femininity, too. I think it is highly possible that proper masculinity and femininity were defined in very similar terms. To put it differently, I suspect that it is too often assumed here in this study that when we see what was described as proper and correct for a man, we can conclude by negation that the reverse was seen as proper for women. The binary opposition man–woman overshadows other possible symbolic oppositions that have been important in interpretations of social life. It is important, as Bo Nilsson says, to study how masculinity and femininity are constructed in relation to each other and how the modern binary pair masculinity vs. femininity has been constructed. Here, however, this binary pair is often (or always) already lurking in the background, and as Nilsson's reflections in the final chapter show, he himself has also come to think that he may have reproduced symbolic binary pairs like man/woman and hetero/homo in his own work (pp. 206, 209).

This is a decent bit of work, but as I said, I wish Bo Nilsson had devoted more space to developing and further expanding his interesting analysis of the unmarried men's self-images, identities and (embodied) experiences.

Jan Löfström, Jyväskylä

For Finland – White and Free

Pia Olsson, Eteen vapahan valkean Suomen. Kansatieteellinen tutkimus lottatoiminnasta paikallisella tasolla vuoteen 1939. Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 45. Hämeenlinna 1999. 280 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary.

■ The past few years have been a golden era of amateur history-writing in Finland. Dozens of family and village studies have been published each year, along with histories of urban districts and even blocks. The Second World War has also inspired many to immortalize their memories on the pages of a book. Directories of the members of individual military units and reports of these units in action in the Second World War have also seen the light of day. Similarly, people have begun writing up the stories of the local branches of the Lotta Svärd women's auxiliaries, working both in the combat zone and on the home front.

The Lotta Svärd auxiliaries were in their day the biggest women's organization in Finland. It was disbanded as being fascist in the aftermath of the Second World War. For decades afterwards it was barely mentioned in public, and certainly not in a favourable tone. Not until the 1990s have the Finns begun to give open recognition to the voluntary defence work carried out by the Lotta Svärd. To begin with, the image created of the Lotta members was almost exclusively idolized, an image reinforced by memoirs written in the same spirit and a popular television series. Lotta tradition societies were founded all over Finland.

A special Lotta museum was opened and became a popular tourist attraction. Towards the end of the 1990s this idolization has been followed by critical evaluation, and the history of the organization has also spurred the academic research world into action.

The credit for publishing the first doctoral dissertation on the Lotta Svärd organization went to Pia Olsson, an ethnologist at the University of Helsinki, in summer 1999. Her monograph is a basic cultural analysis of the implementation at grass-roots level of the ideology of the Lotta Svärd organization. In it she tries to view the Lotta auxiliaries in the context of the Finnish organization scene and society of the 1920s and 1930s. A broad ethnological study of voluntary women's work, the dissertation is one of the first of its kind in Finland. The research approach is one of historiography and community study, and the material consists of the archives of the local Lotta branches, local newspapers and interviews.

The research begins with the national organization and principles of the Lotta Svärd. The guiding principles behind the movement were home, religion and country and, among other things, an interesting view of social motherhood that even drew elements from the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala. The former provisioning and equipping of the White forces victorious in the War of Liberation of 1918 were continued after the war as work on behalf of the Civil Guard movement by the local Lotta branches. While recognizing the rift in the nation into Reds and Whites, the Lotta members tended in their work to seek the company of like-minded people. Olsson's dissertation also talks about the similar women's organizations founded on the Finnish model in Sweden, Norway and Estonia.

The Lotta members raised funds for their organization and the Civil Guard by means of sales-of-work, lotteries and social events, just like other associations. They held sewing evenings at which the women were strengthened in their ideology by reading, discussing and singing. By the early 1930s the Lotta members were going into business, opening cafés, restaurants and tourist hostels. In time, they also started a branch for girls. As examples of the culture thus created Olsson mentions the Lotta uniform, tableware and insignia.

Representing the local level are six rural branches chosen according to regional and linguistic criteria and the ethnological cultural division. Since the focus is on the work of the local branches, the study confines itself to peacetime and the period from 1919 to the outbreak of the Winter War in November 1939. At this time the traditional division of labour between men and women prevailed, as mentioned by Olsson, between the Lotta Svärd and the Civil Guard. When war broke out, some of the Lotta members went to serve at the front or undertook other voluntary work far from home. The reader would have appreciated some information about their experiences in the war zone or, for example, the military hospitals, where the paths of auxiliaries from all over Finland and soldiers from all classes of society crossed under extreme conditions. By including the war years Olsson could also have analysed the functioning of the local Lotta branches on the home front, where the country women had to assume responsibility for running the farms while their menfolk were away. A doctoral dissertation describing the nation at war would also have been a pioneering venture, since the folk culture of the war years has not yet been addressed from any angle in Finnish ethnological research.

Olsson's account is a record of the Lotta Svärd written with respect for the organization and is at times quite moving. The fastidious narrative is brought to life by oral history or other direct quotations and excellent photographs. The "Lotta" is, however, the collective figure appearing throughout the study and the experiences of individual members mentioned by name and their role in the organization take only a secondary role. The reader would have welcomed more of the portraits of energetic women such as Anna Vatanen, a farmer's wife from Karelia. Criticism may also be levelled at the failure to elaborate on the fact that nowhere, as Olsson points out, did the Lotta Svärd fill an association vacuum in the local community. It would have been interesting to hear what other organizations the Lotta auxiliaries belonged to in the 1920s and 1930s, and it is highly unlikely that they ceased belonging to any organization once the war was over.

Pia Olsson has carried out a thorough examination of the roots of the Lotta movement in a dissertation very much in the spirit of the 1990s, but she stops short at the outbreak of war in 1939. A brief survey of the soil that nurtured the interest in the Lotta tradition and the rise of patriotism in EU Finland would also have been very welcome. For voluntary women's defence work has taken on a new lease of life, and women can now even serve in the Finnish Army.

Sanna Kaisa Spoof, Helsinki

The Face of the Village

Sirkka-Liisa Ranta, Kirkonkylä Päijänteen Kainalossa. Kuhmoisten keskustaajaman muutos 1900-luvulla. Kansatieteellinen arkisto 44. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 1999. 335 pp. Ill. Engl. summary. Diss. ISBN 951-9057-34-X.

■ Sirkka-Liisa Ranta's dissertation is a logical continuation of the research into villages that has been conducted at university departments of ethnology in Finland. Previous ethnographical studies of villages with churches can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This dissertation deals with only one special case, but the author has had comparative material in the form of data and material concerning our medium-sized church villages. The main source material and the questions asked of it have only come into being in recent years, differing from the traditional model of research on villages.

Research on agglomerated settlements is nothing new in Finnish ethnology. The first examples can be found in the 1920s, when Finland's first professor of ethnology, U. T. Sirelius, brought with him from Sweden the earliest models for village studies. The research groups at that time, and much later, consisted of students and teachers of the subject who investigated sectors of village research in which they had a personal interest. One of them could record buildings, another livelihood, a third diet, a fourth annual festivals, a fifth folk medicine, a sixth folklore, and so on. The result was a study that painted a highly static picture of the village's physical environment, way of life, and conceptions.

Since the end of the 1950s, when village research programmes were set up in Helsinki and later in Turku, the boundaries have been extended considerably. The villages selected for study were chosen because they were representative. The aim was to look for a comparative model capable of revealing similarities and differences. The processual outlook was also crucial, seeking to clarify changes. The Helsinki scholars confined themselves strictly to ethnographic competence, while those in Turku made their project interdisciplinary.

The dissertation now presented is a product of our times. It originates in the village studies described above. The word *muutos* (change) in the title is an indication of the content, and the studied problems are more focused than would have been the case if the thesis had been written a few decades earlier. Instead of a comprehensive investigation, where the results are often superficial, today's research gives priority to limited micro-objects which can be penetrated in depth and put in a macro-context.

The object of study here is the centre of the municipality, the church village of Kuhmoinen in Häme, where one can follow changes in the physical environment in the twentieth century. The agrarian village which has its origin in old homesteads and church buildings was gradually expanded with the building of schools, shops, a municipal hall, a People's Hall, dairy, sawmill, and so on. The physical environment was totally changed.

In the first major chapter of five, the author places Kuhmoinen on the world map. She surveys the source material and previous research touching on the topic. There is extensive source material on Kuhmoinen. This includes a survey of the buildings, which was conducted as part of the project "A Catalogue of Building Culture in Finland". Through this work, Ranta had her first contact with the surveying of the built environment and the evaluation of buildings which are important in terms of cultural history and the landscape. It may be mentioned that this dissertation is probably the first to be based essentially on this material. In Sweden comparable material has mainly been used for reports in which the frequency of different types of buildings is calculated and their geographical distribution described.

It is obvious that the author has been forced to supplement her material with additional fieldwork. In this connection she could have sought out the people (municipal politicians, journalists, ordinary people) whose views of changes to the environment had previously been noted. They could have been asked once again whether their opinions had changed, in other words, whether they had got used to the new, ugly environment. Ranta only refers to the possibility of doing this.

The number of informants is rather small. She has interviewed only 12 people, while those who did fieldwork under her direction interviewed a further 16 people, all of whom were connected with the sawmill industry.

Photographs are another major type of material in the dissertation. Ranta has found about 500 photographs showing bygone times. She has a good understanding and mastery of the significance and uses of photographs as source material. It is entirely justified that the dissertation is richly illustrated. I miss one picture, however, of the building designed by the well-known architect Aarno Ruusuvuori for Kuhmoinen. The captions could have been more descriptive and analytical, and it would have been good to have references to the pictures in the text.

The third type of source material is the responses to questionnaires issued by the National Board of Antiquities, concerning the church village. The selection that has been made may be considered acceptable and sufficient. In this case, as with the newspaper cuttings, the author can be criticized for not finding supplementary data from other sources. A certain imbalance in accuracy has arisen, when we consider the time covered by Seppo Suvanto's parish history (*Kuhmoisten pitäjän historia*, 1965) with the time for which there is no comparable basic investigation. This is evident, for example, in the part of Ranta's text dealing with the last few decades, where people are mentioned only by their surnames; she has not bothered to verify the individuals in the population registers, lists of architects and builders, etc.

The second chapter may be described as a presentation. Ranta goes through the different settings in the village, classified according to their function. There are ten in all, concerning agriculture, the church, traffic, the municipality, trade and banking, sawmills, small industries, housing, hobbies, and travel and leisure. Each of these is considered diachronically from early times to the present day.

The third chapter is entitled "From the Village Street to the Modern Grouped Village". The observer sits down in the boat and observes the changes from the lake. Then she goes ashore and considers the changes to the village from the road. The stock of old buildings and changes in settlement are treated in a section of this chapter.

The fourth main chapter, "The Changing Finnish Village", introduces the synthesizing part of the study. The starting point is the central catalysts of change and the restructuring of sources of livelihood. Ranta then goes on to deal with the village as cultural landscape. The angles she uses are: identifying the characteristic features of the village which are valuable as cultural history, treating the concepts of beautiful and ugliness in the cultural landscape, regarding the built environment from the point of view of memory, viewing the village as a meeting place, and so on.

The fifth and last chapter, "The Necessity for Distinction and Change", sums up these two forces, which are in constant conflict: the idea of a distinctive local idyll which the superstructures try to squeeze into a mould whose dimensions are intended for urban environments.

The structure of the main chapters is compact, and the introduction to the analytical section on the cultural landscape of Kuhmoinen ends in a nice way in the survey of the village as a built whole. On the other hand, there would have been good reason to change the order of the sections in a way that would have given a better whole. Ranta does not always give reasons for her deductions, and it is not always easy to follow her thread. She seems to have uncritically applied foreign models to indigenous material.

When Ranta presents the location of Kuhmoinen on the boundary between the eastern and western culture areas, the reader would have benefited from references to research shedding light on this topic.

With the built environment as the frame of reference, Ranta has studied the process of change in the agrarian village as a consequence of the gradual change in society at large, in other words,

how the traditional picture of the village has been split up – as the author calls the process – and the new features that have come instead. She seeks an answer to questions such as what happened in a particular village setting and why. She also wants to ascertain how the changes have been perceived.

The questions asked in the study, the hermeneutic-phenomenological ones and those from the angle of cultural analysis, are well chosen and have yielded good results. Ranta has even made the effort to understand the party that is generally accused of destroying the traditional environment. Despite this, there is no doubt of her own attitude, even though the dissertation is written in the conventional scholarly way, with passive constructions – except in the introduction, where the author uses the first person as a stylistic device.

Ranta could well have gone into certain issues in greater depth. She does not consider how the new buildings in the village came about, noting only in passing that it is difficult to know to what extent the architect or the builder influenced the outcome. Archival studies and supplementary interviews would no doubt have given answers to this question as regards certain public buildings. The people of Kuhmoinen who planned a number of buildings, including some public ones, are mentioned but could have been given brief biographical descriptions.

Alongside the changes entailed by new roads and the economic structure, planning has also had a heavy effect on the environment. This is treated at different places in the dissertation, considered from both local and national perspectives. It would have been interesting to deal with the entire planning process in terms of the general development of the legislation, using cases from Kuhmoinen as examples.

Ranta gives a good description of how the village changes from a landscape of production to one of consumption. She even considers how individuals willingly sold their land to be used for municipal and utility buildings, but only reluctantly to be used for business purposes. In the course of the decades, more and more buildings have been erected along the village street and old ones have been demolished because they were regarded as unserviceable or fire hazards. Kuhmoinen is thus becoming a modern group village. The circle that started with the enclosure reforms is being closed. The habitus of the group village differs from that of agrarian economic centres, and today we have groups of buildings in service and administration. For greater lucidity it would have been good if the buildings had been given different symbols on the map, not just serial numbers.

From Kuhmoinen the perspective is expanded to comparable church villages of the same size. These are mainly villages in the neighbouring municipalities, but there also some more distant villages in northern Pohjanmaa.

Ranta skilfully discerns and elucidates the features that are distinctive of the valuable church village and such supportive elements as contribute to increased well-being. In this context the author gives a good account of how aesthetics, sociology, and art history view a beautiful or an ugly environment. Finally, ordinary people are allowed to speak, and it becomes obvious that the concept of beauty takes on quite a different meaning when it comes to one's own home district. It is a pleasure to read the analysis of the love of place. Values to do with beauty and well-being are given a different meaning depending on whether they are discussed by outsiders or by the villagers themselves. It would have been appropriate here to interview outside laymen and temporary visitors and summer guests. Criticism by outsiders is largely confined to statements by experts in building conservation. The opinions of civil servants do not emerge clearly.

Ranta notes that the central factors in the shaping of the environment are planning and the restructuring of agriculture. As a consequence, buildings have become uniform and modern architecture has made its entry. The villages have been urbanized and have acquired features typical of towns and cities: precast structures, changes in scale, rigid grouping of buildings, far-reaching regulation of traffic, fountains, and so on.

Despite the involuntary changes brought about by urbanization, the author succeeds in her objective of singling out the features that show distinctiveness. Symbols of identity – this term is mine, not Ranta's – are above all the church and its cemetery, formerly also the dairy with its chim-

ney, the sawmill with its tall chimney stack, and the entire bay with the sawmills. The dominant symbols are buildings and structures which can be seen from a distance. They take possession of the surroundings. An example of such landmarks from recent decades are the mushroom-shaped water towers.

Ranta emphasizes the following characteristic features of Kuhmoinen: (1) the old and the new shopping centres beside each other; (2) the old village street, which is now protected; (3) the People's Hall and two nearby farms; (4) the farm unit beside the church; (5) business enterprises which have been operating in the village for a long time. Ranta's analysis hits the mark when she is dealing with the villagers, but it would have been good to illuminate the matter from an outsider's angle in order to find out which elements make up the identity of a village. This aspect is considered to some extent, but only from the viewpoint of the experts who have classified the historic buildings and settings. There is no consideration from the grass-roots level. It may justifiably be said that the outsider's view of Kuhmoinen remains diffuse. It is not possible to compensate for this deficiency with the competition material for "The Most Beautiful Church Village in Finland".

All in all, Sirkka-Liisa Ranta achieves her goals. The physical change undergone by the centre of Kuhmoinen in the twentieth century, from a village to a conurbation, is presented to the reader with all its positive and negative features. The economic structure, changes in the population base, and legislation regulating land use and the development of style are put forward as explanations for changes in the physical environment. The picture also comprises the people who move in this environment and their fixed points. In other words, this is research with a holistic view, not lacking ambitious features. The synthesizing part of the dissertation in particular is written in a fluid style.

This work will be of practical use for considering the valuation criteria for the built environment in a nationwide and local perspective.

Teppo Korhonen, Helsinki

Photographs as Cultural Expressions

Oddlaug Reiakvam, Bilderøyndom – Røyndomsbilde. Fotografi som kulturelle tidsuttrykk. Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo 1997. 384 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-521-5032-2.

■ Oddlaug Reiakvam's dissertation, submitted to Bergen University in duplicated form, has now been printed. Oddlaug Reiakvam passed away in 1996.

Photographs in ethnological dissertations usually illustrate the text, to which they are subordinate, and photographers are rarely present. In this dissertation, photographs are both the material and the topic, and the reader meets three Norwegian photographers. The title of the thesis is more than an elegant turn of phrase in Norwegian (meaning "Experience of Pictures – Pictures of Experience"). It also encapsulates a central fact about the material: a photograph is both a picture of reality and a picture with its own reality. It is both technically and culturally conditioned. This dual character has been expressed over the years in different polarities: it has been asked whether photography is nature or culture, impression or expression, art or documentation. The photographer has been viewed now as a witness, now as an observer.

The author's thesis is that photographs have their inherent duality. They have a meaning which is culturally constructed. Reiakvam seeks to show how pictures *from* a period simultaneously became pictures *of* a period. It is a matter of constructing the historical context.

Reiakvam's own context consists of her affiliation to ethnology and her professional experience as a picture librarian. Both have given rise to a polemical tone in the dissertation. The picture librarian has encountered the "archive-naïve" view of photography that is evident in the classification system. The reader discovers that the typical archive word "motif" is not used in this thesis, but we are left alone to wonder what it means to refrain from using the word and consistently speak of pictures and photographs. Ethnological picture research, Reiakvam notes, has mostly concerned specially defined folk art, whereas ethnologists, as well as museum and

archive staff, regard photographs above all as ways to convey objective information. It is because photography is a phenomenon of modernity that it is excluded by ethnology, says Reiakvam, who would regard photography as modern folk art.

More interesting than the polemical statements are the new and constructive contributions to ethnological research into photography. How does one go about breaking furrows in previously unploughed soil? Reiakvam has followed two paths: cultural analysis and picture analysis. She takes her apparatus from Pierre Bourdieu's concepts; *habitus* is useful in the analysis of those who took photographs and those who were photographed. From Anthony Giddens she has taken a view of modernity which devotes particular attention to the breach between tradition and modernity. For picture analysis, art history has provided Erwin Panofsky's model, while another semiological model is borrowed from Roland Barthes. Some theoretical points of departure for the central question of photography and context come from Michael Baxandall and Allan Sekula.

This theoretical and methodological basis is then supplemented in the actual analysis with a discussion of research on various topics such as portraits, autobiography, bourgeois family culture, tourism, and the view of death. In other words, a diverse set of theoretical angles are used – and needed. It is obvious that recent ethnological research can contribute to our knowledge and understanding of photography. Through this dissertation one can learn a great deal of the art of analysing the culturally constructed meaning of photographs. The question is whether one can learn the entire art, or if Reiakvam, at the interface between picture and culture, has worked with one particular knack or rather one special gaze.

I have one objection to the language of the thesis. There are numerous quotation marks, not to mark quotations but to hint that the words do not really mean what they seem to mean. It is as if the pictorial aspect has infected the text; this has a special effect, not least considering the topic. As a reader one may wonder whether the quotation marks signal meanings of words that are transacademic.

The major part of the dissertation consists of the three chapters where each photographer is treated. A large picture section accompanies each one, an arrangement which can always be discussed; above all, the quality of the reproduction could have been better. Together these three photographers span the period from the 1860s to the 1920s. They have been chosen because the author wants to show that what become equivalent objects in an archive are in fact an expression of three different photographic practices. Two were professional photographers who took pictures for a market, and one was an amateur who put the photos in his own family album. They are introduced as the *tourist photographer*, the *family photographer*, and the *local photographer*. In each category they belong to a formation phase; when their photographs are analysed as period expressions they prove to be telling stories, respectively, of a national project, a bourgeois family project, and a local project. The fact that the photographers are representatives of something makes it easy to omit their names in this review, but in the thesis they are treated with a high degree of individuality. What the three have in common is that they combine in different ways two modern phenomena: photography and tourism.

The tourist photographer in the national project photographed folk life and landscapes. Reiakvam sees the Norwegian peasantry and mountain scenery as two categories of picture geared to the market created by tourism. The stylistic ideal was national romantic, and the Jotunheimen mountains became the national icon. The national aesthetic turned raw nature into a cultured landscape of experience. Pictures of mountain peaks spoke of pilgrimages but said nothing about the hardships the photographer had to undergo to take the picture.

The pictures that the amateur photographer took of his family reflect both the bourgeois structuring of time and bourgeois places such as the home and various outdoor scenes. The landscape is either a Sunday arena or else a place for toil. There are several analytical gems in this thesis, one of which highlights the meaning of walker's staff. Reiakvam stresses the integrating function of the family photographs; they manifest the bourgeois family's identity of affinity. As the narrative about this family shows, however,

the activity of the family photographer is also determined by the family and its perpetuation. The author, inspired by Bourdieu, makes a list of what could not be photographed because it should not be photographed.

The third photographer, who portrayed his local district, its people and landscape, contributed to the regional identity. He may be analysed as a catalyst of the breakthrough of modernism in traditional society. It is a complicated context. The same photographer was involved in a modern project to preserve tradition, since he produced photographs for a publisher associated with the Norwegianness movement. This movement has not attracted sufficient research, Reiakvam claims. The interesting thing is that it has consequences for her own dissertation. While the analysis of the local photographer's portraits and pictures of deceased people makes interesting reading, the photographs themselves remain somehow unknown. In connection with the local photographer, Reiakvam introduces a new kind of source material in the form of a great many letters, and the written word tends to detract attention from the pictures. It is as if the longer the twentieth century proceeds, the more complex and elusive the period becomes.

One must work on the basis of what one sees and what one knows, Reiakvam writes. But this is not without problems: what one sees is often predetermined by what one knows. In the case of the local photographer it is also clear that the result is affected by what one does *not* know. Another complication with photography is that there is more than one context: not just when the photograph was taken, but also the one in which it is observed. Photography is a performance in which every observer is active. If one were to wish for anything more from a dissertation that is already full of ideas and substance, it would be a more explicit discussion of the role and context of the observer, which is something different from the historical context of use. The final heading in the book, "The picture takes the words you have", is a line from a poem, and as such ambiguous. If it may be envisaged as being aimed, not at the person holding the camera, but at the person observing the picture, it could be interpreted as Oddlaug Reiakvam's wise declaration that the observer also represents an expression of a period.

Kerstin Arcadius, Malmö

The Alternative City

Ulf Stahre, Den alternativa staden. Stockholms omvandling och byalagsrörelsen. Stockholm, Stockholmia Förlag 1999. 276 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7031-093-9.

■ The modern city in Northern Europe was shaped by at least three major "projects": (1) the dream of the shared urban environment, whether the model was the boulevards of Paris, the Ring in Vienna, Manhattan, or Le Corbusier's *cité nouvelle*; (2) the bourgeois realization of the romantic anti-urban ideology, "the escape from the city", which spread to the entire population and created the suburb as the residential environment for the majority of the people; (3) the labour movement's rejection of "the old city", infested with vices and slums, in favour of the dream of the functionalist city as the solution to all social problems.

Around 1970 the film strip broke. Some of the dreams continued, but the unity was gone: the narratives were no longer automatically shared. The postmodern city became an arena for a multitude of groups and subcultures, reflecting the split-up of the urban person's domiciles and domains which had been coming for a long time (cf. Åke Daun, *Förortsliv*, 1972). In concrete terms, the break was triggered by "the new left", which for a few hectic years rallied people to a struggle against the worst – or most symbolic – results of modern urban policy: total urban renewals, motorways, multi-storey blocks, and so on. But as the author of this book shows, the 1970s also witnessed a general economic and structural crisis in the city centres.

The new urban environment movement, which was known in Germany as *Bürgerinitiative*, in Denmark as *beboergrupper* or *miljøgrupper*, in Sweden went under the name of the *byalagsrörelse*. That word may be translated "neighbourhood movement", but it reflects the dreams of the pre-industrial village community, since it revived the old term for the "village council", *byalag*. This struggle attracted widespread support, al-

though we did not hear much in the neighbouring countries about the great battle to save the elm trees in Kungsträdgården in Stockholm on 12 May 1971, which is also the subject of a central chapter in this book about "The Alternative City".

Ulf Stahre is an ethnologist, a pupil of the urban ethnologist Sven B. Ek. Yet the actual incentive for the book is the author's career as a city planner and his personal curiosity about what happened to the movement and what it achieved. Thanks to extensive fieldwork and archive studies, visiting and interviewing former participants in the struggle, and borrowing large amounts of private material (which should be secured in public archives), the author unfolds the story of a number of selected neighbourhood associations, their background and development, the "activists" and other participants, their aims and methods, their results and their dissolution. We are thus given one of the first "thick descriptions" of the 1970s grass-roots movements, whose history should now be seriously written. Those of us who were activists in those days will recognize the elements: placards, pamphlets, newspapers, demonstrations, actions, mass meetings, collective leadership, alternative plans, women's and children's groups, and so on and so forth. Stahre succeeds well in balancing between an over-empathetic solidarity and a desire to come to terms with '68 which characterizes so much of the debate about that period. On the contrary, he elegantly crushes some myths when he shows, for example, that the participants in the movement were not particularly revolting against their parents, that they were well integrated in society and have to a large extent maintained their attitudes up to the present day.

Ethnologists have not always found it easy to handle the modern city. Some have followed the "ecological" tradition of the Chicago school via Börje Hanssen and *Svensk stad*, to the studies of neighbourhood formation and the city as a framework for lived life. Others have searched for "the little community in the big city", and in recent years ethnologists have especially described specific groups, cultures, and life-modes, more in modern society as a whole than just in cities. But here Ulf Stahre frees himself from the narrow traditions and tries to put urban policy and the movements of neighbourhood associations into an interdisciplinary context. This is at once the strength and the weakness of the book. In different sections the author discusses the topic viewed in relation to modern urban theory, social philosophy, organization theory, and ethnology. And with his ability to capture and present a large body of material, the author achieves an excellent series of *Stand der Forschung*. At the start, for instance, he has a lucid survey of the two main lines which, in his opinion, have characterized city planning and urban policy in the twentieth century. On the one hand the humanistic tradition, from Camillo Sitte's romantic city via Ebenezer Howard's garden city to Mumford's neighbourhood city, and on the other hand the functionalist-rational tradition, which had its breakthrough in Scandinavia with the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930. And he describes how the latter was implemented in Stockholm from the 1950s onwards by a strong political-ideological alliance, as encapsulated in the anecdote about the American who exclaimed in shock, "I did not know that Stockholm was so severely damaged during the war!"

In a later chapter Ulf Stahre concentrates on the scientific debate about "movements" as a product of societal development, about theories of the transition from a class struggle to a struggle over information, about the *Zeitgeist*, and so on. He devotes the subsequent sections to a discussion of the inner mechanisms of the neighbourhood associations, their "reactive" dependence on concrete and easily understood threats, their spontaneous network character, and hence also their great difficulty in securing their survival in a shared programme and a continuous organization. He concludes that, although the movement largely disappeared, it nevertheless created "a real change in society", namely, more human values in city planning (but, as the author points out, the revitalization of the historical urban settings has instead exported the social problems to the suburbs, thus giving them identity problems).

The many theoretical angles have brought the author the degree of doctor, but they make the aim of the book diffuse. It is both living and learned; it is about both urban theory and movements. Perhaps it would have gained from being published in a simplified form, together with articles

in relevant journals. Yet this does not alter the fact that this book about "The Alternative City" decidedly points the way forward for an urban ethnology that can handle both the micro- and the macro-level.

Peter Dragsbo, Middelfart

Book Reviews

War and Love in 1864

Inge Adriansen, Krig og kærlighed i 1864. Breve mellem Sønderborgs borgmesterpar Hilmar og Olufa Finsen. Historisk samfund for Als og Sundeved 1998. 216 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-87153-394.

■ The discovery of an extensive collection of letters in the Royal Library in Copenhagen in the war year of 1864 by Inge Adriansen of Sønderborg Museum has yielded results in the form of a close insight into the cruel reality of war. The war fought by Denmark against Prussia and Austria is the topic of this book, "War and Love in 1864. Letters between the Mayor and his Wife, Hilma and Olufa Finsen", whose cover shows a burning Sønderborg exposed to Prussian bombardment. It publishes letters between the Mayor of Sønderborg and his wife from 16 March to 22 June 1864.

Adriansen's work is a good example of a way of writing history from below, from the perspective of the individual, showing what combat was like for those in the centre of the military operations. By reading the letters it is possible to see the war from inside, its lack of meaning and horrifying reality. But Mayor Finsen also represents the Danish authorities, he makes decisions and through his position is an official representative of the Danish state. Different levels of history are connected. Among other things, Finsen decided to change the language in the school from German to Danish, and he introduced Danish in all classes and not only at the higher levels, as had previously been the case. Many did not agree with his decision. In Sønderborg there were many people who expressed a more German than Danish identity, and several private schools based on the German language were established as a consequence of Finsen's resolution.

In the letters the acts of the war are related, and the reader follows how orders from above are executed, with cruel results for the ordinary, suffering men and women. The 40-year-old Mayor Hilmar Finsen had to stay in the war-devastated city during the battles, but his younger, pregnant wife Olufa went back to her parents' home in Copenhagen, together with the three little children. The unintentional separation of the couple led to an intense correspondence. The spouses wrote to each other every day, and 173 letters are preserved from 1864. Adriansen publishes most of them in the book, but she has abbreviated Olufa's letters especially. According to Adriansen they are full of repetitions. The first few pages of the book consist of an account of the war events, conditions in general in Sønderborg, biographical facts about Mr and Mrs Finsen, information about the letters and the circumstances of the correspondence. The major part of the book is devoted to the letters, printed in chronological order. The final pages describe the end of the war and the destiny of the couple. After the Danish loss of Slesvig, Hilmar Finsen became Governor of Iceland, where the family settled in 1865.

Hilmar Finsen's letters give an insight into everyday reality during the war, the conditions for both the fighting forces and the civil population. He tells about houses that were burnt down and about constant bombardment, about the shell that hit and completely destroyed the children's room, about the wounded and maimed. "Today there have been fires in many houses, and I would say that half of the city is reduced to ashes. You can imagine that there has been such misery that I have said many times, thank God that you haven't been an eyewitness to this," Finsen wrote during the intense bombardment the first days in April. He gives a precise account of the number of fallen and wounded, the numerous people who had to amputate one or both legs, the victims of death by infection. Those who could left the town, and Finsen gave his assistance to acquire wagons. Homeless citizens received offers of free lodging from other districts, e.g. from all the towns on Fyn, but most of the inhabitants preferred to stay in the neighbourhood of Sønderborg. After constant bombardment for several days, not a single window-pane in the Mayor's

home was intact, and Finsen was preoccupied with saving as much as possible of the furniture and family kitchenware from the house.

Naturally, Mrs Finsen's letters reflect a partly different reality. The children, visits and social life, everyday life in Copenhagen. But Mrs Finsen is deeply involved in the war and enters into all the details. In a letter she asks first about her daughter Ragnhild's doll's house which she was longing for, and immediately after: "But don't forget to tell me about the entrenchments, how number 4 is going. It is still our best protection! ... according to the newspapers today the saps are now 1,600 feet from our entrenchments." The great love between the spouses is also remarkable and a main theme in the correspondence. Declarations of love and longing for the other are found in every letter. Olufa Finsen looks forward to the happiness of seeing the beloved face of her husband again, kissing his lovely lips, holding his wonderful hands between hers. Hilmar Finsen speaks in a similar way about his wife and his love for her.

This is an interesting book for all those interested in military history and descriptions of battles from the perspective of the individual man at the centre of the events. It is a pity that the account of the destruction of Sønderborg has similar parallels in our time. The book gives detailed knowledge of everyday life in the midst of the war, it is richly illustrated and has maps of Sønderborg and the surrounding district in an appendix. Yet it would have been fruitful to have a deeper analysis of the contents of the letters. As it is, they are presented in chronological order, which I sometimes found a little tiring. Inge Adriansen focuses primarily on the course of the war as reflected in the letters. It is interesting, but I would have preferred a deeper analysis. What happened to the people in Sønderborg in the longer term? Did many of them move to other cities? How many of them went back? And what about their solidarity with regard to the Danish/German issue? There are several interesting problems to deal with here. These questions are of course not the concern of the letters and perhaps are not relevant to the author's purpose, but it would have been interesting to know more about the topic.

Further, I wonder why as much as 50% of the content of Mrs Finsen's letters has been excluded. Did this just consist of repetitions, as Adriansen says, or was it filtered out because it was interpreted as less important? Olufa Finsen wrote about her days in Copenhagen, with everyday worries about children and relatives. Perhaps this could be seen as less important than the history of the war, not as "real history". We cannot know this without seeing the letters, but it is essential to discuss the principles of selection. What is omitted, and why? I would have preferred a presentation of the letters according to different themes, instead of chronological order. In that case the repetitions had been avoided. But of course, an edition of letters is a special genre in itself. Besides, it gives something to think about for those interested in women's history and gender history, that Mr Finsen's letters primarily dealt with the events of the war, in a detailed, objective way, and that Mrs Finsen obviously was very interested in the military operations. From this point of view, it is difficult to distinguish any sharp division between the separate spheres of the sexes, or to agree with the conception that women should be protected from knowledge about the cruel reality of the war, even if Mrs Finsen was absent from the theatre of war. And for all the maids and wives who had to feed the fighting men in the midst of the bombardment and had to save what could be saved from the devastated city, there was certainly no time to contemplate what belonged to the women's sphere and the men's sphere.

Eva Helen Ulvros, Lund

Forms of Folklore

Alf Arvidsson, Folklorens former. Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 253 pp. ISBN 91-44-00733-7.

■ Alf Arvidsson is a senior lecturer in the Department of Culture and Media at Umeå University. His book *Folklorens former* is intended as a basic textbook for students of ethnology. According to the author, it is also suitable for students of literature, history, musicology, languages and sociology. The basis of the book is the multidisciplinary nature of folkloristics and its wide-ranging research objects: in addition to language,

the author notes that folklore includes narration, singing, music making, dance, sports and various rituals in their contexts. This is a broad definition of folklore, which I consider accurate.

The author himself wonders why so little attention has been paid to the examination of folkloristic world-views, folk beliefs and ethnomedicine (Arvidsson, "What's in a Book? Some Remarks and Afterthoughts regarding Folklorens former", *NNF News* 1/1999). This is also the case with religious folklore, some examples of which are included in the book. The most important elements of folkloristics, according to the author, are the following: the oral versus the literal, gender, social class and ethnicity, specialized expressive roles as well as general knowledge of the aesthetic forms of everyday life. The author does not emphasize the central characteristics of folklore: the traditional and stereotypical nature of folklore, variation, anonymity *(poeta anonymus)* and the importance of community. Instead, the emphasis is on the oral nature of tradition and on the early ages. Arvidsson concentrates on the oral forms of tradition and limits his examples to the Swedish pre-industrial peasant community. In fact, the bulk of Swedish folklore studies refers to nineteenth-century rural life, and the author tries to give a rather fair representation of what has actually been done so far.

But by emphasizing the oral, he pays little attention to the fact that the present-day bearer of tradition is much more than *homo tradens*, an oral narrator: he is also *homo scribens*, a theme writer and producer of personal documents (e.g. pp. 172–175); *homo narrans*, a narrator of literal and oral tradition; *homo symbolicus*, a human being living in a symbolic universe; and *homo cognitivus*, because he is also the bearer of tradition and literal knowledge, who has numerous scripts in his brain (manuscripts, paths) with which he can produce, renew, change, enliven, forget or hide knowledge and tradition.

The book has been organized primarily around categories of activity: narrating, speaking formulaically (using sayings and poems), singing, music making and dancing, playing games and sports, and performing rituals. Standardized forms of activity (genres) are given a secondary position. In consequence, some customary folkloristic categories have been united under one heading, while others have been separated. For instance, songs are dealt with not only under singing, but also under narrating, speaking, dancing and performing rituals. The author thinks that there are some advantages to be found, for example, in making room not only for fixed and stable genres, but also for proto-genres and blurred genres. Another aim of the book is to review forms of artistic communication within Swedish pre-industrial popular culture. This includes presenting results of folktale and legend research, but also discussing Bible quotations, hymn singing, etc. as part of popular world-view (pp. 7–8). Overall, the title of the book corresponds to the promised content.

Instead of analytical chapter headings, the author has opted for descriptive, "functional" forms of folklore, which poses a number of questions about the research sectors that the book examines. Except for the introduction, the main chapters in the book have been constructed according to the same descriptive format: "Narrating", "Speaking", "Making Sounds", "Moving: The Body as an Aesthetic Means of Expression", "Playing Roles". "Mediated Folklore" and "Problem Areas and Methodological Discussions in Folkloristic Research". The bibliography is quite comprehensive and the index very useful and necessary. In accordance with the chapter headlines, the whole book is also descriptive in nature. It is partly tradition-phenomenological, and partly historical (introduction and some other parts). The author briefly examines the history of folkloristics in general and in Sweden. He pays attention to the status of folklore and its research in terms of the Swedish ethnology of pre-industrial peasant society. Ethnographic examples could have been used more extensively.

Because a basic work like this cannot include everything, the treatment of its topics is forced to remain superficial and diachronic. The author specifies his starting point in the introduction: "The emphasis in this book is on presenting the perspectives and questions that are current and capable of development in today's *ethnology*" (p. 10, my italics), not in folkloristics or *folklivsforskning* (folklife studies), which means that the entire research approach can be interpreted as

ethnological. The intention is not to present folkloristics as a discipline, as it is in countries where folkloristics has the status of a discipline and university chairs, but to present folkloristics as one of the perspectives in Swedish ethnology. "Folkloristics" has been considered to be a subdiscipline of ethnology. The emphasis in Swedish folkloristics is different in relationship to Swedish ethnology, which has a strong identity historically.

This can be regarded as one of the book's strong points, as it tries to involve the reader in a discussion about the science of science in folkloristics. Overall, I hoped for a more holistic examination, e.g., in the form of a summary. It is particularly important that students in the early stages of their studies learn to identify the relevant scholarly archives and scholarly yearbooks, articles from which are often required course reading. The short chapters "Research and Institutions" and "Journals", to my mind, however, would have been better as appendices.

Criticism can be raised especially about the imbalance between the tradition-phenomenological discussion and the theoretical/methodological discussion in folkloristics. The methodological discussion in the book includes the following: folklore as a *process* between people (Lauri Honko's article "Folklore Process", 1991, is missing in the bibliography; see *Folklore Fellows' Summer School Programme*, Turku); narration and performance; gender studies; folklore and social history; folklore and oral history; folklore and nationalism; structuralism; intertextuality; and as somewhat detached themes, folkloristic studies on ethnic minorities, such as workers' traditions, areal traditions, immigrant traditions and children's traditions. Each chapter is very short, and I suspect that an undergraduate student of folkloristics may have difficulties in learning from this brief overview. Besides what the author has mentioned in chapter 8 and from the historical point of view, folkloristics has been strongly influenced by numerous other international methodological trends and discussions, which are lacking in the book. These include, for instance: 1. Comparative mythology and philology. 2. Psychoanalytical models of folklore. 3. Functionalist approaches. 4. Marxist research of folklore and historical materialism. Folklore is seen as a weapon of class conflict. 5. Tradition ecology. 6. Cognitive study of folklore. 7. Symbolic folklore. The main assumption is that man is a *homo symbolicus*, among other things. In a basic work on the forms of folklore one would also hope to read about the dual, theoretical trend in the field: the division into *textual* and *contextual*, i.e., *anthropological*, trends, provided there has been such a divide in Swedish research of tradition.

Because the different genres of folklore are an essential part of people's lives nowadays, I offer the following as present-day functions of folklore: amusement, teaching, training of attitudes, maintaining social interaction, usefulness, manipulation and public performance of tradition, controlling social traditions, creating and maintaining a sense of group and community spirit (we-spirit) as well as transferring shared values to next generations (Suojanen, "Mitä on folkloristiikka?", *Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot*, Helsinki). The author offers William Bascom's classic definition of the four functions of folklore which I find insufficient.

There is a clear shortcoming in the chapter on the history of folkloristic research. The author talks about the Brothers Grimm (p. 13), but the name of Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–80) is missing, as well as acknowledgement of his influence on the folkloristics of that time and on the study of religion. Next to the Brothers Grimm, he was the most noteworthy early scholar of European folklore.

Ethnocentric attitudes among children, students, housewives and religious movements, etc. certainly existed during Swedish pre-industrial peasant society, and plenty of material is available. However, ethnocentric folklore from the point of view of multiculturalism is scarce in the book. In chapter 3 "Naming", I also missed concrete examples of pejorative names and name-calling, which can be found in the traditions of children, religious groups, not to mention prisoners, hospital patients, etc. (cf. e.g., L. Virtanen, *Children's Lore*, Helsinki 1978.).

Arvidsson notes that the book is also suitable for more advanced students as a source of ideas, but I think the book is at most suitable for undergraduate students. To them it probably remains

unclear what the many genres of narrative tradition mean (fairytales, legends, myths, anecdotes, gossips, phrases and sayings), how they are divided and how they are seen in Swedish folk culture at the turn of the millennium. Excessive attention is paid to children's tradition considering the book's length (chap. 3 and 6). It is pleasing the reader that play and dance folklore are also examined, which are often lacking in basic works due to their narrow definition of folklore.

In contrast, the world of folkloristic beliefs and religious folklore, such as the following phenomena, are missing, forms of magical thinking, incantations, everyday and modern magic, ethnomedicine. One may wonder which research field of the humanities in Sweden studies national modern superstition, and religious and profane city folklore. Is it a no-man's land, leaving the world-view of the *homo magicus* and *homo religiosus* of the twentieth century in the dark?

The author has intentionally left out folkloristic information collection and its methods, such as free and theme interview, theme writing, participant observation and participatory research, questionnaires, the use of personal documents and different psychological tests. This is a pity, as there are clear methodological differences between ethnological and folkloristic information gathering, starting from the formulation of a research question.

In a basic work like this the reader would also hope to find something about the new forms of tradition created by man: *folklorism*, i.e., a new use of old tradition. Medialore in the chapter "Medierad folklore" is very illuminating and important glimpse to the present and historical world of folklore. The main elements the reader remembers from the book are narration (performance), and children's tradition and music, which, however, are examined at very different levels. Nevertheless, the book may be a welcome response to the needs of Swedish students in the field, and despite its shortcomings, it is likely to reach the intended target audience. A good bibliography helps the more advanced students to continue.

Päivikki Suojanen, Jyväskylä

Stories on Aging, Images of the Aged

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Den Store Fortælling om Alderdommen. Munksgaard, Copenhagen 1999. 208 pp. ISBN 87-16-12171-6.

Aldring og Ældrebilleder – mennesket i gerontologien. Anne Leonora Blaakilde & Christine E. Swane (eds). Munksgaard, Copenhagen 1998. 211 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-16-12156-2.

■ What could be a folkloristic approach to aging? This question is implicitly posed in Anne Leonora Blaakilde's book *Den Store Fortælling om Alderdommen*. A broad answer is given in the first sentences of the book. Aging cannot be approached from a realistic perspective, since it is difficult to define age and aging as one dimensional facts: they remain relative phenomena. When does man become an elderly person? What is it like to be old? What is aging, after all? Age from the point of view provided by folkloristics (and humanistic fields of research in general) should not be a self-evident category, but in itself, as a notion, the actual focus of discussion. The book focuses on narratives on aging, on how age becomes culturally constructed. Both notions, age and narrative, are given a thorough consideration before the author proceeds into analyzing the aspects of narratives on aging. What emerges from the narratives is, on one hand the fluidity, and on the other hand the negativity in our everyday thinking concerning the old age. As a result of this, what becomes crucial are the various coping mechanisms arising when facing the roles society is offering us at that certain point of our life cycle, namely, when becoming part of the Great Story of Aging, when becoming an elderly person. At the same time, the images of youth and oldness seem to be dissolving to an extent that the image of the elderly is becoming more versatile, as is shown in many examples Blaakinde is giving.

The book seems to be oriented to a wide audience, and this perhaps has an effect on the style in which the book has been written. The theoretical aspects tend to get less attention. Still, the book is a good contribution to understanding age and aging in the contemporary world and especially an encouraging example of how folkloristics can be thought provoking and thus have

a role in generating cultural criticism.

The cultural images of aging is also the topic in the book Anne Leonora Blaakilde has edited alongside with Christine E. Swane, *Aldring og Ældrebilleder – mennesket i gerontologien*. It provides us with an interdisciplinary approach to aging. Even though the authors represent various fields of research, i.e. folkloristics, psychology, sociology and medicine, the book succeeds in forming an integrated collection of articles dealing with profound questions in humanistic gerontology. This is probably due to the fact that the authors have been members of a Copenhagen based research group "Aldring og Ældrebilleder". The book in question is one of the results this research group produced during 1993-97.

In general, the authors take the constructivist stand by choosing the idea that we live in a world constructed by language as their starting point. The emphasis is on the individual living his life in concrete conditions and everyday situations, but individuals are also looked at in connection to collectively produced images and historically grounded ideas of age and aging. However, in their inspiring introduction, the editors emphasize that the images of elderly people are not static. Still, these images are powerful. Therefore it seems that what is needed is first to grasp the prevailing stereotypes and clichés concerning aging. This is of utmost importance, since the actual field of science, gerontology, partly shares the same suppositions. These necessary remarks are made and thoroughly discussed in the opening article of the book, written by Henning Kirk. In this sense this is one of those books that has the role of pathmaker for humanistic oriented gerontology.

Some of the authors take up the job of deconstructing images created in media. The aim is to create a many-sided picture of aging in a society where the elderly people form an almost invisible cultural field. Fortunately, in her article on images of aging in the media, Birgitte Rørbye does not simply rush into analyzing the images, but first considers what the relationship between the media and the prevailing prejudices is like in general. This, in my opinion, is a well-considered choice, leading inevitably to a more rewarding discussion. In a similar fruitful way, Jesper Wegéns makes use of a wide perspective, and discusses the central role that the mechanized conception of human agency has in today's world in connection to work. Blaakilde's article follows the lines of the already mentioned book by dwelling into the negative discourse concerning aging as expressed in the experiences of people living in "the margin". Pia Fromholt ends the book with a discussion on what does the phrase "to lead a good life as an elderly person" entail.

Christine E. Swane's contribution to the book deals with dementia patients. First she discusses the shifting images of dementia patients, and then focuses on the aspects of their everyday life. In this connection, she draws to such theoreticians as Alfred Schutz. Her main point is to consider what happens to a person when the self-evident nature of everyday life as a nearly banal continuity of routines and repetitiveness faces a rupture. The result is what I would call a surreal everyday life in which nothing seems to be as it always was before: "a fork is not anymore registered to be table cutlery". Perhaps the scope of this article does not allow the author to discuss this in detail, which would have been at least for the writer of this review, very fascinating. Anyhow, Swane's article is an example of how encompassing a conception of narrativity this book entails. Narrativity is not looked at from a single point of view: it is central not only in connection to images in the media, for example, but in another sense as well. To narrate one's life as a patient suffering from dementia, one is able to create order once again into one's life. Narrating seen as a therapeutic means provokes a question whether we could already start talking about *applied folkloristics* in the context of gerontology.

Nina Sääskilahti, Jyväskylä

Wiring Denmark

Jørgen Burchardt, Historiens lange tråd. NKT Trådværket 1899–1999. Middelfart Museum, Middelfart 1999. 310 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-987247-0-3.

■ In the latest issue of *Upptäcktsresan*, the annual catalogue of Swedish cultural attractions published by the National Heritage Board, the focus is on industrial settings and landmarks from different periods in our history.

This book by Jørgen Burchardt reflects a similar interest in Denmark; it concerns an industrial landmark on Fyn, the wire factory of NKT Trådværket in Middelfart by the Little Belt. We are given insight into the physical appearance of the plant and we learn how it set its stamp on the development of the town and the district, and on the lives of the local people.

In his foreword, Peter Dragsbo, declares that for a hundred years NKT "held the everyday life of the Danes together": its cables conveyed energy from the power stations to the users, it secured communications in telegraph and telephone lines, produced barbed wire to keep livestock within given boundaries, made chains to keep cows and horses in their stalls, and provided nails and screws to hold buildings and furniture together.

One necessary condition for the success of the company is said to be that managers and workers together were able to alter the direction of production in changing economic cycles; another is that the company management through international contacts succeeded in keeping up to date with new technology inside and outside Scandinavia and were able to translate innovations into practice. For the people in the town and the surrounding district, the factory made up a significant part of the local community by virtue of its size and its industrial culture.

The conditions for the production of this book were that the company should essentially pay the expenses while the museum would be responsible for writing a professional history. The extensive archives of NKT have of course been made available, and many active and retired employees have been interviewed. Under the author's leadership, the work carried on in the factory has also been documented.

The basic technique of the business is very simple and widely known: the metal rods are drawn cold through successive dies to reduce the diameter. Brass wire, on the other hand, is produced from hot-pressed brass rods. A die must be made of hard metal or diamond to prevent wear. The actual drawing takes place with the addition of a lubricant or in a bath of copper sulphate, and the reduction is done in a draw bench or a draw machine.

In the description of the technical processes it would have been beneficial if more comparisons had been made with adjacent fields. The central tool, the die, for example, has a direct counterpart in the tool used by ropemakers to keep yarn or strands separate during the twining stages.

Jørgen Burchardt's presentation and disposition of the material is traditional in the sense that he lets the account run chronologically from 1898 to 1999, divided into four sections: (1) 1898–1921, with preparations and planning, manufacture and the resulting products, technical advances and new production. Influences from outside as a consequence of the managers' travels, mainly to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Sheffield. (2) 1921–1949, with an aspiration for stability after the chaos of the First World War. The situation on the international market and the purchase of new turbines. Selected events during the Second World War, including protests and riots against the Germans. (3) 1950–1973, a period of restructuring and rationalization. (4) 1974–1999, when environmental thinking came along, automation was introduced, new partners appeared, the sales organization was changed, and the entire head office was moved from Middelfart to Brøndby. All this is then followed by a presentation of owners, of workers and trade union activity, of conflicts and strikes, and of male and female.

Among the neighbouring countries, Germany played an inspirational role for NKT for decades, especially because experts were brought from Osnabrück. There were also important contacts with Sweden: Sieverts cable factory (Sundbyberg, Hudiksvall), a producer of power cables, telephone cables, and industrial fittings. Sieverts was founded in 1888 by the brothers Max and Ernst Sievert and was bought up in 1928 by L. M. Ericsons. Its history was written in 1938 by Karl Hildebrand. The development of the cable plant was likewise of great significance for the surrounding community, as reflected in the borough status accorded to Sundbyberg in 1926.

Gnosjö in Jönköping County should not be forgotten either, with the crucial significance of its wire factories for the expansion of the community into a major industrial centre with a large number of companies.

Broadly speaking, I am impressed by the comprehensive work undertaken by Jørgen Burchardt: sorting such disparate material, dividing it into

periods, collecting pictures, and particularly the actual writing. He handles the Danish language well, writing a calm and smooth account.

On the other hand, I am surprised that Burchardt, whom I have known for a decade through his work with the ethnological journal *Nord Nytt*, has not let his ethnological knowledge blossom here; he only occasionally reveals it in limited sections. This means that the book has rather too much of the character of a company monograph, when it would have been possible to achieve a more interdisciplinary orientation, and above all to shed ethnological light on the social contexts.
Allan T. Nilson, Göteborg

Culture and Identity

Europeans: Essays on Culture and Identity. Åke Daun and Sören Jansson (eds). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 1999. 280 pp. ISBN 91-89116-06-2.

■ This book fills a need. For centuries, Europe has exported its culture to the rest of the world, and continues to do so. Yet there are surprisingly few books on everyday life in Europe from an ethnological point of view that one can use as teaching texts, and nearly all of these that I have seen are heavily biassed toward Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. A book in English with an emphasis on the North has been sorely needed for a long time, and the appearance of this volume helps to restore the balance.

As the editors say in the introduction, the book is not intended as an exhaustive study, but rather a collection of scholarly snapshots depicting a number of features of European culture and identity. In the first section of the book, eight contributors write about characteristic cultural eccentricities or conventions that might strike visitors to particular European countries as puzzling, or in some other way iconic of difference. These cultural totems take a wide variety of forms, and an engaging array of them are represented here. Åke Daun focuses on Swedish conversational styles, which may strike outsiders as hesitant and less than forthright, while Jeremy and Inga Boissevain tell us that the Dutch go to the opposite extreme; Bernard Ineichen looks for clues about the changing social order of Britain in what they eat; Éilís Ní Dhuibhne tells us how the images of Irishness as perceived by foreigners are seen from the inside by the Irish themselves; Annick Sjögren and Catherine Fritzell compare notes on the contradictions set up by the French school system, which attempts to be elitist and egalitarian at the same time; Disa Håstad confronts a further set of contradictions between intellectualism and the ideology of workers' democracy in Russia; Zofia Sokolewicz shows us how Poles cheer themselves up about the battered and indistinct identity of their country with stories about flawed heroism and romantic defeat; and Elisabeth Wengström analyses what Swedish-speaking Greek tour guides say about Greek society, which oscillates between insider and outsider stereotypes. All these contributions offer illuminating comment about the nature of sociality and of the social order which distinguish one European country from another.

The second part of the book consists of four papers on Europeanness, and how people are reacting to institutional integration and the declining political significance of national frontiers. The nation-state is a key European idea; for two centuries, the one defined the other. How is "nation" now to be defined, or articulated in everyday life within the European super-state? Marianne Gullestad draws out of Norwegians' ideas concerning childhood some symbolic referents which enlighten us about their rejection of the European Union; Sören Jansson informs us that Swedes choose home-produced foodstuffs, even though the dish being prepared might be French or Mexican, relating this to their ambivalence about foreigners and foreignness; Thoroddur Bjarnason explains why young Icelanders are more likely to emigrate to Britain or the USA than to Denmark; Konrad Köstlin shows us how Austrians are attempting to re-fashion a European nation between Germany and the Balkans by fixing upon and re-interpreting certain cultural symbols and icons, while rejecting others; and Klaus and Juliana Roth discuss the ways that the unification of Germany has created a new West-East cultural axis that has in many respects supplanted the South-North divide.

Six papers pursue this topic further, taking a comparative perspective and making efforts to

get behind the over-determined stereotypes to establish what the similaries and differences are between the North and South, between neighbouring countries, or within multi-ethnic nation-states. Anders Linde-Laursen analyses Denmark's mediating position between continental Europe and Scandinavia; Åke Daun, Carl-Erik Mattlar and Erkki Alanen attempt a systematic comparison between the attitudes of Finns and Swedes on a number of cultural questions; Lars Fant draws contrasts between the ways that the Portuguese and Spanish see one another; Elisabeth Brouillard deconstructs the fragile Belgian national identity, which readily disassembles itself into the Flemish and Wallonian; Christine Burckhardt-Seebass reassembles the Swiss linguistic and cultural jigsaw puzzle that invariably defeats foreigners; and Angela Rundquist paints a portrait of the social world of the Tuscan villa, and how it is nowadays marketed as an article of consumption for the upwardly-mobile.

The contributions are of uniformly high quality, and offer penetrating insights into questions about "culture", "identity" and "nation". The book does not, however, attempt to offer any ultimate resolution of these questions. These remain broad fields of orientation that each contributor interprets in his or her own way. This is perhaps just as well. Ideas of nation, culture, and identity in Europe are protean and many-faceted, and, today, are undergoing metamorphoses that one could argue are just as complex and dynamic as the processes of nation-state-building in the nineteenth century. Then, nations were re-fashioned as states; now, as the integrity of the state is being increasingly weakened by economic and political unions and globalisation, "nation" is being reconstructed in other ways. Then, as now, "culture" is the chief tool in this process.

This is an excellent book, which presents a welcome variety of points of view on these questions, as well as some fascinating ethnography. It can be highly recommended to anyone with an interest in cultural processes in contemporary Europe. This book deserves to be made widely available through effective marketing beyond the Nordic countries in a moderately-priced paperback edition.

Reginald Byron, Swansea

Mother Earth

Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, Moder jord och andra mödrar. Föreställningar om verkligheten bland folken i norr och vår syn på den. Carlssons, Stockholm 1999. 235 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-870-5.

■ Is Mother Earth as the Great Goddess a universal image, synonymous with the Earth Goddess or the Mother Goddess? Does she decide destiny? Is she autonomous, associated with the earth though even being a sky goddess? Is she connected with the moon and sometimes even with the sun? Is she presented as an evil or good sister, or as an evil *and* good mother and daughter (pp. 187f.)?

These characteristics do not fit with images in the North, where Mother Earth was merely one among other mothers, fathers, ancestors, brothers, sisters, etc. Depictions of her are rarely found in archaeological and ethnographical material; concrete figures mainly represent ancestors and other helpers. The idea of Mother Earth as a universal deity is a scholarly construction from the last hundred years, according to the Swedish ethnologist Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok. In her book *Mother Earth and other mothers. Images of reality among the peoples in the North and our view on it*, the Mother Earth issue is strangely enough presented at the end of the book, not at the beginning. The peoples of the North are the Saamis in NW Europe, several folk groups in Russia and Siberia, and the Inuits in Siberia, Canada and Greenland. At the beginning of the 20th century they still based their living on hunting, fishing and reindeer breeding and partly do so even today. Historically, the author states, they were non-agricultural peoples, and did not have their own state formation. The concept of people (*folk*) is used synonymously with ethnic community (*etnisk gemenskap*) (pp. 11f.).

To understand other peoples' images of Mother Earth, we have to know about our own thinking of reality, says the author, about the superstructural apprehension of life and death, Nature, the Universe, the human being and its place there (p. 11). What we call poetry, art, philosophy and creative thinking in our own society, we denote religion, magic or shamanistic practice in ethnic

communities in the North (p. 9). Nonetheless, also in "our" type of society, the ideological and the practical spheres are interwoven; the ideological sphere can also be separated from other spheres and taken care of by specialists (p. 62).

Eidlitz Kuoljok's presentation is essayistic in style, though the composition of the book is blurred. The book is "packed" with ethnographical information, epistemological credos and analytical arguments, and the author leaps back and forth between associations and digressions. The book consists of twelve chapters or expressionistic narratives, in addition to references, notes, etc. There is no index, and re-finding details is difficult. Still, the book is stimulating for those interested in regions and themes which not many Nordic ethnologists pay attention to; it opens up for views on comparative and cross-regional studies of the North and Western Europe.

Empirical data were mainly collected by Soviet ethnographers 1917-91 (pp. 18ff.), but the Danish ethnographer Knud Rasmussen's works from the 1920s are also central in the book. The long list of references contains mainly works in Swedish, Russian and English (including translations from Russian) (pp. 216ff.). A basic reference on Uralic peoples from the 20th century is *Bibliographia studiorum Uralicum 1917-1987*, a common effort by Finnish and Soviet researchers (1988-90). Demographic background reading (pp. 198ff.) includes the author's *The peoples of Siberia* (1993), and naturally her doctoral dissertation *Food and emergency food in the Circumpolar area* (1969), which has references to older English and German literature on Siberian peoples.

Eidlitz Kuoljok claims that among modern Saamis images of reality are linked to hunting, fishing and reindeer nomadism, which were principal components of the Saami economy in the past. She seems to think that Swedish images, on the other hand, are based only on the agricultural component. Hence the cognitive gap between a Saami and a Scandinavian cosmology in cultural-historical research is maintained. However, the vital components necessary for all human survival in the northern Fennoscandian societies were fishing, hunting, gathering and harvesting of vegetation. And what about the agricultural component of the Saami subsistence economy for at least half a millennium on the Norwegian coast? Yet, Eidlitz Kuoljok tries to bridge the ethnic gap between cosmologies on universal rational and emotional grounds (rather than underlining cultural contacts through history).

The author stresses the importance of language knowledge for comparative cultural research, and especially Russian in the present context. However, she fails to take into account the geographical distance between Fenno-Ugric speaking groups in NW Europe and those in NE Europe (p. 198). It is far from the Saamis in the west to the Ob-Ugrian *Mansi* and the *Chanti* (pp. 22ff.). Research on ethnographical and verbal source material on the Archangel or White Sea Carelians (*vienankarjalaisia*) would have been relevant contributions both in a religious and political east-west context (cf. pp. 25f.) as well as in a climatic and ecological north-south context (cf. p. 18). I am aware of one of the many methodological warnings of the Sweden Estonian ethnologist Gustav Ränk in his article *Lapp Female Deities of the Madder-Akka Group* (in English 1955, Finnish 1949): we should not limit comparative research to a certain group of nations distantly related to one another by language, because manifestations of culture, especially with regard to religion, do not follow such narrow frontiers.

The interpretation of Mother Earth is primarily inspired by the dialectical perspective of the Soviet ethnographer Galina Gračeva (p. 49f.). The author understands the concept of *dialectics* in the Marxist-Leninist meaning of the term, wider than in an intricate Hegelian discoursive technique or a "dangerous" Communist ideology. Dialectics is a way of seeing reality as a wholeness of the visible and invisible, observable and non-observable, and only some of it is predictable and controlable. The author often repeats a phrase borrowed from a discussion on the integrating paradigm: "It sticks together and it is moving" (p. 15f.). In an interesting but slightly arrogant way, the author compares the American anthropologist Sharon Stephens' "idealist" studies of ideology and everyday life in Saami history (1983-86) with Gračeva's "materialist" works on the Nganasans' or North Samoyeds' shamans and world views (1976-89). Gračeva thought the cos-

mic order was an image of people's practical lives. Stephens thought, erroneously according to Eidlitz Kuoljok, that the Saamis adapted their practical lives to a given cosmic order, which included the dichotomy female/male (pp. 31, 61f.).

Eidlitz Kuoljok's book is not feminist, nor a presentation of the female dimension of conceptions of reality. She seems rather reluctant to accept that the dichotomy of female/male expresses a gender hierarchy even in traditional communities in the North, with a collective male dominance in the public sphere, within the tribe or even in relation to the state (cf. pp. 65f., 190f.). She seems eager to underline the gender complementarity of metaphysical or supernatural forces. It links to ongoing Nordic anthropological analyses of, for example, Carelian folklore material on women's magic rituals, which reveal gender dynamics and gender symbolism. Here female biology and sexuality are connected with both protective and destroying forces and powers, *dominated* and *dominating* categories. I am especially thinking of Laura Stark-Arola's *Magic, Body and Social Order* (1998), in which empirical evidence from Carelia can be directly connected to the traditional gender symbolism in Arctic Atlantic communities, as manifested within fishing and cattle breeding.

As far as Mother Earth cosmology and gender dynamics are concerned, Ränk's argumentation from 1949/1955 is much clearer for me as an outsider to the field than Eidlitz Kuoljok's in 1999. She does not mention Ränk's article (nor does Laura Stark-Arola in 1998, for that matter). In his broad Eurasian analysis, Ränk argued against the thought that female figures connected with birth had been divine beings in pre-Christian Saami mythology. They were probably more like Asian otherworld spirits associated with the health of women, children and young domestic animals, and particularly with obstetrics and menstruation. Such spirits were often called mothers, grandmothers, ancestresses, old women, etc. Ränk also asked if there were Arctic cultural influences in the ancient strata of Scandinavian or North-Germanic religions. In other words, did pre-Christian Fennoscandian ethnic communities have more cognitive goods in common than is generally assumed on cultural-historical grounds, in addition to general psychological grounds? Our scientific rationality is no longer determined by evolutionistic diagrams with axes of primitiveness and civilization. Perhaps the time has come to re-evaluate sources of verbal and visual data when studying the cultural history of the North.

Venke Åsheim Olsen, Trondheim

A Faraway Near Past

Sigurd Erixon, Svensk folklivsforskning. Uppsatser 1929–1965. K.-O. Arnstberg (ed.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 1999. 184 pp. ISBN 91-7203-885-3.

■ Hardly a lifetime ago Sigurd Erixon was for several decades a central, dominating figure in Swedish folklife research. Though he dealt almost without exception only with Swedish folklife, he occupied a leading role also in European ethnology, thanks to his many active international contacts. In his last years he had to experience a sharp change of paradigm in Swedish ethnology with much criticism of his life's work, as it is usual on such occasions. Still in 1989 Erixon's last assistant Karl-Olov Arnstberg published a highly critical evaluation of his work (*Utforskaren. Studier i Sigurd Erixons etnologi*). Now Arnstberg has published a selection of his articles in order to give a supplement to the history of Swedish ethnology, primarily for the university training of the future ethnologists. According to the preface the book is the final result of the activity of the Sigurd Erixon committee, formed after his death in 1968 for maintaining his memory as a scholar.

The anthology contains thirteen articles representing five main trends in his scientific activity: three theoretical articles on the character of Swedish ethnology (from the years 1938–1964), three recollections of his field research and collecting trips (published 1936–1965), two pieces of research on the collected materials (1929 and 1958), two writings based on archive materials (1946–1952) and three articles connected with museum activities (1947). Each article has a brief introduction from the editor characterizing its place in Sigurd Erixon's work. The editor has also written

a short instructive biography of Erixon at the end of the book. All the above mentioned is suitable for a textbook.

So at first sight the anthology seems to be quite representative and well planned. But by reading deeper some substantial questions arise. First of all – the choice of the articles. The main trends of Erixon's activity do not find a fully adequate representation. Two of the three theoretical writings are quite proper giving a good survey of Erixon's conception of the aims and methods of Swedish folklife research. But the third (Folklivsbegreppets rötter – The Roots of the Folklife Concept) is offering little in its narrowness. The text is extracted from a longer historical review of the folklife research in Sweden and treats the introduction of the word *folkliv* in the 19th century. Instead of it, e.g. Erixon's introductory article "European Ethnology in Our Time" in the first number of *Ethnologia Europaea* 1967 would have been of much more interest. Here we have a programmatic text, in which the old scholar lays stress on his usual subject matter, but also tries to keep pace with the new trends in his branch of study, speaking of case studies, life cases etc. In this connection we have to add that the question, how and why Erixon became a leading figure in European ethnology, has been in the book entirely neglected.

Sigurd Erixon's immense field work is represented only by recollections which are pleasant to read but give little information of his methods and aims. The old man's nostalgic recollections of his youth time inquiries at the North-Swedish summer dairy farms (Forskare i fäbod, 1965) are ironically commented in the editor's introduction, with undue emphasis of the words "I never forget", "it was a splendid life", "I remember", instead of giving shortly the ideologic background of the beginning of the 20th century that makes understandable the young man's enthusiasm in seeking past life.

Erixon's research pieces have been chosen with a better hand. We get an expressive picture of the use of archive materials in ethnological research and good examples of his lifelong village researches. Especially fine is the vivid presentation of Norrland's seasonally used "church towns" (De norrländska kyrkstäderna).

The historical reviews of the last, museum work part of the book would hardly have lost anything, if the exhibition history (Utställningarna) with its tiresome enumerations had been left out.

The editing of Erixon's texts. It is difficult to understand why the language of most articles has been modernized. Is today's Swedish really so different from the usage 35–70 years ago that it for a present time reader already needs modernizing? How is it then possible that some articles have maintained their author's original usage (Den europeiska folklivsforskningens syftemål och metoder, 1938 – "The language has purely stylistically preserved a good level"; Forskare i fäbod, 1965 – "The language is modern")? More understandable is a certain shortening of the texts, although it is questionable whether it has been useful to leave out the two pages of methodological introduction to "Brottmålet som källa vid etnologisk karakterisering" (Criminal cases as a source for ethnological characterization).

To sum up – Sigurd Erixon's work and position in the history of Swedish ethnology has in this little anthology not yet found a fully adequate representation. The change of paradigm still overshadows the objectivity of perspective. Did the "brilliant Sigurd Erixon epoch" (the words of Mats Hellspong 1993) really exist?

Ants Viires, Tallinn

Danish Museums in Focus

Lene Floris & Annette Vasström, På museum – mellom oplevelse og oplysning. Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Roskilde 1999. 411 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7867-033-0.

■ The Danish museum world is thoroughly illuminated in this interesting, well-informed, and thought-provoking book. On the basis of museum history, the authors try to capture museum practice in relation to the collections and their presentation to the public. There is an interesting discussion here, with questions such as: What has the museums' exhibition practice looked like over the years? What is it like now? Why do museums feel that they differ so much from theme parks and private collections? Is the muse-

um as a concept a uniform phenomenon, or are there also great differences between museums? What is a museum today and how are the museums involved in society's production of history?

The authors note that museums are an important part of Danish history culture, which preserves the physical cultural heritage and therefore exerts great power and influence over what should be saved and remembered for posterity and what should be forgotten. The central thing is the artefact, whether it is a square-built farmstead or a washing machine, a workbox or a prehistoric dagger.

Museum work may be viewed both from inside and from outside, and this is the basic theme of the book: the museum considered from the point of view of the publicly dictated conditions for its existence, and the museum considered from the user's angle.

The authors begin by discussing the museum concept, giving a careful description of the emergence of museums. Danish museum history, like Swedish, is fascinating, studded with colourful, single-minded, enthusiastic personalities. In Denmark it began with Frederik Munter, who managed to have a commission set up for the preservation of antiquities. Munter was a cosmopolitan, influenced by Montesquieu's portrayal of the Nordic past and Norse religion as an important counter to the slave state of classical antiquity. The North represented freedom, and its prehistory could be used to revive the rebellious sentiment that absolutism had prohibited.

The Antiquities Commission was set up in 1807, and from that point the protection and preservation of the country's ancient monuments has been one of the duties of the Danish state.

It was, however, the merchant and collector Christian Jørgensen Thomsen who was to be of greatest significance for the work of the commission; through his practical work and his systematic collection and ordering he laid the foundation for a new science, although he was not an academic. Thomsen was used as a tool by the new bourgeoisie, the enlightened citizen and educator, but he also realized that it was important to include "the people" in the great project of collecting and preserving the past. The vision of a National Museum as "the sacred temple of the dark past" became a reality.

Thomsen's science, archaeology, was not the only nationalistic science founded at that time. Bernhard Olsen represented another one: the study of folklore and material folk culture. This was manifested in the Danish Folk Museum, later the Open-Air Museum, which was a powerful expression of this current.

The Danish nation state then manifested itself in a series of museums. Thorvaldsen's Museum, for example, which opened in 1838, differed from earlier collections by being the first museum in Europe to be oriented to the present day and to one individual.

The first half of the twentieth century was chiefly the period of the local museums in the Danish museum system. They focused on distinctive local features instead of trying to copy the National Museum, which, like the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm, was perceived as wishing to concentrate all antiquities centrally. Local museums wanted to retain finds from their own vicinity.

The concepts of national and local museums refer to the territorial responsibility. There are however a number of specialist museums not attached to a specific place. They include, for example, museums of art, natural history, technology, and museums for special social groups, as well as museums for state sectors, such as the post office, the customs, the railways, the armed forces. The Danish museum landscape thus displays a great variety of museums large and small, with different orientations and perspectives, offering different types of exhibitions and objects which together illustrate various aspects of national, regional, social, and global history.

The construction of exhibitions at four different museums and visitors' reactions to them are presented in the chapters, "National and Global, Local and Social", "Visiting a Museum", and "Visiting a Museum in the Countryside". The museums studied here are the National Museum, the Open-Air Museum, Langeland Museum, and the Workers' Museum. They represent national, global, local, and social historical perspectives. They also show completely different ways of working with exhibitions. There is a broad range from the reconstruction of buildings and land-

scapes, the construction of interiors, to traditional showcase exhibitions. The museums have one thing in common, however: their interest in the object. The exhibition is the scene of the encounter between the curator's aspiration to communicate this cultural heritage and the visitor's willingness to partake of it, to try to understand and be fascinated. Although there are many other ways to learn about the past, it is this encounter between people and things – which is simultaneously in a deeper sense a meeting between people and people – that generates the special strength of the museum.

By preserving and spreading the cultural heritage, the museums have acquired a powerful position in society. It is the museums that decide which part of the cultural heritage is worth preserving and which is not. This question is critically discussed in the chapter "Exhibitions and Genuine Things" and partly in the last section, "Heritage and Ownership". The view of the cultural heritage shows how priorities change in different periods. Nineteenth-century museums were geared to displaying what was unique and specific, along with traditional peasant culture dressed up in its Sunday best. It was only towards the end of the twentieth century that museums began to take an interest in the question of what should be preserved from our own times, the culture of everyday life and the industrial culture which has replaced the old "museum cultures" that were formerly so cherished. The new interest in contemporary everyday culture has also been welcomed by the public. People often visit Danish – and Swedish – museums today to look for a frame of reference which can link their personal memories to broader historical contexts, whether in a national, local, or social perspective. This is where museums have a chance to enter into dialogue with the public.

The authors also deal with the ongoing discussion in the museum world of the content of exhibitions. Should museums mainly exhibit the many unique and valuable objects in their collections, objects which are so special that they speak for themselves? Or should they try to tell stories about the objects, placing them in some context? The latter may be achieved by inviting people to engage in historical activities such as medieval tournaments or markets. In the former case the objects are exhibited, in principle with no comments. Should we permit ourselves to bring history to life by staging it in the form of historical pageants? Doesn't this kind of staging rest on a present-day construction? Certain museum objects are included while others are excluded.

Here the authors also discuss another important communicative attitude on the part of the museums. Their tendency to adopt the role of presenting and interpreting the cultural heritage. This can easily be one-way communication. There is a risk, according to the authors, that the museums, in their eagerness to pass on knowledge, talk down to the "ignorant" visitor. The museum should be true to its duty of exhibiting authentic objects. On the other hand, the museum should also try to activate the visitor's experiences and memories in order to achieve a dialogue with the public. This is also an important task.

The original role of the museum was to educate the public within the framework of the nation state. This task also presupposed that the citizens would be able to ask questions and discuss social issues. The authors regard it as a possible task for the future to take part in this popular education in a way that gives the public a chance to become active and critical participants in the constant use and interpretation of the past.

The debate should be about whether the exhibition invites the visitor to reflect on society, history, and the present, and on the role of science and museums in society. Museums should be an arena where the public can find both pleasure and enlightenment. A museum should thus not just be a place where a given society displays its inherited culture and its possessions, but also a place where people with different kinds of historical consciousness can meet in a dialogue or debate about their cultural heritage and their society.

Lene Floris and Annette Vasström have done pioneering work in the study of museums. This book is full of knowledge and discussions which are valid far beyond the borders of Denmark. It is part of a series published by the Centre for the Presentation of Historical Research.

Göran Hedlund, Malmö

Experiences, Representations and Pain

Identities in Pain. Jonas Frykman, Nadia Seremetakis and Susanne Ewert (eds.).Nordic Academic Press, Lund 1998. 222 pp. ISBN 91-89116-01-1.

■ This volume is a thoughtfully assembled and inspiring collection of essays contributing to the study of pain. It aims to "describe how people handle pain culturally; how pain makes them active – or passive; how they define themselves and those around them through the physical experience and through the ceaseless narratives about what they have been through" (p. 9). The book is a result of an interdisciplinary conference, held at the Swedish Institute in Athens in 1994. In continuing earlier Swedish-Greek collaboration, it brought together Swedish and Greek ethnologists, anthropologists, psychiatrists and psychologists to discuss issues concerning the topic of pain. In fact, most contributions are based on empirical studies carried out either in Sweden or in Greece – although no explicit attempt is made to compare these two countries.

As the title indicates, one of the central themes underlying all essays concerns the interconnections between identities and pains, the question of how pain and suffering shape people's identities and lives and how the experience of pain at the same time is affected by people's worlds. "Pain never is pure", as Frykman states in the introduction, but is always bound up with our social and cultural worlds. Most authors share the view that pain is not something extra-social or merely private, but an intrinsic part of human experience and as such is experienced, handled, given meaning to, strategically used and constructed in specific ways. Several of the twelve contributions highlight in particular the creative, dynamic and transformative aspects in this regard and the potential that pain has to both create and annul meaning. In other words, pain is not only explored for its qualities to "unmake the world" – as the research strand coming from Elaine Scarry's work has been focussing on; pain is also investigated as constituting our everyday worlds. Besides the exiting and enriching ethnographic material presented in the book, it is this angle of research which sets the present volume apart from other textbooks on pain and which makes it also theoretically highly rewarding.

Another prominent theme in the book addresses the relationship between experience and representation, which is explored by several contributors in various ways by presenting detailed case studies about how troublesome experience is transformed into narratives and how this narrativisation in turn shapes experience. Narrative theory informs many of the contributions; some authors also draw on phenomenological ideas about the body, experience and emotions, on ideas stemming from Foucaultian thought and/or on work done on performance and bodily praxis.

Taking up his earlier work on illness narratives, social psychologist Lars-Christer Hydén analyses the concepts of "body" and "mind" as *cultural resources* in narratives. On the basis of interviews with four patients who underwent short-term psychodynamic therapy he shows in detail how patients creatively and strategically use various meanings of "body" and "mind" in their narrative accounts in order to structure and communicate their illness experience and to present themselves as moral persons. For Hydén "body" and "mind" are part of the idioms of illness in Western societies, by which we can make sense of and articulate our illness experience to ourselves and to others. He therefore concludes that researchers shall not start with "body" and "mind" as their own theoretical framework or as more or less given entities, as it is usually done in connection with concepts like somatization or psychosomatic disorder. "Body" and "mind" should rather be understood as linguistic, narrative and cultural resources which people may employ for constructing themselves as persons.

In her fascinating contribution, well-known medical anthropologist Lisbeth Sachs discusses the implications which the visualisation of invisible and symptomless bodily aspects had for persons who took part in a Swedish screening program for cholesterolemia. For her study she followed twelve 40-year-old men through fieldwork for over a year whose cholesterol level was found to be elevated. One of the findings was that almost half of the men took considerable efforts

to lower their cholesterol levels by profoundly changing their "lifestyle" as prescribed by the health staff yet with not the desired effect. On the other hand, other men's cholesterol did go down even though they did not comply with the health advice. This is connected to what Sachs calls one of the *dilemmas of prevention*, namely that preventive messages not always have the intended effects. Sachs argues that the findings for the former group may have to do with nocebo-effects in the screening programme connected to the profound anxiety and depression which many men experienced when they were told about their high cholesterol levels. For the results of the latter group, placebo-effects in everyday life events connected to emotions of satisfaction and relief and general well-being may be accountable.

Georg Drakos in his thoughtful essay on the experience of leprosy in Greece – there are still over a thousand cases of leprosy in Greece – discusses the leprosy-afflicted body as both object and agent for exercising power, both as "battlefield and weapon". Analysing the story, narrative accounts and verbal strategies of a married couple of leprosy victims, which he came to know during his fieldwork at an institution for leprosy patients in Athens, he shows the transformations of body and pain connected to leprosy. Similar to other highly stigmatised illnesses, not only the physical deformities going along with leprosy are highly distressing for sufferers; even more so are their social deformities. The leprosy-sufferer's body is made an object by separating sufferers from their former territories of home, family and not in the least their bodies and by placing them in the new spatial formation imposed by the leprosy institutions. This twofold process of objectification Drakos calls the *de*territorialization and *de*formation of the body. Against this process sufferers struggle to restore – or to *re*territorialize and *re*form – their home, family and body as their territories by means of verbal, bodily and spatial strategies.

In another highly remarkable contribution, Jonas Frykman uses the topic of the gym in order to explore the relation between masculinity and pain in modernity. He shows that self-inflicted pain at the gym is not a recent phenomenon, but that masculinity has been associated with and produced by asceticism and self-inflicted torture – such as in connection to swimming and mountaineering – since the nineteenth century. By challenging mountains and the sea one could prove one's courage and simultaneously master one's inner and outer nature. In this *hardening of men* masculinity became a utopian state, not an essence or endpoint, but rather a process of constant becoming. Frykman criticises the interpretations which understand physical exercise as merely a way of taking control over one's body in an otherwise insecure world or which only take into account the result of training, the muscular body. Instead of understanding bodily practice only as a sign, as "standing for something", Frykman suggests that we focus on *situated practice*, which also includes the actual bodily experience and the intentions of those who go to the gym. Seen from this perspective, the self-inflicted pain in the gym may be felt as physical presence and bodily authenticity, which "throws the individual back on himself" and which also opens up "reflexive arenas" and "rooms of differentness". Contrary to the view that men had to harden themselves in order to cope with the strains of modernity, Frykman arrives at the conclusion "that modernity required a large measure of flexibility and openness, and that hardening was one of the most effective ways to attain that goal" (p. 145).

Nadia Seremetakis presents two dense and brilliantly-argued essays building on her long-term research on pain. In the first essay she describes her own history in researching pain during the last two decades, which ranges from her intensive and much cited work on death and mourning rituals in Inner Mani/Greece to her more recent work on the role the senses and emotions have in the construction of social meaning in contemporary Greek society. Central to her work on pain is the view that pain is not something merely private, which temporarily ruptures our usually stable everyday worlds, but that pain is a "form of embodied/somatic communication" and "a sustaining and reproducible point of view that incessantly defamiliarizes the social construction of reality" (p. 155). Exploring how pain, emotions and memory are interwoven in mourning rituals, Seremetakis shows how Maniat wom-

en in forming "communities of pain" use the shared emotional force of pain for their truth-claims which contest the certainty of the everyday social life.

In her second shorter piece Seremetakis describes the public and medical discourses about the opening of the borders between Albania and Greece and the subsequent movement of people across the borders at the beginning of the 90s. These borders in several ways were *borders in pain*, as Seremetakis refers to it: Just as in the public Albanian men were depicted as thieves and "violators of property", Albanian women were characterised as prostitutes and "violators of the domestic space", who alongside Albanian meat products were bearers of diseases and infections.

Among the other contributions, Billy Ehn describes how a Swedish woman, Anna, experiences her chronic pain, which closely resembles the story of Brian as analysed in a well-known article by Byron Good. In her thoughtful account, Barbro Klein describes how her father's comic verbal art can be related to his physical handicap of having lost his left arm. Lily Stylianoudi, social anthropologist, and Stelios Stylianidis, psychiatrist, in their remarkable essay tell us about the touching life and pain of Maria, a long-term patient in a psychiatric hospital, and about the struggle and pain of the members of the psychiatric team to reverse the impact which psychiatric treatment had for Maria before the psychiatric care in Greece was reformed at the beginning of the 90s. In her inspiring piece Deanna Trakas reviews the anthropology of childhood and shows how children's voices have been left out in the study of childhood prior the 90s. Presenting some of the results of two international studies on children's understanding of illness and pain she convincingly argues for studying pain and suffering from the child's perspective. Finally, Tomas Gerholm's essay – the only contribution in the book which is not about either Sweden or Greece – discusses how women's bodies in present day Egypt are *"islamized"*. By tracing Islamic concerns with the body both in classical religious, philosophical and literary texts as well as in contemporary scientific literature dealing with gender in Egypt, he presents a sophisticated analysis about how the female body is formed and used in the context of the recent re-Islamization in Egypt.

What one perhaps misses in this remarkable volume is a more systematic review of the study of pain and a deeper grounding of some of the essays in this field of research. This and also a stronger comparative approach would have contributed to the force and relevance of the arguments put forward in the essays. In a few contributions one also wishes to get a more clarified understanding of how the notion of pain is used. By and large, though, the volume is sophisticated and highly inspiring and will certainly take an indispensable place in the future study of pain and suffering.

Bernhard Hadolt, Vienna

Ethnography at Home

Etnografi på hemmaplan. Kurt Genrup *et al.* (eds). Etnologiska institutionen vid Åbo Akademi, Rapport 7, Åbo 1998. 221 pp. Ill. ISBN 952-12-0318-8.

■ *Etnografi på hemmaplan* ("Ethnography at Home") is an anthology which has been produced by the research seminar at the Department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi in Turku. Thirteen scholars have participated in this project, whose purpose is to show the variety of the current research projects at the department and to present it to colleagues, students and the general public. That means that most of the articles are written in a popular style, an endeavour way that is beset by both advantages and disadvantages. The good thing is that people interested in the history of culture can find here some examples of the kind of research the ethnologists work with today. Another positive aspect is that the book can fulfil its purpose as a kind of information folder to colleagues and students interested in the work at the Department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi. The negative aspect is that an anthology always runs the risk of being superficial.

The title reminds us of the anthropological influences on methods and materials within Finnish ethnology as well as in the present anthology. Here we meet senior scholars and postgraduate

students, namely, Cecilia Aaltonen-Lindblom, Conny Andersson, Kurt Genrup, John Hackman, Niklas Huldén, Anna-Liisa Kuczynski, Kim Montin, Monica Nerdrum, Ole Rud Nielsen, Kari Pekka Ruokola, Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, Nils Storå and Thomas Wilman. The fields of research presented here vary considerably in time and space, and sometimes one gets the impression that the book should have been more carefully thematized. As it is now the content is somewhat patchy, and seems to lack an all-pervading character. Nevertheless, many of the articles are interesting and I am going to discuss some of them.

Kurt Genrup, in his article, "Marzipan in Turku – A Luxury Product in Transition", applies an ethnological frame of interpretation to marzipan. He briefly describes the social and cultural history of marzipan, then cites a couple of interviews with confectioners in Turku and finally presents people of different ages and their views of marzipan, why they like it or not. Genrup declares that he is applying a phenomenological perspective in the final part of his article, but I do not fully agree with him, or let me rather put it this way: unfortunately he does not carry his plans out to the full extent. Research on sweets is an interesting field where much more could be done, but it is important that the cultural history of, say, marzipan is accompanied by a thorough analysis of taste and culture. In an article like this it is of course not possible to go further into this kind of discussion, but I hope that Kurt Genrup will do so later on.

Monica Nerdrum, in "Women of the Archipelago and Knowledge of the Archipelago", discusses the life of women in the archipelago of southwestern Finland. When working with her dissertation she carried out ambitious fieldwork among women in the archipelago, and concepts such as gender and modernity are important in her dissertation. In this article the gender perspective could be labelled as a kind of "dignity research" on women. Nerdrum wants to shed light on a group that has not been investigated before, but the gender concept is not problematized. The concepts of modernity and modernization both appear in this article, although modernization would have been enough. This because the concepts are not discussed thoroughly and therefore are a bit confusing when standing side by side. Important in Nerdrum's article is the discussion of continuity and change in the lives of her informants and, not surprisingly, the attitudes to life in the archipelago consist of traditional as well as modern elements. The article is worth reading (but why so many italics?) and the reader who wants to know more about both women in the archipelago and the theoretical framework can be recommended to read Nerdrum's doctoral thesis.

Kari Pekka Ruokola, in his contribution, "A Shortage of Direct Informants", discusses certain problems in the field. In his master's thesis he wrote about the life of mentally retarded people living at the Kårkulla institution. Here it was impossible for him to interview the persons whose life he was describing and interpreting, so he had to find other ways to carry out his research: he worked at the hospital, did participant observation and interviewed the staff. The article is not outstanding, but still good because of the well-considered reflections upon recent fieldwork as well as old material that can be found in the archives. Somewhat surprising is the mentioning of *Etnologiska visioner* ("Ethnological Visions"), which Ruokola and some of his colleagues seem to have read recently. That this book has inspired them is of course a good thing, but nevertheless astonishing, because it in many ways is both exceptional and very personal. One has to admit that there are plenty of other studies discussing fieldwork and different kinds of sources that it would have been more important to consult.

Some of the articles are in a positive sense very concrete. Nils Storå, for instance, has written about "Fredric Wilhelm Radloff and his Description of Åland" and Thomas Wilman about "Alderman Daniel Rising and Pewtering in Turku". This kind of partially descriptive texts is pleasing and one may regret their absence in Swedish ethnology today, where the namedropping of Baudrillard and others sometimes gets rather tiring. Other informative texts are Cecilia Aaltonen-Lindblom's "The Women's Lappo – A Changing Island Community", John Hackman's "Ship's Masters' Letters as Source Material", Niklas Huldén's "Can Fur-Bearing Animals be Bred?", and Ole Rud Nielsen's "A Processual Perspective on Natura 2000".

The plea for a historical perspective in some of

the articles is perhaps what might be expected, but nevertheless important. Particularly interesting are combinations of the historical and the "modern" view, classical archive material and contemporary fieldwork material. Attempts to discuss such combinations are made in some of the contributions, and I hope that the discussion will be intensified in the future.

To conclude: in this anthology one does not find many theoretical discussions about, for instance, modernity or gender, and this is positive, if the book is written for the general public. It becomes more problematic if, as in this case, it is written for different kinds of readers: the general public and the academic audience, and it often means that the text falls between two stools. In the book in question some of the articles are written in a highly descriptive way, while others have a more analytical character and thereby one gets the impression that the anthology is somewhat ambivalent. This could have been avoided if the editors had divided the book into two or three sections supplemented with brief introductions to each one. Apart from these objections, I think that this anthology is an illustrative example of the great variety of materials and methods within the discipline of ethnology, and I hope it will be spread to a wide public.

Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

Pleasure and Desire

Behag och begär. Kulturella perspektiv på kroppens, intimitetens och sexualitetens transformationer. Lena Gerholm (ed.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 1998. 180 pp. ISBN 91-7203-817-9.

■ This book is a collection of five separate articles written by Swedish ethnologists and anthropologists from the University of Stockholm: Ann Frisell Ellburg, Fanny Ambjörnsson, Lena Olsson, Pia Karlsson and Lena Gerholm, who is also the editor and who has written the introductory synthesis.

The central aim of the book is to fill the gap between two areas of research: research on migration and research on body, society and culture. Thus, a number of the articles deal with aspects of the relation of female immigrants to their bodies and clothes, to their sexuality and its limitations. The authors focus on differing bodily practices in order to see how cultural patterns are intertwined, used and perhaps changed, searching for new ways to understand the relationship between body and society. How, for example, do female immigrants, who perhaps have non-Western ideals of beauty and body, relate and react to the Western expectations to and possibilities for bodily transformations?

The article by Ann Frisell Ellburg deals with young women from the Middle East, who have cosmetic operations in order to make their noses shorter and straighter in accordance with Western ideals. She discusses ways to interpret and understand this phenomena of making use of the possibilities of modern medicine in today's society, where the body is no longer seen as something given, but something which the individual can create and change. In this process, the women act as individuals, but they also are seen as "objects of beauty" in a patriarchal family and society structure, where the woman's body has to be controlled and normalized according to Western models.

The possibilities of modern medicine coexist with considerably older ways of treating the female body. In her study of Finnish gypsy women, who wear large black dresses and silk blouses in bright colours, Lena Olsson shows the connection of the gypsy dress to deep-rooted concepts of sex, of body, style, social roles and values, and the dilemma of the women if confronted with the choice between being accepted in their own societies or in the Swedish society. Another traditional dress code, the Muslim veil, is dealt with in an interesting article by Pia Karlsson, where the Muslim veil as a symbolic instrument for curbing female sexuality is discussed and presented by two Muslim women of different backgrounds. In today's Sweden these veils are often related to deprivation of freedom, and discrimination against women, but they may also be seen as a symbol of collective identity and as a tool for personal positioning within a specific social framework.

In order to avoid giving the impression that it is "the others", for instance, those who wear gypsy dresses or Muslim veils, who are culturally specific while our own Western lifestyles are seen

as something natural, the book also contains an article describing how a group of young Swedish women regard their bodies. On the basis of interviews, the author, Fanny Ambjörnsson, discusses how these girls experience the relationship between body and personal identity. Furthermore, the article by Lena Gerholm presents a study of the aspects of bodily practices in marriages between British women and Egyptian men.

All in all, the articles in the book demonstrate how the questions of culture and body can be analysed from many different angles, and I find it a valuable contribution to the debate on the cultural practices of immigrants.

Mette Skougaard, Hillerød

Understanding Modernity

Willy Guneriussen, Å forstå det moderne. Tano Aschehoug, Oslo 1999. 298 pp. ISBN 82-518-3844-4.

■ The Norwegian philosopher and sociologist Willy Guneriussen describes his book on modernity as a journey in the borderland between the social sciences and the humanities. Instead of viewing these as two separate, and sometimes competing, academic territories he wants us to think of them as mutually interdependent fields of social and cultural analysis enriching and fertilizing each other. He thus argues for an intertwining of the social sciences and the humanities as the road towards an adequate understanding of the multifaceted phenomenon that we call modernity.

The point of departure for his analysis is that within most social scientific theory, modernity has been identified essentially with the process of *rationalization*. He calls this *the classical concept of modernity*. Guneriussen, however, finds this one-dimensional notion unsatisfactory, because he considers it equally important to pinpoint the non-rationalistic aspects of modernity as well. Rationalization is, of course, an important part of the story, but modernity is also about processes taking place within such areas as morality, community, care, solidarity, aesthetics, emotions and eroticism. Perspectives dealing basically with such phenomena he calls *the romantic concept of modernity*. These aspects have been much better taken care of within the humanities, while having commonly being neglected or ignored within the social sciences.

So, to summarize the main argument put forward in the book, Guneriussen claims that neither of these two perspectives by themselves manages to capture the multifaceted modernity with all its contradictions and contingencies. Nor does it suffice to read the two descriptions in comparison with one another, thus failing to view them as parts of the same development. The one is not meaningful without the other, but what is needed is an integrated romantic and classical understanding.

The book starts off with a description of four different visions or "projects" of modernity, each of which he ties to a number of major theoreticians and movements. By distinguishing between, on the one hand, collectivism and individualism, and, on the other hand, between rationality and non-rationality, he arrives at a table with four fields, each of which represents a "project" of modernity. The first one combines rationality and collectivism and is called the *rational communities* perspective. It is represented by technocratic and communist movements, and by thinkers like Comte, Marx and Le Corbusier. The second combines rationality and individualism and is called the *rational actors* perspective. Liberalism and utilitarianism belong to this category, as do the visions of Paine, Mill and Spencer. The third combines non-rationality and collectivism and is called the *emotional communities* perspective. Movements such as conservatism, Nazism and communitarianism, and thinkers like Burke, Tönnies, Durkheim and Spengler fall within this category. The last category combines non-rationality and individualism and is called the *expressive agents* perspective. It is represented by cultures of bohemia, surrealism and hippies, and by theoreticians such as Simmel and Baudelaire. Each of these four ideal-type projects constitutes a part of our understanding of modernity. Guneriussen, however, is mostly interested in the fourth one, the romantic expressive agent perspective. The main part of his book accordingly deals, on the one hand, with how the romantic impulse, as he calls it, is expressed by Baudelaire

and within the aesthetic movement of modernism, and, on the other hand, how the theories of the two classical sociologists Weber and Simmel contribute to an understanding and a defence of the irrational aspects of modernity.

The second chapter deals with how the meaning of the term modern has developed and changed since it came in use during the fifth and sixth centuries, via the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the so-called Enlightenment and the social sciences that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues that this development has led to three dominant pro-modern ideologies, namely, Liberalism (with utilitarianism), Radicalism, and Technocracy.

Common to these three ideologies is that they carry with them the Enlightenment's faith in science and reason, its ideal of progress, and its breaking free from pre-modern social life.

The third chapter deals with how everyday life took on a new meaning during the eighteenth century. An increase in the emphasis on individual emotions and sensibilities led, according to Guneriussen, to a higher esteem for the trivialities of everyday life and to an increased emphasis on socially edifying feelings. The notion of romantic love and the intimacy of private life became a central ideal in the Western world.

In the fourth chapter Guneriussen discusses how especially Baudelaire contributed to the romantic understanding of modernity. He argues that Baudelaire made explicit the aesthetic qualities of modern urban life and thereby put an emphasis on the creative and artistic aspects of culture and society, in contrast to those who saw practical and material utility as fundamental. He thereby anticipates many of the themes developed by Simmel's sociology. The fifth chapter gives an account of Marx's and Durkheim's theories of modernity. Here Guneriussen shows how neither of them finds any place for the romantic aspects of modernity within its theoretical system.

In the sixth chapter Guneriussen continues the discussion of how the romantic impulse gained a foothold in the West, and how Baudelaire's perspectives are continued and manifested within the modernist movement. What Baudelaire accomplished was to draw attention to the aspects of consumption and public social life in the big cities, and to blur the distinction between the ethical and the aesthetic. The modernists continued to question the rational order and bourgeois utilitarianism, accentuating instead the imaginative and emotional aspects of life. Romanticism thereby led to a disruption between two radically different views of the project of modernity. A notion of man as an essentially expressive and emotional creature confronted a conception of him as basically rational and goal-oriented. Guneriussen accordingly describes modernism as "stretching between the extremes of a glorification of rationality and a worshipping of irrationality; between logical order and the rule of mind on the one hand, and imagination, the anarchy of passion and the delirium of madness on the other; between, on one hand, logos, enlightenment and meaning, and, on the other, mythos, obscurity and meaninglessness" (p. 135).

In the next two chapters, Guneriussen deepens the analysis of these two strands of modernity. In the seventh he accounts for irrational modernism, represented, for instance, by the surrealists and dadaists. In the eighth he deals with rational modernism, exemplifying it with, among others, the ideas of Le Corbusier.

The non-rational aspects of the theories of Weber and Simmel are analysed in chapters 9 and 10. Here Guneriussen shows how these two founding fathers of sociology differ from the other two usually given this epithet, Marx and Durkheim. He argues that while the epistemology of the latter two is based on a realistic way of thinking, both Weber and Simmel reject the realistic theory of representation in favour of a more subjective and interpretative perspective.

In chapter 11, Guneriussen returns to the four "projects" of modernity in order to sum up his argument, and to pave the way for two chapters on the status of the concept of modernity today. In this discussion he confronts the perspective, represented by Habermas, that we ought to see modernity as a still unfinished project, and the idea, represented by for instance Fukuyama, that we have reached "the end of history". He concludes with his own view of the matter, closer to Habermas than to Fukuyama, by saying that perhaps the problem of today is due to a lack of

balance between the four modern "projects", that just one or two of the "projects" become hegemonic. As he states the matter: "Maybe the problem is that we are not modern enough, that we have not managed to established an order of modern forces and contra-forces that can stop any one of the 'projects' from running amok" (p. 282).

Å forstå det moderne ("Understanding Modernity") is a very rich book, and as such it is almost impossible to summarize without trivializing too much. It belongs to the same tradition as Sven-Erik Liedman's brilliant and widely read *I skuggan av framtiden* ("In the Shadow of the Future"), and Guneriussen's distinction between classic and romantic modernity bears obvious similarities to Liedman's concepts of "soft" and "hard" enlightenment. And just as Liedman's book transgresses the borders between different academic disciplines, so does Guneriussen's book render the distinction between the social sciences and the humanities superfluous. This is also one of the most attractive aspects of Guneriussen's book, its contribution to a highly desirable narrowing of the gap between the humanities and the social sciences. He shows with the utmost clarity that sociology is not a just social science, but also, and to an equally important extent, a humanistic discipline. Far too many sociologists have forgotten that, but there can be no doubt that the perspectives Guneriussen puts forward give a much more adequate picture of what sociology ought to be than the more restrictive ones painted in so many sociology books today.

Maybe one can say that Guneriussen operates in precisely that area where sociology and ethnology overlap. He concentrates on those aspects of sociological theory one often sees described in ethnological analyses of modernity. His view of the social and the cultural as essentially indistinguishable should also, I imagine, appeal to the ethnological reader.

So, to conclude this review, I highly recommend this book. It is essential reading for humanists and social scientists alike. It deals with questions of great complexity and importance, but it is clearly argued, imaginative and reflexive. It certainly deserves a wide audience. Let us hope it will get one.

Fredrik Miegel, Lund/Kalmar

Women's Handicrafts in North Karelia

Kaija Heikkinen, Käsityöt naisten arjessa. Kulttuuriantropologinen tutkimus pohjoiskar jalaisten naisten käsityön tekemisestä. Artefakta 4. Helsinki: Akatiimi Oy 1997. 106 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-97208-3-9.

■ In this work, entitled "Handicrafts in the Everyday Life of Women. A Cultural Anthropological Study of Women's Handicrafts in North Karelia", Kaija Heikkinen addresses the subjective meanings of handicrafts and the process in which handicrafts assume meanings in present-day culture. Her study sets out to analyse why women still do handicrafts although this is no longer vital in order to produce goods. Do they use handicrafts as a means of boosting their weak ego; are they a way to relax, or are they a consequence of the Protestant ethical ideal of the mother whose hands are never idle? Handicrafts are examined as a combination of action and discourse, taking in a complex network of emotions, experiences and feelings. The research material consists of verbal descriptions of how crafts are done, the difficulty and ease of making things, and the emotions attached to them. It was collected in a handicrafts group founded in the late 1980s, examining women at the evening institute in Eno, North Karelia. The persons studied are old-age pensioners, who represent the handicrafts culture of North Karelia as purely as is possible in the present day. The data were collected by means of written questionnaires.

By way of background Kaija Heikkinen examines handicrafts in the crossfire of art and industry and takes a look at some previous studies of handicrafts and their traditions in North and Border Karelia.

The study proceeds from analysis of the handicrafts environment of childhood to the learning of crafts at home and at school. The actual making process is examined as one of assigning meanings, via the activity, social intercourse, economic benefit and emotional experiences of the maker. It also seeks to establish the characteristics of a good craftswoman. Finally it addresses the product as a vehicle for assigning handicrafts meaning. What makes a product beautiful; how

do human relations endow a product with meaning, and how is beauty defined?

It appeared in the course of the study that handicrafts were considered to cover all people. Comments such as "In the olden days everyone did them" were common, but this was not necessarily true in practice. A division of labour prevailed between the sexes, villages, extended and nuclear families, and some crafts were left to professionals or semi-professionals. Not all were skilled in the use of all materials or techniques. The evening institute groups are nowadays of focal influence in upholding the main handicrafts and moulding the traditions. Some handicrafts have to some extent left the home in favour of the facilities provided by the evening institute, and more and more have become subject to organized supervision.

Handicrafts used to embody features of popular aesthetics. Attitudes were indiscriminate. A product was beautiful if it satisfied the criteria for general approbation. In addition to its aesthetic aspects and the way it was made, a product's "beauty" was influenced by its functional aspect and other qualities: it was beautiful because it was dear, because it had been made by the owner herself or been given to her by a particular person.

Handicrafts were in many ways significant in the everyday lives of women, part of their personalities. Making things brought satisfaction; it was a joy, a form of relaxation, a mental stimulus, a way of being creative, of meditating. It boosted the maker's ego; mastering increasingly difficult techniques was a mark of prestige in the women studied. As a process handicrafts meant joy and work, rest and effort. They involved the entire process of cultural evolution.

Handicrafts have previously been studied from the perspective of many disciplines and organizations, and the focus and the values ascribed to them have varied accordingly. Ethnological research has looked at handicrafts as a manifestation of the skills of the ordinary people, as a functional activity and part of folk art. Pedagogics has concentrated on the learning mechanisms embodied in handicrafts, and sociology on handicrafts as just one hobby or pastime among many.

Attitudes to handicrafts have tended to be somewhat conflicting in Finnish cultural policy; this is revealed as uncertainty in speaking of the value of handicrafts. Heikkinen calls this crying up by crying down. On the one hand the value of handicrafts is stressed; they are regarded as part of the cultural heritage, young people should be encouraged to do them and they should be handed on to future generations (handicrafts have always had strong nationalistic overtones). On the other hand, arts and crafts occupy only a very small role in the Finnish education system. This is the other side of the coin, the crying down.

Efforts have been made to enhance the prestige of handicrafts in Finland in many different ways. Handicrafts have been raised from the domain of everyday life to that of cultural policy guidance. There have been attempts to place them in the category containing the most prestigious art, and in this process they have become separated from their "vital practical function". The textile has become a medium for art. Crafts have also been turned into a science in an attempt to sublimate them and raise their prestige. Meanwhile the definition of handicrafts has been widened to take in the most varied of ways of making things by hand. Even the computer freak has become a craftsman.

As a topic, handicrafts are in many ways something of a problem. "Handicrafts" is an umbrella term for all kinds of activities and products, both amateur and professional. The verbal study of handicrafts is difficult because the "traditional" craftswomen express themselves with their hands; the actual making is of primary importance. Giving verbal expression to the meanings attached to making, skills and various crafts is problematic; people do not know how to talk about them, or even feel the need to. Initiation in the crafts is not something that lends itself easily to investigation.

This monograph is interesting and the female perspective applied by Heikkinen is a new way of addressing handicrafts and their makers. The meaning of handicrafts to the individual, the craftswoman, is examined from many angles against its broad cultural background and the research tradition. She has been extremely successful in bringing out the general cultural-policy dimensions of handicrafts. Due to the women's studies perspective, the topic has acquired a focus

of its own, to such an extent that handicrafts have, even as a word, come to be identified with women in contrast to the technical work associated with men, and to be confined primarily to textiles.

The study also examines handicrafts as a universal phenomenon. It is, however, concerned with amateurs to the exclusion of professionals, whose outlook on life, values, ways of going about their craft, attitudes to it, and products would have given the treatment more weight in speaking of the significance of handicrafts in modern society. The problem for handicrafts seems to be the general discourse on them, not a lack of discourse. "Everyone does handicrafts."

In the pre-industrial era, professional craftsmen and women were highly respected, and their training and work were in a way organized and controlled in society. Industrialization either dealt the death blow to many crafts or completely transformed them. As society changed, handicrafts became a hobby, and as such they are still very meaningful today. They are, however, nowadays paralleled by professional crafts with their myriad materials, modes of operation and nomenclature. It is to be hoped that these will gain increasing prominence, so that the image of handicrafts and the people who practise them may acquire greater diversity and depth.

Ritva Somerma, Heinola

Nationalism, Nation State and the Challenge of the Future

Björn Hettne, Sverker Sörlin & Uffe Østergård, Den globala nationalismen. Nationalstatens historia och framtid. SNS Förlag, Stockholm 1998. 463 pp. ISBN 91-7150-627-6.

■ National identity is easy and ready to be constructed. These words became a *leit motif* for a writer, Kristoffer Leandoer, who wrote an article under the title „Nationell identitet finns färdig att montera" in *Svenska Dagbladet*'s cultural section on 11 October 1999. The very claim and the arguments of the article were based on Anne-Marie Thiesse's book *La création des identités nationales* which is yet another well-written book in the domain of the research genre initiated by Eric J. Hobsbawm with his brilliant *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Leandoer would probably not find Thiesse's book to be such a revelation if he knew the work *Den globala nationalismen* by Björn Hettne, Sverker Sörlin and Uffe Østergård. For Scandinavian readers, as well as for foreigners who are interested in furnishing their study of nationalism with Scandinavian examples, the book is an excellent piece of reading and provides an interesting perspective on this complicated issue.

Den globala nationalismen is the largest comprehensive volume on the nation state and nationalism written from a Scandinavian perspective. However, not only is the book to be seen as a Scandinavian answer to the concurrent and multifarious debate on the ideology of the nation state, but the authors provide a new interpretation of the idea of nationalism in a long historical perspective. What is more, and what in fact makes this book superior to many others in the field, is its explicit reference to the present and the future. The authors make an attempt to explain why nationalism still exists and grows even stronger instead of disappearing in the age of internationalisation and globalisation. In order to provide such an explanation, on the one hand, the book on 'global nationalism' was conceptualised as an account of ideologies and heroes, wars and uprisings, symbols, recollections, stories and myths. On the other hand, though, the authors methodically approach and analyse the very kernel of nationalism and national identity, i.e. being loyal to national ideologies and the phenomenon of allegiance to the nation state. Eventually, what should be underlined as one of the main questions tackled in the volume is the authors' recognition of nationalism as a recurring challenge in the 'globalised' world of the future.

"*The global nationalism*" is also worth reading and studying as a book presenting an interesting methodological and theoretical approach in the domain of history of ideas. Within this framework it is to be seen as a brilliant attempt to deal with and to cover the intrinsic phenomena of constructing social reality in a nation state. For Hettne, Sörlin and Østergård it is an obvious scholarly point of departure that we discursively construct the world in which we live, just as we all the time make a lot of effort to enhance this

construction by inventing our (national) tradition. 'We the people' are responsible for our own country's history not only in the sense that the good deeds and wrong-doings of our fathers and forefathers have a bearing on our particular political setting and standard of living. What is the most spectacular is that what we remember, or want to remember, from the past of our countries or communities is carefully chosen for constructing national identities and it may easily provide an ideological settings of nationalism. What the authors suggest is that we inherit the past but it is up to us to remodel it according to the political and ideological means and ends of the day. Nationalism is a case in point and, despite being strongly connected with the European tradition and thought, the authors claim it is one of the ideas that has undergone a process of globalisation or, to be more correct, 'Europeanisation'. In this particular case the term 'Europeanisation' is suggested since the nationalism, as we see it today, stems from the European pattern of the national discourse. It spread together with the processes of colonisation and, in turn, the peoples of far-away countries grabbed the delivered mental framework and also utilised it against their colonist in their fight for constructing their own national/ tribal identity.

The question which has to be answered in any book attempting to provide a comprehensive pattern for studying nationalism concerns the origin of the term. The three Scandinavian scholars trace nationalism as an ideology and a social movement back to the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, which to a great extent corroborates the theses mentioned elsewhere, i.e. that there existed a causal link between the Enlightenment, modernisation and the birth of nationalism. What is interesting and original, though, is the authors' strong conviction of an earlier root of the national ideology. They point at the Westphalian peace treaty of 1648, after which the institutions of power (e.g. the state) started to pay much greater attention to the sovereignty over 'its own' territory. The French revolution changed merely the legitimising element of the nation state and after the revolution it was 'the people', and later on 'the community' and 'the society' which took place of a monarch as a guarantor of the nation state responsible for individual safety and well-being. The nation state is an European invention and a political project, and on its grounds nationalism could take roots as its political and cultural ideology.

In a chapter on theories of nationalism the readers of the volume are invited on a journey in time to get accustomed with the men of science and letters who put their hand to constructing the edifice of what may be regarded as national thinking. Special attention is paid to J. G. Herder (1744–1803), who, like his compatriots Kant and Hamann, was strongly influenced by the German pietist reaction to the French victory in the Thirty Years War and used his narrative and rhetorical skills to boost national ego among the defeated German-speaking communities. With Herder as a originator of the national movement in Germany the rest of Europe seems to have followed the suit by publishing *Volksmärchen, Volkssagen, Volkslieder, Volksbücher, Volksschauspiele*, etc. in different European languages for the purpose of enhancing national feelings in the national communities under construction. The authors cover those European similarities and, at the same time, the national idiosyncrasies, by quoting, among others, the early modern national ideas of Voltaire, Joseph de Maistre and Joseph Ernest Renan with regard to France, Ludvig Holberg's and N. F. S. Grundtvig's with regard to Denmark and Scandinavia and G. Mazzini with his ideas of an Italian and other European 'national' units. The historical journey through the history of nationalism and national thought would not be comprehensive if the authors did not go into the socialist theories of nationalism. Thus readers are offered an account of the German-Austrian Karl Renner's and Otto Bauer's ideas from the beginning of the century compared with an alternative national thinking developed by Russian Bolsheviks as sketched in Stalin's writings from 1913. Eventually, the inter-war period history of nationalism must include the German and Italian experiences in their inclusion of the national question into respectively Nazi and Fascist ideologies. Hettne, Sörlin and Østergård point at the basic difference between the German Nazi concept of 'a nation' which was based on the biological and cultural racism, and the Italian Fascist

principle of nationality as based on the politically subjective idea of belonging to Mussolini's new empire only on the grounds of being able to assimilate Italian culture.

Furthermore, on the theoretical side the book deals with different theories by means of which the question of nationalism may be approached. These theories are mentioned with their reference to the ideological and philosophical orientation but at the same time, thanks to numerous examples, the explanatory power of different theories is demonstrated. Social history and functionalism, ethnicity and culture, civilisation and post-structuralism are the head words by means of which different theories have been presented and analysed. Additionally the authors show theoretically and practically the research directions concerning all those who do not fit into the category of a nation state. Nationalism arguably gave rise to 'national minorities' and the authors provide a well-founded account of how these became objects of interest for nationally oriented science and research. Minorities and the research concerning them in the Nordic countries are a case in point but the question of regionalisation and the development of regional 'nationalism' should be given greater priority in this respect. As a matter of fact this drawback of the first part of the book is amended in the final chapter where 'new' regionalism is mentioned as the latest European brain-child aimed to provide an alternative to global nationalism and to challenge the crisis of the nation state. Even this process, however, is said to have often been based on old patterns of 'national' thinking in which the aspired Europe of regions has been provided with common symbols, flag, currency, etc., in order to invent European 'national' community as if it were a nation state. The new regionalism with its functional framework often leads to enhancing regional identity and due to its resemblance to nation-building processes it is therefore presented by the authors as 'extended nationalism'. The example of Skåne as a region in Scandinavia where micro-nationalism has been on the rise is mentioned, but the developments in Canada (Quebec), South Asia (India) and Sri Lanka are just as convincing.

The intrinsic question concerning nationalism is whether it is a spontaneous political movement or whether it can be engineered. In one of the chapters dealing with national homogenisation apparatuses the authors try to give an answer to this question by following the thin line between the belief in governability of the social structures on the one hand, and the spontaneous and independent development of ideology in differentiated political settings. Education and military service as well as compulsory schooling which brought literacy to all layers of society are defined as tools in engineering national feelings. Within this framework the example of the Nordic countries, where the successful welfare state embodied arguably the most elaborated qualities of the nation state, is given as a significant argument.

The process of official remembering certain events while letting the other to be forgotten has been characteristic for many other societies and the authors show it explicitly even though the most detailed exemplification of their theses stems from the history of Scandinavia. In this one should probably recognise one of the main advantages of the book for readers who desired studying nationalism from a different perspective, e.g. micro-history. The national rhetoric in the Scandinavian countries was, as shown by the authors of *Den globala nationalismen*, not very different in its content from the discourse practised elsewhere. Indeed, constructs of the nation's 'memory and soul' as well as of its 'blood and nature' do seem to have been characteristic for many other countries as well. The Scandinavian perspective on those matters adds several substantial regional details to the general image of nationalism in a global perspective. Eventually, the authors' theses concerning the globalisation of nationalism are also proved from the perspective of the Scandinavian countries. In this regard the instances of new regionalism within the framework of the European Union may be seen as fostering the old spirit of nationalism in post-modern ideological and political settings. But is it the way of the future? Will the other super-regions of North America and East Asia follow the European path again? The question remains unanswered even though the thesis of the Scandinavian scholars about the global nature of nationalism and thinking in national terms may

be a very fitting description of the present situation in this domain.
Kazimierz Musial, Berlin/Poznan

The Aim and Meaning of Life Stories

Marianne Horsdal, Livets fortællinger – en bog om livshistorier og identitet. Borgen, Copenhagen 1999. 180 pp. ISBN 87-21-01084-6.

■ Life-history narratives are used today in most contexts concerned with research, teaching, and not least in individual therapy. In a world where it has become increasingly important for people to have distinct identities, life and the way in which it is lived becomes a project with which one must succeed. Life-history narratives may be said to be a kind of comment on or explanation for how it turned out as it did. Here a person takes stock and imposes order, perhaps to start from the beginning or quite simply to carry on. But what characterizes such a narrative? What is a life-history narrative? And how does the narrative affect our lives? These are questions that Marianne Horsdal's book tried to answer.

She shows how the narrative links intention, action and result in retrospective explanations. People try to create the best possible interpretation. This also gives rise to a certain value orientation towards how we want to interpret life, but a whole series of alternative narratives may exist.

We acquire narrative competence throughout our lives, and our childhood sense of bodily experience is also of great significance for our way of orienting ourselves in other you-and-me relationships. Horsdal shows how children in the cultural spaces where narrative structures are created also learn to create their own narratives. She views personal identity as a narrative construction based on experience and memories. One sees oneself in the light of the history that tells who one is.

In the chapter "Cultural Narratives" the author describes how shared narratives are created, interpreted, and given meaning. They are not value-free or power-neutral, and different people have different potential to influence them. The sources of theoretical inspiration include Jerome Bruner, Paul Ricoeur, and Charles Taylor.

The book ends with two concrete chapters about how to achieve a narrative interview, if one is to analyse life stories in research and teaching, and how they can be of assistance in therapeutic contexts. The narratives in the book are part of a major research project on identity, adult education, and democracy.
Birgitta Svensson, Lund

Do Clothes Make the Man?

Maja Jacobson, Gör kläderna mannen? Om maskulinitet och femininitet i unga mäns bruk av kläder, smycken och dofter. Carlssons Bokförlag, Stockholm 1998. 331 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-289-8.

■ Are they heroin chic or do they have the dandy look? Do they belong to the vegan straight-edge group or do they lean towards grunge? Are they proper and preppy, or are they skaters following the baggy fashion? Do they belong to the hard core, are they hardrockers, or do they profess indie pop as their style of music and dress? Do they have the salesman look or the rock poet style? These are themes discussed and analysed by Maja Jacobson in her interesting book on young men's identity and lifestyle in Sweden in the 1990s.

Maja Jacobson has previously published a number of works on young people's identity and clothes as a means of communication. She starts this book with a little reflection which clearly shows what she wants to analyse: "We meet them in the pages of glossy magazines and in the busy streets. Men who are good-looking, with-it, colourful, and perhaps vain. Men who have chosen a style. The traditional female way of using the body and clothes to express and play with identity appears to have been extended to include men." The aim of her study is to analyse how young men aged 16–30 use clothes, music, and other attributes to express their identity, and how this affects their behaviour and values. She believes that a young man's private opinions and attitudes can be interpreted both as a collective value and attitude and as an independent taste and identity. He expresses this identity through his dress style and through the music he prefers to listen to. At

the same time, he functions as an object when he follows the trends and fashions of the garment industry and when he follows his group's norms and attitudes. Jacobson says that Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been challenged today by Thomas Ziehe's theses about the cultural release of young people, which means testing identity and self-fulfilment, and by Jean Baudrillard's theses on the feminization of culture. Baudrillard maintains that there is an enforced aestheticization of everyday life for everyone in society, and hence for men as well. Today's men are therefore obliged to have an awareness of style and trends. This new style-consciousness leads to experimentation with lifestyles and fashion trends among today's masculine youth, and Jacobson sees this as a new cultural feature of our times.

The empirical material on which her study is based consists of individual tape-recorded interviews with 20 teenage boys from a high school in Umeå and 20 interviews with men aged 20–30 studying at the university there, along with individual interviews and group interviews with their girlfriends and female fellow students. The interviews were conducted in 1995 and 1996.

Among the teenage boys at high school there is a range of different dress styles since many of the pupils choose their course programme on the basis of their social background and personal interests. To get a good overall grasp of this diversity, Jacobson has interviewed four young people from each of the following programmes: natural science, social science/economics, social science/humanities, electrical engineering, and industry. Among the young men at the university there is likewise no uniform student style such as the one we have traditionally associated with the 1970s and early 1980s. Jacobson found that the students today are not concerned about showing that they are students, but about showing what they are studying. She has therefore interviewed students from different departments, such as humanities, social science, natural science, medicine, information technology, design, and teacher training. The informants were chosen on the basis of their dress styles at school or university.

The book is divided into five main chapters, two of which are a presentation of the empirical material. Jacobson gives us many interesting samples of what the young men have told her. Perhaps these quotations are too long and too numerous, but they are so informative that we read them with great curiosity. Jacobson obviously has a good grip of the interview situation, for the young men are very accurate and aware in their descriptions of their style, their tastes in music, their interests, and their subculture. We learn that "hardcore people and skaters are all right, for they have nothing against immigrants", that "you have to make it show that you're a snowboarder". We are told about straight-edge and the baggy style, and that "drug-free is the whole point of straight edge". We learn about the symbolic props of hardrock, about Cradle of Filth and Death Black Metal, and that it is a deadly sin to wear Doc Martens in some contexts. For the avant-garde, the popularization of clothes and attributes devalues a style. It is therefore essential to find a style that has not been commercialized, or to adopt a style before it has reached Sweden. Albert tells us "how cult it was to smell of Calvin Klein CK One a year before anyone else in Sweden." We also learn that piercing and tattoos are on their way out among older youth. This "protest wave" has already been taken over by the large masses and the younger guard. In other words, these chapters are a good documentation of the diverse youth culture of our times. The dress portraits are an excellent description of how masculine identity is manifested and how musical tastes, hairstyles, the use of jewellery and perfumes builds up an identity and becomes a test programme for different lifestyles, and an expression of the young people's quest for a different and distinct personal identity. Jacobson shows us how this choice of style is also connected with the young people's social background or their choice of study programme and future occupation. In particular, we see how their leisure interests steer their self-understanding.

In the last two chapters, Jacobson discusses clothes as a masculine way to communicate and create identity, the aesthetic spirit of the age, and the feminization of men. Here she regards clothes as an important means of distinction which functions as a non-verbal language between individual and group. This language reflects a set of values and attitudes in society and can especially

show how male and female values and norms change through time and particularly place. Jacobson discusses how aesthetic norms today play an important role in the young men's external expressions. The great variation in youth styles and the great variation in masculinity and masculine fashions in the mass media have given today's young men new opportunities to try out identities and lifestyles as never before. The study shows us that aesthetic needs have a prominent place in young men's identity formation. They all work in one way or another with clothes styles, hairstyles, musical tastes, jewellery styles, and perfume styles, and not least with their bodies, once again influenced by today's masculine stereotypes.

The book concludes by drawing the conclusion that today's young men are nevertheless also influenced by their social background, traditional habits of thought and patterns of action, and by the symbolic capital that they have acquired as their baggage in life. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is still valid among young men in 1999. The dress portraits show that men are still prisoners of old clothing conventions, and they show how limited men are in their freedom of action in comparison to the women's huge scope as regards choice of colour, form, and material. Jacobson nevertheless claims that the externally visible distinctions of masculinity have taken a step towards femininity, and she concludes that masculine society in general is acquiring more feminine features.

Maja Jacobson's book joins a debate which may be described in the words of the Norwegian cultural journalist Hans Rossine: "Welcome to the fifth society. Welcome to the society where people's basic needs are met. Welcome to the society where people are busy fulfilling themselves and satisfying their emotions" (*Dagbladet*, 14 Jan. 1999). Jacobson helps to document and analyse a society in which individuals want designer products and branded goods which tell a story, which provoke emotions, which create symbolic values, and which give them the right identity. According to the Copenhagen Institute for Futures Studies, the fifth society, or the dream society as it is also known, is already succeeding the information society. The Internet and IT are already in place. In our corner of the globe we already have enough to eat, we have a social life, and we have a place to live. What remains is to fulfil ourselves and our dreams. We still have to satisfy the topmost of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, which concerns our dreams and our emotional needs.

This book is written in a clear, fluid language. It provides a great deal of empirical knowledge, and it is a splendid documentation of cultural history. It answers the theoretical and analytical questions it poses, but it could perhaps have gone deeper in the analysis and incorporated more angles. The questions answered here are well-known and dear to researchers. I believe that the empirical material can also serve as a good approach to a larger discourse about more profound issues in today's society. It may be good background material on who creates today's dream society, who moulds opinion, and what power they exercise. The book touches on topics which include preferences, norms, attitudes and values, ethics and morals. I look forward to a further analysis of the material.

Mari Alvim, Eiksmarka

A Handbook on Fieldwork

Etnologiskt fältarbete. Lars Kaijser & Magnus Öhlander (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 126 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-00944-5.

■ In undergraduate education in ethnology, tuition in fieldwork is always an exciting but problematic area, for how can one "learn" fieldwork? A teacher who has a wide range of experience of the field could not help saying that some things simply cannot be learned from a book. This frustrates some students, who may feel that they have just become acquainted with the subject and learned how to "read" in the proper way. Surely then it is possible to acquire knowledge from the literature and then go out to test this knowledge in the field.

Out in the so-called "reality", however, a great deal turns out in unexpected ways, and the student is forced to get used to the fact that one of the most important experiences of fieldwork is that, regardless of your theoretical knowledge, you yourself are part of the fieldwork. In addition, you

often have to make individual ethical considerations which do not immediately agree with the theoretical knowledge, and so on.

It is nevertheless obvious that there has been a great need for some kind of undergraduate textbook, and this has now been presented by these young Swedish scholars. The book is full of important reflections and good instructions, but it is doubtful whether this changes the fact that, regardless of all the good guidelines, fieldwork can be a total failure. This is an attempt, and the result is a book that I think will be used by many Scandinavian teachers of fieldwork. We have no such book in Denmark, so I naturally seized it with great expectations. A distinct disadvantage of the book, however, is the almost exclusive focus on Swedish scholars and Swedish research approaches. This makes it less appropriate for the other Nordic countries than it ought to have been. This should not be taken as suggesting that the authors all write with one voice, for they do not, but it is rooted in a Swedish fieldwork discourse where a great deal is implicitly understood. There are few international sources of inspiration, and this may be perceived as a drawback, although it could also be regarded as a strength, as it means a certain uniformity in definitions and interpretations. Students are given clear information in a language they understand. (It is scarcely possible to give clearer information about fieldwork without doing violence to the diversity and the alternatives.) The book should thus be judged for what it is: a Swedish attempt to solve some of the problems of teaching fieldwork to undergraduate ethnologists.

The authors of the book include both university and museum scholars, and it deals with both the frames of fieldwork and the techniques that can be used. In his introduction on "Starting Points", Magnus Öhlander briefly (and brevity here also means clarity) presents and defines some of the basic concepts to do with fieldwork: how the theory presupposes a particular method, and how the knowledge we amass is dependent on this theoretical perspective. Since all empirical data are impregnated by theory, all knowledge is likewise bound to a perspective, and ethnological fieldwork can never be given a definitive form. There is no single method. Öhlander argues that the term "pragmatic systematics" contains a concerted description of what modern-day fieldwork involves. Present-day (Swedish) fieldwork has indeed some excellent spokesmen in this book. It would also have been desirable, when such effort has been expended on this useful little book, if it had also shown the different attitudes to fieldwork with a chapter illustrating the link between theory, method, and empirical evidence, with historical examples.

In a very dense and informative chapter, Lars Kaijser treats fieldwork as a learning process. He says a great deal in these few pages, and there can scarcely be any doubt that this article is useful for students to bear in mind before setting out into the field. An aid in the retrieval of experience is the field diary, which can prove to be the fixed point in fieldwork that the student needs. Kaijser tries to distinguish three important constituents in his field diary: he has an empirical, a methodological, and a reflective part – and surely this actually reflects the elements of which fieldwork consists?

Oscar Pripp's chapter, "Reflection and Ethics", might perhaps support the inexperienced fieldworker with its mixture of the author's own experience and attempts to bring out some specific requirements for the performance of fieldwork. Everyone searches for ethical rules but discovers that they have to reflect upon them and put them into the relevant context before they can be used for anything. This is a good chapter.

Eva Fägerborg's chapter about interviews is one of the most important in the book. Interviewing – and the planning, transcription, and analysis of the interviews – is one of the key points of fieldwork, however much other circumstances may vary. There are countless possibilities here for changes and adjustments according to the requirements of the method. Fägerborg's text deals not only with the cultural encounter that a meeting between interviewer and interviewee constitutes but also with something many writers overlook: the actual practical form of the interview, transcription, and so on. Students are too often left alone with these questions.

Magnus Öhlander's chapter on participant observation shows, once again, that this discipline can be particularly tricky. Perhaps this chap-

ter should have been written in closer collaboration with the one on ethics. But we find useful rules of thumb here, e.g., that one can never describe anything in too much detail, whether the surroundings or the people moving in a particular setting. A widespread mistake made by beginners is this fear of describing. And in any event, observation is perhaps the most important discipline in fieldwork. The question is what the term "participant observation" actually comprises. For it is in the participation that the ethical problems arise.

Eva Silvén touches on the important discussion of what material objects mean and how fieldwork can be used to study them and this meaning. This is so important that it should receive more attention in fieldwork as a whole.

Finally, there is a chapter by Lizette Gradén and Lars Kaijser about photography and video filming. This will interest many beginners in ethnological fieldwork. All in all, it may be said that the last four chapters in this book, which are in fact about techniques, actually justify the whole book. There are many books about the theory and method of fieldwork, but novices in fieldwork are thirsting for concrete instructions.

This book fills a gap, but at the same time it shows that we still lack *the* book on fieldwork for undergraduate ethnologists. This does not mean that the present book does not contain excellent instructions, but the problem is not just the lack of Scandinavian or (broader) European inspiration, but also the priorities as regards topics that the editors have no doubt been forced to decide.

Edith Mandrup Rønn, Herlufmagle

Angelprincess and Suicide on the Playground Slide

Marjatta Kalliala, Enkeliprinsessa ja itsari liukumäessä: Leikkikulttuuri ja yhteiskunnan muutos. Gaudeamus, Helsinki 1999. 342 pp. ISBN 951-662-771-4.

■ Marjatta Kalliala's study sets out to discover how and why time and culture are reflected in children's play culture and how this culture has transformed over time. The contextual framework is based on the changing roles of childhood and adulthood in a post-modern society. The author does not consider whether play culture can be regarded as culture or a subculture: children's play culture is taken for granted without defining it.

Play culture is examined from the perspective of 22 six-year-old children (of middle-class backgrounds), who have been raised in Helsinki. The total number of informants is 26 (pair interviews included). The primary material in the study consists of interviews and participant observations carried out in homes and day-care centres, which are the central areas of play for these urban six-year-olds. Parents and staff of three day-care centres were interviewed to provide supplementary contextual background. It is important that the interviews and observations were carried out in both the children's homes and the day-care centres, as these are the places where children primarily play.

Methodologically, the research is hermeneutical, inductive and qualitative, in other words, it is ethnographical in nature. The author uses her original material in the text very successfully: her contact with the children is admirable and the interview extracts make for an enjoyable reading. The ethnographical samples demonstrate that the author has been able to be emphatic, distant or committed depending on the situation in the field (cf. p. 82). The interviews, which took from five minutes to one hour, can above all be characterized as "chats", as situations where the *carpe diem* method is most appropriate and, metaphorically, as mushroom picking trips in the forest – an excellent combination for studying children (p. 70-74). The author did not, however, consider videotaping to be a valid method for acquiring material. She characterizes her roles as researcher by using the metaphors of gold digger and wanderer. She states: "I recognized my role as a 'different' adult most vividly when the teacher came into the room where the girls were telling naughty stories and I felt embarrassed about getting caught. In my relationship to the children I was 'different, interested in everything, an enterprising wanderer'" (p. 69).

The body of material in the work has been classified according to Roger Caillois' classification of play, which consists of the following: *agon* (competition), *alea* (hazard), *mimicry* (imitation)

and *ilinx* (dizziness). The material is compared to data available from the 1950s, which makes changes over time visible. The *agon* and *alea* games are based on rules and normative instructions, whereas *mimicry* and *ilinx* are based on imagination and improvisation. Only a small number of games remains outside this classification, such as snow angels.

The study is divided into seven chapters, the first of which provides a theoretical introduction and a close-up picture of children's play culture. This chapter resembles a quilt with its constant, heterogeneous references and absence of the author's own voice. The second chapter presents the research problem, method and the fieldwork. The study uses comparison and a qualitative approach familiar from ethnology. In the third chapter Caillois' play categories are introduced.

Chapter four leads the reader into the means of play, namely toys. "Depending on the context, a toy is either important or unnecessary in a game; as an emotional object, it is either indispensable or replaceable; it is either a central or a marginal object to be used" (p. 173). Toys with the most permanent significance are those with which the child has an emotional relationship, and they can become irreplaceable (p. 167). Toys have a dual role: in some games they play an important role, whereas in others they are used flexibly and complimented with other material. The use of toys is thus limited and children realize this. The children describe "non-instrumental" and "instrumental" play in their own speech as "playing with themselves" and "playing with toys" respectively. When a child plays on his own, his body and mind become the instruments of play. Children either act out their own roles or they assign roles to the toys (p. 153).

In the fifth chapter the author examines children's world as a world of play: play negotiations, play roles and play competence as well as children's play profiles. The world of play among girls and boys is at the same time shared and separate. On the one hand, the rules of the game make the game possible, but on the other hand, they limit it. The sixth chapter considers play from the perspective of adults. The parents' voice is heard however hesitant they are as educators and however autonomous the children are. The rich extracts offer an excellent path into the world of parents from the perspective of a child's play. The author examines free play, unknown play, enriched play and the child's own play with friends and toys.

The seventh chapter goes into the actual task of comparing children's play culture over time, whereas in chapters 1-6 the main emphasis is on outlining the play culture of the 1990s with few general references to the 1950s, for example: "However, something that would have been forbidden in the 50s because it was a safety risk, is most likely allowed in the 90s in the name of freedom" (p. 211). On occasion, it seems that the entire comparative setting is forgotten, and chapter seven aims to correct the situation. The author has to rely on literature and material about play from the 50s that is not commensurable, which forces the comparison to remain at the macrolevel. The play culture of the 50s is characterized as a *nonhesitating* rearing culture opposed to the *hesitant* culture of the 90s where limits are not set for children as strictly as in the 50s and where negotiation forms an essential part of the relationship between parents and children. The author also deals with the various types of play and how they have changed. The headlines are revealing: "Agon – toward open competition"; "Alea – my happiness and justice", "Mimicry – from near to far", "Ilinx – no end to imagination".

The work has not escaped truisms: "Time changes play" (p. 53); "Play culture is connected to a place. The gender aspect is also important."; "Children's play culture varies according to situation."; "Play culture changes according to its basic character, but also according to the age and sex of the players, and according to time and place. Games change with age" (p. 55).

The results show that the dependency of play on time and culture may be traced from the microlevel of children's play culture to the macrolevel of profound societal changes, and in particular, to the changing roles of children and adults. When uncertain child-rearing practices meet the information environment of today's adults, secrets are revealed at an early age. At the same time, children are partly left alone to construct not only their own play culture, but their own childhood as well. Evidence of this may be

seen, for example, in that girls' interest in human relationship and boys' interest in action – which, as such, indicate the continuity of children's play culture – now manifest themselves in new ways. Girls may be seen reaching out towards adulthood and the relationship between men and women, balancing unsteadily on tiptoe like Barbie, instead of focusing on the relationship between mother and child in a traditional way. Similarly, boys tend to watch "overly exciting films", and find the substance and justification for their fights in Power Rangers or Biker Mice: supranational commercial TV-series that do not hesitate to tell black and white stories in a world where it is otherwise hard to find global values presented through the fight of good and evil.

Street play, which has notably declined, has been partially replaced by hobbies organized by adults where competition is significantly more overt than it is in children's traditional games, in which the element of competition is skilfully regulated. All of the above cited manifestations are described with the metaphor *'out of the garden'* as it reflects the adultomorphic tendencies of today in a culture where adulthood and childhood are steadily becoming more vaguely defined.

However, another metaphor is also introduced to draw a holistic picture of children's play culture. *'A little piece of land'* expresses children's unique persistence in creating their own play culture and finding their way even in situations that are not favourable for free play. The impact of children's fantasy realms on their own play culture is indispensable and so is the role of sensitive adults who possess the ability to find and provide the ideal balance between stimulation and autonomy needed by young children.

The work is an ethnological and even a folkloristic opening into a child's world of play in the 1990s with an abundance of rich extracts. Subordinate to this, the work maps out the change in play culture from the 1950s to the 1990s. The use of language in the study is clear, and the bibliography with literature from various fields demonstrates the interdisciplinary nature of this field of study. Despite the large number of references, I missed a reference on page 147 where it is stated that in most play situations in the 1950s matter-of-fact behaviour was required, but to counterbalance this, a great deal of freedom was allowed in outdoor games, for example. In chapter 6.3. (p. 245) there is also a quotation without a reference. The book offers a good reading experience to all those who want to reflect their own childhood world against a child's world of play in the 1990s: the reader encounters the Other, a world that is foreign.

Päivikki Suojanen, Jyväskylä

Neo-Nazism and Its Opponents in Denmark

René Karpantschof, Nynazismen og dens modstandere i Danmark. Sydjysk Universitetsforlag, Esbjerg 1999. 204 pp. ISBN 87-7780-203-9.

■ Racism, right-wing extremism, neo-Nazism and violent acts proposed and perpetrated by these ideologies against specific targets have become a major problem in the western hemisphere since the late 1980s. Apart for some events involving right-wing networks in an international context, Denmark has been out of focus in this development. René Karpantschof's study of neo-Nazi and anti-fascist movements in Denmark in the 1990s shows that there is good reason for this lack of attention. The Danish neo-Nazis – most significantly represented by the *Dansk National Socialistisk Bevægelse* (DNSB, Danish National Socialist Movement) – were able to remain politically active only thanks to their international functions and cooperation, the author concludes. Whether this is true or not, the question remains: why did they not manage better?

The historian Karpantschof is a man of answers, not of questions. Ignoring what has been written on the subject, there is just one set of answers in his world-view: neo-Nazism could be controlled by militant anti-fascism and possibly a repressive state policy only. Danish legislation and police measures against neo-Nazism are harshly criticized by the author as having been too moderate. According to Karpantschof, these have helped rather than hindered the growth of the neo-Nazi movement in Denmark. Empirically the situation is a little more complicated: liberal conditions do not seem to have promoted neo-Nazism in Denmark, but primarily to have

attracted neo-Nazis from Germany, Sweden and other countries, where state policy is more repressive and where neo-Nazism at the same time really is a domestic problem. However, comparative or historical questions are omitted by the author. Would it not be worth asking if state policy should be related to rational observations on the actual danger posed by neo-Nazi groups instead of just proposing a specific law-and-order philosophy?

The call for law and order is often followed by a tendency to take the law into one's own hands. Militant anti-fascism seems to Karpantschof to be the only way to stop neo-Nazism. The major part of his study is occupied by a chronological and somewhat tiring account of what could be called the street-fighting of both opponents. Again, the complete lack of comparative and historical material is stunning. The undermining of Weimar democracy by militant clashes of radicals from left and right would have been worth a thought. Even Karpantschof's evidence could have stimulated questions in this direction. The danger of playing into the hands of the enemy is obvious, when Danish anti-fascists on several occasions attack police forces or when a member of *Antifascistisk Aktion* recalls the reactions of local people at the end of a demonstration in 1993: "even if we did not get an overwhelming farewell, we were at least thanked for not having flattened the town".

Actually, Karpantschof's material suggests that broad popular alliances and considerable successes against neo-Nazis only came into existence when they were directed against foreign or predominantly foreign places or actions. German neo-Nazis were eventually forced out of the towns of Kværs and Kollund in South Jutland. Also several international Rudolf Hess marches on the island of Sjælland ended more or less as fiascos. It seems likely that German Nazis were especially suitable to generate counter-mobilization in a country formerly occupied by Hitler's forces. It is particularly questionable whether international Nazi networks really were favourable in the Eurosceptic country of Denmark.

In his highly suggestive study, Karpantschof does not try scientifically to evaluate the social movements of the neo-Nazis and the anti-fascists in a societal and international context, but sticks to platitudes on a cryptopolitical level. This is not least true for the statistical material from the author's "database" that leaves many questions open, but is just used to jump to certain conclusions. Unfortunately, similar shortcomings are rather common in the genre of literature on right-wing extremism. Tore Bjørgo's excellent social anthropological study on interactions of right-wingers and their enemies in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia: Patterns, Perpetrators, and Responses* (Oslo 1997), can be recommended all the more on this subject. Unlike Karpantschof, Bjørgo has a complex notion of the concept of political culture and the political sphere, where political repression and militant counter movements are just two possibilities to reduce the right-wing scope for manoeuvre in certain circumstances.

Norbert Götz, Greifswald

Toys – Things for Play and Thought

Bo Lönnqvist & Johan Silvander, Ting för lek och tanke. Leksaker i historien. Kulturen & Historiska Media, Lund 1999. 106 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88930-57-2.

■ What do the concepts of play and toy involve? Are toys necessary for play, and is play a justification for toys? This book, whose title means "Things for Play and Thought", attempts a broad approach to this topic, as underlined by the authors' different perspectives on the material culture associated with play.

The first part is essentially based on Bo Lönnqvist's book *Ting, rum och barn* ("Things, Rooms, and Children", 1992), where the author presents his wide-ranging and thorough research on childhood and children's play in Finland past and present. In the present book he concentrates on the essence of play in a historical perspective and interprets the relationship between children and objects: "In this book we shall broaden our view of the playing child and hence also show that toys in their modern form are actually not absolutely necessary if play is to function." Lönnqvist searches for insight into children's culture at the frontier between the children's and the adults' world.

At this interface he explains toys as objects made by adults for children. Children are expected to play with these objects on terms defined by adults. This definition of toys is connected to the modern and philosophical currents which have changed our perceptions of the child and the conditions for child development. Play and toys become important pedagogical devices. The growing bourgeoisie with its ideals about the family and child-rearing laid the foundation for the ever-growing toy industry. But Lönnqvist views toys in a broader context. A central feature is the distinction between *toys* and *implements for play* which he makes against the historical background of descriptions and pictorial representations of children at play.

One example is Pieter Brueghel's famous painting *Children's Games* in a Flemish village from 1560. Here it has been possible to identify about eighty different games, and the children are portrayed playing with various available objects such as sticks, clothes, bones, barrels, and soap bubbles. And they play with each other, with each other's bodies. The inherent potential of the objects was exploited by children in their play. The objects become implements for play. The painting also shows dolls, spinning tops, and balls, which are perceived as toys in the modern sense, but Lönnqvist points out that these are also part of an interaction with play rather than things that guide the play. Work, serious matters, and play merge. Play was not steered and arranged as it is today; the worlds of children and adults were more integrated.

Children often imitate the adult world in their play. Through play they prepare for their future adult roles, and we tend to associate miniatures of all kinds with this form of play. Ever since prehistoric times, people have recreated themselves and their world in mini-format, and Lönnqvist points out that the meaning of these objects can often be related as much to adults as to children. Play and ritual magic need not be mutually exclusive; one and the same object can function in both sacred and profane contexts. He explains the symbolism and meaning of miniatures by looking into the fascinating sphere of dolls and doll's houses.

The enigmatic world of children was and is without boundaries, and imagination goes far beyond the adults' definition of toys, according to Lönnqvist. This is indisputable. One of his complaints is the absence of children from museum collections and exhibitions of toys. He points out that these are often based on private collections which reflect the adult collector's interest in old games. But play is elusive, and toys and implements for play are perishable. This might equally well be what is mirrored in the museum collections, which often have a preponderance of girls' toys from bourgeois nurseries of the 19th and early 20th centuries, simply because these happen to have been preserved. Yet this does not make the collections any more representative.

In the second part of the book, Johan Silvander begins with this elusiveness of play in relation to the objects: "A child can play with virtually anything." Imagination has no limits. But his approach to the topic both contrasts with and complements Lönnqvist's account, in that he deals with industrially produced toys right up to the present, with the focus on the toy industry, materials, mechanisms, toyshops, and the most popular categories of toys.

The centre of gravity in toy production has moved from Germany, which led the way for over 400 years until the Second World War, via Britain and the USA to the Far East. Silvander paints a concentrated picture of toy production through history, in which technology, materials, and production costs are significant factors for development. Small companies have been defeated in their fight for market shares. Swedish toy producers have been similarly affected by the global trend, although some, such as Brio, have consolidated their position.

Today there is a gigantic global industry. Silvander singles out the troika consisting of McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and Disney, which are united in the McDonald's "Happy Meal" for children. The Disney-related toys that children find in their boxes in the 24,000 restaurants around the world are produced in China. The annual turnover for toys in the USA is equivalent to a quarter of the Swedish state budget: approximately 170 billion kronor. And 80 per cent of the turnover comes from Christmas shopping. I would assume that most of the remaining 20 per cent is purchased as birthday presents.

What do children want as we enter a new millennium? How do boys and girls relate to different categories of toys – the classical ones such as dolls, rocking horses, and teddy bears versus computer games and tamagochi? When the Nordic Museum sought answers to these questions, they approached children in fourteen school classes in the Stockholm area. One of the questions was which object belonging to them they would like to leave to posterity and be willing to lend to the museum's exhibition "Faith in the Future". Silvander's analysis shows, among other things, that the classical toys are holding their own, while media and electronics are simultaneously making their mark on the range, especially of boys' toys. Children's "collections" of toys embrace the past in the traditional toys and the present in the trendy toys.

This book provides a varied and concentrated introduction to the complex relationship between play and objects, and it certainly gives the reader much food for thought and further reflection on this important subject.

Erika Ravne Scott, Oslo

Child Murder, Gender, Power and Sexuality in Eighteenth-century Sweden

Inger Lövkrona, Annika Larsdotter barnamörderska. Kön, makt och sexualitet i 1700-talets Sverige. Historiska Media, Lund 1999. 255 pp. ISBN 91-88930-64-5.

■ Inger Lövkrona has written a book on the phenomenon of infanticide in 18th century Sweden. The story of the child murderess Annika Larsdotter is beautifully written and moving in all its tragedy. The 18-year-old Annika was made pregnant by her brother-in-law, and in the months that followed they did their best to keep her pregnancy a secret. When in labour, she hid in the barn and gave birth in solitude. Immediately after her delivery, she stuck the tiny hand of her baby into its mouth, and smothered its faint life. Subsequently she tried to hide the dead body under the floorboards, but her crime was soon brought to light. Annika Larsdotter is only one of thousands of Swedish women who were charged with infanticide during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, a large number of whom were sentenced to death and executed. Although infanticide did not occur frequently as compared to the rates of illegitimacy, it was regularly tried by the courts in Sweden, as in Scandinavia as a whole.

The main question discussed by Lövkrona is: Why did Annika and other unmarried mothers kill their infants? In order to answer this question she has analysed the trials of Annika Larsdotter and seven other women from the province of Västergötland in the period 1729–1776. It is not the crime as such which is of interest. Rather she has reconstructed the stories of these women as presented in the court records, and analysed the patterns emerging from these stories.

Especially interesting is the way Lövkrona has discussed the relationship between the potential of the court records for the reconstruction of events and the way they inscribe social discourses, paradigms, judicial conventions and stereotypes. Her focus of interest has been on the accused girl and her actions, what conceivable considerations and feelings she might have had in her particular situation, as well as the nature of the sexual relationship, and the institutional frameworks of which she was a part. Throughout the book a number of issues are discussed against a background of other recent Nordic and European studies on sexuality in general and infanticide in particular.

Lövkrona's perspective is that illegitimacy and infanticide are about gender, power and sexuality, and must be understood within the framework of patriarchal society, as expressed in the practices, discourses, norms and values of gender and sexuality. Combining feminist theories of patriarchy with post-modern theories on the subjective construction of identities, she perceives men and women as actors of their own lives, as thinking subjects, even if they had to act against a background of determined structures, practices and discourses.

The eight cases included in Lövkrona's study have several features in common. Pregnancy had put the girls in an impossible situation. The majority of them were made pregnant by a married man, sometimes the master of the household where they served, or, as in Annika Larsdotter's case even worse, he was married to her sister. Two

of the girls expected a child by a man who had promised marriage, but who subsequently expressed doubt about their paternity. There are indications that the men involved initially had applied force in order to obtain intercourse, and afterwards put considerable pressure on the girl to keep her pregnancy a secret. Consequently Lövkrona concludes that the nature of the relationship was crucial to her decisions and actions.

An unwanted pregnancy, kept as a secret, meant that the girls were left to struggle with the problems on their own. All the girls refused to confide in their mothers, mistresses or other women around, even when asked about their condition. Rumours were rampant, but a characteristic feature of these cases is that people around usually bided their time and did nothing to intervene till the child murder was an accomplished fact.

Although there were negative personal, social and economic consequences attached to giving birth to an illegitimate child, Lövkrona argues that infanticide cannot be explained solely as a result of the way society treated unmarried mothers, but must be understood against a background of the patriarchal structure of early modern society and the way gender relations were organized.

The concept of position is crucial to Lövkrona's understanding of gender and power. A position had a double character, and was made up of social power and gender power, that is, the power of belonging to the male or female sex. There would be varying degrees of power tied to a social position, dependent on marital status, social standing and how a man or a woman were placed in terms of production and reproduction in the household.

The positional power of men was inscribed both in the patriarchal structure and in the gender order. The men involved in infanticide applied their power and preferential right of interpretation to save themselves. Lövkrona regards honour as a driving force to defend the power of male positions, as a condition for the legitimacy of the patriarchal structure and gender order. While women lost their honour by transgressing sexual norms, men lost their honour by transgressing social norms. The fear expressed by men that an illegitimate sexual relation be revealed is ascribed to the fact that it was an offence which was severely punished. Their sexual conduct as such would not affect the power of men's position in a negative way, but the legal proceedings would influence their social reputation, and in turn their relationship with other men.

The social reputation of women was dependent on the reputation of their fathers and husbands. This explains why a wife would defend her husband if he had become involved with a girl who later committed infanticide. A wife was dependent on her husband to preserve her social position and the power of this position. The power of the position of the master of the household also explains why people in the neighbourhood adopted a wait-and-see attitude, and abstained from interfering.

Women obtained power by marriage only. This gave them power over other women, including the control of the sexuality of maids. Rumours were an effective way of drawing attention to a particular girl. Married women also had the capacity to intervene more directly by examining the breasts of a girl suspected of having murdered her child. This seems to indicate that there was no conflict of interest between the people and the authorities, and that the crime of infanticide was commonly brought to light as a result of a coalescence of the formal and informal control of sexuality. In Lövkrona's opinion the social control of sexuality is about the strengthening and legitimization of the family as a patriarchal institution and consequently a way of preserving male dominance.

The position with least power was that of the unmarried girl. She was subordinate to married women as well as to men, – her future decided by men. Lövkrona argues that lack of power – even powerlessness – was a decisive reason why a young woman would choose to murder her child. Her position gave her no power either to refuse the man or to denounce him. The choice to murder the child may consequently be considered as an attempt to avoid enforced motherhood, which would in turn affect her future prospects of being an honest wife. In this respect young women acted according to the logic of patriarchy, conforming to the expectations that patriarchy had of their position. Thus the child murderess indirectly supported the logic of dominance–

subordination essential to patriarchy, even though their actions may be seen as a protest against this logic.

A main conclusion is that the girl was made responsible for the illegitimate sexual relationship, whereas the man, if not in law, at least in popular culture, had a licence to seduce and conquer a girl. The power of their sex gave men power to exploit women sexually against their will, and subsequently to demand that they hid their pregnancy. The sexual responsibility of women is also supported by the construction of female sexuality in judicial discourses of the 17th and 18th centuries.

In Swedish, as in European society, infanticide and the child murderess were constituted as a major social problem. A connection was made between infanticide and immorality, the child murderess was constructed as a cruel and evil woman, thus distinguishing loose women as a distinct group. The law was used as a weapon aimed at the control of female sexuality in general, and infanticide in particular. In the religious symbolic universe women were equated with sexual urge, malice, magic and sin. This construction of woman as sexually dangerous is also a theme in folk beliefs. Against the background of a general fear of female sexuality, Lövkrona concludes that it was the child murderess as a woman and not the infanticide as a crime, or the fact that she denied motherhood, which made it a horrific crime in the eyes of the authorities.

Lövkrona has successfully carried through the gender perspective in her analysis. After having read this fascinating book, however, I am left with a feeling that her emphasis on infanticide as a result of the overall gender structures to some extent has been made at the expense of a more subtle understanding of the working of gender relations. The impression given is that the patriarchal structure as well as the way gender relations were organized severely limited the agency of unmarried women. Bearing in mind that girls tried for infanticide were in a particularly vulnerable situation, the picture of the powerless unmarried woman of early modern society seems plausible and can hardly be doubted.

Still, one may wonder whether this picture could have been modified if compared to girls who were in identical situations, but still made a different choice. In this respect it would have been useful if she had looked more closely at the situation of the girls who were engaged to be married. The nature of their relationship to the man was not identical to that of girls seduced by a married man. We are left to wonder which specific circumstances influenced their agency. As it is, the nuances of individual relationships are pressed into the dominant category married man–unmarried woman.

Girls seem imprisoned by the structures, unable to resist and reject the sexual advances of men, powerless in the face of the consequences of an unsuitable sexual relation. They may in fact have had little possibility to exert influence, but the concept of position invites to look into the agency of individuals within the limits of patriarchal structure and dominant discourses of gender.

The question of whether it was considered shameful to give birth to an illegitimate child, is a controversial issue. Lövkrona discusses this point, but finds no satisfactory answer. The girls themselves did not mention shame, but some of them admit they felt bashful. If honour meant anything to people in this society, the essential meaning of shame was to hide from the sight of others. In this respect the action of a girl could be more telling than her words. As Lövkrona points out, an unmarried girl should resist sexual advances, and the only acceptable reason to respond to a sexual invitation was a promise of marriage. By giving way to the "wrong" man, she had brought shame and disgrace not only on herself, but also on her parents, and paradoxically on the household of the man who had seduced her. A further exploration of the issue of shame could therefore well have supported Lövkrona's assertion that the clues to an understanding of the actions of the girls must be looked for in the nature of their relationship to a particular man.

Turning to the impression Lövkrona gives of the unlimited power of men, several questions arise. For a start, if men had an implicit right to exploit women sexually, would not the illegitimacy rates have been far higher? Lövkrona does not cite the statistics for Sweden, but it is commonly assumed that the figures were relatively low until the second half of the eighteenth century. Be-

sides, infanticide was a marginal phenomenon, and how typical the relation married man–subordinate girl was for illegitimate sexual relations as such is disputed in historical research. I also find it hard to believe that fear of social sanctions was of no significance to deter a man from seducing a girl. Certainly he might have reason to fear that a trial and subsequent sentence would demonstrate that he had transgressed social norms, but even if the social sanctions such as rumours were directed at the girl, they would indirectly affect his social reputation. It should also be taken into consideration that the girl in question was the daughter of another man. Honour and social reputation in relation to the sexuality of women is a complex issue, and the question remains how seducing someone's daughter might affect his relationship to and reputation among other men.

Lövkrona has written a thought-provoking book. Her ambition has been to make visible and explain the fate of a certain group of women in a gender context, and thus contribute to a feministic theoretic debate about the relation between gender, power and sexuality in early modern society. In this respect her theoretical perspective, her interpretations and the issues dealt with certainly invite further discussion and reflection. The concept of position in relation to gender and power has, to my mind, broadened our understanding of the organization of gender relations and the social control of sexuality in the 18th century. The analysis is thorough and accomplished, and her approach to court records opens an interesting perspective on the particular problems that this kind of source material poses. With this book Lövkrona has made an important contribution to the history of infanticide, to our knowledge of this tragic phenomenon, and to our understanding of the conditions of women and the working of gender relations in the past.

Kari Telste, Oslo

Nazism in Modern Sweden

Heléne Lööw, Nazismen i Sverige 1980–1997. Den rasistiska undergroundrörelsen: Musiken, myterna, riterna. Ordfront, Stockholm 1998. 526 pp. ISBN 91-7324-595-X.

■ Heléne Lööw concludes her book on the Swedish Nazi movement of the 1980s and 1990s with the observation that there is no sign for a decline in the growth of the subculture of white power in the country. When she wrote this, in 1998, she could not foresee that 1999 would witness a distinct shift to right-wing terrorism, with several murders and bank robberies. But her comprehensive study provides us with an abundance of material to understand the developments of the past decades and even the present events. The growing militancy of parts of the movement on the one hand and the harsh reaction of the political system and public opinion on the other might, however, now inhibit the circumstances for further growth of the Nazi movement.

Heléne Lööw is the expert on the domestic Swedish Nazi movements from their beginning in the 1920s onwards. And she can rely on an impressive amount of material on the subject. Besides published sources, a large number of more or less odd subcultural journals, leaflets, stickers, compact discs etc., she has collected a large number of interviews and correspondence with representatives of the movement, she has observed demonstrations and other happenings, and she was even allowed to use the private party archive of a long-standing Nazi leader. No question, the author draws on the most comprehensive material one could ask for, and as one can easily see she also likes to present it to the public.

This is mostly to the benefit of the reader. The large number of long quotations from different sources, of photographs and reproductions of Nazi propaganda material gives an authentic picture of the different aspects and variations of the activities and mentalities of these movements. It is a thick documentation, though, not a thick description. The author's comments are agreeably unexcited, descriptive and differentiating, but they are also rather introvert, staying at the level of phenomenological observation. Perhaps this is

the price to pay for the relationship based on trust with the objects of this study, which has enabled her to take advantage of such a vast amount of material. In some cases this can be misleading, though: it should not be sufficient for right-wing parties like the Sverigedemokraterna to cultivate democratic rhetoric and to participate in democratic processes to be labelled as democratic.

The comment even seems a bit unimaginative when the same phrases are repeated over and over again in the main text, the summaries of the subchapters, the summaries of the main chapters and the conclusion of the whole book. Obviously there is but one angle from which the material is presented: looking straight ahead. Fortunately the usefulness of the book and its sources for secondary analysis is not affected by this single view. On the other hand, the author seems occasionally to get carried away by her sources. The presentation of material from the international scene and of Swedish Nazism of the 1930s to 1970s is disturbing in a study focusing on Sweden in the 1980s and 1990s. Of course, the international and historical connections are of importance, but it would have been sufficient to rely on the commentary and on the contemporary domestic sources to demonstrate this interconnection. The space occupied by lengthy, out-of-focus quotations would have been better used for a glossary, a list of abbreviations, a discography and an index of persons, organizations and topics. It is a pity that these features are missing in a book that would otherwise have had the potential to become *the* handbook of Swedish Nazism in the late 20th century.

The empirical observations of this study can be summarized as follows: Swedish Nazism, which had been totally discredited after the Second World War, took on a new quality starting in the 1980s. The new generation, born in the 1960s and 1970s and influenced by the international skinhead movement, started to claim public space again. Once the first positions were marked this became a cumulative process, enhanced by a subculture of quasi-religious awakening. Media coverage was highly counter-productive at this stage, since it helped to make these marginal groups visible in public for the first time and since it was forced to refer to their agenda (perhaps the most interesting of Lööw's observations concerns the problem of good intentions having opposite effects – this matter would certainly be worth further research!). The most important feature of the present movement is the so-called white power music (also called white noise music). It provides a framework for identification and action at the same time as it helps to spread the Nazi and racist messages beyond the circle of activists, it links the movement's ideology with mythology, symbols and traditions, and it provides the movement with economic resources. Nationalist views have been largely replaced by international views based on race only. Besides ideology, this can even be seen in mythology and the creation of traditions. The belief in Jewish conspiracy is nowadays represented by the belief in a ZOG – a Zionist Occupation Government – which includes the whole establishment of society, supposedly discredited by being labelled as "spiritually Jewish". The personal inability to cope with the complexity and insecurity of late modern developments is the basis for the Nazi rhetoric and militancy of scapegoating. The psychological, cultural, social and economic foundation of today's Nazism deserves even more attention in further research.

Norbert Götz, Greifswald

The World Was Her Text

"Verden var hennes tekst". Forskeren Lily Weiser-Aall. En minnebok 1898–1998. Anne Moestue & Reimund Kvideland (eds). Norsk etnologisk gransking, Norsk folkeminnelag, Oslo 1998. 144 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-91161-17-8.

■ The history of ethnological and folkloristic research has almost exclusively been associated with the professors representing the discipline. In practice, however, the archives of folklife and folklore have functioned as learned institutions with well-educated archivists who have actively pursued scholarship. It is therefore gratifying that the tendency has been broken and the gallery of characters extended with the publication of this book in memory of Lily Weiser-Aall of Norsk Etnologisk Gransking (NEG, Norwegian Ethnological Research).

When the Norwegian professor of philosophy Anathon Aall married Lily Weiser in 1928, he could have almost been accused of robbing the cradle, since Lily was 32 years his junior. Coming from a bourgeois home in Vienna, however, she had already acquired a classical education which she supplemented with Germanic philology and *Volkskunde*. Through the influence of her husband she also acquired an increased interest in psychology. She was a beautiful and musically gifted woman whose whole being radiated refinement. However, because of her modesty and reserve, few people outside the family, if any, came close to her, as we see from Marta Hoffmann's portrait of her colleague and friend. While Hoffmann has been able to build on personal recollections, others have had to make do with *Lesefrüchte*. Other documents – if they exist – are not yet available.

Lily Weiser's postdoctoral thesis, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbunde* (1927), deals with a topic that fell into disrepute after the Second World War, not least among the new generation of ethnologists in Germany. She belonged to the Vienna school, her main teacher being Rudolf Much (1862–1936). Lily Weiser was then important in passing these ideas on to scholars such as Otto Höfler and Richard Wolfram.

One of the main concepts in the Vienna school was continuity. This also set its stamp on Lily Weiser's research. In her doctoral thesis on Christmas customs she chiefly searched for pre-Christian features. The study of customs was at this time a quest for origins, and the method was to a large extent philological.

Christina Niem gives a concise account of Lily Weiser as a folklorist in Austria (previously published in German, translated here by Karin Kvideland). She does not deny that the Nazis found Weiser's and Höfler's research useful in their attempts to reconstruct an ancient Germanic folk culture. Unlike Höfler, however, Weiser did not apply any racial perspectives. Christine Eike writes in more detail about roughly the same topic, but her contribution is more in the nature of a plea. Eike herself, a pupil of Höfler, was sent to Norway in 1964 to confirm his research using modern Nordic literature. Eike's essay concludes in rather bitter tones about the cruel fate experienced by Höfler's research and in part by Lily Weiser's early research in the post-war era.

Knowing Lily Weiser-Aall's personal integrity, there is no doubt that the hints, above all by Olaf Bockhorn, that she was pro-Nazi are groundless. On the other hand, it is understandable that her personal stance made her refuse to break her bonds of friendship with Höfler and that she was likewise unable to abandon the scholarly ideals of her own youth when she resumed the study of Christmas customs in Norway. Eike nevertheless intimates that she was not entirely uncritical of Höfler in later years.

The triumvirate of Nils Lid, Reidar Christiansen, and Svale Solheim, who founded NEG in 1946, understood Lily Weiser Aall's qualities. As curator at NEG she was also able to pursue her own research interests, which is scarcely possible for today's archivists.

The questionnaire method had already been applied by Nils Lid, but then it concerned the link between word and custom. Now it was extended, as in Sweden and Denmark, to embrace the whole of folklife. Lily Weiser-Aall compiled more questionnaires than anyone else, and Anne Moestue gives us some insight into these. They were carefully prepared and showed an awareness of source criticism, but the superior attitude shown by the Dialect Archive in Uppsala (according to Agneta Lilja) was absent here. Lily Weiser-Aall herself was preoccupied with the relation between written and oral sources. The contemporary research tradition was positivist, but it is almost impossible to put a label on her research, because she constantly kept up to date with the development of research, without being tempted to follow current fashions.

It might be thought that Lily Weiser-Aall would have fitted in well with today's women's studies by virtue of her research into female activities such as child-bearing and carrying water, but Anne Helene Bolstad Skjelbred sums up her analysis of these women's studies in the words: "By concentrating her description on women's work, it becomes a description of the women's culture within peasant culture. This does not make our understanding of peasant culture poorer. On the contrary, it becomes richer and more

nuanced."

This book commemorating the centenary of Lily Weiser-Aall's birth has been given the title "The World Was Her Text". This can be interpreted in different ways. In her youth she had the opportunity to see a great deal of the Western world at least. As a researcher she was able to move in the scholarly world, and as an archivist she acquired a detailed knowledge of the Norwegian peasant world through the thousands of records she scrutinized. Her bibliography, compiled by Reimund Kvideland, shows her as a creator of texts. He rightly emphasizes in his own article that Lily Weiser-Aall represents a European element in Norwegian ethnology and folklore. As a professor – if she had entertained such ambitions – she could have passed this outlook on to her pupils. Now we have to be grateful that we are able to meet her in her own texts with a greater understanding of her, thanks to this book.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

They Built Railroad Carriages

Allan T. Nilson, De byggde järnvägsvagnar: Emigranterna från Ryfors hos Pullman i Chicago. Tre Böcker, Göteborg 1999. 163 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 91-7029-377-5.

■ George Mortimer Pullman was an American entrepreneur who derived his fame and fortune as a manufacturer of railway wagons and carriages, and by operating a sleeping-car service rather like the Wagon-Lits company in Europe. Although the company built tens of thousands of ordinary, unremarkable goods wagons and day-coaches, it was best known for its luxuriously-appointed saloon- and sleeping-cars. From the 1870s to the 1950s Pullman cars were used in most, and then all American long-distance first-class trains, and over the years the company introduced many innovations in sleeping-car arrangements and railway passenger car technology that influenced developments in other countries. Pullman also established a virtual monopoly in the sleeping-car trade in the United States, which lasted until 1947. The Pullman Company owned the vehicles, provided their staff and supplies, and rented their services to the private railway companies. Typically, the only vehicles in long-distance trains which were owned and staffed by the private railway company were the restaurant car and the baggage, express and postal cars. The Pullman Company maintained replenishment depots all over the United States, but its headquarters and main manufacturing works were located near Chicago.

Pullman's "Palace Cars" were famed for their Victorian splendour. The wooden sleeping car reached its zenith from the late 1880s to about 1910, when steel construction replaced wood. In the turn-of-the century period, Pullman cars were among the highest expression of woodworking crafts ever seen. As well as having to be designed and built to withstand the stretching and compression forces of long trains and gradients, and the lateral and vertical strains of curvature and rough track, the cars were elaborately furnished in the rather over-done style of the day. Exquisite panelling, and sublime marquetry, turnings and carving decorated every square inch of the interiors that was not upholstered in richly-finished leather or the finest fabrics that money could buy. Such craftsmanship required skilled artisans, who were, again, the best that George Mortimer Pullman's money could buy.

Like many industrialists of the period, Pullman was a man of vision, and a man who took for granted that there was a natural order of things, an order which included the social and religious as well as the technological. Until the 1940s, Pullman Car conductors (who were responsible for the company's cars while in transit) were always of European, and mostly German stock: George Pullman clearly thought them to be punctual, efficient, and reliable; while the sleeping-car attendants ("Pullman porters") were always black, the descendants of slaves, whom Pullman clearly regarded as best suited to roles of servility. Another, equally important dimension of his vision of order was reflected in his creation of Pullman City, one of the best examples of a planned, model industrial townscape in North America, which sought to define, in space, the relationship between work, worship, education, and leisure. Rather like Saltaire, Port Sunlight, and the Klippan area of Göteborg, model housing was provided for Pullman's workers in ways which ex-

pressed in bricks and stone his understanding of paternalistic capitalism, and of the centrality of religious duty, education, the givenness of the nuclear family, and of social differences between managers, overseers, craftsmen, and ordinary labourers.

Allan T. Nilson tells the story of Pullman City through its connection with about 40 highly-skilled Swedish woodworkers who had learned their trade in the Ryfors railway carriage works, and were then recruited by Pullman's agents to Chicago. At one time, ten percent of Pullman City's 10,000 workers were Swedish. Nilson reconstructs this interesting chapter in the nineteenth-century connections between Sweden and America through interviews with the second-generation American descendants of Pullman's Swedish workers and their collections of letters and family documents; the records of the Lutheran church that the Swedes established in Pullman City; the archives of the Pullman Company; and a variety of other primary and secondary historical materials. Nilson highlights the significance of family connections and of chain migration in an industrial context, which are less well described than Swedish settlement in rural areas in the United States. In so doing, Nilson also demonstrates that not all emigrants from Sweden were farmers or landless rural labourers who remained in America permanently, but that some were skilled, footloose economic opportunists who later returned to Sweden with substantial wealth. In describing these processes of international technology transfer, the fluidity of skilled labour across continents, and the import and export of cultural institutions, the author is also telling us a story about modernity and about the origins of some of the basic attributes of globalisation that were occurring long before anyone had given it this name.

Reginald Byron, Swansea

Distance, Communication and Identity

Fredrik Nilsson, När en timme blir tio minuter. En studie av förväntan inför Öresundsbron. Historiska Media, Lund 1999. 176 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88930-74-2.

■ The opening of the bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö this year means the realization of a project that already at the beginning of the construction work in 1995 could look back on a more than hundred-year-old history: to link Denmark and Sweden through a fixed link over the Öresund. The definite decision in 1991 finally involved great economic and political expectations of the ability of the bridge to give the emerging Öresund Region momentum to become a powerful economic and cultural centre in Scandinavia and Europe. Of special importance is the transnational character of this venture, whose consequences for the patterns of people's interaction and identification in the context of the region as well as of the two nation states cannot be predicted with certainty.

As an ongoing process, the region building in the Öresund area allows the social sciences not just to trace back social change historically but to observe it in real time. Fredrik Nilsson's study seeks to take advantage of this opportunity and attempts to explore the expectations of "ordinary" people (i.e. those who are not in political or other power positions) concerning the bridge and the coming region as well as the supposed consequences for patterns of interaction and identity formation. In a joint project of the city museums of Malmö and Copenhagen, the ethnological department of the Danish National Museum and the Folklife Archives at Lund University, Nilsson investigates whether the political ambitions and visions correspond with the expectations of the people living in the area around the Öresund (p. 12). The study is based primarily on interviews and a survey, along with press cuttings and brochures.

The interviews were conducted in the coastal area, with the main focus on Malmö and Copenhagen. Apart from five professional sectors which were assumed to be especially concerned with or by transborder activities (information technolo-

gy, police/customs, media, economy, and culture/tourism) immigrants in Malmö and Copenhagen have also been included. Separate chapters describe for each of these groups the effects that the interviewees expect the bridge to have in their respective fields. But the interviewees were also questioned as private individuals, in a way speaking as average Danish and Swedish persons about the future of the region, the bridge's consequences for their experience of the landscape and identification patterns (p. 15). The same applies to those who both in Sweden and Denmark were asked as part of the survey to answer a questionnaire containing similar questions. The results of the latter are summarized separately in an additional chapter.

The study is based on the concepts of *flow*, *space* and *speed*, about which Nilsson gives concise comments in the first chapter. Speed is especially decisive for the effect of the bridge, as this is the way the flows so crucial for region building will take. With the new, higher speeds, the fixed link could lead to a shortening of geographical distances in people's perception, which through increased and intensified contacts further could result in a sense of community and new identification patterns (p. 16), "when one hour becomes ten minutes..." The aim of the study then is to explore how people use the rhetoric of *flows* and the *region* or how they are affected by it and the expected impact of the bridge on patterns of communication, the experience of geographical distance and hence also identification patterns (p. 11). The study is a qualitative one, as the questions posed in the interviews as well as in the questionnaire were open, and it does not strive to draw a representative picture of the weight of certain opinions and judgements.

All in all, a complex picture emerges, suggesting a connection between the expectations of politicians and "ordinary" people. Cultural as well as economic consequences of the flows and the new speed are expected: the perceived distance between Copenhagen/Sjælland and Malmö/Skåne will indeed become shorter, presumably bringing out perceived cultural and historical common features and ties. Also the relationship of Sweden's southernmost province, Skåne, to the rest of the Swedish nation state, particularly to its centre Stockholm, will change, but also the relationship of the Danish capital Copenhagen to the Danish periphery. In addition to this, there are the economic consequences which are assumed to follow as a result of increasingly synchronized interaction patterns in the course of the "geographical compression" (p. 129). They may have their own far-reaching consequences for the two nation states if there are problems in simultaneously synchronizing the region internally and with its different external contexts. In general it is observable that "flow and speed with growing distance change their character from nearly unambiguously positive and sweeping to greater fear and toning down of the meaning of the bridge" (p. 122).

Particularly interesting is the shift of existing regional balances through the changing and new centre-periphery relations within Skåne and Sjælland predicted by the study. Local contexts will probably result in intra-regional differentiation; according to Nilsson a "localization of the regional" is more likely to occur than the emergence of a homogeneous *regional village*. And if its cultural foundation rests on historical ties, then the risks of inner fragmentation in the region are obvious: immigrants, already poorly integrated within the nation states, are threatened with being left out also here, although they want to participate in the flows and partly even cherish the hope of a multicultural normality. Finally, the cultural encounter within a "reunified" region may turn out to be much more difficult than assumed if positive stereotype expectations prove to be wrong, or negative ones prove durable.

Unfortunately, the complex picture drawn by the study is not always equally well-founded, which occasionally can be attributed to the database: a total of 76 interviews (how many questionnaires were posted we are not told), when equally spread over the two countries and the six fields, makes just six interviews each field and country. At the same time, attempting to differentiate further by choosing interviewees with different local backgrounds (which is especially the case in the media field), means that one comes up against the limits of the evidential value of the material. The clear tendency discernible in the overall picture is in itself an indication of coher-

ence. Yet the value of such an exploratory study even on these points should not be underestimated. However, a copy of the interview guidelines and/or the questionnaire would have been desirable.

The study is supplemented by photographic documentation, which partly illustrates the text but also catches the emotional world of the ferry trips in the past as well as impressions of the coming change, and a historical outline by Markus Idvall covering the long history of all the different projects to connect the two sides of the sound from 1889 up to the 1960s. Idvall's presentation refers to the concepts of the *nation*, whose interests had motivated the plans until into the 1930s, and the *region*, which grew in importance after the Second World War. Carried on until the 1990s, this contribution could have rounded off the context and summed up the ambitions and expectations of the decision makers as a frame of reference to relate the study to.

With their Swedish perspective, both the photographic documentation and the historical outline increase an imbalance which can already be detected in the study but actually appears a little awkward for a joint Danish-Swedish project. This is to a lesser extent due to the fact that the region building in the Öresund area is a political objective especially in Sweden or rather Skåne, so the material will be more productive here. But the range of the material is also limited, as the distribution of the questionnaire in Denmark virtually only covers the Copenhagen area and Sjælland, both belonging to the region as a whole, while in Sweden, using existing structures, the survey was extended to include half the country up to Stockholm. It is therefore impossible to draw as far-reaching conclusions for Denmark as for Sweden. But also the generally short account of the results in the study, though enriched by numerous examples, remains incomplete in this respect. Instead of dealing with the interviews and the questionnaire separately, it would have been better to analyse the interviewees' statements related to their respective field on the one hand and general opinions about the region based on all of the material on the other hand, not least by providing space for a more extensive analysis of the collected press cuttings and brochures. The author could thus have also avoided some anticipations of the results already in the theoretical chapter.

Despite these weaknesses, readers interested in questions of region building in general as well as the Öresund case in particular will benefit from reading this study, as it paints a broad panorama of fears and expectations, revealing and discussing central problems with a lot of paradoxical implications. The insights gained from this investigation of a quite advanced region-building project that has been carried on for several decades are of great value not only for political practice but also for future research on the issues involved.

Krister Hanne, Berlin

Norwegian Folk Costume in Detail

Aagot Noss, Klesskikk i Tinn i Telemark. Frå tinndølklede til tinnbunad. Kvinneklede. Novus forlag, Oslo 1999. 219 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7099-313-1.

■ Although she has reached the age of 75, Aagot Noss continues her indefatigable research work. The latest of her books deals with the folk costume of Tinn in Telemark. The book is arranged in roughly the same way as her previous books. It is mainly descriptive, a gold mine for those who want to learn about folk dress in these districts.

The study covers a time-span of almost 300 years, from 1688 to the present day. The book is mainly based on the author's fieldwork in Tinn back in 1962. She then documented all the old clothes surviving in the district and interviewed all those who had information about the old way of dressing. There was a woman, born in 1874, who still wore folk costume every day.

As a complement to the fieldwork, the author has used estate inventories, literature, photographs, and the artists' pictures that she has previously analysed.

The account of the different garments is meticulous, with photographs, mostly in colour, and pattern drawings. In many cases we know who owned the garments and which artists depicted them, which means that the clothes can be dated with great accuracy.

The author shows that female costume in Tinn differs considerably from that in the rest of Telemark, and that it has changed at several points in time. The changes have affected all the garments, that is, skirts, bodices, undergarments, and headdresses. She distinguishes four such changes of style, three of which took place in the 19th century.

The majority of the surviving garments were part of the festive costume. Everyday dress is considered only during the most recent period, that covered by the interviews. For a Swedish costume scholar the most striking thing is that aprons were not used for everyday wear but only when going to church. In Sweden aprons were used on all occasions and were part of everyday wear at home as late as the end of the 1950s.

Finally, the author also treats the *tinnbunad*, the revitalized variant of the old costume from Tinn. She shows in an exemplary way that this costume is not the result of a pure resumption of an earlier costume; instead it consists of garments taken from different style periods, to which completely new additions have been made. The new feature is the decorations on the apron, which always consisted of flowery bands of silk or satin, now replaced by the same colourful rose embroidery in wool which was previously found only on the skirt, the braces, and on the back of the bodice. The costume could thus be viewed as a fifth stylistic variant of female dress in Tinn, which shows that folk costume really has been revitalized and continues to flourish.

Finally, I must congratulate Norway for giving us yet another splendid new contribution to our knowledge of female folk costume.

Ulla Centergran, Hisings Backa

The Nationalization of Culture

Kulturens nationalisering. Et etnologisk perspektiv på det nationale. Bjarne Stoklund (ed.). Etnologiske studier 5. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 1999. 234 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-541-1.

■ Interest in the nationalization of culture has increased during the last two decades. The American historian George L. Mosse was somewhat of a pioneer with his book from 1975, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich.* More recently, the British sociologist Michael Billig, with his study on *Banal Nationalism*, and the Swedish ethnologists Billy Ehn, Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, with their study of the transformations of the Swedish nation in *Försvenskningen av Sverige* ("The Swedification of Sweden"), among others, have contributed to this research. In 1989 Löfgren wrote an article in *Ethnologia Europaea* called "The Nationalization of Culture", an expression that has inspired a group of Danish colleagues. Under the editorial leadership of Bjarne Stoklund, they discuss the relationships between nationalism and culture, with Denmark as an example. Denmark, however, should not be seen as an isolated example. Stoklund *et al.* believe that Denmark should be seen in a broader European context, meaning that the nationalistic Danes used the same type of national "grammar" as other nationalists used with similar purposes in other European countries.

Tine Damsholt discusses the changing meanings of the conception "folk" ("Volk", "people") in Denmark from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. She studies descriptions of the life of the "common" people, which leads to the conclusion that it became more and more important that the *folk*, often meaning the farmers, should have the "correct" attitude towards the (Danish) nation. Inge Adriansen argues in a very interesting article that the Danish flag, Danebrogen, became a symbol for the Danish people already in the middle of the nineteenth century, largely because of the wars in Slesvig-Holstein. Since it was such a popular symbol it was important for all sides to use and "conquer" the flag during the Second World War. Its popularity still remains, and Danebrogen is nowadays used in a variety of contexts.

Denmark and Danish nationalism is certainly the principal object of the study. That does not, however, mean that other countries are not included. In his article, Niels Kayser Nielsen sets out to make a comparison between the sport movements and nationalism in the Nordic countries. His conclusion is that, apart from important

similarities, the different political situations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also led to radical differences. Anders Linde-Laursen has made a journey to Solvang, California, with the purpose of studying a "typical" Danish society, or rather a small community in the United States where the residents believe that Solvang "is more Danish than Denmark". The author argues convincingly that it is often easy to deconstruct traditions, but this is not enough. Sometimes it is not even the right way to conduct research, especially not in national matters, because deconstruction tears traditions apart from their contexts. Traditions do not become less important if they are a result of cultural construction. Instead, what is important is the cultural process that leads to something becoming constructed as a tradition, and for the researcher it is of less importance if the construction is clearly based upon the original tradition or not. In the case of Solvang it is clear that the original Danish domination soon came to an end. Danish became a minority language. That did not mean, however, that Denmark as an ideal disappeared, and it is, as Linde-Laursen shows, this cultural process that is of interest – a fact that does not exclude a small piece of deconstruction when he discuss the lack of (Danish) authenticity in the tourist videos of Solvang.

The editor himself contributes, besides the introduction, two articles. One of them deals with one of the most important characteristics of nineteenth-century nationalism: world exhibitions. These have attracted more attention in the other Nordic countries during the 1990s, for instance, in Anders Ekström's *Den utställda världen. Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar* (1994) and in Kerstin Smeds' *Helsingfors–Paris. Finlands utveckling till nation på världsutställningarna 1851–1900* (1996). Like Ekström and Smeds, Stoklund deals both with the Nordic contributions to these exhibitions and the European context, in which they were seen as an arena for national competition. Stoklund says that the ethnological and exotic elements had an important function in the world exhibitions, one which would eventually lead to the establishment of Skansen and other similar museums all over Europe.

The national culture is constructed in opposition to others and other national cultures. This fact is clearly established in *Kulturens nationalisering*. In his other article, Stoklund writes about farmhouses in Slesvig-Holstein and the controversial question of whether these buildings should be seen as "typical" Danish or German buildings. This theme, the fight between Danish and German nationalism, leavens the whole book. It is especially obvious in the battle for Slesvig-Holstein and its aftermath, but it is also present in Edith Mandrup Rønn's article on racial research and eugenics in Denmark and the similarities and differences in comparison with the development in Germany. This concentration leads me to think of the Danish historian Knud Fabricius's reaction when he wrote his extensive study on how Skåne (Scania) became Swedish. He believed that the loss of the East Danish provinces was soon accepted in Denmark. The loss of Slesvig-Holstein, on the other hand, was not accepted. Most of the authors of *Kulturens nationalisering* seem to take this condition for granted. They do not reflect upon why so much interest is devoted to the wars of 1848–50 and 1864 and so few parts of the Danish national identity are built upon the loss of the East Danish provinces in 1658. *Kulturens nationalisering* is a very interesting book, but if the authors had reflected more upon what parts of Danish history the nationalization of culture consists of, the result would have been even better.
Ulf Zander, Lund

Consequences of Nationalism

Ingvar Svanberg & Mattias Tydén, I nationalismens bakvatten. Om minoritet, etnicitet och rasism. Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 106 pp. ISBN 91-44-00937-2.

■ A common feature of this book, written by ethnologist Ingvar Svanberg and historian Mattias Tydén, is a critical discussion of categorizations of human beings in terms of race, strangers, ethnic group, etc. A key point is that these categories do not fit the complex picture of reality very well. Instead they are to be regarded as constructions made by researchers and people in power. The construction of categories is based on the

selection of specific features within a more complex field. Features shared with other groups and internal differences are thus neglected. What is pointed out to characterize different categories is dependent on the specific societal context in which they are constructed. As indicated in the title of the book, the authors regard nationalism as a crucial precondition for the categorizations of race, minority and ethnicity.

Another point made by the authors is that these constructed categories have serious consequences for the ongoing processes in the society involved. They determine what is defined as problems and how problems are to be solved. To the authors a consequence of this is that history could have been different if different categories had been used – and perhaps more important – that the categories of the present time also determine what is defined as problems and their solutions.

The book consists of six chapters, most of which are revised editions of previously published articles. They represent historical, present-day, European and non-European examples of constructions of categories and their societal consequences. The main focus is on Sweden in the twentieth century and on Germany during the Second World War. At the beginning of the book we follow examples of different constructions of "the strangers" versus "us" from the twelfth century to the present day in Sweden. The examples show that the specific features applied to define the categories change over time. Those who at one time are categorized as strangers may therefore very well be part of the category of us at another time.

Chapters 2–4 present examples of categories of race and ethnicity and their historical consequences. The main examples are the Swedish policy of sterilization and the German Holocaust, and a provocative question concerning the similarities between the Swedish eugenic policy and the German ethnic racism is raised. Many other examples taken from all over the world serve to remind us that the Holocaust was not the first and not the last example of genocide.

The focus of the last two chapters is on Sweden and the question of the multicultural society. As in the former chapters, the construction of reality into fixed categories is discussed but now related to the present and often positively applied category and declared policy of "multiculturalism". The concern is here that even this category involves the risk of forcing certain people to identify with a category that does not reflect their actual identity. The suggested solution to how to avoid the powers of categorization is "passive multiculturalism" instead of the politically declared "active multiculturalism" characteristic of Sweden today. The argument is that "passive multiculturalism" leaves it to the individuals involved to choose their own identifications and cultural belonging. With the use of historical examples, the book finally demonstrates that Sweden has never been and is not today to be regarded as a country with one single Swedish culture.

As indicated above, the reader of the book should not expect a profound introduction to theories of nationalism, race, minority and ethnicity. On the contrary, the book is a critical reflection upon these categories and their social consequences. Unfortunately, only very few words are said about the proposed solution, "active multiculturalism", and this leaves the reader with many questions unanswered.

The book as a whole is written in a very accessible language and it is rich in examples. Most of these are very concise and serve to illustrate the authors' points, but they also briefly introduce several academic concepts applied in research on migration and genocide. There could have been fewer examples, with more space left for discussions on the different points of the book. Anyhow, as a basic reader it introduces the student and people working on migration-related issues to some very relevant aspects. The many examples may also serve as inspiration to students for research projects.

Tina Kallehave, Copenhagen

A Dog's Life in Norway

Bjarne H. Sverkeli, Hundeliv i Norge. Norsk Folkemindelag/Aschehoug, Oslo 1998. 114 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-03-18016-6.

■ The title of the published version of Bjarne H. Sverkeli's master's thesis, *Hundeliv i Norge* ("Dog

Life in Norway"), is well suited to the contents of the book. It treats the cultural construction of dog keeping and dog owners. His object of research is dog owners who invest a lot of time in their pets: training the dogs, taking courses and participating in dog shows. The analysis is based on interviews and participant observations. Apart from this the data are supplemented with publications and magazines about dogs and dog keeping.

In the first two chapters, "A Furred Family Member" and "The Formation of the Dog", we follow the initial steps of the process in which a dog becomes a member of the family. This process is not only constituted by practical matters such as buying dog food or walking the dog, but mostly by the socialization of the dog. The animal cannot remain canine but has to become more human to be able and allowed to fit into the society and the household. The author uses the term humanized to exemplify how the dogs are assigned human traits and characteristics. This adaptation is also important for the future of the dog: if it does not adapt to human society it will not live long and most likely be put down. Following "natural traits" such as chasing cattle or keeping watch over the family in an aggressive way is not permitted for a well-adjusted and socialized dog. How to reach this ideal relation between animal and human traits is, according to Sverkeli, a topic often discussed by dog owners. Studying different attitudes to how to train a dog enables the author to successfully discuss more general theoretical perspectives: The cultural construction of nature and how a nationalistic Norwegian conception of nature is reproduced and represented by dog owners.

The dog's intermediate position between nature and culture is also examined in "A Privileged Species". But here the author leaves the family sphere for a while and instead he puts the dogs into a larger animal context. Giving the reader a colourful set of examples, Sverkeli shows how conceptions of "nature" and "culture" are not constant but change in time and space. Different norms, or sets of rules, are activated when it comes to the treatment of different species. Even if animal activists protest against how the poultry is treated, Sverkeli argues that dogs, as a consequence of being attributed with more and more human characteristics, have a privileged position in our society. They live more or less human lives, with human activities, and are assigned human names and characteristics. In short, dogs are denaturalized.

The most controversial argument in the book is presented in the chapter, "The Last Outpost of Racial Thinking". Here Sverkeli focuses on different breeds of dogs. Having listened to how dog owners reflect upon breeding, mixed breeds, inbreeding and pure breeds, the author states that a racial mentality exists among dog owners that would be impossible in other contexts. If the character and the physical appearance of the dog does not suit the predicted standards of the race, the dogs probably will not be used in breeding. The author points to the fact that while dogs become more humanized, as shown in earlier chapters, the racial thinking becomes more and more important. This paradox makes it possible to treat the dogs like animals or like humans, all according to the situation.

The racial thinking mostly concerns the physical appearance of the dog, and the culmination of this aestheticization takes place at dog shows. Describing the proceedings at these contests, the last chapter, "On the Exhibition", gives concrete examples of how concepts of nature, culture, aesthetics and racial thinking may be expressed in a public arena. This part of the book is ethnographically narrated with great intensity, inviting readers to take part and do their own active reasoning about the central topics of the book.

At the beginning of the book Sverkeli claims that the reader may nod in recognition during the reading or perhaps disagree with his arguments. Since the book is written in a slightly ironic tone it is possible to read it as a confirmation of my own stereotypes about dog owners. By talking about the humanizing, culturalizing and improvement of status of the dogs the author pictures the owners as more or less ridiculous in all their fanaticism and seriousness. But Sverkeli does not stop at the ironical point. Although this published version of the dissertation is almost without lengthy theoretical discussions and scholarly references, it is possible to glimpse the thoughts behind his reasoning about nature, culture, power, modernity, stereotypes, identity and racial

thinking. Although I would have preferred more and deeper theoretical angles, I have to credit the author for being able to combine the empirical and analytical parts in a texts that is most delightful to read.

Anna Burstedt, Lund

Present, Naked, Pure. Women by the Side of the Dying

Terhi Utriainen, Läsnä, riisuttu, puhdas: Uskontoantropologinen tutkimus naisista kuoleman vierellä. Finnish Literature Society. Publication No. 751. Society of Finnish Literature, Helsinki 1999. 371 pp. ISBN 951-746-105-4.

■ The work examines women in different stages of death and terminal treatment - they care for the dying, they make death easier, they are present in the last minutes of death. The study is based on various anthropological observations, which reveal that it is most often women who care for the dying and dead people. Women have traditionally been responsible for the immediate bodily contact with death. This gendered practice continues in the sexually equal, more or less secular, modern Finnish culture, where the majority of carers are women. The carers describe their experiences through expressions such as being present as an authentic self, who has stripped off all roles and other cultural veils, including even language. According to the textual sources in the work, the most important quality of the carer is the ability to stay present with no active action. The same idea is found in hospice literature.

The basic question in the work is whether there is something in the practice of terminal treatment that might help understand the dominance of women and femininity in the tradition. What is it like and what does it mean to care for a dying person? How is caring for the dying experienced and expressed by the carers themselves?

Primary sources in the work are 507 texts written by carers, of which 422 by women, and a short ethnography in a Finnish hospice. The study builds on phenomenological anthropology heuristically. It takes death as both the limit and the source for the meaning-giving activity of the human subject. Phenomenology of the body emphasises that this activity is an intersubjective and embodied practice. The study argues further that the cultural notion of the subject can be found already at the level of embodied actions and postures which the carer adopts concerning the dying other. The study aims at identifying the bodily posture and basic experience of the carer as well as the expressions through which these are described.

Both the structure of the work and the material have many layers. The introduction gives background to the study and its motives (death of the self, death of the other; death and woman's position, the otherness of grief and body, lamentations) as well as to its research problems and aims. In chapter two, the author conceptualises terminal treatment – from the perspective of the phenomenology of body – as a posture which expresses not only the fact of being a human being, but also related thematic constructions which we have about ourselves culturally. The author conceptualises the bodily posture of the carer and the subject in light of ritual theory based primarily on the ideas of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Julia Kristeva. Explicit mental pictures and ideas (images and metaphors) related to death, body and gender, which are filtered and assessed through the carer's liminal posture, are examined. The author bases her arguments on Silva Tedre's *body of necessities*, Kristeva's *abject* and Baudrillard's *imaginary*, which aim directly at conceptualising an ageing, deteriorating and dying body. Kristeva's abject and Baudrillard's imaginary are also used to refer directly to death as well as to experiences raised by the dying person and the dead body, through which these experiences are viewed.

Based on the conceptual perspective outlined in chapter two, the author moves on to read the theme writings of the carers in chapter three. The primary material comprises the essays from a writing contest "Hyvä kuolema" ("A Good Death") organised by the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (STAKES) in 1993-94. The material is examined by looking at content, intertextuality and metaphors. It is primarily interpreted in relation to other texts that the writings point at, which allows

for wider religious, cultural and social interpretations. The essence of caring for the dying is the heavily-loaded and idealised *presence of the carer*. In chapter four, the author approaches the bodily nature of caring for the dead through her observation material, the hospice ethnography. "I was involved in situations at the hospice, I followed and listened, I helped and acted where I could and when asked. I talked to the nurses while they were treating patients, during lunch and coffee breaks. I talked with the patients, sometimes more, sometimes less. – I was able to help the nurses in making beds, washing, lifting, rubbing ointment, dressing, etc. I had no previous experience from a hospital or caring for patients. Gradually I was more encouraged to go to the patients alone. – I wanted to observe the body in particular, not to ask questions. I had also internalised my ethnography as part of my own bodily attempt at being a good carer. In other words, I tried to learn. – My posture and attitude of a learner was not a bad idea, considering the somewhat frictional access to the field" (p. 182). The researcher is not afraid to criticise her fairly short fieldwork ethnography (little over five weeks of fieldwork carried out in two months, p. 184). Even though the material produced is only 160 printed sheets, in my opinion it brings the necessary additional material to interpret and assess the theme writings. The ethnographic notes consist of texts on three levels: 1) speech recorded on daily reports as accurately as the author could remember, 2) descriptions of daily events, situations and discussions and 3) personal diary entries during the ethnography.

In her ethnography the author asks: "How does terminal treatment take place in light of the hospice ethnography? Are there serious incompatibilities between tasks and postures of the nurse and the carer?" The hospice is divided into two separate spaces in terms of death: 1) the private space, one's own room, is where the death occurs, 2) the public space, which emphasises life and from where death is kept, if not entirely on the outside, at least aside. The patients die in their own rooms, from which they are transferred into a silent room later on. The essential roles of the carer are the following: being present, touching the patient, talking and listening to the patient, and reading and singing to the patient (hearing is the dying person's last receptive sense, p. 143).

Chapter five takes a historical and religious-sociological look at the cultural and social background of presence, which is at the core of caring for the dying. In the empirical material, the carer who is present is seen, for example, as being a "genuine" person. According to the texts, the carer is "a genuinely present, real person: honest, sincere, open, bare, stripped, naked, as a person is, being him- or herself" (p. 158). The author examines genuineness and presence in connection with modern, divided religiousness where experiential and ethical questions are intertwined in interesting ways. The author also considers where the meanings assigned to death, to caring for the dead and to "a good death"-discourse stand in relation to our modern-day views on people and religiousness.

Chapter six examines the presence of a feminine carer and questions related to her metaphoric feminine body. These are mainly examined through questions of liminality, on the one hand, and questions of cultural and social representation of death, on the other hand, both of which are closely connected with "a good death" and terminal treatment. The author discusses the cultural femininity of the carer and her motherhood from a historically and textually positioned perspective.

What can research capture of the present-day culture of dying, death and caring for the dead? The study was launched with a certain set of material, which was strongly tied to its original starting point. We can ask how the material represents Finnish death culture, caring for the dying and the concept of human beings it conveys, and how the "cases" that the author has selected represent the entire material. At close critical reading, the source material reflects death culture at least to some extent. The ideals of caring for the dying and a good death can be seen clearly. Among the writings, there are also more or less personal histories of a Finnish death. The traditional, good dying at home is not very distant in the Finnish experience according to the writers. The "bad", modern hospital death is seen as a short – although doubly inhumane – phase at least in Finland. The change towards a "good", "gen-

uine" and "natural" death is seen as a fairly rapid return into a new way of thinking.

Caring for the dying is not a conspicuous theme in the arena of encountering death, as some of the theme writings sharply point out. Caring for the dying is to a large degree an ideal and a goal. It is a humane goal, but at the same time it is an ideological ideal open to critical questions. The questions raised by the writers suggest a starting point, a motivation and a need for fresh, new discussions. The circle of participants in the discussion should be extended, and the discussion should be kept open to voices with very different tones and backgrounds. This type of interplay would also enrich the idea of the cultural connections between death and gender. It would also open up the question of a possible, fundamental gendered experience of death. – Utriainen's work is rich in its many layers both methodologically and in content. It gives a pioneer-like, holistic view on the connections between death, the carer and gender. The structure and content of the work are logical and the headlines are descriptive, whereas the linguistic form is highly complex in places. The work has a comprehensive bibliography.

Päivikki Suojanen, Jyväskylä

Museums Thinking about Their Past

"Jos emme omistaisi mitään...". Pohjanmaan museon 100-vuotisjuhlavuoteen liittyviä tekstejä. "Om vi icke egde något..." Texter i anslutning till Österbottens museums 100-årsjubileumsår. Pohjanmaan museon julkaisuja 18. Vaasa: Pohjanmaan museo 1995. ISBN 952-5057-03-8.

Janne Vilkuna, 75 vuotta museoiden hyväksi. Suomen Museoliitto 1923–1998. Suomen Museoliiton julkaisuja 45. Helsinki: Suomen Museoliitto 1998. ISBN 951-9426-21-3.

■ The museum institution in Scandinavia has lived through centuries. Some kind of a starting point for it was the foundation of the College of Antiquities in Sweden in 1666 and the royal edict of 1684, when it was determined that treasure finds should be officially declared and preserved. This was an effort to increase the power of the state and the glory of the nation. Actually, this was the first law dealing with old antiquities and their preservation in the whole world. Scientists and other people interested in or dealing with objects started to pay attention to the things which they themselves or their ancestors had made and used, their own objects or the objects of the Swedish nation, instead of curiosities brought from abroad. The so-called scientific world-view – by which I mean ordering things and the rational, systematic way of categorizing museum items into collections – changed the practices of collecting and the collections themselves so that instead of having the whole world in one room (a cabinet of curiosities) collectors started more and more to concentrate on one category or a couple of categories of objects, such as plants and animals (biological items), art, or technical equipment.

Universities had their own collections for scientific purposes. They owned things to be measured and studied or to be used as tools. In Finland the first university was established in Turku in 1640. After the great fire in Turku the whole university with its collections was moved to Helsinki in 1827. Before that, the first museum exhibition open daily for the public was mounted in Oulu in the end of the eighteenth century. This collection consisted of various biological samples. The first local ethnological museum was established in the town of Raahe in 1863.

At the same time, in the mid-nineteenth century, the museum institution experienced its so far most powerful and meaningful mental influence: the national movement all over Europe made people aware of their existence as a nation. This idea of belonging to one's own native land and being part of "folk" needed to be declared, and museums – as we know – became a way of expressing national boundaries. The past of the nation was created with the aid of objects and then used to justify the existence of the nation in question.

The end of the nineteenth century was a time of changes all over Europe: industrialization, urbanization, modernization, belief in evolution and never-ending development, and other new ideas and movements made people uncertain about their place in society and time. The need to know one's origin, history, and past became more and more urgent. New technology – as modern

and superior as it seemed to be – also caused mental resistance, for example, in the form of nostalgia, the arts and crafts movement, exoticism and so on. Inside the museum institution this was the time of collecting, arranging and exhibiting "history" with the aid of evolutionary, national and romantic ideas about the past.

The twentieth century has been the century of museums. Modern man has tried to make himself immortal by collecting, keeping, studying and exhibiting things he has made, used, consumed, loved or hated. The musealization of objects has become an obsession: to make sure that "the whole story" of our time can be told we collect this and that. We write about our time, we take photographs, we interview each other and put all the material we obtain behind the locked doors of our museums. Who is it for? What is the meaning of this vast and endless work?

One hundred years of "modern" museums have passed. Today the museum institution seems to have a need to find out what has happened, to look for its own past. An example of this interest is the book *"Jos emme omistaisi mitään..."* ("If We Didn't Own Anything...") produced by the Museum of Ostrobothnia in 1995. The museum celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1995, and the book consists of texts somehow connected with this anniversary. Some of the texts were originally written for museum exhibitions and some of them for other purposes. This makes the book quite heterogeneous and hard to read or understand. One can ask what it is that combines the town of Vaasa in the 1890s, two different bourgeois homes at the end of the nineteenth century, the time when time came to mean money, the medieval stone churches in Ostrobothnia, the embankment of Korsholma or the modern architecture and why just these themes have been chosen for inclusion in the book.

The most natural and most interesting article in this book is the first one, where Kurt Jern writes about the history of the museum itself. The text shows how different thoughts, ideas and theories of the time in question influenced the need to establish a museum in Vaasa and how this need was fulfilled. As the writer quotes: "to collect and preserve objects and written memories, which are good to have in order to shed light on the past, ethnology and history of Ostrobothnia, and not just for the scientific research but also for the maintenance of interest in the national education and national memories" (p. 17).

The article of Kurt Jern shows – if one reads it carefully – how the history of a museum or the whole institution is not a history of buildings, objects, collections or places. It is mostly the history of the people who have worked at the museum or for the museum institution. It is the individual persons who make the museum what it is – people have the power to decide about the material evidence, the objects, that will be in the collection about the time period they live. It is they who choose, collect, keep, preserve and study the things they want to have in their – or our – museum. The museum itself does nothing.

The same idea about museums – or the museum institution in this case – can be seen in the book by Janne Vilkuna, "75 Years of Museums in Finland: The Finnish Museum Association 1923–1998". This is full of names and events, which together compose the history of the institution in question. The Finnish Museum Association was also founded in 1923 to serve as a national central organization and coordinating body for all groups supporting and running museums in Finland. The most important matter in 1923 in the field of museums in the new independent country was to improve the financial situation of museums and to start publishing and training activities in museology. At the beginning all this was done by a few active and enthusiastic individuals devoted to the idea. The first full-time secretary was hired after the Second World War in 1946, and since then the number of the employees has grown slowly.

Vilkuna says that "one of the essential social tasks museums have is to help the society and the individuals answer the question who those people living far away in place and time were or are and who we ourselves are, where we come from and where we are going" (p. 9). This demanding task puts the museums and the whole institution in the position where they have to be aware of themselves: they have the power and the responsibility to decide about the image of our past, present and future inside the museum walls. As Vilkuna writes: "Organizations do not function, people do" (p. 9).

As a writer of the history of the Finnish Museum Association, Vilkuna is a part of this history himself. He has chosen the facts he writes about as well as the point of view from which he looks at things. His style of writing and presenting the facts is clean and objective; it seems to me that he has sought to collect every piece of information into one book and remember everything and everybody. In other words: he tries to draw a complete picture of the history of the association he describes. This makes me wonder if it really is possible or – as might be the case – there is something missing or something left out on purpose. The past cannot be reached as it was, as it happened, with the aid of language.

These two books represent two different ways of searching for the past of the museum institution. The first book lets the reader see some fragments of what has or could have happened; it is more or less like an occasional collection of stories. The book about the history of the Finnish Museum Association is something quite opposite to that: it is a detailed description of what has happened from the beginning of the phenomenon to the end of it (or to the present day, which is not the end). It is good to cultivate both ways of writing history so that readers realize that the "truth" is always negotiable.

Elina Kiuru, Jyväskylä

Norwegian Nature Mythologies

Nina Witoszek, Norske naturmytologier. Fra Edda til økofilosofi. Translated from English by Toril Hanssen. Pax forlag, Oslo 1998. 183 pp. ISBN 82-530-1979-3.

■ This book, whose title means "Norwegian Nature Mythologies", is a collection of nine essays, focused on characteristic Norwegian ways of apprehending and relating to nature. The author, Nina Witoszek, is a cultural historian of Polish origin, now living (as we are told on the dust jacket) "in several countries". Describing the theoretical framework for her study, she locates it in a zone bordering on social science, psychology and history of ideas. Most explicitly, she declares her debt to the Tartu semioticians, and to their definition of culture as the signs, traditions and forms of behaviour that a community remembers, and draws upon in order to define its present and gain strength for its further existence. Commenting on this perspective, Witoszek notes that it may serve as a corrective to the idea that societies ought to be studied as being in constant flux and change, and that it might remind us that the "invention" or "imagination" of communities and traditions is a more complicated process than constructivists tend to admit. As I normally tend to appreciate constructivist perspectives, I have travelled on foreign ground in reading her book. It has been a great pleasure, and it has provided a lot of food for thought about the logic, potential, preconditions, and possible limits of her approach.

The key component in Witoszek's analysis is the meme. A meme, according to her, is a lasting element in a universe of thought, e.g. a story, a painting, a character in a drama or a god in a pantheon. Such elements are units of memory. They are vehicles for meanings that stay relevant (though not necessarily unchanged) for people through several generations. Memes do not determine, but strongly set the parameters for acting and thinking in the communities where they are embraced. To use a blunt metaphor, they are tools with which people craft their orientations to life. Some memes, Witoszek notes, are universal. Others are specific to a culture or a nation (those concepts seem to be used synonymously here). Still others can move across cultural borders, or pertain to specific, restricted fields of thought only. A footnote in the text adds that, in a very distant future, things representative of modern popular culture, like McDonald's or Beatles' songs, will perhaps come to acquire meme status.

The nine essays in the book are all rather short, and appear in a basically chronological order. The first, second and third chapters are closely interrelated. The first of them reanalyses the character of nineteenth-century Romanticism in Norway, claiming that behind the foil of romantic icons, the climate of thought was pervaded by pragmatic orientations and Enlightenment rationality. The second chapter expands this argument by explicating the essence of what Witoszek terms "ecohumanism"; a cosmology whose foundations are general humanistic ideals, but whose symbolic

expressions of identity refer to the experience of nature and to a specific sense of belonging to a place. Chapter 3 concentrates on a core category among the nineteenth-century Norwegian intelligentsia, the country vicars and their sons. Those people have been grossly misunderstood and misrepresented, according to Witoszek. In her own account, they stand out as most important mediators between traditional rural pragmatism and ideas disseminated through formal education. To a great degree, she claims, they provided the foundation not only for the nationalist revival during the nineteenth century, but also for modern Norwegian culture.

The following chapters move on to the various contexts of Norse mythology, Norwegian folk tales, and nineteenth-century dramas, in order to spot memes that display varying degrees of power and actuality. The focus throughout is on dimensions of meaning that have up to now been forgotten, misunderstood or simply overlooked. Not least in these parts of the book, Witoszek demonstrates her keen eye and her clarity of thought. If I were to pick my favourite piece of analysis from this section, it would be the discussion of the dichotomy of "inside" and "outside". That figure of thought is strongly related to the concepts of home and home-centredness in Norwegian culture, and to the understanding and appreciation of outdoor life. Besides thematic insight, the discussion of this complex of meaning also spells out clearly the difference between, on the one hand, Witoszek's focus on deep layers of meaning and archetypal realities, and, on the other hand, the more empirical examination of actual everyday life that tends to occupy anthropologists and ethnologists.

Chapters 7 and 8 discuss more recent forms of art. One of them is Vigeland Park, a park in Oslo dedicated to the display of sculptures by one single artist, Gustav Vigeland. The other is the works of Nobel Prize winner Knut Hamsun, ingloriously renowned after the Second World War for his support for Hitler. Both cases stand out as representatives of somewhat deviant, or at least alternative and less established, conceptions of nature. Additionally, both of them invite examination of fascist dimensions and connections. Particularly interesting in this context, I think, is the discussion of the present status of the Vigeland Park in the popular imagination. On the basis of a series of interviews conducted in the park in 1994, Witoszek concludes that the park has been castrated and domesticated, turned into a nice leisure area deprived of its potential force. The park remembers, Witoszek notes, what the nation has forgotten. It has been transformed from an active to a latent, slumbering meme. But it still exists, and thereby it continues to represent a potential version of Norwegian society, a gruesome version that has not been realized, but that may perhaps one day come true.

A similar intimation of cultural critique is found in the last two essays, which are devoted to the contemporary forms of celebration of Constitution Day, and to the political green utopia advocated by philosopher Arne Næss. In these texts, Witoszek's outsider perspective seems to feed particularly strongly into the analysis, in ways that promote a healthy split vision of Norwegian society. Idyllic aspects aside, Norwegian utopias are pervaded by a certain moral authoritarianism and anti-civilizational attitude, which may seem unpleasant – particularly so, I guess, for someone who has first-hand experience of totalitarian systems.

Perhaps one should have a special interest in Norwegian affairs to fully enjoy reading this book. And if one is not sufficiently familiar with Norwegian culture and history, one may have trouble grasping all its details. But I am deeply impressed. And it is hard to question Witoszek's results, without conflating her level of analysis with the empirical exploration of the more mundane realities of contemporary Norwegian social life, which is quite another thing. Still I have the feeling that the difference between the two perspectives (or foci, or levels of analysis) is one of division of labour, rather than of basic incompatibility. And perhaps it might be argued that Witoszek's analysis, in practice, relies heavily upon the kind of inquiry that she herself largely brackets in her work. But that, no doubt, needs to be explained.

What Witoszek presents to us, in all its complexity and richness, is one particular aspect of a Norwegian universe of meaning. Of course I would have liked her to address a little more often

the tricky question as to whether this universe is *only* a Norwegian one (or, at times, rather a Norse, or a Scandinavian, etc.), but I could live without that. The more important point, I think, is the fact that she underscores a basic distinction between universes of meaning and actual, living human beings, and that she does not purport to grasp the actual lives of human beings (but leaves that task, more or less explicitly, to the anthropologists). Simultaneously, however, it is part and parcel of the basic definition of a meme that it is vital in the Norwegian setting – that is, inevitably, meaningful for Norwegians. Thereby, the popular resonance of the images and understandings is built into the approach as a given premise. Perhaps this can be done speaking of Norwegian history. But turning to the present, not to mention the future, we cannot be that sure. After all, contemporary young Norwegians grow up in a climate that is not only pervaded by the memes exposed by Witoszek, but influenced by pretty strong countertendencies as well. How does this affect their universe of meaning and their understandings of the once so powerful Norwegian memes? It should be quite possible to formulate such questions within the theoretical framework of *Norske naturmytologier*. But efforts to produce an answer to them would entail extensive work not only in the universe of meaning that Witoszek masters so brilliantly, but in the more mundane reality of Norwegian social life as well.

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Life in Helsinki

Elämää kaupungissa. Muistikuvia asumisesta Helsingin keskustassa. / Att bo i stan. Minnesbilder från centrum av Helsingfors. Anna-Maria Åström, Pia Olsson & Jorma Kivistö (eds). Memoria 12. Helsingin kaupunginmuseo/Helsingfors stadsmuseum, Helsinki 1998. 325 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-718-147-7.

■ Elämää kaupungissa (Life in the city) consists of eighteen individual texts which describe the life and living in the center in Helsinki mainly in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. The texts have been written by the inhabitants themselves, initiated by two inquiries directed to the general public and made by Anna-Maria Åström, namely Helsinki as a living environment (1995) and Helsinki of my generation (1996). The main purpose in these inquiries was to capture reminiscences of Helsinki from the time right after the Second World War up until today. Most writers (they were 268 altogether) concentrated on the time of their childhood and on the 1940s and 1950s. These were apparently the most meaningful periods to them when they were painting a picture of the lost Helsinki. Because the questions of the inquiries were not especially focused on childhood, the writers were not intentionally encouraged to describe their growing up in the city. On the contrary, it seems that choosing this point of view has given people a chance to reconstruct these later lost environments of their childhood. That some of these reminiscences are published in their entirety in this book allows the reader to become acquinted with the dialogue between the researcher formulating the questions and the informant telling about his/her experiences and images of the life in the city.

While writing their memoires informants are often motivated by the desire to record such cultural features that are disappearing or have already disappeared. The focus is on everyday life, on common history. The informants have wanted to make visible something that they have felt is missing in official histories. It is especially interesting to note the way they have portrayed the city center as the living environment for children. This is quite different from the image of the city many of us would have today; namely the view of the city center as a bad environment for the children, which became very common during the 1960s and 1970s.

The city center of the 1940s and 1950s does not have a negative image in these reminiscences, quite the contrary. Life in the center of Helsinki can be described as typical for a quartertown. In a quartertown every quarter forms in a way a miniature town with a dense and very lively social and functional environment. According to the informants, the quartertown offered the children who lived there quite large variety of possibilities to play and to spend their time. The descriptions of the living environment do not limit themselves to one's own house and backyard: also many

public spaces, streets, shops, movie theaters, social events, sounds and smells, are mentioned and they form a central part of the culture in the city center.

The aim in collecting people's reminiscences has not been in finding some typical characteristics of city life. Rather the main interest has been in trying to find out meanings that places have in city living and in a way people experience their environments. Despite the differences in informants' experiences some common features describe the city living and lifestyle. One such feature often mentioned is social heterogeneity. The multifunctional character of a quartertown can be seen from a child's viewpoint: a yard may have been quite poor in quality, but it has become a lively and exciting environment through children's own activity and imagination. Small businesses and different professions and trades are mentioned, as well as little stores, cafes and restaurants. Buildings don't have a lot of meaning as such but as scenes of social interaction. The reminicences draw a very complex picture of city living while at the same time giving some idea of informants' close relationship with their childhood environment. What makes these reminiscences especially interesting for a reader is the way their express at the same time familiarity and strangeness when comparing one's own experiences about city living with those of the informants.

This anthology is a welcome addition to urban ethnology. In these reminiscences inhabitants' own voice is to be heard. The researcher has not made these inquiries in order to verify his/her own assumptions about the life in the city. The inhabitants have been given a possibility to tell their own story and their memories and to present an image that they have of the life in the city. The texts give the reader an opportunity to grasp the feeling and the athmosphere of the city life in pastgone decades. The photographs used as illustration of the book have been chosen very carefully in order to support the athmosphere described by the writers. The introduction and the conclusive analysis have been written both in Finnish and Swedish.

Tiina-Riitta Lappi, Jyväskylä

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This year's issue of Ethnologia Scandinavica focuses on how belonging in the shape of traditions and cultural heritage is mobilized and thus made to "happen". Parallel to the present "Europeanization", concepts such as ethnicity, region and nation are held up in both political and economic spheres, reaching deep into peoples everyday lives and thoughts. How to understand this transformation – not as compensation for something lost, but as an active co-player in development?

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