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Editorial
By Jonas Frykman

This year's theme is far away and very near. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* has always been a journal with a dual aim: to show where the research front runs in Scandinavian ethnology, and to be the regional voice from the cultural area that the Nordic countries together constitute. With growing migration and Europeanization, however, it is obvious that domestic patterns must be regarded from a global perspective as much as a national or Nordic perspective. Local patterns are formed in intensive dialogue with processes outside the countries. This year's issue begins with three studies which illuminate from various angles the transnational bonds that immigrants and refugees forge between their old and new homelands and how a new economic world order has a local impact.

Søren Christensen examines the idea that the nation state is declining in significance, as the concept of "transnationalism" easily suggests. Perhaps "society", with its increased opportunities for individual freedom, is replacing the state as a more natural form of coexistence. Just as economic capital is becoming more mobile, so too is human capital. Anyone who claims that, Christensen says, ignores the almost colonial structure – "imperial sovereignty" – through which capital and work move. Powerful states and the influence of the big companies are both growing in strength. Transnationalism "from below", for example, through refugee flows, labour migration by directors or *Gastarbeiter*, does not have any real effect on established patterns.

Tina Kallehave studies a specific refugee group in Denmark – Somalians – concentrating on the baggage they bring with them from their homeland. Tribally based patterns clash with the modern welfare state in Denmark. Quarrels between immigrant groups can also be traced back to conflicts in the country of origin. In Denmark the atmosphere between the majority society and immigrants has become tense in recent years. In the public rhetoric, foreigners are pointed out as problems, giving a fertile seedbed for xenophobia. Tina Kallehave highlights the importance of focusing the gaze far away.

The strength of ethnology is its ability to make abstract processes concrete, to fix such terms as diaspora or transnationalism in the experiences of everyday life. Maja Povrzanović Frykman looks at the somewhat glossy image that people in the academic world tend to cultivate of people who can switch between different identities. The possibility of moving expands the horizons and is said to give rise to reflexivity and a capacity to see things in perspective. The majority of transnational migration, however, consists of labour migrants moving between two homes with their modest savings. By joining one of the buses taking *Gastarbeiter* between Sweden and Croatia, she shows the physical coercion and the legal restrictions involved in uniting distant places. Detailed ethnographic study can thus supplement the otherwise normative reasoning about the effects of globalization.

Movement as a state also comprises concrete places. In her study of Jyväskylä, Pirjo Korkiakangas shows how modernity has made settlement in the Finnish city mutable and how its face has changed all the time as a result. The local was not shaped in contrast to the global but as an immediate consequence of it. When material culture cannot contain memory, nostal-

gia becomes an important link. It was in narratives about the wooden buildings of childhood that people were able to find things that united them. Today the young and old in society can shape collective memories by identifying concrete objects around which to assemble.

The step from the discussion of global patterns to Asbjørn Klepp's study of the ultra-Norwegian phenomenon of *dugnad* may seem long. The *dugnad* is perhaps the strongest surviving social tradition of co-operation that survives from peasant society, but Klepp shows how in today's society it is increasingly threatened as a factual phenomenon, while being conjured up as an icon of all that is "typically Norwegian" – just as powerful as wearing folk costume on the national day. Praise of the merits of *dugnad* has not infrequently come to coincide with the interests and activities of the state. Instead of being cooperation among the people to cope with day-to-day life, it has become the establishment's way to protect all the good things that already exist. The step from the immediate neighbourhood to national rhetoric is often short.

The conditions of fame are the theme of Fredrik Schoug's study. What are the possibilities of maintaining a culture of scientific excellence in a world where the portrait and the personality are turned into the message and where appearing on television creates an unbeatable combination of familiarity and celebrity? Stars from the world of sport and film have cut a trail that leaves less room for the discursive and has also adapted the national and local to suit a global template. Perhaps more clearly than anywhere else, the media stage has become the place to bring the grand processes and personalities down to an everyday level. At the same time, people find it harder to take advantage of the capacity of art and science for transcendence.

Liv Emma Thorsen contributes a study of the now abandoned custom of making use of dead dogs: making clothes from dogskin, or having the dead pet stuffed to prolong its presence in the house. Dogs have become more valued as fond memories than as concrete souvenirs. From a mentalities perspective, Thorsen describes the change in attitudes to these animals, how they have been embraced with empathy and attached to the human sphere. This reflects both the fact that the animals have been given more affective tasks as family dogs, and also a contemporary trend to extend human ethics to comprise the animal world as well.

The breadth of this year's scholarly articles is easily surpassed by the scope of the works examined in the reviews. The Scandinavian scene at present is extremely vital, with a growing list of books waiting to be reviewed. This bodes well for future research – while simultaneously increasing the burden on our many competent reviewers. The editorial board would like to thank the many colleagues who help with this recurrent survey of the research front.

Transnational Spaces and Imperial Civilization

By Søren Christensen

What is Turkish culture? It is the way they live in Turkey. It may be argued that Turkish peasants, tourist guides, and businessmen do not live in the same way, but however internally diverse, Turkish culture is still the way they live *in Turkey*.

According to much (post)modern ethnology, this would be a crude, but not altogether erroneous characterization of a traditional ethnological approach to culture. Culture somehow naturally divides itself into cultures, each attached to a particular *place* in global space. This is not unique to ethnology. According to much (post)modern sociology, traditional sociology contends that society naturally divides itself into societies, each contained within the limits of a particular *state*. The difference of emphasis (between place in ethnology and state in sociology) obviously reflects the fact that, traditionally, ethnology and anthropology are disciplines that map 'cultures' around the globe, whereas sociology is the study of modern state-centered societies. In both cases, however, the fundamental scientific concept (whether culture or society) refers to a territorial unit that is somehow assumed to be the natural manifestation of the concept. In Liisa Malkki's words, the traditional concepts of both society and culture are the expressions of 'a sedentarist metaphysics' (Malkki 1992).

Two current catchwords may aptly capture the gist of current attacks on the 'sedentarist metaphysics.' In contemporary ethnology and anthropology, *deterritorialization* has emerged as the counter-concept of place (Gupta/Ferguson 1992, among many others), and in contemporary sociology, *transnationalization* has emerged as the counter-concept of the (nation-) state (Beck 1997, among many others). These two concepts have gained wide currency in both disciplines. In particular, and this is what occupies me here, the discourse of 'transnationalism' has become widespread in many forms of postmodern social and cultural research.

However, the fundamental problem with transnationalism (as with deterritorialization, which I briefly return to later) is that it is not altogether clear what it means. In most versions, transnationalism seems to be connected to the withering away, or at least the decline, of the nation-state (and thus to the theme of 'globalization'). Thus, Ulrich Beck claims that transnationalization is the liberation of society from the 'state penitentiary.' States are no longer capable of effectively ordering and disciplining national space (which therefore ceases to be national). Social processes increasingly cross borders, whether in the form of migration, offshore industrial production, environmental emergencies, or popular culture, and the state is powerless to do anything about it. For the first time in 5,000 years, society effectively escapes the 'container' (Beck 1997) of the state. Correspondingly, sociology itself may leave the state-centered perspective and start reflecting on the emergence of a transnational 'world society' (Beck 1998), which increasingly leaves behind the states and their specific form of collaboration and rivalry, the international system of states.

The rather messianic tone of voice may be particular to Beck, but his fundamental assumptions are far more widespread. Most proponents of transnationalism would subscribe to the statement that, primarily because of recent developments in the economy and in technologies of communication and transportation, ever more and ever more

diverse social processes cross national borders. Most would also agree that states are therefore increasingly incapable of controlling social processes within their territories and that accordingly, state sovereignty is currently being undermined.

In this article, I argue that this perspective is insufficient, if not deficient. This applies both to the relation it poses between the transnational and the nation-state and to the relation it poses between the transnational and the international.

The idea that transnational processes 'escape the control' of nation-states is insufficient in two senses. First, it fails to deliver a theoretical perspective that breaks decisively with the state-centered perspective. Paradoxically, it remains extremely state-centered. The phenomena it purports to analyze are characterized in an imprecise and purely negative fashion, as 'escaping' and 'transgressing' the nation-state. These phenomena have no social and cultural logic of their own, they are just deficiencies of nation-state logic. This is the reason why all kinds of heterogeneous phenomena – migration, tourism, financial markets, and popular culture – can be lumped together under the heading of transnationalism. Only from a state-centered perspective do they have anything essential in common: the crossing of state borders. Second, the idea that transnational processes escape nation-states and so erode their sovereignty implies a particular, and particularly problematic, concept of sovereignty. This is what Saskia Sassen has called 'the zero-sum game' of sovereignty: what one wins, the other loses (Sassen 2000). While there is no denying that transnational processes may have problematic implications for state sovereignty, it is important to call this idea of sovereignty – which at least in Denmark is familiar from discussions about the EU – into question.

The second point concerns the relation between the transnational and the international. The distinction is clear enough in itself. The international level is constituted by interactions between states – war, diplomacy, and trade – while the transnational is constituted by border-crossing interactions between agents of civil society. The literature on this subject (Beck 1997, Rosenau 1990) makes the common assumption that in recent decades, transnational interactions have increasingly replaced international interactions as the dominant logic on the global arena. This may not be untrue per se. However, the two levels tend to be treated as independent systems – thus Rosenau even talks about 'the two worlds of world politics' (Rosenau 1990: 243ff.). While the emergence of the transnational level reduces the significance of the international, this apparently in no way changes the logic of the international system, which simply continues its age-old diplomatic game of courtesies and war as a vestige of the old Westphalian order.

Thus the contention of much transnationalism is that there is a new game in town, but nothing else really changes. The nation-state controls and disciplines whatever it can get away with. The diplomats raise their glasses and go to war. And meanwhile, they are superseded by transnationalism. The problem is that this is a rather vulgar philosophy of history which basically claims that the ancient historical principle of the state (both the nation-state and the international system of states) is currently superseded by the new historical principle of transnationalism.

In the following, I argue that the relation between these levels should be seen as one of mutual dependence. Instead of seeing the rise of the transnational level as the supersession of the national and international, we should see it as part of a *reconfiguration* of levels. Specifically, I suggest that we should now think in terms of a tripartition between the *transnational* level, the level of the *nation-state*, and the *imperial* level (which absorbs much of what was formerly called 'international').

The first task is to specify transnationalism, to turn it into something more than mere border-crossing by providing it with a logic of its own. No state ever had complete control of interactions across borders. So in order for transnationalism to work as an analytics of the present, it must be specified in what sense transnationalism constitutes a logic peculiar to the present era. In the following, I first try to address this question through a specific example, synthesizing findings in migration research on 'transnational social spaces.' Subsequently, I investigate how the existence and reproduction of transnational social spaces depend on the nation-state and the imperial levels.

Migration Networks and Transnational Social Spaces

The present period is commonly considered 'the age of migration' (Castles/Miller 1993). This is the epoch of 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai 1996), of masses of people on the move. In quantitative terms, however, there is nothing unprecedented about contemporary migration. Although numbers are uncertain, the great epoch of migration remains the period of massive transatlantic migration between 1880 and 1914 (Held et al. 1999, Faist 2000, Hirst/Thompson 1999: 32). After World War I, primarily due to trade union resistance and economic depression, migration to the United States and thus global migration subsided. In spite of significant displacement after World War II (e.g. of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe), global immigration did not really take off again until the 1960s. Labor shortages in the booming Western economies led to the implementation of guestworker systems in Western Europe and to renewed liberalization of immigration policy in the United States. Meanwhile, decolonization and the agonies of nation-building in the Third World resulted in significant migration from formerly colonized areas to most Western European cities.

Since then, migration flows have diversified even more (e.g. massive labor migration from South Asia and South East Asia to the Gulf States after the oil boom of 1973). In recent decades, these flows have been supplemented by rising numbers of refugees and asylum seekers from Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and South East Asia. There is no question that the numbers have kept climbing since the 1960s (though not in a completely linear fashion). Perhaps (though, again, numbers are uncertain) migration flows are larger today in absolute terms than ever before. It is almost certain, however, that relative to world population, they are significantly smaller than a century ago.

The question then is why migration has become so important in public (including ethnological) discourse that it is widely considered one of the main pillars of a whole new world (dis)order commonly known as 'globalization.' The easy answer would be that the current preoccupation with migration is a pure product of Western

(notably European) ethnocentrism – simply a consequence of the fact that while most migration flows one century ago went from Europe to the United States and settler colonies in the Southern hemisphere, today the majority of migrant flows go from the South to OECD countries (refugees, contrary to common assumptions, are one exception [Held et al. 1999]).

Although not entirely false, this explanation is insufficient and reflects a general tendency of globalization literature to get stuck in the logic of less and more. Some claim that there is now much more migration, trade, capital flows, and global consciousness. Others claim that there is less or at least no more (the most famous example is Hirst/Thompson 1999). The problem with this language of less and more is that it conceals the more interesting possibility that while these phenomena may not have expanded in terms of numbers, they have changed in form. This at least applies to migration. The point is not that there is more migration in the world today, but that migration may not be entirely the same phenomenon as a century ago.

The concept of 'transnationalism' plays a key role in contemporary migration research today because it represents a way to grasp this difference from earlier ages of migration. It does so, to a large extent, by departing from earlier theories of migration. The point of departure for theories of 'transnational social spaces' is that much contemporary migration should be viewed in terms of *migration networks*. This is, in itself, a departure from traditional migration theory since there has been a strong tendency in migration research to view migration flows as the aggregate outcome of individual decisions (based primarily on economic calculations). Instead, theories of migration networks claim that in many cases migration is best explained by prior migration. People do not migrate to certain areas simply because wages are higher and/or unemployment lower than in their home country. In most cases they do not even have access to this kind of information. And if they do, it is probably because they already have friends or relatives in the specific area. So even economic calculations about whether to emigrate or not to a large extent depend on prior migration. In most cases, then, it makes little sense to see migration flows as aggregates of individual choices. Rather, migration flows result from the dynamics of migration flows themselves.

Thus, theories of migration networks analyze migration in terms of a particular *circular logic*. For this reason, it should be pointed out immediately, they cannot account for the onset of migration. For obvious reasons, pioneer migration cannot be explained by migration. Exogenous factors must be introduced instead. Three patterns, at least, seem to be clear. First, migration flows tend to follow patterns of economic, cultural, and geopolitical relations of dependence.[1] Thus, since the 1960s migrants from North and West Africa have overwhelmingly gone to France, migrants from East Africa and South Asia have gone to England, and migrants from the Caribbean, Central America, and South East Asia have gone to the United States. Second, migrants have been deliberately recruited by Western state and employer agencies in search of industrial labor. The most famous instances are probably the large-scale guest-worker systems in Western Europe in the 1960s and 70s. Finally, first migrants have generally been urban with some education

(Portes 2000).[2] On one hand, the reasons for this may be employers' need for certain qualifications. On the other, it is probable that such urbanites, who in many cases have already gone through domestic rural-urban migration, are the ones who are best prepared for the role of pioneer international migrant.

While theories of migration networks have little to say on pioneer migration, they offer a strong explanation of the internal dynamics of migration flows. This explanation has been dubbed the theory of *cumulative causation* (Faist 2000, Pries 1998). This theory claims that one immigrant does not simply arrive after the other. Rather, the arrival of the first immigrant creates the conditions for the arrival of the next. Migration happens in a loop of positive feedback in which migration is amplified by migration. Pioneer immigrants transmit knowledge about job and housing opportunities and provide help for newcomers.[3] In this sense, pioneer migration makes subsequent migration more viable. As more and more people migrate, the migration network expands, both in the sense that the growth of immigrant communities makes immigration socially and economically easier, and in the sense that as the immigrant community expands, the recruitment base of the migration network expands accordingly. This is what cumulative causation is all about: the more people migrate, the more likely it is that even more people will migrate. This will not go on forever since the number of potential migrants in a particular area is not infinite. But even after they have peaked, migration networks will not stop, but just stabilize at a lower level.

Thus, in this account of migration flows we are dealing with something very different from the push/pull factors of much traditional migration theory. The plausibility of push/pull theory presupposes that emigration and immigration areas can be separated. Certain factors are operative in emigration areas, while other factors are operative in immigration areas. These factors have to coincide for migration to be viable, but they are not internally related (Pries 1998). This is exactly what theories of migration networks contradict. Not only does push/pull theory only partially explain the initiation of migration. In fact, the conditions that serve as push factors are very often created by immigrant countries themselves. One prominent example would be foreign direct investment which, while often meant to keep immigrants away, tends to create the kinds of persons (like urban industrial workers) who might want to emigrate (Sassen 1998). But it works much less for the unfolding of migration since the unfolding of migration to a large extent is due to migration itself. Migration improves prospects for social life, jobs, and housing, and this way functions as a pull factor. Migration (partially) transforms the emigration area into a 'remittance society,' often different from neighboring areas (or villages) in terms of its material superiority and transnational outlook. Such a 'remittance society' can only be reproduced if migration continues. Thus, migration also constitutes the push factor. But this shows that the issue should not be dealt with in terms of push and pull. It is not a correlation of factors operative in emigration countries and factors operative in immigration countries. It is a transnational logic in the precise sense that it is not a correlation of two sets of national logics, but a single, autonomous logic spanning two nations.

The Formation and Reproduction of Transnational Social Spaces

One objection might be that migration networks are not really unique to the present era. This is true both in the sense that chain migration has been documented for pre-World War I migration and in the sense that there is nothing in the logic of migration networks which should be peculiar to the present era. But – for a variety of reasons that I shall return to later – migration networks in recent decades have acquired a tendency to turn into something qualitatively different. Migration networks still constitute a crucial aspect of this phenomenon, but the phenomenon is both something broader and denser than migration networks themselves, i.e. transnational social spaces.

A first phase of the transformation of migration networks into transnational social spaces may be the previously mentioned impact of remittances on economic reproduction in the emigration area.

As migration continues, remittances become increasingly crucial to economic reproduction (Pries 1998).[4] To the extent that these local economies are partially transformed into remittance, economic incentives to migration grow even stronger since the reproduction of the local economy comes to depend on continuing migration (for a Caribbean example, see Olwig 1997). Thus, at this point migration networks have already become part of transnational ties in the sense that the reproduction of local economies has been effectively transnationalized.

In order for genuine transnationalization of economic ties to emerge, however, mere remittances will not do. Remittances are one-way economic relationships. The logic of transnational relations, however, is circular which means that the formation of fully-fledged transnational economic networks presupposes that economic reproduction of movers and stayers grow mutually interdependent. This requires the emergence of *transnational entrepreneurship*, which could happen for a variety of reasons. One reason for the rise of transnational entrepreneurship in recent decades has been industrial decline (as well as continuing discrimination) in Western societies. The crisis of the 1970s spelled the end of accessible and reasonably well paid jobs for immigrants in the industrial sector. According to conventional economic explanations, this led many immigrants to move into self-employment. However, this move should probably not be considered solely in terms of macro-economic change, but also in terms of the dynamics of migration networks. As migration networks amplify, networks of immigrants reach a size where they become important markets as well as important sources of capital. Thus immigration itself creates new job opportunities, for instance providing immigrant communities with food, clothes, furniture, haircuts, travel, etc. And it provides new opportunities for financing such enterprises, i.e. the mobilization of capital through immigrant networks.

Such enterprises need not be (and in many cases are not) directed exclusively at 'immigrant markets' – consider kiosks and grocery stores. They need not even be transnational – consider hairdressers. But their market position often primarily depends on transnational ties. They mobilize transnational ties in order to provide goods and services that would otherwise be unavailable or inordinately expensive. Thus they

create a unique position in the market, not only with regard to fellow immigrants but also with regard to the exotically minded natives of Western cities.

Transnational entrepreneurship does not have to be based in immigration countries, however. Whereas in the first phase of migration networks, economic ties between areas of origin and destination predominantly take the form of remittances, in subsequent phases immigrant investment in the area of origin tends to become equally important. This has much to do with 'return migration.' The scope of return migration is often underestimated, but return migration is actually involved in a significant portion of transnational entrepreneurship. Immigrants may go back in order to manage investments or after they return may mobilize immigrant capital in order to set up an enterprise. In both cases, however, the enterprise is likely to insert itself into transnational networks. Alejandro Portes has given some examples of this sort of transnational economic reproduction. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, former emigrants to the United States now operate hundreds of enterprises. Most of these enterprises are in business areas that did not formerly exist in the Dominican Republic, but are based on experience and knowledge acquired in the United States (fast-food home delivery, computer software, cellular phones, etc.). Furthermore, these enterprises are transnational in the sense that they cannot operate without ongoing ties to the Dominican community in the United States through which capital and warehouses are replenished (Portes 2000).

In some of these cases, entrepreneurship may depend so heavily on transnational networks that the terms 'immigrant' and 'return migrant' lose much of their meaning. If entrepreneurship depends on extensive travel back and forth between emigration and immigration areas, we might talk of 'transmigrants' (Faist 2000: 19). Transmigration is much more common than is usually imagined. For many undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States, legalization of residence in the United States works not as an incentive to stay, but to leave. Recognition as United States residents opens a rare and valuable economic and social opportunity of moving freely between Mexico and the United States (Sassen 1996: 80).

The formation of transnational economic networks is intimately connected to the formation of transnational cultural and political ties. Such economic networks do not work through anonymous market relations, but through the formation of transnational family, village, and ethnic networks. For immigrants involved in transnational networks, the homeland is not just an 'imagined homeland'. Nor do they simply 'keep in contact' with the emigration area. These relations are genuinely transnational because they have consequences for the daily lives of people involved. In the case of a Trinidadian nuclear family, Daniel Miller and Don Slater (2000) have shown how vital aspects of nuclear family life – including certain forms of parental control – can be reproduced through the medium of e-mail. On a slightly larger scale, Karen Fog Olwig (1997) has shown how the behavior of Nevisian immigrants towards family on Nevis – supplying them with electricity, television sets, refrigerators etc. – is to some extent shaped through the medium of 'transnational gossip.' If an immigrant ne-

glects her parents this will soon be known, not only in Nevis but also in the local immigrant community.

These examples indicate that what makes transnational social spaces distinctive is that they reproduce important aspects of 'local' social and cultural life in a situation of geographical dispersal. If we add to this the fact that transnational networks also facilitate cultural reproduction in terms of 'material culture' – food, clothing, furniture, newspapers, movies, music, etc. – transnational social spaces may come to look like 'global villages' of their own. This is of course an exaggeration since actual life conditions of immigrants are usually very different from those of their family in the home country. In fact, these differences are crucial for transnational networks. They are essential for the viability of transnational entrepreneurship, but also for the mutual relations of movers and stayers. For movers, stayers tend to embody the purity of 'origin' whereas for stayers, movers tend to embody the glamor of 'opportunity.' Transnational social spaces are thus not homogeneous 'communities,' but they enter daily life in ways which make possible a sense of *living together*, of being different parts of one life.

These transnational spaces also create new positions of power. First and foremost, they create important positions of power for immigrants who often acquire a decisive role in municipal, regional, or even national politics of the emigration area. In many emigration areas remittances are so crucial for local economic reproduction that local communities actively attempt to strengthen transnational ties by staging (or turning religious holidays into) festivals celebrating the transnational community (Olwig 1997, Pærregaard 1998, Pries 1998). The political importance of immigrants grows even stronger when capital flows back in the form of investments rather than remittances. In this case, immigrants actually engage in political decision-making about local development, and as immigrant investment is often larger than that of national governments (Pries 1998) such decisions on the part of immigrant groups are very important to local and sometimes even national politicians in the country of origin. This has often led to an explicit 'politicizing' of such investments. Immigrant groups may form 'investment committees' dedicated to the provision of public works like electricity, plumbing, or roads (Pries 1998). Such investment committees are energetically courted by politicians in the emigration area. Thus, for instance, municipal politicians from Mexican villages may go to New York in order to present investment proposals to immigrant committees which may in turn go to Mexico in order to inaugurate new public structures (Pries 1998).

Large immigrant groups (e.g. Mexican, Turkish, or Caribbean) may even become central to national politics in the emigration country. They may so because remittances and investments play a crucial role in the national economy. They may so because they constitute an important electorate. But they may so also because they cannot be ignored in foreign policy. Large (and sometimes even small) immigrant groups have a significant impact, as ambassadors or as opposition groups, on the reputation of home country governments in immigration countries. Many governments have learned this lesson the hard way, through the political activities of transnational opposition groups. The Turkish state,

for instance, confronted with the impact of Kurdish opposition organized from abroad, is now trying to turn the tables by mobilizing Turkish immigrant organizations in Germany on its behalf (Faist 2000). But this also works the other way around. The more politically crucial immigrant groups become to governments in emigration areas, the more easily they may mobilize these governments on their behalf and thus reinforce their political position in immigration countries. In these ways – and more – participation in transnational social spaces has considerably heightened the political self-consciousness of immigrant groups.

I have only been able to give a very rough sketch of these incredibly dense and complex transnational networks. It should be clear, however, that we are dealing with much more than just migration networks. In some cases, at least, we are dealing with fully-fledged transnational social spaces which encompass economic, political, and cultural networks that underlie and stabilize each other. Such selfsustaining transnational social spaces have only emerged in the past 30 years. There are, I believe, two main reasons for their emergence. One reason, which I deal with in the next sections, is political. The other is technological. Migrant networks a century ago simply did not have the appropriate technology for turning into transnational social spaces. People miss the point when they claim that communication has not changed qualitatively in the last 100 years simply because the telegraph is no less instantaneous than the Internet (Hirst/Thompson 1999). Contrary to the claims of many globalization theorists, it is not primarily a matter of speed, but a matter of the cost, scope, and thickness of communications technology. The telegraph cannot possibly compete with the combination of air mail, e-mail, fax, tape recordings, telephone, television, and video cassettes. The combination of these technologies creates not only an unprecedented speed, but primarily an unprecedented thickness of communication between geographically separated people. As mentioned above, immigrants can watch the TV networks of emigration countries, read newspapers, have regular phone conversations, wire money, and, increasingly, communicate in electronic space. This, in combination with increasing speed and decreasing transportation costs which facilitate regular visits, entrepreneurship, and exchange of 'material culture', is the material infrastructure that underlies transnational social spaces just as it underlies corporate 'globalization.'

The emergence of transnational social spaces goes a long way in explaining why assimilation of immigrants, today more than ever, seems far from a foregone conclusion. What is also suggested by transnational social spaces, however, is that the other dominant approach of traditional immigration theory, that of 'ethnic pluralism' (Faist 2000), may not be more accurate here. Transnational social spaces do not really conform to the traditional picture of immigrants who, due to structural discrimination, stick together in 'ethnic niches.' The reason is that while the 'ethnic' strategy of traditional immigration theory is a strategy of marginality, the building of transnational social spaces, on the other hand, is *not* a strategy of marginality. While ethnic communities insert themselves into the margins of national space, transnational communities create a transnational space of their own.

This may mean that to a certain extent the very idea of 'integration' may be losing its meaning. Integration still demands that immigrants be incorporated into the social body of the immigration society. But this is exactly what is contradicted by the existence of transnational social spaces; while they take part in national societies they are not integrated into them. This poses a new problem for immigration states – a problem which cannot simply be solved by a transition from a national to a multicultural state. However pluralist in terms of culture, multicultural states are not thereby pluralist in terms of *loyalty*. In fact, as Jürgen Habermas has suggested, a multicultural state may need a strong 'constitutional patriotism.' Put differently, it may need to make up for the loss of cultural unity by strengthening the unity of the state in the form of a common republican ethos. Thus, the demand for exclusive loyalty may be just as important for the multicultural state as for the national state. And since transnational social spaces do not simply resist monoculturalism, but also the demand for exclusive loyalty (as has become very clear in recent discussions about dual citizenship in Germany and elsewhere), the transition to a multicultural state will not as such accomodate transnational social spaces. Rather, a partial redefinition of statehood itself will be needed. As suggested in later sections, this may, in fact, be happening already.

As Thomas Faist has noted it is too early to say if transnational social spaces are durable or transitory. From a traditional 'state-centered' perspective transnational social spaces constitute a transition phase leading up to full integration in the immigration state. From a post-modern 'transnationalist' perspective transnational social spaces are triumphant whereas nation-states are declining. The perspective presented here also implies that transnational social spaces may turn out to be durable. But even if nation-states face new kinds of difficulties, this does not imply that they are becoming correspondingly less important. Rather, one reason for the potential durability of transnational social spaces is that transnationalism creates much stronger positions in national space than both assimilation and the formation of ethnic niches since it creates unique positions in national markets and politics.

Thus, the concept of transnational social spaces deviates in several ways from common images of transnationalism. First, it does not conceive of the transnational as something which simply escapes national regulation, but rather as a specific logic which is at odds with the logic of the nation-state, but nevertheless systematically connected to it. Second, it tries to evade the individualist and aestheticist language of hybridity, mixture, and *bricolage*. Transnational social spaces are not mixtures of different cultures. They may give rise to mixed identities which are one way to deal with links to two (or more) national spaces (Mørck 1998), but in terms of their logic transnational social spaces are spaces of their own and not mixtures of national spaces. Third, transnational social spaces are not as such expressions of a growing cosmopolitanism. They do not imply any global consciousness, but are highly specific networks connecting particular places. They do not operate all over the globe and thus have no need for the 'globalist' thinking of corporate globalization.

Immigration, Capitalism, and the Legal Regime

Transnational social spaces are connected to national spaces and in some ways even depend on national spaces for their existence, but they are not subject to nation-state sovereignty. This is not just a theoretical point. In recent decades, national governments have learnt the hard way that they cannot switch migration networks, and more generally transnational social spaces, off at will, whether through restrictions of border-crossing or through policies of 'integration.' Attempts to stem immigration have invariably failed.[5] This raises the question that I shall deal with in the next two sections: why are states incapable of putting an end to these transnational networks if they so desire?

One frequent answer is 'capitalism': political opposition to immigration may not coincide with the interests of capitalists. This answer has much merit to the extent that it takes seriously the relation between transnationalism and capitalism – a relation that is curiously absent or unspecified in most self-styled 'radical' Cultural Studies accounts of transnationalism. Still, the relation between transnationalism and capitalism may be more indirect than is often imagined. It is frequently claimed (Sassen 1996, Portes 2000) that immigration should essentially be viewed in terms of core capitalists' need for cheap and abundant labor (as well as for an ethnically divided workforce).

It is noteworthy, however, that the proponents of this theory usually argue in terms of immigration to the United States. Since the 1960s, the United States has maintained a (by European standards) very liberal immigration regime. Even attempts in the 1980s to tighten immigration control (caused by public outcry over illegal immigration) eventually liberalized immigration even more (Sassen 1998). In the presidential campaign of 2000, not even (or especially not) the Republican candidate had a harsh word for illegal immigrants. While the United States is traditionally a 'country of immigration,' this explanation is clearly insufficient. More importantly, the industrial decline that put an end to European guest-worker programs in the 1970s did not have the same effects in the United States. The American economy was thoroughly 'restructured' and 'deregulated.' In the 1980s and particularly the 1990s, immigration was channeled into a host of new low-wage jobs (often below the poverty level) in the agricultural and service sectors, but also to a certain extent in the industrial sector in which 'sweatshops' reemerged – sweatshops which could not only compete with, but also compare with those of the Third World.

Thus, capitalist restructuring accounts rather well for the persistence of immigration in the United States. Things are different in Europe. In most European countries, strong consensus on the 'welfare state' (in part due to the continuing strength of trade unions) has meant that labor markets remain highly regulated. The persistence of (by a global comparison) high minimum wages means that capitalists cannot take advantage of massive immigration in the same way as capitalists in the United States. The host of below-poverty-level jobs which are an integral part of the 'new economy' in the United States are simply refused on the labor markets of most European countries.[6]

As deregulation of labor markets has gone along with the persistence of a very

liberal immigration regime in the United States, the persistence of regulated labor markets has gone along with the introduction of a very restrictive immigration regime in Western Europe. Given the regulations of European labor markets, European capitalists have had little interest in immigrant labor, and thus a general consensus (now breaking up because of a decline in the labor force) has formed to refuse immigration. This has not stopped relatively significant immigration, which in some cases, like Germany, approaches the American level. But the point is that capitalism does not explain this to the same degree as for the United States.

Thus, immigration to Western Europe does not take place under an economic regime. Instead, it takes place under a *legal regime*.[7] The central figure of present immigration to Western Europe is probably 'the refugee.' The refugee is a construct of international law (but the reality of persecution and displacement, of course, is not). The category of the refugee is defined in the Geneva Convention of 1951 and in various forms incorporated into national legislation in large parts of the world. Refugee status is conferred (or rejected) by legal experts in national governments, and if refugee status is conferred residence permits cannot be denied.

The other main form of present immigration flows also unfolds under the legal regime of 'rights.' This is the right to 'family reunification.' While 'family' may be defined more or less restrictively, and while the right to family reunification may be conditioned in various ways, it is part of national legislation all over the Western world – and is currently incorporated into EU legislation. The right to family reunification is not as such guaranteed by any international conventions. Rather, it has been pieced together from various conventions (such as the UN Declaration on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights). The legal category of family reunification has been established by institutions such as the UNHCR executive committee and national courts in Western countries as well as the more diffuse precedent of 'practice' (www.ms-dan.dk/Politik_presse/politik_papirer/Familie.htm).

The right to family reunification is part of American as much as European legislation. But whereas family reunification in the United States is an integral part of immigration policy,[8] family reunification (as well as flight) in Europe is officially separated from immigration processes. Immigrants belong to a material regime of economic calculations whereas refugees and family reunification belong to a humanitarian regime of inalienable rights. This absolute separation of economic and legal regimes is probably one of the reasons why debates about immigration are much more agonizing in Europe than in the United States. In fact, nobody is fooled. Anti-immigration parties, claiming that so-called 'refugees' are fleeing nothing but poverty, certainly are not. Such absurdities, however, should not (by ethnologists at least) be answered by unwavering belief in humanitarian discourse. Rather, the illusion that 'legal' flows of refugees and family reunification can be separated from 'material' flows of immigrants should be dissolved. These two kinds of flows are systematically interconnected. Flows of refugees and family reunification are not purely 'legal,' and flows of immigrants are not purely 'material.'

First, it is well known that flight may turn into immigration. The conditions that have made flight necessary may not change, or when they do change refugees may have stayed in the host country for so long that return does not seem viable. They may be reunified with their family and may – in accordance with theories of migration networks – attract more refugees from the same area. This leads to the second and less familiar point which is that just as flight may turn into immigration, immigration may turn into flight. Refugees who have the means to travel long distances usually have specific destinations. They tend to go to countries where they have relatives or friends. Thus, Kurdish refugees have primarily gone to countries like Germany and Sweden, where Kurdish communities had already been established in earlier waves of labor immigration (Faist 2000). Thus, not even refugee flows are completely unpatterned. The point is rather that even refugee flows to some extent are part of the reproduction of transnational social spaces.

The same point must be made for family reunification. The subject of family reunification is the single individual who has the right to be (re)unified with her parents, children, or spouse. That does not mean, however, that the practice of family reunification can be understood exclusively on an individualist basis. Rather, in many cases family reunification may be deeply implicated in the reproduction of transnational social spaces since it provides a channel for the unfolding of migration networks. However, the degree of implication of family reunification in migration networks probably depends on conditions external to migration networks themselves. In particular, national immigration policies may unwittingly decide how family reunification is used. The more restrictive national immigration policies become, the more systematically family reunification may be used to sustain migration networks. In the context of hostility to immigration, family reunification may become vital for the reproduction of transnational social spaces. To the extent that immigration is not allowed to happen in any other way, it may become a unique asset that should not be left unused.[9]

Imperial Sovereignty, Human Rights, and Neoliberalism

The point that processes of refugee flows and family reunification cannot be separated from immigration has not been lost on anti-immigration parties around Europe. Almost everywhere they have mobilized anti-immigration sentiments with considerable success. Anti-immigration parties have had a visible effect on immigration policy, which has become more restrictive all over Western Europe. Measures are taken to prevent asylum seekers from arriving (for instance fining airlines for bringing persons without passports or visas), conditions for achieving refugee status have become more severe, and the right to family reunification has been restricted in various ways.

Nevertheless, such measures have not stopped these inflows and not even reduced them to a trickle. What has become increasingly clear – and what is increasingly exasperating anti-immigration parties (and some governments) – is that they cannot be stopped or even reduced significantly. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that national sovereignty, as traditionally conceived, no longer applies to immigration. The traditional concept of national sover-

eignty is *exclusive*, meaning that the state only recognizes its own authority within its territory. This of course includes the right to decide who can enter and on what conditions. As national governments have tried to exercise that right, they have discovered that it is far from absolute. Rather, it can be overruled if it collides with the principles of an overarching, supranational sovereignty. In the area of immigration, this sovereignty is constituted by international conventions like the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. These conventions specify rights that must be respected by signatories and which thus can not be set aside in national legislation.

What makes this supranational sovereignty so powerful, however, is that it is not limited to mere conventions. Rather, it is exercised at a bewildering variety of levels. It is exercised by international courts (like the European Court of Human Rights), by national courts that rule according to international conventions and declarations rather than national law (Sassen 1996), by international organizations like the UN, the OSCE, and the Council of Europe, by NGOs like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International which review national legislation and monitor government observance of human rights, by news media reporting human rights violations, and by individuals and groups appealing to 'the international community' for protection.

The structure of the human rights complex should be subjected to more systematic analysis. What seems clear, however, is that it cannot properly be called 'international.' It is not only embodied by international organizations, but just as much by NGOs and national courts.[10] To be sure, the 'human rights complex' started out as 'international cooperation' in the spirit of the UN. But as is clear in the case of 'family reunification' – which must be recognized by states even though this is not stated in any international convention – the human rights complex may today have acquired a kind of consistency which makes it rather a sovereign body of its own.

The human rights complex cannot properly be called 'global' either. Not only are human rights not observed everywhere, but many states do not even recognize the legitimacy of the human rights complex. Thus, there are enormous numbers of labor migrants in the Gulf States that do not have any of the rights immigrants have in the West. In significant parts of the world, then, the human rights complex does not only not rule supreme; it hardly rules at all.

The sovereignty of the human rights complex is thus neither international nor global. Rather, as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have argued, it constitutes an instance of *imperial sovereignty* (Hardt/Negri 2000). It is imperial rather than international because it is not an expression of collaboration between states, but constitutes a single, overarching figure of sovereignty. And it is imperial rather than global because it does not imply a universal consensus, but rather the hegemony of a universalist and legalist regime of 'rights.'

Throughout history, 'Empire' has always been something more than mere political and military domination. It has always been a *universalist norm of civilization*. This may also be the defining characteristic of imperial sovereignty today. The human rights complex today functions as a universalist norm of civilization for nation-states.

In contrast to former empires, the areas under imperial sovereignty are not formally obliged to submit to this sovereignty. In principle, any country can withdraw from all international obligations. But the consequence is unambiguous: if you choose to leave civilization, you must be a barbarian. Thus, it is remarkable that even the national political parties that are most hostile to immigration are too concerned about their nation-state's 'reputation' to suggest that it cancel participation in international conventions (which would be the only – if not necessarily sufficient – means of curbing immigration). In spite of all nationalist rhetoric, all Western states (with the partial exception of the United States) think of themselves as states within Empire and their identity is derived from Empire as much as it is constructed out of national traditions, languages, etc.

Imperial sovereignty is closely related to what is commonly called 'globalization.' Globalization is a notoriously imprecise term that is often used simply to express a vague sense of increased global 'interconnectedness.' The dominant theme of globalization literature is economic globalization – the integration of national markets into one global market of free trade, investment, and currency flows (but see Hirst/Thompson 1999). The advantage of the concept of 'imperial sovereignty' is that it can make sense of this neoliberalist regime, not as a purely economist ideology but as part of the imperial norm of civilization.

It is nothing new that the market is not just a concept of economy, but a figure of civilization (Adam Smith was a moral philosopher!). That neoliberalism too is a norm of civilization becomes very clear if we look at its main institutions. The principles of these institutions are both economic and moral. The objective of the IMF is not just to regulate financial markets but to teach 'discipline' and 'fiscal austerity.' The objective of the World Bank is not just to lend money but to promote 'good governance.' The objective of the WTO is not just to expand world trade but to create and regulate a regime of 'fair trade' (including the power to adjudicate disputes between member states). This 'civilizing mission' even applies to financial markets and certain NGOs. While in the Third World 'austerity' and 'fiscal discipline' are primarily imposed by the IMF, in the advanced capitalist world this role has largely been taken over by financial markets that are able to punish 'irresponsible' economic policies through massive withdrawal of capital.[11] The World Economic Forum in Davos is not only a prime forum for business deals and networking. It is also an important informal forum for evaluation of the course of 'globalization' in a dialogue between big government, big business, and big NGO.

Free markets and human rights are intimately interconnected in the imperial sovereignty of 'democracy and market economy.'[12] It may be objected that human rights are often sacrificed on the altar of markets, but the answer is that imperial sovereignty works on the assumption that promotion of one is the promotion of the other. Imperial policy towards China is a case in point. Over the past decade, imperial policy towards China has oscillated between a human rights strategy and a market strategy. This is not – as is often imagined – an oscillation between 'moral principles' and 'greed.' Rather, it represents two different tactics in the same strategy – that of bringing China into 'civilization.' Either you try

to constitute 'free persons' who may thus be led to conceive of themselves as 'entrepreneurs' (the human rights tactic). Or you try to constitute 'entrepreneurs' who may thus be led to conceive of themselves as 'free persons' (the market tactic). Either way, you reach the same result – the creation of 'freedom.'[13]

Conclusion: Imperial Sovereignty, Nation-states, and Transnational Social Spaces

The argument here has been that transnational social spaces must be understood in light of what, following Hardt and Negri, I call imperial sovereignty. Transnational social spaces have a definite logic of their own – an internal logic of reproduction. But their *conditions* of reproduction, the conditions that allow their logic to unfold, are external to themselves. The most important condition is imperial sovereignty, in both its neoliberalist and humanitarian aspects.

Above, it was argued that transnational social spaces are not necessarily a product of capitalism in the sense that migration flows may not be a response to core capitalists' need for cheap and abundant labor. But they are connected to capitalism in the sense that neoliberalist imperial sovereignty is a precondition of the existence and reproduction of transnational social spaces. Neoliberalist imperial sovereignty upholds and expands a regime of open economies which demands that goods and information (including money) flow freely. This regime is just as vital to transnational social spaces as to multinational corporations. The kinds of processes that densify migration networks into transnational social spaces can only take place under the protection of imperial neoliberalism.

On the other hand, imperial sovereignty enacts a humanitarian immigration regime which ensures that migration networks are at least not completely disrupted. The human rights complex guarantees that regardless of the amount of nation-state hostility to immigration, some channels of immigration remain open. But it also ensures that the kinds of activities that densify migration networks into transnational social spaces are not impeded. It does so through the creation of an *imperial citizenship* which awards immigrants a variety of civil, social, and economic rights that for instance guarantee that they may actively participate in the economic, social, and cultural reproduction of transnational social spaces.[14]

In this account, the nation-state may appear slightly jammed between the transnational and the imperial levels. However, I am not trying to make the common point that the nation-state is eroded from beneath as well as from above. The point I am trying to make is that 'beneath' and 'above' are not two independent logics. Transnational social spaces do not exist in and of themselves. They only exist under imperial protection. Imperial sovereignty is the logic that allows the logic of transnational social spaces to work. But it does so only in conjunction with the logic of national sovereignty.

Whereas imperial sovereignty is *deterritorialized* in the sense that its rule is the rule of a universalist logic which is detached from alle specific territories, transnational social spaces are exactly *transnational*. They span different nation-states, and the particular shapes they take depend on the national spaces they span. Thus there is no such thing as transnationalism-in-

general, only specific transnational spaces (this is why transnationalism is not globalization). Their shapes depend on market differences between nation-states, that is on national economies. They depend on their ability to mobilize emigration and/or immigration governments on their behalf, that is on national and international politics. And they depend on the relative ease or difficulty of human border-crossing, that is on national territories. The forms of transnational social spaces are therefore heavily dependent on the specific exercise of traditional national sovereignty.[15]

Thus, I have presented two basic arguments in this article. First, transnationalism should not be seen as a thing in itself but should be systematically understood in conjunction with the nation-state and imperial levels. Second, these three levels do not play the zero-sum game of sovereignty. Indeed, we may not even deal with what Saskia Sassen calls an 'unbundling of sovereignty' (Sassen 1998). Instead, we may deal with a reconfiguration of sovereignty in which the traditional attributes of national sovereignty are not simply distributed at various levels, but in which new forms of sovereignty emerge.

These two hypotheses contradict two widespread assumptions of globalization theory. First, the use of the term 'conjunction' is meant to question Appadurai's contention that global space should be seen as a 'disjunctive' space. No matter how different and complex, the present global space may be as ordered and 'conjunctive' as earlier forms of social space.[16] Second, the idea of a reconfiguration of sovereignty contradicts the assumption that globalization will progressively erode national sovereignty. National sovereignty still has a significant role to play in the present configuration of sovereignty and it is far from certain that this role will decline in the future. Actually, imperial sovereignty may be as endangered as national sovereignty. In an article on that supreme regionalist embodiment of Empire, the EU, Alberta Sbragia has argued that the EU works (however laboriously) because it collects no taxes, has no police force, etc. (Sbragia 2000). Instead, it leaves all of this to national governments. This point could be radicalized to include imperial sovereignty. It works only on the condition of discretion. If it becomes too visible as a sovereign body it is already jeopardized. While it is impossible to predict where imperial sovereignty is going, events like the Asian financial crisis and the Kosovo war may already have given it that excess of visibility. Imperial sovereignty is out in the open now. That, if nothing else, is the message from the streets of Seattle, Washington, Prague, and Nice.

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Notes

1 Thus, Immanuel Wallerstein has argued that migration simply repeats the structures of the world-system at a different level. While it is true that migration largely flows from 'periphery' to 'core,' it does not simply perpetuate this division. What is interesting about transnational social spaces is that, on one hand, they can only work under the conditions of Wallerstein's capitalist 'world-system,' while on the other they contribute to the erosion of the geographical structures of this system. Border-crossing only represents an asset if borders are not open to everyone, that is if there are states holding sovereignty over

their territory. Transnational economic networks are only profitable if there is a distinction between 'core' and 'periphery,' that is if there are price differences between the two areas in question (Portes 2000). But while these transnational economic networks can only work under the conditions of the 'world-system,' they do not reproduce the logic of the world-system. What is interesting about them is that they build up a logic of their own – a logic which blurs the division between core and periphery instead of reproducing it. The logic of transnational economic networks means that, on one hand, migrants keep flowing to the core, even when their labor is not needed by core capitalists. In this way, the First World includes more elements of the Third World. On the other hand, capital and skills flow back to the periphery which is thus upgraded economically. This, it must be emphasized, is not a non-capitalist, egalitarian utopia. It is no less capitalist than Microsoft and it is certainly not egalitarian. It just blurs the geographical pattern of inequalities. It is one (though not the only) explanation why the large geographical divisions of the world-system, while still in force, seem to be shot through with incongruities – Third World zones in the First World and First World zones in the Third World.

2 In the case of Germany, for instance, initial Turkish guest-workers came from the larger cities and had occupations such as schoolteachers, industrial workers, or shopkeepers (Faist 2000).

3 Thus, at a certain point in the German guest-worker program, migrant workers had a significant say in the actual recruitment of Turkish guest workers (Faist 2000). It must be emphasized, however, that in some cases they cannot provide any significant help (because of scarcity of jobs or hostility to immigrants). In that case chain migration will never take off (and many migration flows never do). It must also be emphasized, however, that if such conditions set in after migration networks have taken off (as they did in Western Europe in the 1980s and 1990s) they will not be sufficient to disrupt these networks.

4 Remittances have become increasingly important in the world-economy. Today they constitute about 5% of world trade (Hirst/Thompson 2000) and in certain places, like El Salvador, even exceed the sum total of exports (Portes 2000).

5 In the literature, this discrepancy between immigration policies and actual outcomes is commonly referred to as 'the gap hypothesis' (Hollifield 2000).

6 This, of course, does not mean that they do not exist at all. For instance, illegal immigrant labor is regularly imported into certain parts of the agricultural sector. Besides, in part due to immigration itself, all European economies have zones of informal economy with poor working conditions and wages well below the minimum wage.

7 With a few exceptions such as bilateral agreements with former colonies and recruitment of particular types of experts.

8 Although a partially failed one. In 1965 family reunification became a centerpiece of immigration laws in the United States because of an assumption that migration inflows would continue to be European. This turned out to be wrong, but this 'failure' has not changed the status of family reunification in immigration policy in the United States.

9 I should stress that to my knowledge this connection between tight immigration policies and the use of family reunification has not yet been documented (though not disproved either). The hypothesis seems highly probable, given the existence of transnational social spaces. One advantage of this hypothesis is that it offers a more plausible explanation of the use of family reunification than the culturalist explanations usually offered. Thus, in Denmark, it has recently been publicized that very few 'second-' and 'third-generation immigrants' (whatever, exactly, that may be) have found marriage partners in Denmark, not even among their own ethnic group. In fact, even more third- than second-generation immigrants find marriage partners in the country of origin. These findings have caused public outcry against 'forced marriages.' The common assumption is that individuals' (especially girls') right to choose marriage partners on their own is being curbed by ethnic patriarchs who uphold their traditional right to decide marriage partners for their children and insist they should be found among the more traditionalist, culturally 'uncorrupt' kinsmen in the country of origin. In the perspective argued here, the interpretation would be rather different. While it is true that in many cases the choice of marriage partners is not an individual decision, this is not simply because of backward ethnic patriarchs forcing adolescents into the workings of traditional Turkish (or another) culture. It is rather that

family reunification is not just an individual right but a vital aspect of the reproduction of transnational social spaces in the context of extremely restrictive immigration policy. This interpretation would also explain that even more third- than second-generation immigrants seem to find marriage partners in the country of origin. If we view the use of family reunification as intertwined with immigration policy, and if we note that Danish immigration policy has become ever more restrictive during the past 15 years, it should come as no surprise that the unique opportunity of migration implied by marriage may be used more systematically today than 15 years ago. This interpretation would suggest, then, that the use of family reunification in migration networks does not mean that Western Europe is being flooded with immigrants. On the contrary, family reunification is the form that migration networks may take when the borders that are so open to capital become almost hermetically closed to immigration.

10 Courts may be the single most important institution in the formation of the humanitarian regime. It has often been noted that in recent years the judiciary has come to play a much more prominent role in most Western states. Courts have increasingly ruled in questions that they would once have left to the discretion of legislators. Thus a partial transformation of parliamentary rule into judiciary rule (not least in the context of the EU) has taken place in recent years. This transformation has everything to do with the rise of the humanitarian regime. Legal rules are no longer just part of the exercise of national sovereignty. Rather, an overarching, universalist legal framework has been established to which the actions of national governments and legislators are increasingly being subordinated.

11 The most notorious example is the fate of French socialism under Mitterrand. The period 1981–83 was a unique period of socialist experimentation: reduction of work hours, increasing wages, nationalizations, and taxing of companies. The answer from currency markets was at least as brutal as they perceived Mitterrand's socialism to be: massive capital flight forcing subsequent devaluations. France eventually had to abandon an independent monetary policy and instead, like most of Western Europe, sought protection under the monetary umbrella of the D-Mark. Since then no European country has dared to question neoliberal sovereignty and in this sense it was one of the defining moments of imperial sovereignty. But it is imperative to stress that the inclusion into the neoliberalist regime of Empire does not necessarily spell the end of the welfare state. Empire is a standard of civilization, not the ferocious game of social darwinism. If imperial sovereignty works it is because it allows room for various form of national and regional adaptation.

12 This is probably where current critics of globalization, like Attac, are in fundamental error. They assume that neoliberalism is just about money – huge corporations and investment funds simply going for the highest profits possible, regardless of human costs. This is not a good analysis of neoliberalism. It is a caricature of 19th century liberalism which makes it all too easy for these critics to embody everything that is good and praiseworthy – human rights, democracy, sustainable development, etc. If we admit that neoliberalism is not just about money, but human rights, democracy, and sustainable development, this does not mean that neoliberalism is above criticism. But it means that a more sophisticated form of criticism has to be developed.

13 Whether this strategy works is, of course, open to debate. It has made its mark on Russia, but what has emerged is not exactly 'capitalism', nor is it exactly 'democracy.'

14 It is noteworthy that, at least partially, this form of citizenship applies even to illegal immigrants. The most famous example is the fate of California's Proposition 187. In 1994, Californian voters decided to deprive illegal immigrants of basic rights like education and health care. Later, however, this decision was rejected by a Californian court on the grounds that it was a violation of human rights.

15 These formulations may still be too conservative, however. It may be that nation-states are not primarily retaining aspects of traditional sovereignty. Instead, the content of national sovereignty itself may be changing. The present agony of nation-states may not be a sign of their imminent demise, but an indication that their function in the new imperial world order has not yet become clear.

16 This would also mean that the widespread idea of the present as the 'new middle ages' is misguided. The hypothesis here argues that we are not dealing with a bewildering variety of overlapping forms of sovereignty, but a rather integrated order of multi-leveled sovereignty.

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Somali Migrants
Family and Subjectivity
By Tina Kallehave

During the past decade, the Danish media have shown strong interest in immigrants and immigration problematics. This debate has left a general impression that immigrants and their descendants cause problems in and for Denmark. Arguably the most controversial immigrant group in the 1990s has been Somali refugees and family reunified Somalis. In an endless number of articles, the Danish press has portrayed Somalis as "the difficult refugees." Based on interviews with local residents, social workers in the public welfare system, and local politicians, and on specific examples, journalists have accumulated a series of images that all indicate the impossibility of integrating the Somalis.

The material I have collected for my own research project,[1] through various written sources as well as interviews and meetings with social workers, health visitors, and other advisory and administrative institutions, confirms this impression of Somalis as a difficult group. Many of them have a certain respect for the Somalis, but this respect is often overshadowed by the conflicts they experience in their own work with them. Social workers often witness how men let their families down. Even if the men are unemployed, they seem to spend most of their time outside the home and do not support their wives with childcare and housekeeping. In addition, they expect to be respected as their families' mouthpiece. After the social worker has finally provided them with a job, they do not carry it out properly, they are late for work, and they sometimes stay away entirely. Social workers' usual image of Somali men is that they are unwilling to do anything regardless of how much is done for them. Similarly, health visitors also experience problems in their daily work with Somali mothers. It has turned out to be difficult to establish trust among the Somali mothers, and organized support groups for Somali mothers have run into resistance. The women are unwilling to participate. In addition, when they finally agree to participate they often stay away from the meetings. Numerous other problems come up in work with the Somalis. The nature of these problems of course depends on the specific area, but the general impression is that the Somalis are a difficult group to work with.

My own interviews with and observations of Somalis in Denmark have established many common Somali characteristics. The common language is Somali. They are all aware of which tribe or clan they belong to. The family is important. Especially men's daily lives cause frustration both among the men and their families. Islam is the Somalis' common religion. I could mention a long list of other commonalities. However, these commonalities also indicate differences among the Somalis. For some Somalis for instance, Islam is or becomes their center of rotation and guide through life, while to other Somalis Islam is less central. The latter try to pray five times every day according to scripture and maintain Muslim holidays, but Islam is not their guide. A similar difference characterizes the Somalis' relationship to the clan. Everybody I have talked to is very conscious of the clan and the clan system. For some, it is a code that forms the basis of everyday acts and judgments. Others consciously distance themselves from the clan system and deny that it has any influence on their own lives. Finally, a third element that according to my fieldwork so far both unites and

indicates the differences among the Somalis is what they consider being a family. The family is very important to all the Somalis I have talked to. Simultaneously, it is clear that the Somalis not only disagree about whom they include in the family, but also about what family relations imply. For some Somalis, the family includes children, spouse, and parents who are connected with each other through care and respect. Other Somalis also include uncles, cousins, nephews, and nieces, and besides care and respect also involve economics and politics in family relations. Accordingly, closer scrutiny quickly shows that Somalis in Denmark are much more diverse than their conventional reputation suggests.

Some but not all of the Somalis I have consulted believe that the family suffers from difficult conditions in Denmark. Even though divorce was not unknown in Somalia, it apparently is more common here. Somalis often explain their family problems by stating that spouses have difficulty recognizing each other in their lives in Denmark. A frequent sign of this problem is that one spouse has certain expectations that the other spouse no longer fulfills. In return, this spouse makes new demands that the former does not understand and therefore does not fulfill. For instance, spouses often disagree about the division of labor that they can expect among husband and wife. Many women criticize that their men spend too much time in Somali men's clubs instead of contributing to the family through paid labor or by helping out with housekeeping and child-care. Vice versa, many men do not accept that their wives have a more independent position in the family and expect the man to change his behavior.

But both men and women also criticize the view and treatment of the family that they experience in the public administration. They often look at this not as family support, but as part of the reason for the Somali family's dissolution. When the women for instance describe family problems to social workers, the Somalis feel that the problems are often treated as consequences of male oppression of women. Instead of helping the family deal with the crisis, the family feels that the women are encouraged to liberate themselves from the man whom social workers consider the oppressor.

When the Somalis speak of family, I recognize it as family, because to a large degree they refer to relations between spouses and parents/children. Simultaneously, I also regard it as an extended family, because it often includes more relatives than the nuclear family, for instance cousins, uncles, etc. However, my work has taught me that this understanding of family was still unable to completely explain the true implications of the different Somali ways of speaking of the family. In this article I illustrate the concepts and relations I have had to develop and include in my work so far, in order to penetrate the phenomenological description of different Somali families and thereby make it possible to analyze Somali ideas about family, their conditions, and the changes they undergo in Denmark. Accordingly, I do not identify and examine all the possible relations that different Somali families are part of, but only those relations that I consider necessary to understand what conditions the different types of Somali families and their changes as immigrants in Denmark.

The Migration Problematic of the Welfare State

Of a total population of approximately 5,000,000, Denmark has almost 400,000 (Danmarks Statistik, 2000) immigrants today. This number covers a very diverse group, who have primarily arrived or whose ancestors have arrived in Denmark since the end of the 1960s. Many of the immigrants from the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s were work migrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia. In 1972 immigration was halted, and since then only selected national groups have been able to enter Denmark as work migrants. The many (around 30%) immigrants from the Nordic countries, North America, and Western Europe (including their descendants) are therefore often here to study and work. Most of the other so-called immigrants have been granted residence permits based on family reunification or as refugees. The many different national groups of refugees – Iranians, Iraqis, stateless (Palestinians), Sri Lankans, Somalis, people from former Yugoslavia, etc. – and the periods when they have applied for asylum in Denmark reflect shifting conflicts in the world. During the past decade, the composition of the immigrant group in Denmark has especially been influenced by conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Somalia. In addition, children, spouses, and parents have been reunified with work migrants, refugees, and their descendants, as well as Danish citizens.

Danish immigration research (for instance Hervic 2000) has often criticized that although Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes are among the largest immigrant groups in Denmark, they are seldom included in the usually negative treatment of immigrants in the media and among politicians. I do not want to enter this debate. I just want to make the point that the migration problematic – both from the perspective of migrants and from my theoretical point of view – is often completely different when immigrants come from countries such as the Swedish welfare state than when they come from entirely different state modes, as for instance Somalia.

There seems to be a clear connection between shifting problematics in the Danish state and political practice towards immigration. The openness to work migrants around 1970 was clearly linked to the Danish industrial need for the kind of labor that was impossible to find within Denmark. The unemployment and closed borders that followed in the 1970s and 1980s are now being replaced by renewed openness to the type of educated labor that Denmark currently needs. Demographic prognoses show a significant need for qualified immigrant labor (Rasmussen, 2000), in order to maintain the present welfare and production level and support the considerable group of senior citizens in the future.

Unlike this debate about qualified immigrant labor, the arrival of Somalis and people from former Yugoslavia in Denmark generated renewed focus on refugee and family reunification policy. Especially the right has gained ground by arguing for limited immigration. The votes have especially been won from the governing Social Democratic Party, which in fall of 2000 opened its battle to regain the lost votes – by openly arguing against a multi-cultural society and stating that the number of recognized refugees had to be reduced. But like before it quickly turned out that asylum rules could not simply be changed. They

are drawn up according to Denmark's ratification of the UN conventions, and significant limitations in Danish legislation either requires a change of UN conventions or an open showdown with these conventions. This battle never began, but instead was replaced by a debate concerning improvements of the domestic integration effort.

Instead of looking at this chain of events as a failed attempt by Denmark to become master in its own house, it should teach us that it does not make sense to understand the problematic of the Danish state (and of other states) as the internal affairs of a self-sufficient and closed unit. The example shows that the Danish state should rather be understood as part of an international system.[2] In this international system of states, Denmark is not recognized as a military or economic power, but as a welfare state. According to this picture of Denmark, the rights of the (national) people have been replaced or at least extended by individual and social rights as humans. It is – or has been so far[3] – a tax-sponsored system that gives the individual the right to for instance unemployment benefit, free schools, pension, and free health care. In addition, for instance public day-care has given women in nuclear families with children as young as six months the possibility to enter the labor market, while collective organizations such as unions have guaranteed that this happens under fair conditions. The idea of welfare for all is closely connected to the universalist view of man in the UN conventions. Accordingly, a showdown with the UN conventions in order to reduce the number of refugees in Denmark would also question the central ideological foundation of the welfare state. Therefore, we cannot understand Danish policy towards foreigners and immigrants by treating it as a strictly internal issue. On the contrary, the internal organization and policy of the state are determined in ongoing interaction with the state's relations to other states. These relations for instance entail that the Danish government cannot close the border to people or rather nationalities that are considered problematic. With the present international position of the welfare state in mind, the migration problematic in the welfare state in the future will therefore include both descendants of immigrants and those who have just arrived.

In terms of the migration problematic, this article is a contribution to integration research and the integration debate. On the basis of ongoing development of the ethnological state and lifemode analysis, it argues for a necessary and mutual recognition between migrant and immigrant state. With the connection between the internal organization of the state and its international relations in mind, it is obvious that the continued recognition of the state helps determine the possibilities and limits to state recognition of immigrants' cultural practice (Kallehave 2000). Vice versa – but not in opposition to the former – this view also contains an argument against a tighter integration policy that simply increases centric pressure on immigrants. According to my perspective, such a strategy produces the opposite result than its proponents intend, i.e. marginalization and alienation between immigrants and the welfare state. This article to a certain degree displays this perspective by focusing on the relations that condition transformation processes in Somali immigrant families. Accordingly, I omit another important characteristic of migration, i.e. the examination of the prob-

lematic from the point of view of the welfare state, in this case the preconditions for the internal organization of the Danish state and its relationship to other states.

Static Cultures and Fluid Identities

Carl-Ulrik Schierup (1993) has shown that Danish immigration research has played a significant role for the understanding of the migration problematic among politicians, the media, and in the general population. He shows that shifting research paradigms have left their mark on public discourse and on awareness of the problematic. This connection between research and practice should not be excused. On the contrary, it underlines the seriousness of research. Schierup generally criticizes the previous research for focusing too strongly on immigrant cultures and thereby legitimizing or at least making it possible to still regard migration problematics as results of immigrant cultures. His solutions are drastic: abandon research into cultures and replace it with examination of the broader structures that are the real culprits of the migration problematic. I along with others (for instance Røgilds 1995) agree with Schierup that research into immigrant cultures fails to understand the complexity of the migration problematic and that part of the problematic must be examined through closer scrutiny of social structures. But simultaneously, Schierup's criticism of research into cultures shows that he, like much of the research that he criticizes, regards culture as different and separate from structure. In my opinion, this separation makes it difficult to analyze the migration problematic as one coherent problematic.

However, much immigrant research still retains a modified version of cultural analysis. Due to their movement from Somalia to Denmark, Somalis in Denmark represent the phenomenon that in the 1980s produced an anthropological showdown with previous notions of culture (Hannerz 1989, Apparurai 1991, Hall 1990). The attention to this movement from one place to another or between places, which not only includes refugees and immigrants, but also for instance tourists, traveling salespeople, knowledge, and goods, involved a closer inquiry into a series of notions and metaphors from cultural analysis. Notions that rested on naturalization or essentialization of the relationship between culture, identity, nation, and place, were rejected and replaced by a new analytical perspective where culture and identity are not tied to place, and where for instance refugees are no longer looked upon as rootless or uprooted. Instead, their situation is characterized by displacement. Their identities are considered created in a complex network of social relations and ideas of belonging. The identity of the displaced person is "mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label.... It is a creolized aggregate composed through bricolage" (Malkki 1992:37). Or to quote Ann Belinda Steen Preis: "...culture does not have an essence that is stable over time, but is constantly constructed in new processes and therefore within new relations" (Preis 1998:18). The identities and cultures of the displaced are formed, maintained, and changed in networks that are not limited by but often transgress state boundaries. In this perspective, global networks challenge the idea of the state as a self-sufficient cultural unit.

In this article I argue that it is relevant to examine the migration problematic on the

basis of a notion of culture that does not regard structures and everyday life as opposites, but as each other's mutual conditions. This non-dualistic notion of culture[4] retains a perspective rooted in cultural analysis and argues that we should think of the internal organization of the state and of recognized expressions of everyday life in conjunction. Culture is here regarded as the unit consisting of the internal organization of the state and the various recognized ways of existence; subjects and modes of subjectivity.[5] One possible objection to this view is the obvious fact that states because of human displacement and global networks contain subject modes from other state modes, and that therefore this unit of state and everyday life does not occur during displacement. This is correct in the sense that the displaced persons have left an entirely different state mode than the one they migrate to. My point is that this phenomenon causes the migration problematic. The reason is that migration involves a rupture of this connection between state and everyday life. The subjectivity of the migrants runs into resistance because the conditions that are assumed by their subjectivities are no longer present. Simultaneously, the state runs into problems because it now contains modes of subjectivity that it does not recognize. However, thinking of state and everyday life in conjunction makes it possible to examine the migration problematic from the point of view of different actors, but through the same analytical perspective.

This perspective also implies that not all relations are considered equally important to the understanding of cultural processes. Below, I illustrate the insight that can be established about cultural processes among Somali families in Denmark, seen through the concept of the subject.[6] The subject and different modes of consciousness are not pre-existent, but only begin to exist when the political will of the state designates and recognizes specific forms of practice and guarantees their existence by providing them with specific ideological and material circumstances. Through this recognition,[7] the subject is equipped with a self-consciousness that makes it take advantage of the circumstances in the state according to the will of the state. The subject is a recognized self-conscious and goal-oriented practice. A subject can be both individual and collective. In Denmark the mother and the wage earner can be considered two individual subjects, while the union can be considered a collective subject. A subject is characterized by appearing and becoming recognized as one will. The mother can only demand rights as a mother because she is recognized, and similarly, the union can only demand better conditions for its members because it is recognized. In front of her child, the mother has the right and duty to exercise good motherhood, and in front of its members the union can require the individual to subject him or herself to the collective decisions. Accordingly, a subject that externally acts and is recognized as one will can internally contain one or more modes of subjectivity that can each be analyzed as different modes of consciousness of practice. Different state modes recognize different individual and/or collective subject modes and therefore provide the necessary ideological and material conditions to guarantee the continued existence of the subjects and modes of subjectivity. My perspective on the migration problematic is based on this understanding of the concept of the subject – and on the

concept of the heterogeneous subject. It is not a sign of shifting identities when the same Somali person in different relations argues as for instance a Muslim, a father, a spouse, a wage-earner, or a clan member. Instead, I regard the different relations as the circumstances that determine which sides of the subjectivity that appear. This does not mean that the actors in the relation are unchanged after the relation ends. Instead, possible changes in the subjectivity of the actors depend on how their existing subjectivity regards and absorbs this relation to the other (Kallehave, 2000). The subjectivity is centric. Although it does not cover the whole complex field of cultural processes among Somalis in Denmark, my previous work has illustrated the necessity of understanding the Somalis in the light of the subjects and the modes of subjectivity that were recognized in the Somalia they left behind. In order to illuminate conflicts in Somali families, the following focuses on the relations that seem decisive for the constitution of Somali subjects and subjectivity, their maintenance or transformation, and the consequences for their notions of family. The point of departure of this analytical perspective is that the Somali families and their conflicts are best analyzed as modes of subjectivity conditioned by *specific relations and their conditions*, not as consecutive identity constructions in a more or less random *variety of relations*.

Somalia

The Somali Republic was founded in 1960 in the northern and eastern part of the Horn of Africa. It united the former British colony in the north, British Somaliland, and the former Italian colony in the south, Italian Somalia. The two colonies had been established in an area dominated by different clans and sub-clans that lived in constant tension and struggle for recognition of their own and each other's sovereignty. The foundation of the Somali Republic introduced the idea of a new state mode. But, the clan system and the colonial period conditioned the development of the Somali Republic (Simons 1995, Samatar 1995). These complex conditions explain the enormous challenges that the Somali Republic faced after the withdrawal of the colonial powers in 1960.

The Somali Republic received international recognition as one sovereign state, but was divided internally into competing political interests and loyalties. When the first politically elected leadership gradually began to be considered corrupt, government was taken over by General Said Barre in a military coup in 1969. There were two central features in the new political leadership's strategy to gain the recognition of all Somalis. Somali loyalty to tribal states in the form of clans had to broken down by banning all discussion and practice that could be linked to the governing principles of any of the individual clans. Simultaneously, attempts were made to build loyalty towards the republic by establishing a common Somali written language, creating a national school system, and recognizing the common religion, Islam, as a state religion. One of the paradoxes of this internal consolidation was that the leaders of the Somali Republic increasingly based the realization of the political will on the practice of the tribal state, even though these same practices perhaps constituted the greatest threat to the realization of the Somali state. The rupture with the tribal states and their practices never completely material-

ized, as was also reflected in the growing clan resistance towards the regime, beginning in the north and then spreading to the rest of the country.

Towards the end of the 1980s, it finally became clear that the vision of a united Somalia was collapsing. Already the period during Abdirashiid Ali Shermaarke, the first president of the state, showed that political interests in northern Somalia were moving in the complete opposite direction of a united Somalia. The first floods of refugees to areas close to or far from Somalia happened under his successor Siyad Barre's subsequent military struggles to take hold of the area. The toppling of Siyad Barre in January 1991 was also followed by persecution of his political supporters many of whom eventually fled. The military dictatorship that followed under General Aideed did not succeed either in creating a unity between the Somali Republic and the different interests of the people. Somalia has been without political leadership since the beginning of the 1990s and has been characterized by struggle between different Somali alliances.[8]

These are the general events that have caused the Somali population in Denmark to climb from a limited number in the middle of the 1980s to approximately 15,000 today. This article argues that the complex conditions and changes in Somalia since 1960 constitute one of several necessary keys to understand different cultural processes among Somalis and their families in Denmark. According to this perspective, the history of Somalia[9] since 1960 is not simply identical to the struggle of the Somali Republic for internal recognition. Instead, we must understand this complex period as characterized by attempts by several parallel and geographically overlapping state modes[10] to win the recognition both of other states and of the people. These attempts were dominated by the tribal states and the Somali Republic as state mode.

Subjects and Family in the Tribal State

The following highlights some of the characteristics of Somali history which condition the different concepts of Somali subjects and modes of subjectivity. These are the key concepts in my analysis of the different cultural processes when Somali families encounter the welfare state and its demands for the family. My fieldwork shows a close connection between the attitudes to the good life that Somalis bring to Denmark and how they make use of the conditions that the welfare state offers them. For some Somalis, these conditions constitute good opportunities, while for others they produce frustration and alienation.

Because of the upbringing of Somalis in Somalia, their different practices to a large degree can be analyzed as modes of subjectivity recognized either by one of the tribal states or by the Somali Republic. The tribal state is a patriarchal system (Lewis 1961, 1994, etc.) with a natural dependence on the production of boys. Ancestral naming guarantees a consciousness of relations to other families that are all eventually united in one ancestor, the founder of the clan. Inside the clan, alliances can be formed and conflicts created on many levels. According to a Somali myth, all Somalis have the same Arab ancestry, but inside the tribal state the individual's identification of oneself and of others is eventually determined by clan identification. Both the literature on Somalia and my own fieldwork in broad terms divides Somalis into six different

clans, which I regard as a system of tribal states, i.e. as competing clan-organized states. Yet it may turn out that the tribal state has to be localized at a lower level than the clan family.

The description of the patriarchal and segmentary system of the tribal state easily leaves an impression of a rigid hierarchical power structure. However, one of the fundamental characteristics of the tribal state is a very flat structure. Political will in the tribal state is not organized around one or a limited number of individuals. Nor, unlike in the welfare state, can the individual step forward on a political arena on his or her own terms. The tribal state recognizes a small group of people as a unit, or as a subject. The marriage is the first moment in the recognition and materialization of the subject. The subject materializes itself into different modes of subjectivity and as such is neither individual nor collective – but a heterogeneous subject. The different modes of subjectivity – mother, housekeeper, father, owner, etc. – all presuppose the recognition of the spouses as a married couple. The political will of this subject is expressed through the subject's oldest male toward the oldest males of other heterogeneous subjects. As the oldest in a heterogeneous subject of wife (or wives, up to four per male), children, and grandchildren, other collective subjects recognize the oldest male as the subject's political representative. Accordingly, the oldest male is not recognized as an individual, but because he is the oldest of his unit. The unit is the subject. Therefore, the political will of the state is formed as arrangements between elders in these heterogeneous subjects.

Through representation by their elders, these heterogeneous subjects also make arrangements with other heterogeneous subjects, for instance concerning shared drove and protection of animals. Accordingly, the elder administrates the property, but the heterogeneous subject conditions his possession of property.

Political and economic practice presupposes constitution of this subject and the heterogeneous subject. But since marriage is both a political and an economic institution, and since the male and female who marry are not recognized as individual political and economic subjects, they do not decide on the marriage. Instead, the existing heterogeneous subject makes an arrangement with other heterogeneous subjects that involves exchange of economic goods and marriage between their children.

The man's practice outside the unit as elder with relations to other elders involves a mode of subjectivity where the man identifies and acts as economic and political representative of the subject of which he is part. Simultaneously, children and marriage are necessary elements in the constitution of the elder's mode of subjectivity. This practice as elder presupposes the relations to wife (or wives) and children. Unlike her husband, the practice of the wife is primarily tied to birth, upbringing, and care/protection of children. Her mode of subjectivity presupposes marriage and requires that she regard herself as caretaker and protector of the subject's children.

The co-existence of these and other modes of subjectivity within the heterogeneous subject both constitute the internal organization of the subject and make possible its future external recognition as subject in the tribal state. Accordingly, the tribal state is not supported by a central power, but by the heterogeneous subjects that as

recognized political wills in the state constitute the living units that trade with each other, conduct policy, and guarantee the continuation of the internal affairs of the state by recognizing new heterogeneous subjects through marriage. In the tribal state, this subject is a heterogeneous unit of economics, politics, and ideology. It expresses an entirely different organization of the internal affairs of the state than in the welfare state, which separates the elements of state into politics, civil society, and family. What we recognize among Somalis as family therefore cannot be interpreted as an extended family: a family whose only difference from the nuclear family is the boundary of whom is included or not. The relations between spouses, parents, and children in the tribal state should be understood through this heterogeneous subject.

Subjects and Family in the Somali Republic

The relationship between state and subject in the Somali Republic is very different in the tribal state. One of the largest threats to the materialization of the Somali Republic was the universal ideological system of the tribal states, the clan system. Accordingly, one of the decisive elements in the construction of the new state was to disrupt the powerful coherence that kept the tribal states alive. All discussion and use of clan relations were banned. Instead, the loyalty of the individual was tied directly to the state. The individual was recognized as citizen and as such had the right to be protected by and the duty to act according to the laws of the new state. The political subject was no longer a heterogeneous unit but individual citizens, and accordingly, a direct relationship was established between state policy and the individual. The election system concentrated the political will of the state on few hands. In the Somali Republic, the subject, who in political matters in the tribal state is represented by the elder, dissolved into individual subjects, the citizen.

As part of the materialization of the Somali Republic, the system of officials and administrators from the colonial period was further extended. A state-run university and other educational institutions were not just meant to provide professional competence, but also to educate loyal participants. This development also established the necessary conditions for an economic practice that was not related to nomadism, but to paid government administration. Simultaneously, the practices were tied to individual subjects, and not to the heterogeneous subject as in the tribal state.

The transition from tribal state to republic therefore also involved an individualization of the economic and political practice of the heterogeneous subject. Or put differently, the heterogeneous subject was emptied of economic and political practice. This not only transformed what was left of the heterogeneous subject, but the internal organization of the entire state. This transformation recognized the family as a unit whose members materialized as individuals and citizens outside the family. This transformation also meant that the patriarchal system was reduced from a universal clan ideology to something that simply related to what now became family, i.e. a social and moral matter separated from the economic and political sphere.

As mentioned earlier, the political government in the Somali Republic never succeeded in making the entire population loyal to the new state. On the contrary, this

attempt seems to have made many Somalis' flee. The fact that a number of clan leaders helped nominate a new Somali president in 2000 shows that the tribal states still play a role in the political life of Somalia.

If we turn our attention towards Somalis in Denmark it makes sense to consider the tribal state as well as the Somali Republic in order to be able to understand how the significant differences among Somalis in Denmark are even possible. Faced with the pressure from the concept of family in the welfare state, the differences between Somali subjects and modes of subjectivity begin to show even more clearly. Accordingly, we must understand the practice of some Somalis on the basis of a notion of subject that originates in recognition in the Somali Republic, while others are better understood in terms of the tribal states' notions of the heterogeneous subject. But the complex Somali history is also reflected in individual Somalis, and it is therefore often necessary to include concepts of subject from both state modes in order to shed light on the practice of the Somalis.

However, the connection between state mode and modes of subjectivity does not mean that subjects and modes of subjectivity are tied to a particular *place*. It means that some state modes have better *conditions of existence* for their subjects than is the case in other state modes. People bring their subjectivity when they move from one place to another – or in this case from one state to another. They do not leave their subjectivities behind. Instead, they bring their subjectivities and use them to think of and deal with conditions in the new state. However, this view does not involve *essentialization* of their culture, and the practice of an individual cannot be analyzed as unchanging modes of subjectivity. Subjects and modes of subjectivity are always determined by relations and are therefore always *potentially changeable*.

Notions of Family and Modes of Subjectivity in the Welfare State

Between 1993 and 1998, approximately 11,000 Somalis took up residence in Denmark as refugees or through family reunification (Danmarks Statistik, 2000). Another approximately 3,500 Somalis are descendants of this group. Since the conflicts in Somalia are often between different state modes within the same area, conflicts have often caused modes of subjectivity from different state modes to flee simultaneously.

Somalis all encounter a number of identical circumstances. The premise of the unity between state and subject is that subjects and modes of subjectivity are shaped in and based on certain specific relations. Accordingly, maintenance of and access to the subject's conditions of existence are central to the continuation of the subjectivity. In this light, the circumstances that Somalis encounter in Denmark are decisive to the changes among Somali families.

Detailed examination of Danish family reunification rules and accompanying laws shows that they express and recognize a notion of family and individual that is directly at odds with the ideas of the heterogeneous subject that many Danes mistakenly recognize as family or extended family. From these rules and laws, it is also possible to identify some of the characteristics that are recognized as well as those that are not recognized as decisive to the structuralization of the family in the welfare state. The following therefore approaches family reunification rules and accompa-

nying laws as a way to identify some of the conditions and resistance that the Somalis encounter, not only when they apply for family reunification, but more generally in the welfare state.

One of the general characteristics of family reunification rules is that family reunification is based on the residence of someone who already lives here, the age of the person who applies to come to Denmark, and the relation between the person already in Denmark and the person who is applying for residence. The law generally recognizes the following relations: husband-wife, parent-child, and child-parent. This together with the age criteria means that family reunification excludes children over 18 years old, parents under 60, and cousins, uncles, aunts, etc. Danish marriage law clearly shows that the Danish state only recognizes one spouse or live-in partner. Therefore, a Somali man with more than one wife can only be reunified with one of them, and unaccompanied refugee children cannot become reunified with their parents. The law signals who is recognized as actors in the family, and it simultaneously indicates the demands both for the relations between different family members and for how the family is related to the rest of the internal organization of the state.

The rules for family reunification establish co-habitation, not marriage, as a requirement. Homosexuals also have a right to family reunification. But monogamy is always required. According to Danish marriage law, marriage can be certified by many different recognized institutions, both Christian and civil or other recognized denominations or congregations that have been certified to marry. That marriage is not a requirement for reunification of partners, and that marriage can be recognized by so many different institutions, shows that marital relations have limited significance for the family itself in the welfare state. In other words, the welfare state has provided space for ideological diversity in marriage and simply seems to deal with the legal aspects of marriage. The Aliens Act underlines the requirement that marriage is a voluntary relation that the two partners enter by their own independent will. Only non-arranged marriages or marriages that the two spouses have entered voluntarily are recognized as valid. There is no room for polygamy and marriages that have been arranged by the heterogeneous subject.

That marriage is not a necessary element in the welfare state's notion of the good family also shows in the fact that when spouses or partners do not share the same children, each spouse (or single parent) has the right to be reunified with the children over whom he or she has parental authority, and the welfare state does not consider marriage a necessary condition for childbirth. In other words, the state has broad limits for the relations or conditions under which it is recognized to have children. But under Danish custody rules, married couples with children or a pregnant single mother have custody of their children. Accordingly, the law prescribes that biological parents have a right to take care of their child, but also a duty with unwritten guidelines for how this care is implemented. This way, parents can only uphold custody of their child as long as they are good parents according to the state. Parents who are unable to take care of their child in a recognized manner can lose custody.

The point is that while the welfare state to a large degree has renounced control of

the conditions under which children are conceived and born, the state has reserved the right to deprive parents of their right to care for and raise their children if they turn out to be incompetent parents. The debate about involuntary removals illustrates how the interests of the state are aimed at this side of the family.

One relevant question is whether this location of the control and recognition of the family is specific to the state mode. I want to shed light on this by addressing another characteristic of family reunification. It is telling that people can only apply for family reunification for children younger than 18. In other words, children are considered of age after they turn 18 and are expected to be able to take care of themselves. At 18, the individual has the right to make independent decisions without consulting the parents. If an 18-year-old commits a criminal act, he is directly responsible to the state, and his parents do not have to become involved. The right and duty of the parents to form their children in theory ends at this point. Another sign is that parents cannot lose custody of their children after they turn 18. At 18, the individual receives the right to establish a family, enter contracts, and make himself heard politically without interference by the parents.

It seems specific to the welfare state that individual authority is based on age and that the individual by coming of age receives free access to the family, civil society, and politics. This tripartition does not occur in all state modes. Tribal states in Somalia only recognize male practice in all three spheres. Furthermore, this practice presupposes marriage. They are all positions that he cannot choose but can only be granted. Accordingly, marriage in the Somali tribal state – as I see it right now – is the cornerstone of the constitution of the economic and political subject. In other words, the care that this heterogeneous subject must give the child by duty and right is not determined by age, but first and foremost by the child's gender and civil status.

Family reunification rules and the 18-year rule therefore prevent heterogeneous subjects from maintaining what they consider both right and duty: to protect the 19-year-old unmarried girl, to have the brother look after his deceased brother's wife and children, to arrange marriages between the subjects' children, etc. Accordingly, the welfare state reflects certain attitudes to family that do not allow space for or recognize the Somali heterogeneous subject and its necessary conditions. More specifically, this has meant that the Danish state, in response to family reunification practices among some Somali families, has legalized DNA testing in connection with family reunification cases. The reason was that some reunified Somalis were not included in the welfare state's notion of family and of family members' mutual obligations. One example could be reunification of a brother's children – another when the male elder of a heterogeneous subject has died in the war, after which the oldest son takes over the father's obligations to younger unmarried siblings. For some Somalis, Danish family reunification rules limit the group of people that they would like to reunify. Others experience this limitation as liberating, in the sense that they evade the obligations that they have in the eyes of other Somalis. These differences can be explained in terms of different modes of subjectivity among Somalis.

Somali Forms of Family in Denmark

As indicated by public discourse and confirmed by the statistics (Mogensen 2000), the vast majority of Somalis are without work. Therefore, public welfare is an important economic source for many Somalis. Here they also encounter the notion of family and the individual subject in the welfare state. And again, as with family reunification, they respond very differently to the demands from public administrators. While this relation strikes some Somalis as unimportant, for others it represents an inappropriate intrusion into marital relations.

Even a brief examination of the relation between Somali subjects, modes of subjectivity, and the welfare state shows that the heterogeneous subject of the tribal state has difficult conditions in the welfare state's notion of family. The welfare state does not recognize the political system that constitutes the heterogeneous subject in the tribal state, and the heterogeneous subject is not recognized as one will. Under the notions of family and individual subjects in the welfare state, the married man as an elder or the representative of the heterogeneous subject is not recognized, but spoken to as a person with individual rights. In addition, the welfare state does not recognize his practice as a political subject, but treats him mainly as an unemployed husband. Instead, it recognizes the woman in the tribal state's heterogeneous subject as mother and wife. But this recognition does not involve recognition of her as mother and wife in the collective subject of the tribal state. Instead, the welfare state addresses the woman as an individual with a personal right to receive public aid and equality with her husband inside and outside the family.

The husband in the tribal state's heterogeneous subject is unable to recognize himself when he is addressed by the welfare state's notion of family. But although the wife is also addressed as a person, she still recognizes part of herself when she is addressed as mother and wife. This difference between male and female modes of subjectivity in relation to subjects and notions of family in the welfare state means that the subjectivity of the woman more successfully absorbs and appropriates the foreign and accordingly transforms her subjectivity. This transformation also means that the woman's practice is considered increasingly meaningful, not just by herself, but by social workers. But to the husband, the conditions that he encounters in the welfare state are not recognizable, and therefore absorption and transformation of his subjectivity are impossible. The husband is caught in alienation towards the welfare, and he and the welfare will continue to consider each other foreign. The transformation of the woman's subjectivity combined with the husband's alienation create a situation where an otherwise symbiotic relationship between husband and wife in the tribal state's heterogeneous subject is transformed into conflict where husband and wife no longer recognize each other's practice. This transformation of the woman's subjectivity and the absent recognition of the subjectivity of the husband make it possible to understand why some Somali couples inevitably break up or experience substantial internal problems in the welfare state. The encounter with the welfare state's notion of family and individual subjects seems to produce conflict within the heterogeneous subject of the tribal state.[11]

Things are different with subjects who are recognized in the Somali Republic. In

the encounter with the welfare state, these subjects to a large degree recognize their position as individual economic and political subjects. This means that both husband and wife have or may have an individual economic and political practice outside the family – and that the spouses recognize each other in these practices after they marry. Inside the family it means that the husband can only carry out functions that the subject in the tribal state defines as female.

Somalis whose subjectivities are mainly determined by the tribal state are often likely to run into marital problems because of the intrusive welfare state. Vice versa, Somalis whose subjectivities mainly stem from the Somali Republic are often more likely to be able to establish a life in the welfare state where they express themselves individually in civil society. However, these perspectives can only be used successfully to analyze those couples where both spouses can be analyzed on the basis of subjectivities from the same state mode.

Conflicts and break-ups among other Somali families can just as reasonably be understood as consequences of marital relations where husband and wife are analyzed as modes of subjectivity from two different state modes. My material contains a number of examples of women who concurrently with marriage and childbirth are also preoccupied with school or work. From the perspective of these women, these elements of everyday life are significant, but they also involve a certain attitude to what it takes to be a good husband. A good husband should be working or in school. If not, he is expected to put greater effort into child-care and housekeeping in the home. Similarly, the men, who are often unemployed, find it difficult to accept the independence of their wives and do not identify with her expectations for a good husband. In their opinion, the man succeeds when he takes care of the interests of his family, both towards the public system and towards other Somalis. In these families, the practice of the wife is best analyzed as conditioned by the subject modes in the Somali Republic, while the practice of the husband is best analyzed in relation to the tribal state.

However, when these families break up we should not only explain this in terms of the encounter with the welfare state. The real source of the problem is that the marriage is constituted as a relation between two incompatible modes of subjectivity. But the welfare state's notion of family and recognition of the individual as subject encourages the woman to maintain and even to strengthen her individual subjectivity, while the husband struggles with the absent recognition of his collective subjectivity form. We can perhaps argue that the woman whose practice is best understood as recognized in the Somali Republic encounters certain circumstances in the welfare state that are far more favorable to her subjectivity than the conditions she faced when the Somali Republic was established. While the subjectivity of the wife is strengthened under these far more favorable conditions, the husband's subjectivity apparently deteriorates. When the Somali Republic was established and dominated by different state forms, he in spite of official resistance was still recognized as the representative of the heterogeneous subject. Even though husband and wife each consider their own practices meaningful, the absent recognition of the other's practices is confirmed under the new conditions in Denmark.

Somali Networks

The analysis of different Somali modes of subjectivity and their encounter with the notions of subject and family in the welfare state seems to shed useful light on a number of marital conflicts and break-ups among Somali couples in Denmark. Although the above analysis does not exhaust the strong variation in Somali marital conflicts in the encounter with the welfare state, it raises a number of other relevant questions. Through flight and family reunification, Somalis not simply leave Somalia behind. They also arrive and settle in many different parts of the world, including Europe, Australia, and North America. In addition, because of Danish family reunification rules, it is only family in a very particular sense that can gather in the welfare state. It is also clear that the welfare state does not recognize the heterogeneous subjects of the tribal state. When the preconditions for these modes of subjectivity are absent in the welfare state, it comes as a surprise that some Somalis still display these elements of their subjectivity in Denmark.

It is characteristic that some Somalis and their spouses seem able to evade pressure from the welfare state. Accordingly, the encounter with the welfare state does not break up all those marriages that are best understood through the tribal state's notion of the subject. This raises the important question why not all women in the heterogeneous subject are transformed into individual subjects by the welfare state's strategies for recognition and transformation of her subjectivity. And does a man whose subjectivity stems from the heterogeneous subject, and who is neither recognized by the welfare state nor perhaps by his wife, necessarily become alienated not only towards the welfare state and the wife, but also towards himself? In order to understand why these marriages and modes of subjectivity can be maintained in spite of missing recognition from the welfare state, we must examine the relations between the Somalis' modes of subjectivity and Somali networks. The Somalis often refer to three types of networks in Denmark: religious networks, male networks, and the absence or limitation of female networks and friends.

Somalis have many relations to other Somalis in Denmark, in Somalia, and in the rest of the world. They express themselves politically, discuss, and exchange information through the telephone and the Internet. Videorecordings communicate important social events such as weddings to relatives around the world. One of the shared characteristics of Somalis is that they regardless of subjectivity know the names of their father and his ancestors in as many as 20 generations. Therefore, they are always able to position themselves in relationship to each other. This identification does not mean that all Somalis are best understood as subjects in the tribal state. Identification is just as likely to be connected to the position that family received in the Somali Republic. I even believe that (the few?) Somalis whose subjectivity and notion of family are best understood as conditioned by the welfare state also possess this insight, but as insight into their own history, without actual social, economic, or political significance.

This patrilinear identification seems to have different significance to different Somali subjects. For those Somalis whose subjectivity stems from the Somali Republic, this self-consciousness about their ancestors is both important to their choice of

spouse and to their expectations of who will support them in different situations. This self-consciousness also means that traveling Somalis quickly find out whether they have any relatives in the areas they visit. However, family does not seem to be important in political matters. On the contrary, among these modes of subjectivity we find Somalis who argue in favor of a united Somalia or Somaliland, but not for a Somalia divided by clans. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that a number of exiled Somali intellectuals played a significant role in the recent election in Somalia.

Among the modes of subjectivity that stem from the tribal state, patrilinear self-consciousness is far more important to the cultural processes among Somali families in the welfare state. As an example, Somali men's clubs seem to be very important to the abilities of the heterogeneous subject to resist the welfare state's demands for family and the individual. Elders in these clubs meet with other elders to discuss politics and other "male" topics. This is one of the very few places in Denmark where the men experience recognition of their self-identified status as representatives of the heterogeneous subject. But sometimes they are excluded from the club when they fail to maintain the internal organization of the subject, i.e. when a wife begins to act as an individual. According to this perspective, relations in the clubs confirm the Somali men's sense of themselves as elders in their own heterogeneous subject. The importance of these relations to the men's subjectivity can be explained in terms of the very flat political structure in the tribal state. Here, the continuous recognition of the heterogeneous subject as an economic and political unit and the inherent relation of recognition of this unit guaranteed the tribal state internally and depended on it externally. Male Somali networks can therefore be considered a possible space to sustain a mode of subjectivity that is not recognized in the welfare state.

But simultaneously, this subjectivity is threatened internally, because it presupposes an ability to maintain the position as elder in the family. As mentioned above, this position is seriously jeopardized by the transformation that the encounter with the welfare state produces in the subjectivity of many Somali women. There can be different explanations why some of these women still recognize their own and their husbands' practice in the heterogeneous subject. One possible explanation is that the woman chooses to stay with the man, even though she changes her sense of herself. Another possible explanation is that the Somali networks that the woman after all participates in outside and inside marriage all recognize her and expect her to act as wife in the heterogeneous subject. If this is the case, these relations may function as lasting relations of recognition through which the woman still sees herself as part of the heterogeneous subject in spite of pressure from the welfare state.

Conclusion

This article has discussed a number of perspectives that I have formed on the basis of my research so far. I will use and question these perspectives in my future work. The central question has been how we can understand conflicts among Somali families in Denmark. The premise has been that one of the keys to understand these conflicts is the notion of the subject. I have introduced the notions for the different

Somali subjects and modes of subjectivity and discussed their conditions and possible transformations based on a dialectic movement between fieldwork among Somalis in Denmark, secondary reading about Somalia, and examination of the necessary theoretical demands for creating the analysis of such complex cultural processes.

As an example of a displaced group, Somalis in Denmark enter a large number of different relations, but only some of these relations are important to the constitution, maintenance, and transformation of the modes of subjectivity. An important premise of my study is that the Somali are not a coherent group when they arrive, but are already diverse. This variation is not only explained in terms of different everyday lives, but in terms of the internal organization of very different state modes and therefore different recognized subject modes. There seems to be an important difference between the view of the relations between spouses in the two state modes. While the heterogeneous subjects of the tribal state have the right and duty to establish marriages – and thereby guarantee the birth of more children – and to handle economics and politics, the Somali Republic recognizes each individual as a person with an independent economic and political practice which does not presuppose membership of a heterogeneous subject. Accordingly, the Somali Republic distinguishes between the political and the economic, and the relation between spouses and other relatives, i.e. family, is separated as an independent moment of moral and emotional relations. This difference between the heterogeneous subject and the modes of subjectivity of its members on one hand and the individual as subject on the other is here considered decisive to the different Somali reactions to the encounter with the welfare state and to the different Somali network relations in and outside Denmark.

Accordingly, my work so far indicates that the Somali network relations are both intertwined with the mode of subjectivity that Somalis seem to carry and with the conditions of their displaced mode of subjectivity. For those Somalis who experience recognition of their subjectivities in Denmark, or whose subjectivities are gradually transformed through partial recognition of themselves in the Danish welfare state, Somali network relations seem secondary in the maintenance or transformation of the subjectivity. Vice versa, it seems that those men whose practices should be understood on the basis of the tribal state's heterogeneous subject experience no recognition in the welfare state. Therefore, they are unable to recognize any of its characteristics. They are strangers to the welfare state, but not necessarily to themselves and to Somali network relations. Instead, these relations receive or perhaps more appropriately maintain their significance as relations of recognition where the men are recognized for their ability to maintain a position as elders of the heterogeneous subject, or as the leader of the heterogeneous subject with economic and political responsibility.

Based on these perspectives, my article has suggested that it is necessary to take the internal organization and modes of subjectivity of both emigrant and immigrant states into consideration in order to understand how shifting Somali practices among spouses are conditioned. However, as I approach the end I should add that I in this article

have only dealt with modes of subjectivity on a general level and that my future research may reveal different modes of subjectivity both within the tribal state and within the Somali Republic. This would create a deeper sense of the changes among these families. In this article, I have also argued that the state can not be regarded as a closed unit. Instead, it should be regarded as a unit whose internal organization and power of coherence are conditioned by relations to other state modes and where competing relations of recognition in other state modes can assert themselves simultaneously. By analyzing everyday life and states in conjunction and by discussing states in relationship to other states, we can investigate the migration problematic both as unit and as multiplicity – i.e. when the unit is considered from the perspectives of different actors.

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Notes

1 This article is based on my work so far as a Ph.D. student in Ethnology at the University of Copenhagen. It briefly presents a number of analytical perspectives that I have developed and will keep testing, defining, and revising during the next year.

2 This statement, and the text in general, is based on the development of the ethnological theory of state and life modes. For more detailed discussion of the theoretical concepts, see for instance Højrup 1995, Buus 2000, Kallehave 2000.

3 The research project "Life modes and welfare state at a cross-road? A contribution to cultural history and cultural theory" both examines the governing principles of the welfare state and its current change or dissolution. See www.hum.ku.dk/lov

4 I developed the first part of my theoretical work behind this approach to the migration problematic in my gold medal thesis. See "Staten i hverdagen. En etnologisk analyse af migranters retskultur og dens forudsætninger i den multikulturelle stat." Kallehave 1997.

5 The notion of subject is relatively new within state and life mode theory. Ethnologists at the University of Copenhagen have many discussions about this and related concepts. See for instance seminar minutes, June 15–16, 2000, on www.hum.ku.dk/lov

6 The correct term is the dependent subject. The subject is considered *dependent* because it presupposes and is constituted by the state, which vice versa is constituted in relations of recognition to other states as *sovereign* subject. Since I do not use the concept sovereign subject, I for reasons of clarity refer to the dependent subject as subject. See Højrup 1995.

7 In theoretical discussions, this relation of recognition is specified as the concept of interpellation. For a thorough discussion and examination of the interpellation concept, see Henriette Buus 2000.

8 I 1991, the SNM (Somali National Movement) declared an independent "Somaliland Republic" and thereby broke away from the rest of Somalia. A new president was appointed in 2000. Resistance in Northern Somalia to the election shows that he is not heading a united Somalia. The considerable internal resistance to the election shows that he is not heading a Somali state without Northern Somalia either. See Helander 2000.

9 I use the expression Somalia to describe the entire area before, during, and after the attempt to establish a united Somali state. When I refer to the specific state that attempted to establish itself after 1960, I so far use the expression the Somali Republic.

10 Within the theory of state and life modes, Thomas Højrup (1995) has built the foundation for the development of a number of concepts for fundamentally different state modes. State modes are distinguished from each other by different organizations of the political, economic, and ideological moments in the state.

11 The examples show that the subject is not being forced, even though it presupposes recognition of the state. If the strategies of recognition in the state must guarantee specific subject modes, the differences in this example shows that it is very important that

the state's instruments in this strategy are considered *meaningful* by the designated units. By shaping the means of recognition as rights and duties, the state places the designated units in front of a specific resistance that they must deal with. Accordingly, the conditions produce reflections and actions within the unit and therefore simultaneously create self-consciousness and practice with a clear purpose. This creation of the subject can only happen if the resistance is outrivaled by the designated unit, and it presupposes that the will of the subject becomes identical to its ability (Kallehave 2000). Accordingly, there is a mutual relation of condition between state and subject. When the subject is unable to defeat and transform the resistance, the subject is left alienated (Taylor 1981, 1994) in front of the new conditions, as we see with the male in the tribal state.

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Connecting Places, Enduring the Distance

Transnationalism as a Bodily Experience

By Maja Povrzanović Frykman

On the cold morning of 31 October 1994, the day before All Saints' Day – which in Croatia is devoted to visiting family graves – I was standing at the arrival platform of Zagreb central bus station for more than three hours. I was waiting for a bus from Frankfurt am Main to bring a package sent by my aunt who has lived in Germany since the early 1960s. My memory of that day is extremely vivid, first and foremost for the feeling of nausea and suffocation due to the continuous inhalation of exhaust fumes, but also for the fact that, although freezing, I did not dare to enter the station building: I was afraid of missing "my" bus. The only way to recognise it among the five buses that arrived from Frankfurt within those three hours was by the number-plate, since the same company ran them all. Not one of them had an exact arrival time. It could not be checked at any of the counters either, but only discussed with more experienced people waiting there with me. Minimum and maximum calculations were made: emptying the bus for a thorough customs check at some of the borders can take hours.

Eventually, a heavy cardboard box containing presents for my children, clothes and household items, was handed over to me. I just had to tell the driver who was sending it, once I had reached him through the excited crowd of people elbowing their way closer to the bus. Those people were leaning over and stepping onto the heaps of suitcases, boxes and bags growing on both sides of the bus, trying to get hold of their luggage and organise their own heaps of overloaded pieces. They were hugging their relatives with exclamations of joy, shouting, smiling, sighing and looking tired.

Although I was not then professionally interested in Croatian *Gastarbeiter* (in vernacular Croatian, the German term has been adopted), I remember my own amazement and mixed feelings over the quantity and the variety of objects being taken out of all the buses' orifices. Parts of machines needed in peasant households, a roll of wire fencing, a child-size bicycle, huge boxes of washing powder plastic bags containing *Made in Germany* toys and oversize packages of sweets were appearing, along with immense quantities of suitcases.

My amazement and mixed feelings were not coming from total lack of experience with *Gastarbeiter* lives. As so many other Croats, I have several extended family members living abroad as economic migrants.[1] It was the number of the buses, arriving one after the other, that "put things in proportion": it is important to visit the graves on All Saints' Day, and living abroad is not really an excuse for not doing so. They were the items of everyday use: were they carried from Germany to save money, to express care, to show off, to feel needed, to meet obligations, or to try to balance the living standards of post-war Croatia with that of Western Europe? My mixed feelings also included pity: the one long-distance bus trip I experienced myself made me understand that it can be difficult to endure. My own physical discomfort, due to the long waiting, suddenly seemed complementary to the travellers' obvious exhaustion – we were all engaging in a single project of connecting places, which can leave unpleasant bodily memories.

Transnationalism, Transmigrants, Transnational Social Fields

The aim of this article is to shed light on some aspects of situating identities within

a transnational framework. The practice of personal travel as a means of maintaining transnational social fields is focused upon. A micro-ethnographic study is presented of a bus ride between Sweden and Croatia. I argue for the central importance of fieldwork in ethnological/anthropological understandings of transnational practices and their implications, and discuss some methodological concerns.

The material I am using refers exclusively to people who can be classified as immigrants; here conceptualized as transmigrants. It includes labour migrants and their families, as well as people who came to Sweden as refugees. Their transnational practices are connected to some aspects of ethnic identification processes as I see and explain them in the frames of research on the construction of identities in diaspora and exile, which deals with Croatian immigrants living in Sweden since the 1960s and Croats who came to Sweden as refugees (mostly from Bosnia–Hercegovina) in the 1990s.[2] This article, thus, touches upon a topic that is marginal to the main purpose of my research, but nevertheless central to numerous immigrants' efforts to connect to distant places. It is in those places, but also in the very practice of connecting them, where their identities are situated.

From the perspective of my research, transnationalism is a useful concept, although its appropriation within different disciplines has been accompanied by an increasing ambiguity. A systematic presentation of the relevant literature in the field of transnationalism is beyond the reach of this article. I will just concisely define the terms employed here.[3]

Aihwa Ong's (1994: 4) distinction is adopted, of *transnationality* as the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space and of *transnationalism* as referring to the cultural specificities of global processes. As I argued elsewhere (Povrzanović Frykman 2001a), *transnationality* is the significant context of identity formation in diaspora and exile, while *transnationalism* is "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries" (Basch et al. 1994: 22). People who connect significant elements of their social and cultural lives across national borders have been named *transmigrants*, and the social spaces and networks of their everyday life – *transnational social fields* or *transnational social spaces*. Differentiating between "space" and "field" and deciding which term might be more accurate, is not crucial in this article. I am aware of the problems with analytical conceptualizations of *how* transnational relations take place (cf. Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 27), but, together with Linda Basch and co-authors (1994), I use the term field for its metaphorical implications in the context of discussing the practices of covering the geographical distance. In this article, *transnational social fields* can be seen as interchangeable with *transnational social spaces* as defined by Thomas Faist:

> Transnational social spaces consist of combinations of sustained social and symbolic ties, their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks and organizations that can be found in multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Cultural, political, and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use, and effects of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital, such as educational

credentials, skills and know-how, and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties (Faist 2000: 199–200).

The notion of *diaspora* needs to be discussed briefly, too. For their transnational existence and for making efficient use of many up-to-date communication possibilities, diasporas have been regarded as "the exemplary communities of the transnational moment" (Tölölyan 1991: 4). Yet, diaspora implies a group identity, or even a community, while transnational experiences do not necessarily depend on belonging to a group. It is precisely the community-building *potential* of a transnational practice I am going to discuss in this paper.

Further, the salience of political attitudes (and often political activities) for diaspora groups may not be shared by some transnational individuals and communities. However, some experiences coming out of, along with, or because of transnational practices might politicise identities.

Finally, the "mythical" relation towards the ancestral country characteristic for many diasporic groups (cf. Safran 1991) is of different quality than the homeland experiences based on regular connections (although, sometimes with a paradoxical twist, they do not necessarily exclude each other).

As explained by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (1999b), the notion of diaspora provides useful analytical tools, since it can be conceptualized as a social form, as a type of consciousness, and as a mode of cultural production. *Diaspora as a type of consciousness* encompasses a sense of identity based on a variety of experiences generated among contemporary transnational communities.[4] *Diaspora as a mode of cultural production* is best described in terms of syncretism, creolization, bricolage, cultural translation and hybridity. When referring to *social forms*, the notion is suited to the investigation of social relationships, political orientations, economic strategies, but also sub-national and supra-national networks and patterns of power, communications and conflicts that are *not governed by the modern nation-state*.

I presented an extensive list of references and discussed definitions of "diaspora" and the use of "diasporic" elsewhere (Povrzanović Frykman 2001a). Yet, it is important to state here that using the adjective instead of the noun hints at *processes* of people's identity formation, and keeps the research interest open towards a wide range of experiences that "interrogate and undermine any simple or uncomplicated sense of origins, traditions and linear movement" (Chambers 1994: 16–17).

Research in diasporas and the history of migration shows that the precursors of present immigrant transnationalism have existed for centuries. Yet, it is the regularity of activities, routine involvement and critical mass that distinguish contemporary examples of transnationalism (cf. Portes et al. 1999: 224–225).

Alejandro Portes and co-authors (1999: 221) distinguish *economic*, *political* and *socio-cultural transnationalism*, thus offering a useful working typology that helps in organising and interpreting what otherwise would be a chaotic set of activities collected in empirical research. A second distinction they propose is between *transnationalism from above*, i.e. transnational activities initiated and conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations and states, and *transna-*

tionalism from below,[5] which is the result of the less institutionalized initiatives by immigrants and their home country counterparts.

Many of the activities encompassed by the notion of transnationalism from above "are well known and have been examined from alternative conceptual focuses, including economic globalization, international relations, or cultural diffusion" (Portes et al. 1999: 223). Thus, the emergent literature on transnationalism has focused on experiences "from below", at the grass-roots level of initiatives of "ordinary immigrants". The condition of *disadvantage* to the dominant logic of the world economy – theirs as well as of the people in their home countries engaged in transnational practices – is *differentia specifica* of their position.

In this article, I will present a micro-ethnography of a bus journey between two destinations which definitely belongs to "transnationalism from below" as defined here. At the same time, the metaphor of a position "from below" also seems appropriate in relation to the bodily experiences of covering the physical distance between places of social and emotional attachment.

The Presence of State

In an obvious way, the terms transnationalism, transmigrants and transnational social fields imply that research interest in migration issues shifted from the integration paradigm to the transgression paradigm. The states' borders are transgressed in manifold ways, on a regular basis. As shown in detail by Linda Basch and co-authors (1994), crossing and transcending territorial borders in keeping their familial, economic, social, and political relations, people challenge the claims of cultural and political self-sufficiency made by states. The nation-state is seen as "weakened 'from above' by transnational capital, global media, and emergent supra-national political institutions. 'From below' it faces the decentering 'local' resistances of the informal economy, ethnic nationalism, and grassroots activism" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 3). However, the ethnography-based literature on grass-roots aspects of globalisation is filled with insights as to the presence and dominance of states as the inescapable framework (cf. Vertovec and Cohen 1999a).

"By living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation-states" (Basch et al. 1994: 22).[6] States do define the rules, by establishing physical borders and mechanisms of control, political systems of rights and restrictions, legal systems and policies regarding the labour market and social mobility, etc. Scholars focusing on the "deterritorialized nation-state" are aware of global relations between capital and labour, as well as of state-imposed hegemonic relations. Their use of postmodernist metaphors of "deterritorialization" and "unboundedness", does not imply that transnational practices take place in an imaginary "third space" abstractly located "in-between" national territories. States still hold the coercive power within their borders, and the social construction of place is still "a process of local meaning-making, territorial specificity, juridical control, and economic development, however complexly articulated these localities become in transnational economic, political, and cultural flows" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 12).

The celebratory attitude regarding the empowering potentials of transnationalism

that is present in some of the (earlier) writings, can be understood in the context of "discovering" the "high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting and the multiplication of activities" (Portes et al. 1999: 219) that migrants sustain across borders. Namely, their exchanges became visible as they gained a systematic quality and an unprecedented range due to the modern technology-based possibilities of communication via telephone and e-mail, travel and transport of money, goods, news, and accessibility of all kinds of media products.[7]

On the one hand, in the literature on diasporic identities, multiple identification and manifold cultural competence are seen as promising alternatives to essentialist definitions of identity and their dangerous political outcomes. On the other hand, researchers of transnationalism often point out the new potentials of economic and political empowerment of the underprivileged, as well as to the alternative forms of non-localized community. Vered Amit-Talai (1998) criticises the latter attitude, and by shifting the interest in the migrants marginalised in the capitalist economies to the well-paid trained expatriate contractual workers, makes her argument even more convincing. Much of the literature on globalisation and transnationalism promotes the vision of mobility, migrancy, and transnational identities as offering new sites and prospects of resistance to the power of the multinationals and the national state. These claims, she argues, "appear to speak more often to the disorientation of many intellectuals in the face of *fin-de-siècle* economic and political shifts than to persuasive empirical accounts of popular resistance" (Amit-Talai 1998: 56).

In relation to this general critique, it should be noted that "the literature on globalisation" and "the ethnography of transnationalism" encompass a range of very different interests, approaches and research results. In regard to the research in transnationalism from below, it is quite obvious that Cultural Studies' "sweeping invocations of fluidity" are of a different character to the transnationalism researchers' "faith in the imminence of radical resistance".[8] However, I fully agree with the demand for research into "the very nature or the sources of the very real insecurities produced both within and across state borders by recent economic restructuring" (Amit-Talai 1998: 45). Research, indeed, should "bring back into focus the enduring asymmetries of domination, inequality, racism, sexism, class conflict, and uneven development in which transnational practices are embedded and which they sometimes even perpetuate" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 6). Seen from a micro-ethnographic perspective, the imposed aspects of identity construction frames, the limits of negotiation and the restrictions of choice, are central to this article.

To conclude: anthropological and ethnological research in transnational migration cannot be criticised for underestimating or dismissing the importance of states. It is the transgressing, challenging, and undermining phenomena that are interesting, but the nation-state, indeed, is perceived as *the* reality of transnationalism. Michael Kearney's (1991) article, based on the ethnography of the illegal crossing of the U.S.-Mexico border, is the most illuminating analysis of the correspondence between transnationalism and the political economic and sociocultural ordering of late

capitalism that brings about the reordering of the nation-state. Directly related to my concerns in this article, Kearney's invocations of Foucault in the explanation of the definition-undermining potentials of "border areas", are valid. Kearney shows that the surveillance activities of the Border Patrol are not intended to prevent people's entry into the United States to work, but are a way of disciplining them to work hard and to accept low wages. He also shows that it is the incongruity of cultural (transnational), and political spaces (delineated by state borders) that makes "border areas" ambiguous zones, in which the social person of "the alien" is constructed. There,

> identities are assigned and taken, withheld and rejected. The state seeks monopoly on the power to assign identities to those who enter this space. It stamps or refuses to stamp passports and papers which are extensions of the person of the traveller who is 'required' to pass through official ports of entry and exit (Kerneay 1991: 58).

Seen from a perspective of my own work (cf. note 2), it seems highly improbable that any scholar doing field research in transmigrants' experiences could remain ignorant of the presence of both "host" and "home" states in people's narration on everyday issues, as well as on carefully planned financial moves or political concerns. Although their relationship to the Swedish state is not the focus of my research, in their elliptic, marginal remarks, people reveal the important presence of the state as a legal frame in their everyday life. In various contexts, the official state representatives are readily turned into "them, the Swedes", disclosing some of the dynamics of narrative constructions of difference from the immigrant point of view.

The awareness of national belonging as imposed and invoked in the course of a long bus ride across European borders, is one of the concerns of this article.

Limits and Constrictions, Abstract and Concrete

> An authentically migrant perspective would, perhaps, be based on an intuition that the opposition between here and there is itself a cultural construction, a consequence of thinking in terms of fixed entities and defining them oppositionally. It might begin by regarding movement, not as an awkward interval between fixed points of departure and arrival, but as a mode of being in the world. The question would be, then, not how to arrive, but how to move, how to identify convergent and divergent movements; and the challenge would be how to notate such events, how to give them a historical and social value (Paul Carter, *Living in a New Country. History, Travelling and Language*, London: Faber & Faber 1992: 101, quoted in Chambers 1994: 42).

Movement between distant places of attachment certainly is "a mode of being in the world" for people living in transnational social fields. The "challenge" of giving the movements "historical and social value" is already met by the very existence, the ways of functioning and the meanings of those social fields – not only for their active participants, but also for all people affected by them.

James Clifford (1997) has warned about the tendency to equate "diasporic identities" with disaggregated, positional, performed identities in general. Only if historicized, the notions of diaspora and transmigrant can escape the status of a master trope or "figure" for modern, complex, or positional identities. If Clifford's (1997: 268) theoretical claims about the relevance of identifications and not identities, acts of

relations and not of any pre-given forms, of networks of "partially connected histories, a persistently displaced and reinvented time/space of crossings" are operationalized into research questions, qualitative methodology is a must. To historicize the notions of diaspora and transmigrancy means to try to understand when, why and how they are shared by larger groups of people, thus becoming a base for certain types of identification. Here the strength of ethnographic experience is supreme, especially when it comes to the limits and constrictions relevant for identification processes:

> The breadth of our ethnographic experience offers a scope for imagining political possibilities and social formations that others have not yet considered. But the depth of our ethnographic experience provides a sobering index of a gap between imagining and actualizing these possibilities (Amit-Talai 1998: 56).

Research has shown that there are numerous ways of maintaining a transnational social field, i.e. of connecting places within it. When it comes to travelling between distant places of attachment, these ways significantly depend on migrants' financial possibilities. It is true that travel has become a mass commodity and is cheaper than it was some decades ago (not to mention the times of European migration to the Americas, when transatlantic travel was a life-project). Yet, among the many people eager to continue being transmigrants, whom I am meeting in Sweden, only bus rides, not air connections, are considered to be cheap, i.e. affordable. For example, a return ticket from Malmö to Zagreb costs 1 095 SEK and from Jönköping to Zagreb 1 295 SEK.

Croatian passport holders needed a visa to enter Denmark in 2000 (as well as in the late 1990s) even if having permanent residence in Sweden. Some people told me that the practical problem involved in acquiring the Danish visa (time that has to be taken off work, or the costs for travel to the nearest Consulate) was not the main reason for the bus route avoiding Denmark. It was the visa's price: 250 SEK for a year of multiple entrance. "People find it expensive", I was told in a matter of fact way. For a widowed mother of three whom I met on the bus, it almost amounted to one return ticket.

Although, or rather because, travel has become a mass-commodity, it clearly reflects class relations of today's world – in economic, social and all possible metaphorical senses of class as classification (from business-class waiting lounges to "non-EU citizens" entrances at airports; from diplomats' limousines to *Gastarbeiter* buses). On the one hand, travel stands for freedom of movement in a literal sense, as well as for metaphorical transgressions, growth and change.[9] On the other hand, hunger and fear have been among the chief motivations for "travel" in the twentieth century. "Historically many people have been recruited or coerced to travel neither for leisure, nor interest nor choice" (Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994: 214).

In the literature on transnationalism, travel stands for an active choice of keeping (through face-to-face contacts) transnational social relations. Yet, what happens to, with, and around their bodies is seldom under the control of the travellers themselves. Recent examples of people smuggled into Western European countries and who died before even getting a chance to develop their own versions of transnationalism, cannot give a relevant comparison in

the framework of this article. Still, such extreme examples of travel with tragic outcomes have a common link with the less dramatic bus rides discussed here, that is the restriction of choice and the harsh bodily experience.

By agreeing to become a passenger in a certain type of vehicle and run by a company with a particular profile, one is acquiring not only a matching bodily experience – of seating, temperature, (non)conditioned air, toilets, food, music, treatment by the personnel, but also a whole package of labels – materialised at the state borders – which make one wonder if any "taking off" of ascribed identities is easy (or possible at all). While travel anecdotes usually thrive on stereotypes, minute ethnographic insights can reveal deeper imprints of difference.

What follows here is a presentation of my impressions and observations made during two trips, from Malmö to Zagreb and back, in November 2000. I was accompanied by my children and travelling from the place in Sweden where I have lived and worked for the last three years, to my hometown in Croatia, where my closest family and friends live. Hence, I was not positioning myself as a researcher, but as a (transmigrant) traveller holding a Croatian passport as were most other people on the bus. However, I planned and prepared myself for making a double use of the trip, as both a transportation and a fieldwork possibility. I did not approach people in the bus with questions about their travel experiences, but opened my senses to what was happening around me, and to how I felt myself. I wrote down some observations during the travel; others have been noted later, or simply – remembered. Smells, for example, or the chill, do leave imprints in memory. The idea of such a fieldwork trip came about in the context of my research (cf. note 2) yet the salience of the bodily experiences of such travel became obvious to me only after being involved in it. This article is thus based on fieldwork that consciously relies on observations of non-discursive aspects of the experience of travelling, which are otherwise "hidden from history". It is a *post festum* effort to theorise that experience.

Many of the utterances that I overheard were meant to be overheard; people are aware of physical proximities in the bus. Also, for many, talking is the favourite pastime during the travel. It seems to be usual that a more talkative person "amuses" people sitting nearby. Several stories have been told to "wider" bus audiences on peoples' experiences of bus rides, smuggling, and encounters with customs controls; approaching a border is the usual context for such kind of narration.

The only things that I asked people about were their reasons for travelling to Croatia. Otherwise, I engaged in conversations primarily as a co-passenger, trying to affect the situation as little as possible. I answered personal questions straightforwardly. It was in the area of personal information, where my difference from "standard bus traveller" was soon noticed. I was different because of being an academic, and for not belonging to either of the groups equally represented on the bus – of people who came to Sweden as refugees in the 1990s, or of Croatian labour migrants who came to Sweden in the 1960s.

No private or otherwise delicate issues are touched upon in this text. Everyone – even the bus – is kept anonymous (I did not ask for people's names anyway). I met

three people on the bus whom I knew from before. The conversations I had with them, on matters other than those concerning transnational travel, are not included in the material used here.

Bodily Experiences and Other Insights

The embodiment of experience can be a vantage point for rethinking the human existential situation. In connection to the processes of national identification in wartime, I argued (Povrzanović 1997) that it is crucial in the analysis of the cultural outcomes of the lived encounters with violence, when the body "appears as a threatened vehicle of human being and dignity" (Csordas 1994: 4). In the situations in which violence constitutes a new reality, people focus on the here and now and prioritize the physical aspects of body before the social ones. Such a here-and-now presence secludes the persons exposed to the same deprivations and fears, from those from the "outer world" who do not share their experience. At the same time, it creates a space recognised as being authentic and providing a sense of community (Povrzanović 1997: 159).

I believe that something similar, although less extreme, is happening during the long bus rides through Europe. An important contextual moment should be noted: the buses operating between Sweden and all former Yugoslav republics are "ethnic" in the sense that people of the same ethnic affiliation tend to ride the same buses, most often driven by and owned by their co-ethnics. It happens that Muslim people from Bosnia-Hercegovina ride in the "Croatian" buses and vice versa, but I have not heard of Serbs doing so. The reasons are practical (the final destinations are different), but to a great extent also due to ethnic differentiation being one of the results of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in the 1990s.[10]

So, what does a bus trip from Malmö to Zagreb look like? Or rather, how does it feel?

Two unpleasant memories are striking when thinking of the bus ride a couple of months later: the darkness that prevented me from reading when I was awake and people around me were sleeping, and the smell from the toilet in the lower part of the bus. There was no running water, and the bucket used for flushing it was refilled far too seldom.

I was forced to stay awake, because the chair which was supposed to be folded into an improvised bed above my seat was broken. So, on my way to Zagreb, I spent the night hours half-sitting on a flattened-out double seat with my legs cramped between my two sleeping children, and a man lying next to me on the upper level. Since the "bed" was as wide as a chair, his body was literally a few centimetres away from my head, touching it whenever the man moved in his sleep.

This was one of the last rides the company made with that particular vehicle, before purchasing a new one. It was obvious that no repairs and improvements had been made to the bus for a long time. There weren't any pillows and only three blankets were available (I had taken my own pillows from Sweden and also decided that we should carry our own blankets on the way back from Zagreb). The tiny kitchen in the lower part of the bus was out of function, too. So, no cooked sausages were available, but only coffee and beer, sold for any European currency, but at high prices (that, at least,

was how people around me regarded the prices, remembering that coffee was included in the ticket when a Swede owned the company). The hostess just stated the obvious; she did not apologise once. A few people loudly shared their disgust and disappointment, but my general impression was that people accepted anything, knowing that excitement and anger cannot change the circumstances. Most refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina did not leave Sweden for five years; as that was a precondition for acquiring Swedish citizenship. So, today they are not only the most frequent travellers (every tenth ride is free), but maybe also not very demanding ones. Being able to travel is very important so that people do not consider leaving the bus in protest just because there is no water for the toilet. Although there are at least seven regular lines to Croatia starting from different Swedish towns (plus several "Muslim" lines, heading to Bosnia-Hercegovina; some are owned by Swedes and some by Croats and Muslims), there is no real market competition between the companies. All buses seem to be pretty full all the time.

An elderly woman who had come to Sweden as a refugee in the early 1990s fell down the stairs when trying to reach the toilet in the night, when no light was on. In some other circumstances and for some other person, it could have been a reason to sue the company, but it was seen (by her, as well as by the people around her) as bad luck – or even as good luck, for she only hit her face. Returning to Sweden a week later, she had a bruise under her left eye. In the meantime, she attended a wedding in Bosnia, but had to return to Sweden so soon afterwards in order to collect her social care money on a certain date.

A story that I overheard, but could not check, about a young woman who died shortly after such a bus trip due to blood-circulation problems (better known in relation to intercontinental flights), and the falling of the chair under which I was supposed to sleep, made me aware of the physical dangers involved in bus rides. The fact that I, as well as two other people sitting at the front of the bus, hit our heads violently against the TV set while trying to pull things from the luggage which was piled on the floor, confirmed that. A man whom I knew from before told me that he did not travel on the upper deck as he hit his head against the same TV set so hard that he had concussion.

He was on sick leave in Sweden and had to go to Croatia because his old father needed to be taken care of at home during the first few weeks after an operation. Some other people's reasons for travelling included: visiting relatives who had come to Sweden as refugees; visiting relatives in Croatia or Bosnia-Hercegovina; spending a month with a daughter (a refugee to Sweden) who had given birth to her first child; attending a relative's wedding in Bosnia, being the representative of the part of the family that had lived in Sweden since the 1990s; returning to Sweden after having done some repairs in the summer house by the Dalmatian coast: the husband coming later by car, while the wife was hurrying to see their newly born Swedish-Croatian grandchild. A young Croatian woman from Bosnia, now living in Sweden, was travelling in order to collect her husband who finally got a residence permit for Sweden; a Swedish born Croat of similar age was travelling with his father to pick olives in the family olive groves in Dalmatia. A

middle-aged Bosnian refugee to Sweden had buried her father in Bosnia and now returning. A Croat who had been living in Norway(!) for thirty-five years had gone to Croatia to sell some property and to have dental treatment at a much lower price than in Norway. A Croat now retired in Sweden had been to his home-town in Dalmatia to spend a month in his eleven-room summer house and wait for his Swedish-born children and grandchildren to join him at Christmas. Another man had to check the three empty family houses in his home-village in central Croatia: one of his own, and the other two remaining after his and his wife's parents had died. Three young siblings, accompanied by their mother, travelled in order to spend two weeks with their grandparents who had also come to Sweden as refugees, but had returned to Bosnia two years ago. Births, deaths, war events in their home-towns, life in Sweden, good and bad wages in Swedish factories, reminiscences from former bus rides... those are some of the topics that I heard about. Stories about small-scale smuggling seem to be the favourite genre. (They are deliberately shared and not seen as a source of moral concern; cf. also Haller 2000).

"People are suffering", a man said, referring to the very bus ride. There was, however, a humorous tone to it, a kind of a getting-along-with-destiny. When we were half-an-hour away from Zagreb, the atmosphere changed: there was the feeling of celebration happy laughter, as if an energy-shot had been pumped into each and every one. When the first Zagreb houses came in sight, people started to pack, put their coats on, stretch their arms and legs – preparing to leave the "monodimensional" space of the bus and start moving in their own directions, on their own accord.

"Difficult, narrow, wrinkled, stinking – but producing a kind of 'we are in this together' feeling", was what I wrote in my notebook during the trip from Malmö to Zagreb. The togetherness and the feeling of community were striking. Although the lack of space and the lack of sleep could bring about conflicts, people were patient and helpful. Everyone seemed to be caring for the children, addressing them, offering them food. The only disputes I witnessed were caused by some people who didn't want to sleep, i.e. in keeping their beds in the seat position they thus forced the ones behind them to remain sitting upright through the night. The rules were uttered loudly ("If you don't want to sleep, buy a seat downstairs!"), in an expectation of "public" support. The hostess did not interfere: "You make a deal", she said, and went downstairs.

Two men who had met on the bus, gradually became more and more tipsy and sang very loudly for at least two hours. Several people around them were not very pleased, but did not say a word. These two people – coming from Dalmatia and Slavonia respectively (two culturally distinct Croatian regions), and living abroad for more than thirty years – were comparing each other's competence in Croatian folk songs. (A Croatian woman from Bosnia joined in when the one who had been working in Sarajevo in his youth started to sing Bosnian songs.) There was a constant half-tense mocking between these two men who wanted to prove their superiority, through somewhat depreciating undertones based on stereotypes about the two regions they were coming from. One of them sang a

"Croatian nationalist" song for which he had ended up in jail thirty-five years ago. Politics was suddenly present when he, to a melody of a folk song, improvised the text about Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serbs' leader indeited to the International War Criminal Court in The Hague.

In another way, politics was also present in the moments when we had to show our passports. The hostess suddenly acted as a competent – initiated – messenger of authority: "All of you, have your passports ready!"; "Beds up – *they* want you to sit straight!" At one of the borders, we were sitting with our passports open, showing the photos to the Austrian police officer, who was looking at us carefully. Walking by in silence, he did not even cast a glance at the few passengers holding Swedish passports; he only uttered: "OK". "Austrian policemen are dangerous", a man said afterwards. (He was experienced, having travelled this route three times a year. After having been scared to death on a bumpy flight from Zagreb to Gothenburg, he decided never to fly again.)

A man in his fifties, holding a Bosnian passport issued in Banja Luka, and having a permanent residence permit in Sweden (and in Australia, where his children had lived since the early 1990s), was not allowed to pass through Austria because he did not have the "Schengen Visa" in his passport. "We can't leave the man on the road", the hostess said. It seems to be a border-police established rule that a passenger that is not allowed to cross the border, must be taken back to some petrol-station.

Other passengers were angry with him, or perhaps felt pity for him. The man himself was angry and very stubborn, talking loudly about his two permanent residence permits and claiming that, in his case, asking for the visa was absurd. Instead of paying a certain sum and getting the visa on the spot, he decided to demonstratively leave the bus and proceed from Slovenia by air. Anyway, we all had not only an extra half-an-hour of waiting because of this episode, but also an extra hour of driving back to Slovenia, and then again to Austria. At the border, our passports and our faces were checked once more by the police-officer who boarded the bus. Someone commented the next morning: "Did you see that yesterday? *Hajderovci* (Haider-supporters) – not even 'good evening', nothing!"

After yet another border had been passed, the hostess returned our passports, previously collected so that they could be handed to a German police officer: she yelled out our first names only. Every passport was then handed over from person to person, until it reached its owner. No one was anonymous any more, and we all had indisputable Croatian names.

Many passengers addressed the two drivers by their first names, too. They were regulars, or maybe they had met in a Croatian club in Sweden. During the ride, after the "ritual" asking for permission, some people who did not know each other, started addressing each other by *ti* (the Croatian equivalent of German *Du*). To my great surprise, the hostess used this familial way, too: such a trespass into privacy is hardly imaginable in a bus operating within Croatia. But is "privacy" a relevant notion in a bus like this at all?

The longer the travel lasted, the more things seemed to pile up in the gangway; the less tidy it became. Things changed

from being well-packed into a loose – and thus more voluminous – state. Food was taken out; people had home-made (or at least home-packed) meals with them. Saving money is one reason (the stops in Germany were long enough to be able to eat a full meal in the restaurants at the resting places, besides being hygiene halts), but food prepared by someone who cares provides the ones consuming it with a pleasant homely feeling, too. And so did the Turkish coffee – the only kind that could be bought on the bus.

Small transparent plastic bags for the rubbish were hanging on the armrests: a jolly installation as they moved to the rhythm of the road. The scent of mandarin orange peels was a counterpart to the smell from the toilet below.

Tiny "private" spaces could be created only on, around and under the seats. Some young people had Walkmans to cut themselves off from the surroundings. I thought that reading would serve as a shield of privacy, but the persistent Croatian folk-pop music from the tape, the talking, singing, and too dim a light, proved it to be a rather inefficient kind of shield.

Sleeping next to strangers was mentioned above. But people do not feel like strangers after spending a night in such circumstances. "We are in this together" is a shared feeling, I suppose. Gender is the last, basic differentiation category – people shift places according to their gender, but only if it is possible. Family members are privileged, for they can sleep next to each other more comfortably.

People were moving about in the bus, not only in need of the toilet or simply in need of movement (posing a question to the hostess was an "excuse" for going to the lower part of the bus). "Why don't you come and visit?" and "Here I've come to visit you", was uttered rather often: people visited those they knew or the ones with whom they had made friends with at some of the stops. Others made space for them to sit down on the armrests, or they leaned on the seats while standing. Home-made schnaps brought from Croatia or Bosnia, beer and whisky bought along the way, were offered. The six hour ferry trip betwen Rostock and Trelleborg provided the opportunity for playing cards, treating friends or bus-acquaintances with coffee or beer, of sleeping and of sitting in pairs or small groups and talking. I heard two men who had met on the bus, disputing at length the age of an acquaintance in a Croatian village whom they discovered that they had in common. I was asked if I knew a particular person in Malmö, Croatian, of course.

When shopping in a dingy little tax-free shop in Rostock's industrial harbour, I was given spontaneous tips about what (drink) was a bargain. On the other hand, the women queuing next to me did not "let" me buy a package of small bottles of *Underberg*, claiming that they were far too expensive.

"We'll be in luck – we just don't know if it will be good or bad!", a man said when we were entering Sweden again, hoping dearly that the police would not empty the bus in order to check what has been brought along, and thus delay us for another hour or two. We reached Malmö at you can say 10 p.m.; he was proceeding to Gothenburg – another three and a half hours away – and had to be at work in his factory at 7 a.m. the next morning.

On reaching Slovenia, a fifteen-year-old girl telephoned her granny in Bosnia several times, informing her about how close to

Zagreb we were getting. She seemed to know the exact schedule of the connections to the Bosnian town she was heading for. After sitting in the bus from Jönköping to Zagreb for thirty-three hours, she only had another six to go.

Time is a part of the value of travel. The "time out" of the travel intensifies and extends subjective temporality. Or, travel functions to delay or interrupt the otherwise irrevocable passage of time (cf. Curtis and Pajaczkowska 1994: 201). On a week's trip to Croatia, the stay is literally counted in hours. That is why the waiting at the state borders, i.e. treating people's time as worthless, is a particular form of humiliation (see Löfgren 1999: 19, and esp. Haller 2000: 62, on queues as border measures that create most physical and psychological strain). People were angry when the wait at the German border made us miss the ferry to Denmark (we saw it leaving the harbour), but there was nothing we could do about it. The grey afternoon hours of waiting at a parking lot in Rostock harbour felt similar to the early morning hours I had spent looking at the dim landscape by the highway somewhere in Germany, just wanting the time to pass. Time out of time, the empty time of waiting, is a burden to be endured.

To conclude: at the very beginning of the journey to Croatia, the hostess made a statement that at first seemed to be a slip of a tongue, but, indeed, confirmed the transmigrant character of these bus rides. She namely told the passengers with open return tickets that they would have to make the reservation ten days before "going home" – to Sweden. Otherwise, the mention of "home" was always with reference to people's homes in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina (although for many it literally meant only their relatives' homes).

In this chapter, a systematic description was not intended, but rather a collection of audiotive, olfactory and visual experience constituting a kaleidoscopic image. From another seat in the bus, or on some other date, this image could have been different, but most probably only in the details.

Multi-sited Identities: Methodological Concerns

In an important analysis of epistemological and political implication of the discourse of "identity" in the US academy, Roger Rouse (1995) recognises the novelty of anthropological analyses of multi-local identities situated in transnational social spaces. They are understood neither as markers of transition (towards assimilation) nor as signs of pathology (in the limbo of in-betweenness), but "as lasting and intelligible responses to the varied pressures people face" (Rouse 1995: 354). However, he points out that, "in many cases, (im)migrants continue to ground politically important claims in the assertion and revalorization of identities that are both singular and localized" (Rouse 1995: 355). From this perspective,

> those who celebrate migrants as exemplars of multiplicity and de-territorialization are guilty of *bad ethnography* because they fail adequately to listen and observe, and *bad politics* because they privilege the allure of current intellectual fashion, especially the metaphors of post-structuralist theory and the imagery of a literary postmodernism, over the practical realities of (im)migrants' lives and struggles (Rouse 1995: 355).

The "celebrating" of migrants as examples of multiplicity and de-territorialization can be challenged by depicting a distinct transmigrants' practice such as travelling by

bus. Within my research, the notion of transmigrants and transnational social fields is of great analytical value. Yet, some aspects of their transnational lives, like border crossings which reduce people to "wrong" passports, might have "essentializing" consequences for their self-understanding. It goes without saying that the ethnography presented here does not provide material that is complex enough for grounding a thorough analysis, but the intention was only to provide insights.[11] It also opens up for discussion some important methodological questions.

If "one of the most complicated components to investigate is that of the micro-dimension of transnationalism" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 26), I believe that here lies the possibility of a specific ethnological contribution, relying on qualitative methodology and focusing on the grass-roots aspects of transnationalism and the individual experiences thereof.

In talking about "unorthodox ethnographic methods", "ethnographic nomads" (ibid.) or "methodological pragmatists" (Wahlbeck 1999: 192), researchers stress that only fieldwork – necessarily multi-sited and preferably long-term – enables insights into non-homogeneous practices within transnational groups. Within the context of such fieldwork, "field trips" (understood literally, like the ones described here) are of great value. Identification and bodily practices assessed *in situ* provide ethnographic material that is complementary to the material gained through interviews.

An outline of a "multi-sited ethnography" has been proposed by George Marcus (1995). He suggests that researchers "follow the...": *people* (migrants/exiles), *thing* (commodities, gifts, money, works of art, and intellectual property), *metaphor* (signs, symbols and images), *plot, story or allegory* (narratives of everyday experience or memory), *life or biography* (of exemplary individuals), or *conflict* (issues contested in public space). Marcus suggests the tracing of a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations. He thus stresses the need to locate the discussions within a transnational framework where changes involve many locations at the same time.

A micro-ethnography of a situation (or rather, a sequel of situations) presented here might therefore be understood as being an "entrance" or "starting point" of several different trails of insights: through the travellers' personal histories and the stories that bus drivers might tell about their passengers; through the objects that are brought along, bought during the course of the journey and planned to be brought back – in both directions; through the situations of togetherness and of conflict in the bus; and finally, although the list is far from exhausted, through the narratives of everyday experience or memories that are shared between people during the bus rides. The "starting point" character of these hints should be stressed here, for any such "trails", of course, need elaboration.

With regard to the specificity of transnational experiences, a wider methodological concern may be mentioned in conclusion. Not only multi-sited ethnographies, but also transnational collaborative research projects are needed:

> Transmigrants from the same country of origin are now leaving from more regions and are following a more diverse and more diasporic migra-

tory path than in the past. ... More often than not these migrants are moving to more than one location in the countries of destination making their geographical dispersion more intense and more difficult to track by lone researchers. To counter these limitations, the ethno-centric and sometimes even imperialistic approach traditionally used by scholars from core countries should be revised and transnational, collaborative projects with scholars in countries of origin should be explored (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 30).

Borders and Communities

The relationship between *transnational* and *community* cannot be taken for granted; it has to be explored in each research situation. It is those links that transnationalism from below is really about. It is in the very practices of connecting distant places where transmigrant identities are entrenched.

I propose the existence of an *ad hoc community* of bus travellers. It is rather obvious that "ethnic" buses can be interpreted (and experienced) as being bits and pieces of real ethnic territories moving through Europe. The *ad hoc community* of bus travellers is thus "place-bound" with regard to the very bus, yet created by people's interaction during the journey. The shared immediate bodily experiences, as well as the shared codes of behaviour and of wider (self)understanding, make it a community in spite of its "on the road", highly contextual, and temporary character.

It does not make sense to simply assume that people are part of a community. "It makes more sense to ask how it is that groups and communities are constituted as significant at different times and what the significance and participation of different people and practices in these processes implies" (Turner 2000: 59). Such a complex question is able to capture the tension between the notion of identity as essential, fundamental, unitary and unchanging, and the notion that identities are constructed and reconstructed through action.

A reminder of the fact that migrants from the same country form heterogeneous groups of people, who came for different reasons and under different circumstances, with different personal and social endowments is never out of place. Ethnic groups in diaspora and exile are often seen as "ethnic communities", but some intra-communal differences are visible even in the loose interaction patterns in the course of bus rides, and especially in more or less loudly uttered remarks intending a differentiation from within, a confirmation of self-ascribed distinction. Not only "old" immigrants tend to see themselves as somewhat more refined and have more objections to the discomfort of the bus, in comparison to the people who came to Sweden as refugees in the 1990s (cf. Povrzanović 2001b). The former also seemed to be eager to point out their sharing of the Swedish living standards and standards of behaviour: the bus and the service were much better, many said, when the owner was a Swede. Some repeated rather loudly that that was the first and only time they were going to take that bus.

At the state borders, the *a priori* categorising on the basis of ascribed (national) belonging acquires a paradoxically a-personal quality when people must show their passports, all at the same time. The presumed perception of their passport as being "low-ranking" or suspicious by the pass-control representatives (cf. Löfgren 1999: 25), might re-confirm their emotional attachment to what the passport represents,

and thereby enhance its symbolic value. I do not believe that any of the bus passengers despise, or are ashamed of their passport at the moments of border police control (although they know that with some other passport they might have had a swifter and more comfortable passage). On the contrary: since forced to hold, look at and think about their passports, people tend to re-confirm their emotional attachment and positively re-evaluate their national symbols. I believe that the interviews focusing on these moments would reveal a remarkable grass-roots expertise in the paradoxical nature of passports:

> Many documents that mark people as distinctive individuals, identity cards for example, simultaneously constitute them as members of specific, horizontal collectivities and, in so doing, they underline that sustained possession of a distinctive individuality depends ultimately on the kind of collective legitimation that the state claims to embody (Rouse 1995: 362).

Discussing "the nationalization of anxiety" through "the rituals and practices of border crossings", Orvar Löfgren (1999) offers a number of historical and recent examples of feelings of guilt and discrimination instilled at the borders. Löfgren stresses the striking role of the "pedagogy of space" among the different ways of organising experiences, identities and communities.

Dieter Haller (2000) focuses on the community-organising aspect of the borders. He explaines how the border between Spain and Gibraltar influences bodily experience which, mediated by local discourse, becomes a productive element in the habitualization of a Gibraltar national identity. Writing about people's narratives of controls, measures, queues, heat, and harassing experiences around the border crossing, Haller traces their experiences of uncertainty, insecurity, tension, stress, impotence and vulnerability. He then explains how these individual experiences – communicated by the Gibraltarians as a part of their collective experience – generate a feeling of solidarity.

Haller's interpretation strengthens my claim that the axiomatic understanding of identities as (always) being negotiated can hinder the perception of their imposed aspects. The cognitive approach reflected in "believing" and "imagining" communities has to be combined with the phenomenological approach of bodily "feeling", bridging the gap between discourse and body (cf. also Povrzanović 1997). National identification cannot be fully understood if the habitualizing effects of national power on the bodies and emotions of individuals are not considered. Neither can the importance of arduous bodily experiences of people moving within transnational social fields.

To illustrate my community-creating point, the similarities and the differences between the advertisement flyers should be mentioned, too, printed by both the former Swedish and the actual Croatian owner of the same bus.

The only common traits are grammatical and spelling errors, and the fact that no web-sites or e-mail addresses are printed on either of the flyers – a fact worth noticing in Sweden, where most commodities are provided with Internet-addresses, not to mention all the possibilities of booking travels via the Internet. A potential passenger has to telephone and *talk* to the person responsible for reservations. (Tickets are sent home by post or collected and paid for in cash on the bus. They can be paid for in Sweden and collected on the bus by e.g. the

relatives travelling from Croatia to Sweden. Saying the name is enough, no written confirmation is required.) Here another important community-invoking detail is striking: as when booking air flights though an "ethnic" tourist office, or when reserving bus tickets, people are usually addressed by their first name – by *ti* (equivalent with German *Du*), and not by *vi* (German *Sie*), which in Croatian denotes a social distance in any formal contact.

The "Swedish" flyer presents the bus – with several colour photographs of an attractive, blond hostess – as a regular tourist charter line. The text is written in both languages, and accompanied by small Swedish and Croatian flags. (The Slovenian flag and the EU stars are also represented.) The professional image is confirmed by the facsimile of the company owner's signature.

The only (black-and-white) photograph on the "Croatian" flyer shows the actual owner's face. Presented by first name only, he welcomes the passengers. Along with a single line in Swedish, the rest of the written information is in Croatian. The text is minimal; mostly the flyer consists of the schedule and the price list. The white paper and the red details in the logo suggest red and white as being the Croatian national colours, but perhaps they were just the cheapest variant. The target group is so obviously pre-defined that there is no need to expose national symbols.

Not only can "ethnic" buses be interpreted as bits and pieces of ethnic territories moving through Europe, re-confirmed as such at international border controls. They might be experienced as such from the inside of the bus, too. There is a link between the community-making processes described here and the nationalist tendency of turning physical space into cultural space (cf. "the cultural grammar of nationalism" in Löfgren 1996). The travel experience is shared with co-ethnics, which implies the exclusive use of mother-tongue and provides the most important grounds for community-feelings among people otherwise surrounded by and forced to use a foreign language. Further, the travellers "feel at home" in sharing the codes of behaviour, and, not unimportantly, for the music accompanying much of the travel.

Finally, the last stop is Zagreb, but the contract made with a local bus company makes it possible for the passengers from Sweden to reach any destination within Croatia free of charge. Once reached, the national territory is equated with *home* in an important symbolic, but also in a practical sense, which puts forward the physical moment of homecoming.

Conclusion

During the mild evening of 6 January 2001, at the central bus station in Rijeka, the biggest Croatian Adriatic port, I witnessed the boarding of the buses leaving for Amsterdam, Basel and Frankfurt am Main. I could not see the luggage already stored in the buses, but I saw people in the gloomy cabin light, folding their coats and preparing for a long night. There were a lot more people around the buses. Last words, final hugs: Christmas was over, it was time to start working again.

A scene repeated all over the country, a standard sight. Large numbers make people and things more visible. The seeing off at the bus station in Rijeka was not purely individual and private; some kind of collectivity created by the tradition of migration

as "common destiny" had been confirmed. A part of national experience: ambivalence produced by dual attachments, by seeing clearly what is *better* at the other end of the transnational field – which always seems to be the place one is *not* occupying at the moment of consideration.

If this topic was to be explored further, a more encompassing comparative ethnography of situational relations among the transnational travellers would be required, of travelling to other destinations and by different means of transportation. Community-producing moments during the bus ride itself would be related to the subsequent narration about the journeys. A collection of personal narratives on those bus rides, compared to the narratives of people staying behind, would be a precondition for more complex insights.

The aim of this article, however, is limited to suggesting the explanatory potentials of micro-ethnographic studies of transnational practices such as travelling back and forth. Such studies can provide insights that are lacking in interpretations of ethnic and national identifications as processes of negotiation. They can namely hinder the perception of their imposed aspects.

Identities "are not free-floating, they are limited by borders and boundaries" (Sarup 1994: 95). We need to know what is going on from the perspective of people who experience these limits. The metaphor of "border crossing" often seems to imply the ease of movement and the disruption of relations between place and identity. If seen against the background of experiences attainable through fieldwork, the border crossings might appear as being shadowed by imposed identities. I hope to have shown the specificity of ethnological contributions to knowledge within the field dominated by other disciplines.

Finally, togetherness as an outcome of shared bodily experiences, is important not only in situations of extreme hardship, but also in "trivial" situations such as a twenty-six-hour bus ride. The shared bodily experiences of physical proximity and restrictions, uneasiness and pain, of controlled movement and exposure to the power of state authorities on different borders, are cohesion-producing forces. Although temporary and not a basis for further social intercourse of the very individuals gathered in the bus, their travels do affect much larger groups of people at both (or all) sides of transnational social fields. They may not be formative experiences, but they add to people's self-understanding in terms of belonging to an ethnic or national group. Thus, micro-ethnographic insights gained by such experiences might add to the understanding of how transnationalism, "far from erasing the local identifications and meaning systems, actually relies on them to sustain transnational ties" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 15).

The embodied geography of physical distances and national borders is just one element of transnational individuals' and groups' identification processes. Nevertheless, it is central to ethnographic accounts on the multiple and often burdensome experiences of connecting places. Such accounts are indispensable in the joint interdisciplinary effort of locating and historicizing transnationalism from below, in order to promote it as a useful scholarly concept.

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Notes

1 According to the figures from *The Croatian Statistics Yearbook* for 1995, 53.39% of ethnic Croats live in Croatia, and some 11.86% live in Western European countries. Most of them (6.43%) live in Germany. Some 30,000 Croats (0.43% of ethnic Croats worldwide) live in Sweden.

2 The project entitled "Seeds of War: Narrative Construction of Identities in Diaspora and Exile" is financed by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR) in 2000 and 2001 (see Povrzanović Frykman 2001b).

3 Many of the articles published in the 1990s are collected in Vertovec and Cohen 1999a. For a broad overview of research engaging the notion of transnationalism see Basch et al. (1994), Ong (1999), and Faist (2000), as well as the collections edited by Glick Schiller et al. (1992) and by Smith and Guarnizo (1998).

4 On the dignifying aspect of the very term *diaspora*, widely – and eagerly – adopted by the Croats formerly labelled as *Gastarbeiter*, see Povrzanović Frykman 2001b.

5 The term, appearing in Guarnizo 1997, was promoted as a title of the collection edited by Smith and Guarnizo in 1998.

6 Roger Rouse (1995: 359) claims that for Linda Basch and co-authors cited here, "it seems axiomatic that people living within the terrains that national and colonial governments have sought to dominate are fully caught up within the logics of identity that state agencies deploy". This critique has to be understood in relation to Rouse's focusing on personhood and collectivity in transnational migration. He namely contests the tendency "to examine struggles over collective identities, without reference to the related processes by which people are made individual", as well as "the widespread view that (im)migrants already possess collective identities in the places that they leave" (Rouse 1995: 352–353). Yet, Basch et al. (1994: 22) claim that transmigrants are not only engaged in the nation building processes but also *confronted* with them. That leaves open various possibilities of personhood and collectivity politics and practices.

7 The telephone is the oldest technology enabling direct communication and defeating physical distance. By mentioning it first, I am pointing out the fact that 'phoning still is the most democratic, the most accessible and the most widely used entry to transnational social fields – from both (or all) sides. Considered from e.g. a Swedish perspective where large parts of the population have access to the Internet at home, it might be easily forgotten that the wide everyday use of the telephone is the latest novelty in many localities from which labour migrants and refugees originate. For example, in a region some 60 km south-west of Zagreb, people living in the villages some 10 km from the local centre, were connected to the Croatian telecommunication system only in the late 1990s, at high private expense. These were often paid for by the money earned by their children and relatives in Austria and Germany.

8 Luis E. Guarnizo and Michael P. Smith (1998: 5–6) explain that "given the declining political influence of working-class movements in the face of the global reorganization of capitalism, all sorts of new social actors on the transnational stage are now being invested with oppositional possibilities, despite the fact that their practices are neither self-consciously resistant nor even loosely political in character. ... While transnational practices and hybrid identities are indeed potentially counter-hegemonic, they are by no means always resistant. ... (T)he liminal sites of transnational practices and discourses can be used for the purposes of capital accumulation quite as effectively as for the purpose of contesting hegemonic narratives of race, ethnicity, class, and nation".

9 Such meanings are importantly related to tourism as the "most profoundly privileged and subjective form of modern travel ... one of the principal symbolic experiences available to the modern self. The imperative to travel signifies the quest for the acquisition of knowledge and desire to return to a utopian space of freedom, abundance and transparency. Psychic desires are displaced in partial and vicarious participation in another set of relations (another place and time), and the self becomes realised as the hero of its own narrative of departure and return" (Robertson et al. 1994: 5).

10 In contrast to that, the airport of Brnik, Slovenia, as well as the check-in counters at Kastrup, Copenhagen, are becoming true "Yugoslav" places a couple of times a week, always at very late or very early hours: they might be the only remaining places where all south-eastern European languages can be heard at the same time. The Slovene national air-company is offering the only direct connection from Copenhagen, which happens also to be cheaper than any other air-connection – some 2 500 SEK (depending on the season) for a return flight. So, people from all parts of former Yugoslavia use it, and continue their journey from Ljubljana.

11 Equally problematic as the grand theories' overgeneralisations, is the pitfall of *starting* analysis at the micro-structural level and privileging "personal knowledge" that "may develop a kind of solipsistic tunnel vision that altogether fails to connect the human intentions to social structure and historical change" (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 25–26).

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Steps to the Past

A Town from the Perspective of Autobiographical Memory

By Pirjo Korkiakangas

Memory is a kind of an anti-museum: it cannot be delimited or located and only fragments of it emerge through reminiscence. In reminiscence there are also gaps, in which the past dozes. Memory awakens through narratives, and although the places that are recalled are present as images and memories they are also gone. The memories bind the reminiscing person to the places that are a part of their personal history and meaningful to them in particular. The individual memories bound to a location are some kind of mental histories that unfold to others only through the narratives of the person those memories belong to (de Certeau 1984: 108).

When beginning to reminisce about our life, we tend to construct it into a chronological continuum that we experience as being real and having actually happened as such. The memory is not as straightforward as this, however; the reminisced life is composed and constructed of different recollections and images of events, sometimes strong and vivid, sometimes merely passing through our minds. As humans, however, we prefer organisation to chaos, and when reminiscing, we perceive our life as a coherent whole composed of individual details and temporal organisation, following narrative logic. Janina Bauman has outlined the characteristics of reminiscence from the point of view of an autobiographer as follows:

> Writing an autobiography involves inventing, or even creating, a significant pattern of one's own personal history. It requires a selection of memories in accordance with this pattern. The selection is the first task but by no means the only one. Memories emerge as tiny pieces, with smaller or larger gaps always left in between. Tiny pieces do not constitute a narrative. In order to create a narrative, the author must fill in the gaps and smoothly and credibly join the individual pieces together. This is where imagination comes into the picture, imagination with an idea of authenticity to it: this could have happened. No autobiography can ever be written without this fictive touch (2000: 338).

In her text, Bauman discusses authors and their ways to prepare an autobiographical work but her thoughts can more generally be applied to both the study of reminiscence and the reminiscence of one's own life without literary pressure. A person's life and life narrative consist of the endless flow of individual events, personal event memories. The events are biographically connected: the focus of the reminiscence has thus widened from the "self" to the entire event and to its consideration from an autobiographical perspective. This, of course, raises the question: what determines which individual events are preserved as memories that are consciously reminisced and that may later affect our lives us not even being aware of it. An essential feature of this kind of memories is that they are conceived as some kind of milestones or turning points in one's own course of life, and they help the reminiscing persons to understand and interpret themselves as well as their whole lives (Pillemer 1998: 1–4).

In the following I shall look at the town of Jyväskylä as a kind of discourse of steps, a mental landscape reminisced by town-dwellers. [1] The discussion does not focus on the monuments or monumental locations generally recognised by the town's residents but on the lived spaces of individual people (cf. Lefebvre 1994 [1974]; Lynch 1968: 1–4), which have (or have had) meaning as monuments of their individual course of life. As places of individual autobiographical reminiscence, these monuments

could, in principle, be located anywhere. What binds them to a certain location, and to a certain time, is the life environment of the narrator and the identification with a place that wells forth from it; the identification consists of both individual and shared mental images which characterise the place in question. The ideas, memories and experiences of identity that are connected with the place also involve locating oneself; the question "where am I?" raises the question "who am I?". Thus, the place identities, as well as the process of locating oneself, are produced through experience and reminiscence (see Vilkuna 1996: 8).

The tripartition of social space by Lefebvre (1994 [1974]) has been examined as interrelationships between spatiality and temporality. According to Simonsen (1991: 427–430), spatiality manifests itself in three dimensions: as institutional spatiality, which refers to the structural and shared level of the social production of space; as lived space, that is, the meanings that individuals and groups attach to the space; and as individual spatial practices, in which the spatiality refers to the physical presence of individuals and groups and their spatial interaction. The interaction between an individual and the community culminates temporally and spatially in the individual biographies and life stories. Individual conceptions and experiences of temporality and spatiality are associated with conceptions of generations, spatiality and identity. Simonsen's (1991: 429) concept of a situated life story illustrates the temporal-spatial contextualisation of an individual person; the analysis of a situated life story focuses on examining chains of events, causing the significance of individual events to be seen as dependent on the entire "life project".

Place Memories in the Perspective of Individual and Shared History

This article is based on material constituted of what could be called situated life stories. The places are recalled autobiographically, as belonging to the different events of life. Individual situated memories are bound to a time in the narrator's life that he/she considers important, but besides that, also to a common, collectively experienced time and history. Individual and collective histories intertwine in a way, which causes the individual spatial experience to expand in reminiscence past the individual or even a family's shared experience.

When the time being recalled is at a long temporal distance, as is the case when an elderly person reminisces about his/her childhood, for example, the reminiscing person finds situating him/herself very important. It is a different time and a different place, the reminiscence is very reflective and the reminiscing person situates him/herself both temporally and spatially. Although reminiscence is very individual and autobiographical, situating oneself becomes easier if the reminiscence can be joined with a collectively shared experience and history. Thus, the historical, collectively recognised and historically verifiable event frames the individual experience and its memory.

Well, we moved then to Jyväskylä and my father was, the parliament in Helsinki used to assemble in the Heimola hotel at the time, and Helsinki was back then, there was also the war going on, the war you call either the war of independence or the civil war whichever way you prefer. – Helsinki was under a red command. You couldn't get out. My father was in hiding and they had to, they had to hide him a little there was an MP that was murdered even. So then, my father couldn't come home, I hadn't seen him. As a baby we had moved

to Jyväskylä and I hadn't seen my father in maybe sixteen months. And then when there was this man who came to visit – who was about the same size and, – a small slender man who wore glasses like my father. I thought it was him I ran towards him and shouted dad is here. First the joy, and then the disappointment and then the shame that I had thought a strange man was my father, and this these strong emotions made it stick in my mind it's the first memory the first thing I can remember myself. (Woman 1916; the narrator was about two years old at the time of the incident.)

This excerpt can be characterised as a personal event memory. It describes an event which took place in a certain place at a certain time and which concerns the narrator's own personal environment at the time of the event. The memory also covers a spectrum of distinct emotions, ranging from joy to disappointment and further to a strong feeling of shame. The narrator herself believes that her recollection is real and quite special even: she thinks of it as her first childhood memory. Rather typically, she makes use of her emotional experience as evidence for the reality of the event (see Pillemer 1998: 50–52). On the other hand, the personal event memory is part of a more general chain of events – the independence war of 1918 and its effects on a family in Jyväskylä.

The First and the Second World War act as important watersheds and means of outlining shared memories, especially for the Europeans (Connerton 1989: 20; Passerini 1992). Experienced individually, the historical turning points naturally intertwine with the different stages of life, different times and different places. Time, or a strictly determinated moment in time, thus turns into a secondary concept. It has significance only when included in the frame of individual or collective history, where it has a sense or a position from the point of view of experience. When experienced, time grows multilayered: the past moment is a part of our past, which we look at from the present time. Time gives a perspective for the way we interpret our individual and collective past and present. For individual memories, however, the period of life is essential in which the individually touching event, which can also be associated with the experience of collective history, has taken place. The memories of childhood experiences, in particular, are completely different and have completely different effects than the memories accumulated at other stages of life (Elder et al. 1993; Korkiakangas 1996: 34; Korkiakangas 1997).

Furthermore, it is understandable that upsetting childhood experiences may intermix with things that the person hears about later, like in the following citation, where the narrator reminisces about the Second World War. He was three years old at the time of the incident. In fact, Jyväskylä was bombed only during the Winter War, in the last days of 1939. In the Continuation War of 1941–1944, Jyväskylä was spared from actual enemy bombings but there were frequent air-raid alerts, especially in 1944 (Tommila 1972: 567–570), the year the narrator reminisces about. One particular air-raid alert has stuck in his mind as a traumatic memory, his only memory of the war. As regards location, the memory is mainly anchored to the working-class neighbourhood of Halssila. In spite of its traumatic nature, the memory also incorporates many features of a vivid memory (Conway 1995; see Korkiakangas 1996), that is, auditory images and strong emotions, in particular – the howling sirens of air surveillance, the thunder of the bombings as-

sumed by the narrator, the crying children. The entire memory is characterised by anxiety and fear of death:

> Of the war I remember clearly this one stage when in forty-four Jyväskylä was bombed, and my mother grabbed my brother put a blanket around him and took my hand and... cried that now we're going to the woods, we could hear the sirens, the sirens howling. Every woman from the Halssilanmäki hill ran with her children down to the woods. And then there was the booming noise.– Of course there was other bombings too but that one was, we got into a real panic – the planes they got so, right above us – and that crying when, the children were lugged into the woods. That's the only memory I have of the war. (Man 1941.)

The traumatic emotions remain when the narrator reminisces about the life after the war, a time when the family was lacking even in food. Their home was still in Halssila (on the Halssilanmäki hill), and the narrator went to a school that was about two miles away from the home. The narrator's school years were overshadowed by the shame he felt for his family's straits and for his own "defects". He had poor eyesight and was therefore the first person in his school to wear glasses: "They really made me suffer for that so I always came home crying. They called me four-eyes. Then little by little they, gave it up." The narrator has fond memories of his teacher, however. Apparently she was aware of the situation in the boy's family and she gave him little tasks to do after school to help them: he held the skeins of yarn while the teacher coiled them, he shook the carpets, etc. This gave yet another reason for the other children to bully him: "They bullied me about that too. Teacher's pet and that sort of thing. But I did it to get milk and buns and biscuits afterwards." However, the family's poverty and their need to resort to the post-war social security caused the most tormenting shame, still bothering him as an adult:

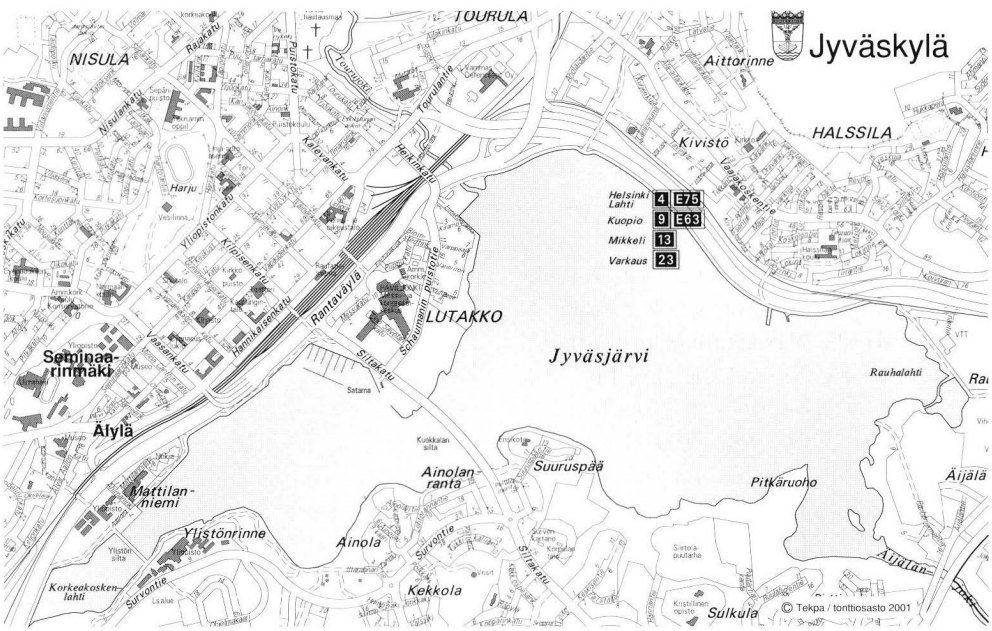
> But this one thing that I will also remember for the rest of my life is – after the war they gave out food at Halssila school. And I was the eldest child so I always had to go get it, with a milk churn. In the winter they always warned me don't slip, that is the family's main meal for the day. Or all there was. They gave me a two-three-litre churn and a few plates of crispbread. Halssila school was about one and a half miles away from Halssilanmäki hill. And I carry the churn and I'm scared of falling and then it happened once that, I fell and the churn flew from my hand and, it all ran to the ground. I couldn't go back home. I sat there by the side of the road cried and ate the crispbread. Then, I remember it was getting dark and I was really scared –. Then my father came walking, he had guessed. – He saw me I'm crying it's not my fault I... He said it's ok that we have some bread at home, don't cry now. All that has kind of stuck in my mind, – I still remember how the churn flew from my hand and, there it went the potato soup. (Man 1941.)

A situated life story seems to follow the same kind of pattern in reminiscence as life stories in general. The reminiscence proceeds by the different stages of life, some external change or personally significant event characterising each new stage. In change, the place may act merely as a frame, as in the previous citations. On the other hand, a change in the physical environment always brings something new and different on the level of experience, too. Different places of residence within the same town usually clearly divide into periods the reminiscence of the person's own and, more generally, the town's course of life. In the foregoing citations the narrators use the historic period, the wartime and the depression that followed it, as a background for their individual childhood events. The

memories are also connected with particular places that have been significant to the person's own life history. The spatiality is thus associated with the individual time, or the events that have taken place in the person's life. The mode of life model employed by Simonsen (1991) incorporates the idea that temporality and spatiality are closely bound together and that this bond directs the choices and the time allocation of an individual or a family. Upon reminiscence, the situated life stories tend to proceed from one dwelling to the other. The memories of the living environments of different periods may give an impression of being, and partly even are, of photograph-like precision and portray the times and the common way of life as well as the individual life story. This is the case in the following excerpt, which resumes the reminiscence of the lady born in 1916 of the Jyväskylä of her childhood days. Her reminiscence paints a picture of the lifestyle and goings-on of a small rural town in the early 20th century:

> Well, the first place in Jyväskylä which my father had got for us before joining the parliament, that was in 6 Kalevankatu Street, a very modest flat, it was a three-family house, right by the street, and a picket fence surrounded the rather large site, the owner of the house even had a small potato patch there and a kind of a garden. On the other side of the yard there was an outhouse, where there was a privy and a shed, each tenant had their own corner in the shed and, took care of it themselves, the house was heated with wood. And then there was a tool and coach house, because the owner of the house, he had a farm too, – and he had horses there too so from time to time he would come with the horses to town, and he needed a place for the cart or the sleigh, and a small stall where he put the horse. So all these were in the outhouse that was on the other side of the yard. (Woman 1916.)

Next, the family moved to a quarter called Älylä. As its name – a place where intelligence abounds – suggests, the area was a



The map of central parts of Jyväskylä.

conglomeration of villas and gardens owned by the lecturers and professors of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and later those of the College of Education. Almost the entire Älylä[2] was built in a very short period of time between 1912 and 1914. As regards its population, the area was socially very homogenous: it was the residential area of the town's then prevailing cultural elite. There are still some representatives of the old cultured families living in Älylä at present, and it is the only one of the older residential areas of Jyväskylä that still mainly consists of wooden houses. The cultural heritage of the area is further fostered by the museums that have been built there: the Museum of Central Finland in the verdant upper part of the area in 1960 and the Alvar Aalto Museum in the site of Juho Mikkola's house, the former head of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College, in 1972–73 (Kiiski 1976: 217, 242). The narrator, the woman born in 1916, continues her reminiscence:

Well then, the time came that my uncles' and aunts' children got old enough for secondary school, and at that time there were no secondary schools in Karstula or in any other rural commune for that matter –. The schools in Jyväskylä had a better reputation and you applied here of course, and, as they happened to have some relatives here the parents began bargaining that couldn't we take the children that they wouldn't have to send them to live with strangers. So our house became a residential home. It was, we were five, our family, and then suddenly we had four school children living with us and then two young bank clerks whose homes were outside Jyväskylä so they needed a place to stay in Jyväskylä and they worked with my sister. So suddenly we were a household of twelve people. And this flat of three rooms and a kitchen where there wasn't even, well the water came in and went out. Those were the only facilities. But there were no loos, let alone bathrooms so we used a public sauna whenever we needed to use a sauna. But then we found, the Jussila house in Älylä. Jussila[3] himself lived in a house along the street it was a kind of light greenish grey or something, and then there was, the gable facing the street – a red house – and he rented the red house to us. But it turned out to be too cramped, there was only, downstairs there was, a dining room, two other rooms and an alcove. And one room upstairs. So there wasn't really room for twelve people. We somehow managed to live there for a year, a little over a year. And then Ojala, the head of the seminar, he died, and he was replaced by Mikkola. [The family moved to Juho Mikkola's house.] – There were rooms on two floors. Downstairs there was a drawing room, a dining room, three bedrooms and a kitchen so five rooms downstairs, and upstairs there were two normal-size rooms and one smaller, like a maid's room, so there was enough room even for us. Two people were put in each room so nobody had to sleep in the drawing room.– I was the odd one out and I slept on the sofa in the dining room.

During the narrator's childhood years, the family moved to another house once again, but they still stayed in Älylä:

– we lived in three different flats, the last one was, it is still standing like the Jussila house, it was built then. I guess my mother got tired of taking care of the household for such a big lot and my sister's husband had died and my other sister had moved to Helsinki, so there was only my father, my mother and me left then. – there was no reason for us to have such a big house, there was a two-storey house being built on the opposite side of the street – and it was the first house which had, we had a bathroom and a loo. There was a loo in the two houses in Älylä but there was no bathroom instead there was a sauna in both of them. – They also had, privies even though there were loos too both of these houses in Älylä had a privy, and when it was warm the school children [who lived at home] went in there to share their secrets. Why would have one wanted to queue for the loo, with twelve people there was always a queue. (Woman 1916.)

In a few years time (in the early 1930s), after the father of the family had died, the mother and daughter moved to Helsinki. In the 1960s, the narrator returned for a few years to Jyväskylä, her childhood home. In a way, the moves followed the development of the present-day Jyväskylä University, which the narrator finds to have had a distinct effect on the town's development. She moved with her mother to Helsinki approximately four years before the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College changed into the College of Education (in 1934), when the "secondary school graduates, the studying secondary school graduates became part of the town's life". At the time she returned to Jyväskylä for the first time, the college changed into a university (in 1966) and "then the town really changed". In a few years time, the narrator moved to Tampere and back to Jyväskylä again in the early 1980s when she retired. In her old age, the narrator's reminiscence seems to concentrate on her childhood days spent with her family in the Jyväskylä of wooden houses, whose townscape began to change, however, in the 1920s and 1930s by the emergence of multi-storey stone and brick houses to complement the already existing population of small two-storey stone and brick houses. Before 1930, there were altogether nineteen two-storey houses made of stone or brick in central Jyväskylä; by the mid-1970s, more than one third of these houses had been demolished to give way to bigger high-rise buildings.[4] The emergence of the first multi-storey houses in the 1920s and 1930s already foreshadowed the shift from a town of low wooden houses to a town of high-rise buildings made of stone and brick (Jäppinen 1976: 103–107).

The Jyväskylä Living in Memories – an Idyll of Wooden Houses

Looking at the town from the lake, you could see a beautiful, leafy park with the gables and roofs of low wooden houses appearing here and there. Today these houses are – elsewhere than in the areas of Seminaarinmäki [the University of Jyväskylä Campus] and Älylä – reduced to only a few samples of the precious cultural period that we have lost. The pleasant wooden houses that were a joy to look at, the entire integrated town of wooden houses have disappeared. Of the thousand oldest wooden houses from the turn of the century, there is left only about a twenty. Today, faceless and stiff concrete buildings leave their cold and monotonous mark on the town (Tissari 1987: 27).

Usually, when reminiscing about the old Jyväskylä, the narrator "walks" through the town of wooden houses that lives on in their memory and reminisces about the Jyväskylä that no longer exists. Up to the beginning of the 1950s, the general appearance of Jyväskylä was that of a rather small, even sleepy, rural town, the peacefulness of which was emphasised by the harmony of its low wooden houses. After the Second World War, however, at the close of the 1940s and in the 1950s, the town's unhurried lifestyle underwent a critical change of course, which was further accelerated in the 1960s and 1970s: the small town of wooden houses was transformed into a medium-sized town of stone and brick houses. The town's population increased from the little over ten thousand in the 1940s to the thirty thousand in the 1950s. This was mainly a consequence of the incorporation of Tourula, Halssila, Nisula and Lohikoski, areas outside the then existing town proper that were inhabited mostly by industrial workers, into Jyväskylä in 1941 and also by the settling of 4 000 evacuees. The new towndwellers were in

The centre of Jyväskylä in the 1930s and 1940s. Museum of Central Finland, picture archive.

desperate need of housing and this is why the low wooden houses had to give way to high blocks of flats. During the following decades the rate of growth became faster and faster, and finally in the 1960s and 1970s, the town and especially its centre had undergone a complete transformation. Culturally and historically important buildings and architecturally harmonious blocks of wooden houses were systematically and mercilessly pulled down: at the close of the 1960s no more than one fifth of all residential houses dated back to the time before the Second World War. (Ojala 1999: 27–28, 66–67; Jäppinen 1997: 278–283). Therefore, it is very understandable that the decades of upheaval do not inspire reminiscence in the towndwellers; their memories tend to go back to earlier times.

The changes in the overall appearance of Jyväskylä during the last decades naturally also draw us into comparing the lost town living in memories with the Jyväskylä of today. The reminiscences convey regret for the destruction of all things old; the old building population has had to give way to the new, more urban one. The town administration and the decision-makers, however, prefer a completely different set of values in marketing the image of Jyväskylä – they portray the town as an example of dynamic development. Although the towndwellers largely accept this image, the Jyväskylä of the old days appears as more genuine and real in the minds of those who still remember it. The current rate of change and development remains mainly a source of astonishment.

Our constructed environment is in a circle of constant change: change is perceived exclusively as a feature of the modern times – despite the fact that this is not the first time the building population has been renewed nor the first time there has been a

need for it. Nevertheless, in Jyväskylä the development has been directed towards the destruction of old things, and it seems to be very difficult for many towndwellers to adapt to the rate of development. It is also felt that the new and the modern cannot possibly compensate for the losses:

> And I remember those beautiful gates there were those board gates and the wooden houses and the beautiful carvings in the window frames, and then came all the machines and fancy equipment then all they can make is straight walls with or without holes. And bland. And then those beautiful like there where nowadays there is Gummeruksenkatu street there used to be the old wooden houses and the old pharmacy there was this lovely, I remember the, there were those beautiful diamond-shaped windows and different colour glass. (Woman 1944.)

Above all, people want to remember Jyväskylä as a town of wooden houses, characterised by low commercial and residential houses. As such, the image is collective and unites the towndwellers who remember the time in question. In the reminiscences, one can detect a touch of nostalgia, in which the people and the way of life of a small town are joined with a pleasant and controllable environment (see Davis 1979). Within the general framework, small details of individual buildings are also recalled – those in particular that are no longer part of the townscape. In the same way as the previous informant, many others, too, stopped in their reminiscence at the corner of the old pharmacy of Jyväskylä, which was situated on Gummeruksenkatu Street and built in 1861. Their attention was drawn especially to its entrance porch decorated with coloured polygon windows. The pharmacy operated in the same building for a hundred years; in 1964 that building as well as the other wooden houses on the same site were pulled down to make room for a seven-storey residential house (Kydén & Salmela 2000: 67–69).

The reminiscence of the old Jyväskylä constructed in wood serves as an answer to the need to find something stable, especially in the midst of the development which began in the 1960s and 1970s and which still continues – the development which has caused the constant change in the townscape of Jyväskylä. Characteristically to reminiscence, the past environments, which are felt to be permanent even when they are gone, are preserved as material for both individual and collective reminiscence. They are permanent as memory traces. By reminiscing about the Jyväskylä of the old days, even with a trace of nostalgia, one deliberately controls forgetting. One remembers the past as one wants to remember it, even though the positive sides of the town's current development are also acknowledged – the increased tidiness of the town centre and the facilitating effect of the pedestrian streets on walking, shopping and taking care of other errands. It seems, however, that remembering and forgetting do not go hand in hand. Instead, by remembering we emphasise the need for preservation in order to express our appreciation of the past.

Roaming the Streets

Timo Kopomaa (1997: 27–28) has described urban space as a collective commodity: it is open for many users simultaneously, an object of shared use and consumption. Each person uses the space as an individual but he/she is still dependent on the rules, norms and conventions concerning the use of the

space. In the Jyväskylä of the 1950s it was still the custom that adherence to the rules was supervised by beat policemen, who used to walk in pairs, maintaining order. Gatherings in public places were strictly regulated: in the streets, for example, it was prohibited to stay in one place even with a small group. Kopomaa refers to Michel Foucault's (1980) idea of discipline dividing people spatially. According to Kopomaa (1997: 30), the street is a totalitarian institution of society, and an element of discipline. The informants remember that in the Jyväskylä of the 1950s the groups of young people that gathered in the streets and wandered about were under particularly strict surveillance:

> We wandered about in town and. And spat and. Also the only time in my life I landed in jail was when I, we were four mates and. We just walked there the usual Kauppakatu, Asemakatu, Kilpisenkatu, Väinönkatu Streets this circle round that block. In the early fifties, in fifty-five, six you were not allowed to gather like this. The police were you see, always two and they, said break up you are not allowed to gather and. We had hair pomade and these, hats on and we spat and, the first time they said now boys clear off and stop that spitting, but we didn't we were back in no time. I guess they got fed up with us then they took us into jail, they kept us in jail for three hours because we, had gathered and spat there, on Kauppakatu Street. (Man 1941.)

Wandering the streets can be regarded as a manifestation of youth culture, to which the youth of today, assembling in the centre of Jyväskylä at the weekends, is an extension. The stretch of Kauppakatu Street which is closed from traffic for pedestrian use and the shopping centres along it, in particular, serve as meeting points for people of all ages – and especially the young. In the same way as before, the gatherings of young people are not always looked at approvingly, and some of the youngsters themselves admit being tired of loitering in the shopping centres and on the steps in front of them (Junkala & Sääskilahti 1999: 58–66). It is true, however, that there are not many other places available in the town centre which would be suitable for their daily get-togethers.

The youth walking about the streets could also be described as idlers or, as Walter Benjamin (1986: 45–49) calls them, *flâneurs*: wandering about and observing the street life, they aim at seeing and at being seen. For adolescents, being seen, making an appearance, watching others and being the object of gazes is the main motive for gathering together. Like the youth of today, the Jyväskylä youngsters of the 1920s, 1930s and 1950s – boys with hair pomade in their hair, walking around the block – also wanted to be seen, but to stand out, too. The streets and wandering about the streets are a part of the communication between the young, in which the meanings bound to both place and time are common to all the groups of young people roaming the streets. The police, on the other hand, have interpreted the stirring and gatherings of young people from their own frame of reference, and have acted accordingly in trying to break up the groups of youngsters.

The elderly towndwellers seem to think that the town centre functions quite well. The pedestrian street, almost the full length of which is kept unfrozen even in the winter by a heating system, serves as a safe passage from one shopping centre to the other. With the coming of the pedestrian street the town centre is regarded as having become tidier and better functioning in many ways. Moreover, in the summer the pedestrian

street is looked upon as an oasis, which brings a breath of international atmosphere for the passers-by to enjoy.

I was rather sceptical about the whole pedestrian street but now I have realised because there is the heating now, it stays unfrozen in the winter. So it's marvellous. I give it my blessing in that respect. What I was surprised by was that, how could they pull down all the houses along the street, make them hollow inside. They used to be full of apartments and offices. Suddenly there are no walls, just the corridor and there you zigzag your way, to the shops in different directions, it's as if they had suddenly become hollow, the old stone houses. They changed completely. (Woman 1916.)

It's true that it's a kind of an oasis in the summer, that you can go and sit there, there are those, what do you call those square things. Yes, seats –. Many people sit there, and now there are those open-air bars, pubs and there's one in front of almost every house. – It does feel nice when it's a warm day, it feels really relaxing to walk there, you don't have to wear much clothes, watch the people there's a lot of foreign tourists. (Woman 1927.)

In the reminiscences of the elderly people, in particular, the town is an organised whole, which is defined by the memories of the old town of wooden houses, on the one hand, and by the more vaguely conceived decades of change, the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand. Although the town is still partly transforming into something new, all new things are not condemned on the basis of memories; instead, the current situation needs to be taken under control, too. These efforts to achieve control are helped and supported by individual factors considered as having a positive effect on the town's development and general atmosphere, such as the pedestrian street.

The pedestrian street in the centre of Jyväskylä in 1999. Memory Archives of Central Finland.

People and Places

A town can be examined through the different images that it evokes in the towndwellers and in those who use the different areas and places of the town. These images can be physical, concerning buildings, spatial areas, limits or landmarks. The images may also accommodate more human, social and communal signs: in this case the above street routes could be explained by social channels and points of contact, for example (Lynch 1968: 123–139). In reminiscence, the events and places of everyday life often also involve people who have stuck in the reminiscing person's mind particularly well: they serve as social landmarks and guide him/her through the places of his/her memories. The situated life story (Simonsen 1991: 429) is bound to time and place as narratives, the principal roles of which are played by the people who come to the mind of the reminiscing person as recollections and by their then ordinary daily lives. Upon reminiscence, however, the ordinary is transformed into extraordinary because its ordinary nature has become history. I shall illustrate this process by the mental wandering of the male informant, born in 1941, quoted above: in his mind, he wanders through the alleys of Halssila in the Jyväskylä of his childhood days, and the people he "meets" guide him further in his childhood environment. The narrator's family, which in those days consisted of the parents and two sons, moved to Halssila in 1943; they became the tenants of a Russian-born shopkeeper, and lived on the upper floor of his house in a flat of one chamber and a kitchen. The shop was downstairs. According to the narrator's recollection, the shopkeeper himself was a peculiar, superstitious man:

> We lived there on Halssilanmäki hill, in Siilinkuja lane, there was Varonin's house, on the upper floor of a wooden house – downstairs there was a shop, Varonin's shop. – And this Varonin had been Russia – these emigrants or emigrated from there. And a very superstitious man. He had an apple garden there were apple trees and for us Halssila kids that was one heck of a place. He thought he could, with some red pieces of string, to hold us in check, he hung them and cast those, spells so that the kids wouldn't steal the apples. But he didn't scare us off. We teased him a little because he was so that he didn't really speak Finnish that well. The big boys once decided to throw a cat in that well and so they did and then there were even the police involved because, Varonin got cross with us for casting such spells on him. He reckoned that everything people do is magic and witchcraft. The apples were good, though. (Man, 1941.)

The reminiscence proceeds along Siilinkuja Lane. Next to the narrator's house lived a smith, in the house after that a cupper and at the end of the street there was a ski shop. It was the end of the 1940s, and according to the narrator, in the town of wooden houses life was still warm and human. The neighbours were acquainted and self-sufficient in many services. For the children in the neighbourhood, watching the activities of the adults and all the comings and goings of everyday life was a kind of a school of adversity; indeed, their reminiscence often focuses on people and their affairs.

Life in the working-class neighbourhood of Halssila appears very realistic in the reminiscence of the narrator. The adults had secrets of their own, which they could not, however – perhaps did not even want to – completely hide from the children. The children naturally understood things in their own way but, watching the adults, they shared in the joint secrets of the community. The life environment embraced its own

way of life, to which outsiders had no access: thus, the community was fortified to endure the intrusions of outsiders. According to the same man's (1941) reminiscences, the self-sufficiency of the community extended even to a kind of "social security" – the community took care of its own:

> When we lived there in Majavakatu Street there was, I won't mention his surname but Topi, lived with his family. When people had my mother and father had to use too, borrow money. Topi always lent it. I mean you could always get it from him. – And this Topi was one of the most well known bootleggers in Jyväskylä. – And there used to be a lot of the city fathers came there by taxi, to get the booze and then every little while came the police cars came there, to raid the place. But the way he managed to avoid being caught was, he had two sons, our age. And one that was a little bit younger. Every time the police came in the wife took the child and took him to this wooden bed where children used to. And the police never rummaged in the child's bed. And it had a false bottom and underneath were the bottles. Then they found it out. This Topi he also had a wooden leg. He had in Halssila or ... he had been run over by a freight train and lost his leg. When he was drunk, he always showed it to us children told us boys to come and see how he drove a nail into his leg and the first time when you didn't know it, when he put a nail there and hit it with a hammer... He really liked children and then he kept us there and said if you hear a police car coming let me know straight away. – Many a time we sat there on the fence and watched the police go through all the stores but they didn't find anything. (Man 1941.)

Reminiscence and the Permanence of Places

A situated life story attaches the reminiscing person to a time, a place, people and events significant to his/her course of life. The significance of events is very personal: characteristically to individual reminiscence, an event significant to the reminiscing person may be totally insignificant to an outsider. Moreover, a situated life story provides the reminiscence with coherence, which helps the reminiscing person to "move" in times and places and to tolerate the features of the present which are still unorganised, or which may even feel uncomfortable. Jyväskylä is an illustrative example of a town whose townscape has undergone more or less radical changes during the last decades. In a situation like this, coherence must be sought from the past, from what is physically gone. In the case of Jyväskylä, the elderly narrators find it in the period of wooden houses. Changes, especially when radical or clearly challenging the past, easily entice us into looking back nostalgically on the past times, which often are also lost. In a way, nostalgia is used to call something that no longer exists; the present, on the other hand, does not evoke nostalgic feelings. Change is always required for the nostalgic feeling to arise, and the present thus exists by way of its past.

Although the past is often seen in a nostalgic light, it does not exclude being content with the present at the same time; the present is regarded as having its own advantages. In fact, there is no other way of going back to the past than reminiscence; a part of the town of memories actually is only a town in the memories. If the object of reminiscence still existed, it would not have to be reminisced about as something that has been lost. On the other hand, if past times were to return, they would be familiar and satisfactory for some towndwellers only; the development of a town cannot be entirely based on memories, either (Forty 1999).

The development prospects of Jyväskylä are clearly future-oriented, a tendency which could be seen already in the upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. It seems that during those decades the town was not considered to be something that should uphold the past, but the trend was rather to create new things, encouraged by the optimism of the economic boom. At that time, there was no room for reminiscing about the past – and people experienced no need for it, either. In Jyväskylä, the present and the past – the time of the wooden houses – are separated by the fact that the present time is constantly changing: it has not reached a similar degree of permanence as the Jyväskylä now reminisced about. Nevertheless, in recent years, in particular, remembering and its meaning have occasionally manifested themselves collectively: collective reminiscence has proved valuable in serving as a strategy for defending a variety of old places in the town, and in joining the towndwellers of different ages in making common cause.

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Notes

1 This article concerns one theme of the research programme "Town residents and their places", financed by The Academy of Finland. The target of the project is to shed light on the question how town residents in three towns, Helsinki, Jyväskylä and Vyborg (which represents a ceded town, lost to Soviet Union as a result of the Second World War) have met the urban changes during the latter half of the 20th century. The project also aims at paying attention to the two other important phenomena in an individual's devotion to a place, namely memory and feeling of loss. As material in this article, I have both personal, biographical interviews and reminisces written by the towndwellers themselves. The material was collected during the year 2000. There are altogether eight written accounts and seven two-to-five-hour biographical interviews (one of the interviewees has also written down her recollections). All of those who have provided written reminisces are women, born between 1913 and 1948. Three of the interviewees are men, who were born in the 1930s and 1940s; the four female interviewees were born between 1916 and 1944. The interviews, in particular, have proved not only extensive in size but also very versatile. The material, quantitavely somewhat scarce, is qualitatively rich and repeatedly brings forth collectively shared memories and similar features of reminiscence. However, recollection material, and quite especially autobiographical material that can be extremely personal, must not be analysed and used as the medium of "truth"; reminiscence is always criss-crossing between the past and the present, and therefore even the "truths" change in the flow of time and adapt to the requirements of the time. The interview citations are unedited except for the occasional elimination of repetition. The names of persons, places and streets mentioned in the citations are in their original form. The interviewees and the writers of reminisces are referred to by their sex and year of birth. Any differences between the interviews and the written texts are left outside the discussion.

2 Älylä is situated in the western part of Jyväskylä, near to the University of Jyväskylä Campus.

3 Juho Jussila was the head teacher of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and later a factory owner. The factory, which mainly manufactures children's toys, is still in operation in Jyväskylä.

4 The average age of the demolished stone and brick houses was no more than 55 years, whereas that of the wooden houses was 90 years. Jyväskylä has not known how to appreciate, or has not been willing to appreciate, the importance of small stone and brick houses as historical documents of an era. (Jäppinen 1976: 107.)

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From Neighbourly Duty to National Rhetoric

An Analysis of the Shifting Meanings of Norwegian *Dugnad*[1]

By Asbjørn Klepp

Dugnad is a word of expansive power in the Norwegian public debate. In some central media its use has doubled in the course of the last fifteen years.[2] Originally *dugnad* meant an institutionalized form of cooperative labour in pre-industrial society, whereby neighbours had a mutual duty to help each other in particularly large tasks (Norddølum 1976; Klepp 1982). In the twentieth century the word has been increasingly used as a general term for voluntary, unpaid work, above all for extraordinary efforts in or for a community. Today any one of these criteria can justify the description of work as *dugnad*. In contrast to the original sense, the word can thus in certain contexts be used about both paid and imposed work.

This great variation in the use of the word gives little empirical understanding of the phenomenon of *dugnad* in today's society. To understand why the term has not just survived from pre-industrial times but is still productive, one has to go behind the concrete use, to the underlying and symbolic values of the word. The old *dugnad* in rural society was primarily viewed as an expression of loyalty and solidarity, the will to make a contribution to the community.[3] These values are desirable, and sometimes vociferously demanded, making *dugnad* into one of the prestige words in Norway today, with several layers of meaning. Today the symbolic meaning of the concept is most clearly expressed in the compound *dugnadsånd*, roughly "the spirit of working for the benefit of all". This expression encapsulates all the positive values associated with the concept. The *dugnad* spirit is perceived as being just as Norwegian as the national holiday, and it is being invoked with increasing frequency in appeals for "national *dugnad*", one of the "in" concepts in Norwegian politics and public debate in the last decade.

A Mutual Assistance System

The position of *dugnad* in Norwegian culture must be viewed in connection with the original form of the concept. In old rural Norway, neighbours were dependent on each other in a completely different way from today. With the limited communications in bygone times, and an undeveloped market for mobile labour, people in many situations had to rely on those closest to them. The simple traditional technology moreover meant that many tasks were highly labour-intensive.

Changing a sod roof is a classic example of a traditional task for the *dugnad*.[4] Before farms had large multi-purpose service buildings, they could have ten to twelve or more houses. A sod roof lasted 20–25 years. A farmer thus had to renew one roof approximately every second year. This was a huge job, and given the Norwegian climate it had to be done quickly. The solution was to invite people to a *dugnad*, the equivalent of an American "bee"; this was one of several forms of cooperation between neighbours in bygone rural society. Besides roofing, neighbours were engaged to perform other tasks which were time-consuming for a farm's own people, such as driving timber and stone for new buildings. Within a fixed circle, usually of eight to ten farms, people were mutually obliged to help one another on such occasions.

Cooperative work on ordinary tasks like these may be regarded as a solution to the problem of limited access to hired labour. Yet the system also came into operation on more extraordinary occasions, such as when buildings were destroyed by fire, floods, or

avalanches. It was then a matter of course for neighbours to provide *hjelpedugnad*, as it was called; on such occasions the "helping *dugnad*" fulfilled some of the functions of modern insurance.

Neighbours also came together to help if a man was behind with his normal farm work because of illness or some other misfortune not of his own causing. This kind of assistance somewhat resembles the social security arrangements we enjoy in today's welfare state.

The *dugnad* is an example of informal organization, in the sense that it was independent of the commands and regulations of public authorities. At the same time, it was a fixed institution, regulated by unwritten customary rules. The economic principle was that individual labour was put into a communal fund. The social working community guaranteed that the contributor would be repaid when necessary. The system functioned without the need to keep any accounts. In a *dugnad* group where the members were of roughly the same size, a balance was sought between given and received assistance in ordinary tasks. In cases of accident or illness, however, chance circumstances could lead to inequality in the exchange of services. Yet regardless of the imbalance that could arise in the need for help, there was never any question of people not doing their bit when there was a legitimate need for it. This underlines the general helping mentality on which the system was based. The *dugnad* is a typical example of how economic conditions can be integrated in a society on the basis of generalized reciprocity, as a mutual right and duty (Polanyi 1957; Klepp 1982).

When the *dugnad* is mentioned in general terms, it can easily be perceived as one of many examples of the idyllization of old rural Norway as an ideal society where people always lived in peace and tolerance. The court records, however, allow us to glimpse cases of heated conflict. Then, as now, we may reckon that there was also a great deal of everyday wrangling which never reached the courts. In a *dugnad* group of ten to twelve farms there could thus be strife and hostility. In general, however, it seems as if people provided their labour when asked, regardless of how strained their neighbourly relations were. No one wanted to acquire the reputation of not doing his neighbourly duty; it was a matter of honour. A more important driving force, however, was the security that lay in the *dugnad*. No one would have dared to place himself outside the community. Just as important was the notion that the rights and obligations of the *dugnad* had been attached to the farm for generations and were not associated with the individual farmer here and now. The system gave mutual assurance that the group of neighbours would exist over time, and this generational perspective was a guarantee that no one would step outside the community.

In addition to the tasks performed by the *dugnad*, it was also a social event, an occasion for people to get together, with all the liveliness that usually comes when many people work together. The significance of the social aspect was emphasized by the fact that the food had to be out of the ordinary on a day of cooperative labour. The main meal, served when the work was over, could be something of a feast. This integration of economic and social aspects is characteristic of institutions based on reciprocity.

From Duty to Act of Friendship

The *dugnad* in its original form disappeared as the structural conditions for its existence gradually changed. The key factors here were better communications, increased trade and general economic prosperity, and – not least of all – new, less labour-intensive technology. The increased social differentiation in the countryside in the course of the nineteenth century also drove a wedge into the order of the *dugnad* in many places. Reciprocity as an economic principle works best between roughly equal parties (Klepp 1982).

The changes that put an end to the *dugnad* came at different times and followed different courses in different parts of the country. The disappearance of institutionalized neighbourly assistance reflects in large measure the modernization process behind the change. The system functioned longest in the mountain and valley districts of Trøndelag and southern Norway, and in the western fiords. With the occasional exception, it may be said that the system came to an end at the time of the Second World War (Norddølum 1976).

The idea of the *dugnad* was still kept alive in rural Norway in the form of neighbourly assistance for people who had suffered illness or accidents. Virtually all the rural informants who answered a questionnaire on the *dugnad* in 1998 referred to this neighbourly assistance as a tradition.[5] And even though the fixed system of help with roofing and similar jobs ceased, a great deal of work in laying foundations and building garages in rural Norway is still done as *dugnad*. The difference is that the help is given as a favour to a friend, not as a permanent and expected neighbourly duty. This change can be illustrated by one of the most widespread forms of *dugnad* given to private individuals today: help when moving house. As more and more people own cars, and as people move house more often, this has become a common *dugnad* task in both urban and rural settings.

When moving house one cannot automatically expect that a specific circle of neighbours will help out. Studies have shown that neighbours in today's Norwegian society account for only 10–20 per cent of regular visiting contacts (Schiefloe 1997:26). Neighbourhood in itself is no guarantee of social intercourse. Like other contacts, neighbourly relations must be developed and maintained. This is based on calculated considerations of advantages and disadvantages. This form of exchange can be studied on the basis of exchange theory (Schiefloe 1997:3). According to this, people today are part of *chosen communities*, unlike the *destined communities* of the past, as in a *dugnad* group. A person today can socialize with people who are widely dispersed and distant. Acquaintances may be chosen from many arenas: education, work, and leisure activities.

The Transition to *Dugnad* for Communal Enterprises

The needs that the original *dugnad* had to solve were limited to the concerns of an individual farm. In addition, the rural community also had to collaborate on jobs for the common good, such as fences, roads, and bridges. This kind of cooperation was never called *dugnad*. Communal work as a formal duty had to be kept outside the *dugnad*. Farmers, for example, were obliged to provide transportation (Rogan 1986) and maintain public roads. These were individually assigned duties. On more extraordi-

nary occasions, farmers could also be ordered to work together on the roads. Yet these formal duties were never called *dugnad*.

In the twentieth century there was a remarkable turn in the use of the term *dugnad*. As the modernization process made the system superfluous as binding neighbourly assistance, there was a formidable increase in voluntary work on communal tasks in the public interest. As a result, it is primarily communal enterprises that are associated today with *dugnad*. An early and common example of projects of this kind was associations banding together to build facilities to benefit the whole community. This has given "*dugnad* roads" or "voluntary roads" leading to many remote districts of Norway. In recent years there has been a growing tendency for local communities to mobilize a *dugnad* in order to *maintain* existing facilities, as new patterns of communication and out-migration are now threatening many shops, schools, and doctors' surgeries in marginal areas.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the social significance of primary groups, such as relatives and mutual obligations for neighbourly help, is tending to be replaced by commercial and interest organizations (Pryser 1977). This development of the *organization society*, as it is called, accelerated throughout the twentieth century. Parallel to this came the emergence of the *leisure society*, from the introduction of the eight-hour working day in 1919 to gradually increasing holiday rights for new groups of employees, and free Saturdays from 1964 (Klepp 1993). In the course of the twentieth century it was the new organizations and the growing leisure activities that increasingly led to *dugnad* work on communal tasks. The most typical example of twentieth-century *dugnad* projects is assembly halls and sports halls, often combined. There are cases of local communities with a couple of thousand inhabitants mobilizing as much as 30,000 hours of unpaid labour on buildings and administrative work on projects of this kind (Carlsen 1993:90).

A great deal of *dugnad* activity takes place in units without a fixed structure or formal membership, as situationally determined groupings. This applies in particular to undertakings such as constructing a playground in a housing estate. This is often done with informal, *ad hoc* leadership. Most projects, however, are run by voluntary organizations, often more than one in collaboration. The term "voluntary organization" covers a large and highly varied sector for which no satisfactory definition has ever been given (NOU 1988:17). What these groupings have in common is that they consist of individuals who have chosen to join together to further one or more objectives, primarily with no economic gain. The associations generally have some formal characteristics, such as declarations of purpose and by-laws, registered membership and elected leaders.

Another common feature of most voluntary organizations is that they largely base their activities on unpaid work by the members. Their efforts, broadly speaking, fall into three different categories. First there is the building of the physical premises that the running of the organization requires, such as sporting facilities or places of assembly, in other words, projects that are often organized in *dugnad* form. Also, some of the efforts of the members will be devoted to the purpose of the organization, such as giving training in sports or leading school bands. The third and by now the largest

category of voluntary work involves raising money for the activities. According to reports from the Norwegian Confederation of Sports, the organization with the largest number of members in Norway, as much as 80 per cent of all the voluntary work in the sports movement is expended on raising money.[6] This can range from flea markets or help with removals, organized as large cooperation projects, to individual selling of lottery tickets. All this may be called *dugnad*. In connection with voluntary organizations, then, *dugnad* has become synonymous with unpaid work.

Different Motives for *Dugnad*

A study in 1991 showed that, in the preceding year, 31 per cent of the Norwegian population above the age of 16 had taken part in *dugnad* work and collections for the organizations of which they were members, for an average of 44 hours.[7] This amounts to 25,000 man-years. Figures like these are always approximate, because the terms *dugnad* and collection are not unambiguous parameters in interview studies. Despite the uncertainty, the figures indicate that organizations mobilize voluntary work by members to the tune of five or six billion Norwegian kroner each year. In addition there are considerable contributions by non-members, such as the parents of children in sports clubs and school bands.

These figures give rise to questions about what motivates people to take part in unpaid work. This simple question is not so easy to answer. Like the old rural community, however, an organization is a community which involves so much obligation that the concept of "voluntary" can sometimes feel misleading. For example, if one's children are members of a sports club or school band, it is difficult to evade all the duties. The voluntariness consists of either letting the children take part or keeping them out of it. Because of the requirement to provide one's labour, some people prefer the latter alternative. This can be illustrated with the following response to the questionnaire from Norwegian Ethnological Research:

> The neighbour's children were in the school band, which frightened me. Our children received musical tuition elsewhere. The neighbours did nothing but go round taking orders for sheaves [traditionally hung out to feed birds at Christmas], and then drove them around collecting money when Christmas came, or they made things for the Christmas market, or they baked cakes for the cake lottery, or they ran up and down stairs with telephone directories or went from door to door selling chamois skins.

A glimpse like this into *dugnad* in today's Norway may explain why school bands and sports clubs are having difficulty in recruiting both members and leaders. Yet the inescapable work done by parents of children in teams and clubs is not only perceived as a burden. A woman with long experience of voluntary work for the children's football team put it like this in her response to the questionnaire:

> Even though the work isn't always such fun, we make a virtue of necessity. Anyway, it's often rather pleasant too, not just bother and stress... We've done our bit for our own children and other people's – and we've been rewarded tenfold.

The quotation illustrates the fact that social integration is strengthened through social interaction. The integration of individuals in an environment means making them participants in a community with clear goals. This is an old experience of social education, which used to be implemented in the practice of sending "impossible" adoles-

cents to sea on sailing ships, where they were supposed to learn to conform and function in a close-knit social context. It is equally obvious that people's involvement in voluntary work today is of great value as "social cement" in that it establishes new relationships between people or reinforces existing relationships.

The primary driving force behind parents' efforts on behalf of their children's leisure activities, however, is neither a sense of obligation to a community nor the prospects of social benefits. What motivates parents is concern for the needs of the children. They commit themselves on behalf the children, even though it means a life of flea markets and cake lotteries. As a by-product of this involvement, however, they more often have friends in their own housing area than other residents do. Children encourage neighbourly contacts, both through their parents' involvement in the local environment and because adults meet when they accompany their children (Nordahl 1995:68, 1996:42). Social contact is the first requirement for social integration.

Most of those who answered the questionnaire were favourable to *dugnad*. Yet there is one exception, and that is when municipal concerns, such as cleaning schools and old people's homes, are made the responsibility of parents and relatives and this is called *dugnad*. There are two reasons why the imposition of these tasks is considered unreasonable. First, they are not associated with traditional *dugnad* tasks (although cleaning and providing firewood to schools was a formal duty well into the twentieth century in many rural municipalities). Yet the refusal is just as much due to the fact that such tasks are not perceived as duties to any social community. A municipal imposition of labour is regarded as being against one of the distinctive features of customary *dugnad* organization: it is an expression of a loyalty that runs horizontally in society, invoking equal relationships created by membership of an organization or belonging to a local community.

When local authorities nevertheless manage to get people to clean schools it is because – as in the case of the children's leisure activities – the parents are concerned with the welfare of their children. A comparable concern is evident when relatives clean old people's homes and nursing homes. Regardless of how unreasonable it is felt to be, this reversal of the welfare state can be achieved because it appeals to a traditional sense of care. Nor should one ignore the fact that it is a crafty move on the part of the authorities to have this kind of obligation called *dugnad*, in an attempt to utilize the mobilizing effect associated with the traditional concept.

Increased Politicization of the Idea of *Dugnad*

The fact that there are attempts to exploit people's willingness to do *dugnad* in order to get public duties done is one of several expressions of an increasingly clear tendency towards the politicization of the idea of *dugnad*. This is obvious from a look through Norway's biggest text archive, the "A-tekst" of the daily newspaper *Aftenposten*.[8] It turns out that the use of the word *dugnad*, alone or in compounds, has doubled in the last fifteen years. A great deal of this increase is due to the use of the term in more and more new contexts and in a more figurative sense. Let us look more closely at some of this societal rhetoric.

The concept of *ventelistedugnad* or

"waiting-list *dugnad*" was coined by a minister of health a few years ago. To reduce the long waiting periods for hospital treatment, the minister introduced a "waiting-list guarantee". This was to ensure that no one had to be on a waiting list for more than six months while awaiting an operation. When it proved difficult to achieve this, the minister's next move was a "waiting-list *dugnad*", which meant that hospital staff were asked to make an extraordinary effort to reduce the queues. This was possibly the first time the concept of *dugnad* was used of work in which those involved were not only paid but in many cases paid double for overtime. Of the elements normally associated with *dugnad*, only two can be recognized here. One is voluntariness, in the sense that hospital staff could not be forced to work outside their normal working hours. The other is that the work presupposed a minimum of collective effort. A surgeon cannot do *dugnad* on his own. It takes a team to perform an operation.

Perhaps inspired by the health service, the Ministry of Justice announced a comparable drive to reduce the backlog of criminal cases in the judicial system. This *retts-dugnad* or "judicial *dugnad*" was to be introduced before the end of 1999, but it could not be implemented. It ran into obstacles in the form of a lack of posts in the courts and insufficient funds to pay overtime. In this case it was only the desire for an extraordinary effort that remained of the traditional concept of *dugnad*.

Whereas *dugnad* in its original form meant an obligation no one could evade, most people today would regard voluntariness as one of the main characteristics, because the concept is so closely associated with work for voluntary organizations. Today, however, *dugnad* can be applied to tasks imposed by law. An example is a study by Statskonsult in 1999 about the management of state institutes of higher education. It concluded that three quarters of the presidents and directors occupied the positions against their own will, because they regarded it "as a heavy load, a sidestep in their career". Of course, it was "flattering to be asked", and a major reason for not turning down the offer was "to prevent the election of a hopeless opposing candidate". Most of them nevertheless regarded the responsibility of leadership as "a necessary *dugnad*", simply because the law dictates that the leader is to be chosen from among the employees. The only thing here that reminds us of *dugnad* in its original sense is that participation in a community entails an obligation which cannot be shirked.

Even though *dugnad* here has ended up as a designation for well-paid work, it is still primarily associated with unpaid labour. It has gone so far that one can talk of *dugnad* as soon as someone has not been given the salary they demand. "Dokken on *dugnad*" was a headline in *Aftenposten* in March 2000; the story concerned a football coach, Arne Dokken, who was managing a team although his salary conditions had not been settled. Knowing how much money flows in the world of football, there is reason to believe that the *dugnad* here was both transitory and well paid in arrears.

The Internet – "Like a Community Centre Based on *Dugnad*"

The concept of *dugnad* is constantly being applied to new fields of society. Today's expanding computer technology is no exception. The Internet, for example, has been described by a Norwegian as "like a com-

munity centre based on *dugnad*". The fact that the Finnish computer student Linus Torvalds was so dissatisfied with the Windows operative system from Microsoft that he made his own, Linux, won his achievement the accolade of "the greatest Net *dugnad* ever". The reason for using *dugnad* in this context is that Linux is available on the Internet, so that everyone can contribute the desired improvements.

The Norwegian Confederation of Sports has seen an opportunity to obtain income for its clubs from the Internet; this has been launched as *cyber-dugnad*. Through an Internet company the clubs can set up websites where the members receive special offers for goods and services of many kinds. For every transaction, a certain percentage of the price will go to the club. The secretary general of the Confederation has great faith in the venture, which he describes as "an alternative *dugnad*". Or as *Aftenposten* put it in its report: "If you are fed up with *dugnads* and books of lottery tickets, you can now look forward to better times. You can now support your team with a few clicks of the mouse."

It is hoped that the million and a half members of the Confederation will eventually contribute billions to Norwegian sports by shopping on the Internet. The problem with this arrangement is that Internet shoppers are known to show little loyalty, surfing from one site to another and buying where the prices are lowest, whether from the USA or from a local Norwegian company. The Confederation hopes that, with the aid of the sports clubs, they can bring loyalty to Internet shopping. "People's close ties to the clubs will make them shop via the team's website." It is emphasized that the aim is definitely not "to break the good, old *dugnad* spirit. All we are doing is to renew it ... it will no doubt take some time before the cake lotteries disappear completely."

Dugnad is used in many linguistic combinations and compounds. When a problem is so complicated that no one can see a simple or obvious solution, then the parties involved may be invited to bring their ideas to an *idédugnad*, the Norwegian equivalent of brainstorming. The steadily declining physical fitness of Norwegians is deemed to be a potential national health problem. One of the most recent measures attempting to reverse this unfortunate trend is the campaign *Tusenårsløftet,* "the Millennium Resolution". It was launched by the Norwegian Confederation of Sports in 1999 with the invitation to a "national ideas *dugnad*". The aim was to come up with a thousand good ideas for physical activity.

"The Good Old *Dugnad* Spirit"

Dugnadsånd, "the *dugnad* spirit", is the most highly charged compound of *dugnad*. It grasps the very core of the positive understanding of *dugnad*, the will to play one's part for the community. The *dugnad* spirit is therefore invoked almost automatically, both for apt descriptions and in appeals for help. In his final New Year's speech as prime minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik thanked the Norwegians for the *dugnad* spirit shown by many municipalities and individual citizens in 1999 when they received refugees from war-torn Kosovo. King Harald had not been so positive in his New Year's speech the year before; expressing his concern that it had become more difficult to recruit people to positions of trust in the municipalities, he called for "the good old *dugnad* spirit".

This spirit is also invoked when people

are urged to tolerate something that requires a certain degree of self-sacrifice. During the planning of the Winter Olympics at Lillehammer in 1994, for example, the head of finance in the Lillehammer Olympic Committee declared that there had to be savings in the infrastructure. It would be impossible to expand the road network to a capacity sufficient for the expected motor traffic. The consequence could be some traffic jams which would require people to "show a spirit of *dugnad*".

As the positive value that the *dugnad* spirit constitutes in Norwegian culture, it is often said to characterize desirable states. A good housing environment in an urban district, for example, can be praised for showing "good neighbourliness and *dugnad* spirit, and that people feel secure".[9] The statement illustrates that a "living *dugnad* spirit" is regarded as the best expression of a well-integrated community.

The highly valued *dugnad* spirit can also be useful as a point of reference in the often voiced complaint that "everything was better in the past". This may happen, for example, when the increasingly deplored "culture of greed" in today's Norway is compared with the innocent social democratic society after the Second World War:

> We just have to face the fact that the "Gerhardsen ethic", characterized by a collective *dugnad* spirit and individual modesty, is a thing of the past. It was a constituent of the collective modernization project. Our time bears the mark of individualism, in the sphere of ethics as well.[10]

The "Gerhardsen ethic" refers to the solidary welfare policy shaped by the Labour Party after the war. In a twenty-year period Einar Gerhardsen was prime minister for fifteen years, heading four governments.[11] He thus served longer than any other Norwegian prime minister. He was to be regarded as "the father of his people", not just because of his long time in office, but just as much because his rule was the period in recent Norwegian history which brought economic success to the broad strata of society. In many ways, the years after the Second World War saw the ultimate breakthrough for modern Norway. In the enthusiastic faith in the future and progress, a new society was to be built, with better material standards and greater social equality than before.

Cooperation and solidarity were the key words of the age, tested in the great task of reconstruction after the war, and the modernization of all that had been neglected during the economic crisis of the inter-war years. One of the most concrete expressions of the constructive spirit of the time was that people who wanted to build their own homes by contributing as much of their own labour as possible formed teams in which they helped each other. Cooperation was organized in the form of a large-scale *dugnad*, with people providing anything between 1,000 and well over 5,000 hours of labour, spread over several years (Klepp 1998). The reason was the severe housing shortage, which was viewed as the country's greatest social problem in the first years after the war. With the huge task of reconstruction after the war, there was a shortage of everything, including builders.

One way to eliminate the housing shortage was thus to organize large numbers of *selvbyggerlag* or "build your own house" teams. One of the fundamental ideological premises was that ordinary working people would be able to acquire homes of their own. This was regarded as a basic social benefit which would make the working

class more equal to other strata of society. The cooperative solidarity of the *dugnad* in agrarian society was thus turned into an important tool in the construction of social democracy. The future was to be built, invoking the spirit expressed in the national anthem: "Yes, we love this country."

"National *Dugnad*" as Political Rhetoric

The formulation that best describes the politicization of this concept is "national *dugnad*". Politicians use the expression in particularly menacing situations, such as in times of recession. The idea that short, intensive bouts of communal effort might be expected to have any special effect on the long-term development of the economy has been described by political commentators as being as paradoxical as it is typically Norwegian:

> Perhaps Norway is the only industrial country where *dugnad* is invoked as something positive in the economic debate. Others have realized that financial policy must be long-term. Short all-out efforts are not sufficient to attract investment.[12]

It was in 1991 that "national *dugnad*" was established as a fashionable word in Norwegian politics, by the then minister of finance, Sigbjørn Johnsen, of the Labour Party. When presenting the revised national budget he found it necessary to invoke the nation's spirit of *dugnad*, in the form of a plan "to get Norway on the offensive". The plan contained the following main points:

- to combat the increasing unemployment
- to strengthen competitiveness in industry
- to make the country less dependent on oil revenues
- to raise the quality of education
- to find new sources of income through greater investments in research and development
- to improve and rationalize public services

These aims are as nationally respectable as they are politically unmanageable, at least for a minority government. Yet the appeal for a national boost at least showed the minister's will to improve the ailing health of Mother Norway. And Johnsen was obviously satisfied with his own rhetoric. He repeated it several times in 1991 in connection with measures to improve the general economic situation.

Inspired by her Labour Party colleague, Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland called for a national *dugnad* in 1991 to combat unemployment. Trygve Hegnar, editor of the financial newspaper *Kapital*, called this "pure drivel". In his opinion, a downturn in the economy would give increased unemployment for several years, no matter what measures the government took. A commentary in *Aftenposten* in February the following year also noted that "the call for national *dugnad* has brought nothing but record levels of unemployment". A little verbal opposition, however, did not keep Labour politicians from remaining enthusiastic about their own use of language, which was soon adopted by politicians of all colours.

In 1998 the Norwegian economy was so heated that politicians urged restrictions on private purchasing power. The minority government of the Centre Party therefore found it opportune to call for national *dugnad* when it launched its budget for 1999. According to *Aftenposten*, the proposal would reduce the real income of an average family with two children by 23,000 kroner. "In addition, the family will have to tolerate losing one holiday day, in a national *dugnad* to make people work more." This *dugnad* effort was later voted down by a majority in Parliament.

"National *Dugnad* at a Gentle Speed"

A major task that led politicians to appeal for a broad national effort in the 1990s was the flow of refugees from Bosnia and Kosovo. At Christmas 1993 the minister for labour and municipal affairs urged all the local authorities in Norway to take part in a national *dugnad* to receive asylum seekers. In a parliamentary debate in February 1994 the minister of justice followed this up by announcing that a national *dugnad* would be implemented to find permanent homes for 12,000–15,000 refugees in the municipalities, removing them from state refugee reception centres. Support was much less than expected, however. "National *dugnad* at a gentle speed," as the Norwegian News Agency reported in July. At the end of the year the authorities were forced to recognize that 131 of the 435 municipalities in the country did not wish to receive any refugees. The reason stated was that many of the local authorities perceived the state as an untrustworthy *dugnad* partner. "We feel cheated," said a leader of the National Association of Local and Regional Authorities, after the state had reduced its subsidy for the integration of refugees in the municipalities.

International environmental protection really appeared on the agenda in the 1990s. After the Kyoto Protocol, *Aftenposten* declared that Norway would need a national *dugnad* to achieve the drastic reductions in CO_2 emissions prescribed by the agreement. This wording was later repeated by the minister of the environment. The Kyoto Protocol was also a central reference point in a heated political discussion about gas power lasting until 1999. The issue was whether Norway should exploit some of its large gas resources on the continental shelf by building gas power stations using existing technology, or whether it should wait for new technical solutions with lower CO_2 emissions. The governing parties – the Christian Democrats, the Centre Party, and the Liberals – thought that Norway should wait. The conflict culminated in the autumn of 1999 when Kjell Magne Bondevik had to resign as prime minister.

The leaders of Norway's leading technological research institution, SINTEF, expressed their opinion in a feature article in *Aftenposten*. They said that Norway should build gas power stations based on existing technology, because everyone else would do so in any case. At the same time, they said that there should be a more long-term drive for CO_2-free gas power. This could become possible by investing large resources in technological development (read: the directors' own institution, SINTEF). The directors described it as "a kind of national *dugnad* in which the state combines with industry and research institutions".[13]

"A *Dugnad* on Spare Ribs" to Stop the "Trade Leakage" to Sweden

One of the most recent problems for which politicians have called for a *dugnad* is the "trade leakage" to Sweden. The amount spent in the year 2000 by Norwegians shopping across the border in Sweden has been estimated as 10 billion kroner, an increase of 45 per cent from the preceding year. This means that a growing number of Norwegians are driving 200–300 kilometres or more, waiting for hours in car queues, to save money on cheap Swedish meat, tobacco, beer, and spirits. The price differences for alcohol are due to the traditional Norwegian puritanical attitude that pleasure should cost money, and the least healthy

pleasures should cost the most. The practical result of this is that the duty on alcohol is so high that Norwegians can go to the Swedish state monopoly and buy Norwegian Christmas beer for roughly half the price it would cost at home.

The difference in the price of meat can be even greater. Norwegian authorities have appealed in vain to all the stages in the production and sale of meat to reduce their profit margins. In a newspaper interview the minister of agriculture stated that there are "some who evade the *dugnad* they have pledged to support. I am therefore trying to find out what happens on the way from slaughter to cutlet."[14]

In the same interview the minister declared that the Norwegian meat industry should implement "a *dugnad* on spare ribs" for the Christmas trade in 2000 (spare ribs are still the most common Christmas dish in Norway).

"A National *Dugnad* to Prepare Young People for Married Life"

From the vocabulary of politicians, visions of national drives have spread to the general debate. There will soon be scarcely a task that is not worth a national *dugnad*. This can cover a wide range, from Norwegian fish farmers' actions to save the wild salmon, to the view of the leader of a marriage guidance centre that it was time for "a national *dugnad* to prepare young people for married life".[15] In November 2000 a number of top people in Norwegian society banded together in a "Forum for AIDS and Development", described by the Bishop of Oslo, Gunnar Stålsett, as "a national *dugnad* for an international struggle".[16]

Among the many voices calling for a national *dugnad* for their own good cause is the organization Youth Against Violence. Another example: car importers, during a period when sales of cars were low, tried to attract favourable attention by starting a national *dugnad* to prevent death on the roads. When one of the biggest industrial corporations in the country, Kværner, acquired a new managing director in 1998, he announced, according to the Norwegian News Agency (NTB), that the corporation could become twice as good and half as big. In this connection he described it as "a national *dugnad* to tidy up Kværner".[17] Recent turbulence about option deals and golden parachutes worth hundred of millions have revealed a rather peculiar understanding of the concept of *dugnad*.

There are, however, numerous examples of spheres of Norwegian society which would need national tidying actions. In 1998, for instance, the Food Laws Committee embarked on "a three-year national *dugnad*" to tidy up existing regulations for foodstuffs. The reason was that the country had no less than 4,500 national and 7,550 local food regulations!

Words that recur in the public debate flow easily from journalists' pens – sometimes rather too easily, and not always in equally relevant contexts. This observation also applies to "national *dugnad*", which is often used about situations outside Norway, in cultures where there is no corresponding concept. In 1993, for example, one could read in *Aftenposten* that Chancellor Helmut Kohl "is asking Germans to join a national *dugnad* to raise standards of living in the former German Democratic Republic". The Chancellor probably did not put it like this, but the concept of *dugnad* worked well in figurative terms, as a pithy way of informing Norwegian readers

that a concerted national drive was coming. During the presidential election in Romania in 1996, according to NTB, there was talk of a national *dugnad* to improve the country's infrastructure; this is another good example of language used to arouse associations in Norwegians. The same may be said about the news agencies' reports that "a sterling national *dugnad*" had stimulated the Finnish economy in 1999.

Besides such examples of the use of the concept where it is culturally out of place, there are also instances of anachronism, when modern usages are applied to bygone situations where they would never have occurred. It is not only journalists who fall into the trap of anachronism. In 1998 the historians Knut Einar Eriksen and Trond Bergh published a book about the secret services in Norway. When the book was launched, the authors stated that "the surveillance of the left wing in post-war Norway was in large measure a national *dugnad*".[18]

Dugnad as a Cultural Metaphor

This survey of examples from "A-tekst" has shown that *dugnad* is increasingly topical in the media, and hence in Norwegian society. This is partly due to all the voluntary work that is called *dugnad* nowadays, and partly because the term is constantly used in new contexts. Only one generation ago, it would have been inconceivable to talk about *dugnad* in connection with the leaders of the higher education system, or health care staff working overtime.

The anachronistic use of the concept shows that it functions as a metaphor, in the basic sense of "the application to one thing of the name belonging to another", a process that "creates a surplus meaning" (Aristotle 1982:67). No matter how out of place it may be, *dugnad* says something to today's Norwegian readers that would otherwise require sentences to explain what the situation is actually about. Because of this condensed communicative power, *dugnad* is a particularly rewarding word for a journalist lacking time and column space. And newspaper language is infectious.

The fact that a football coach is said to be "on *dugnad*" when his salary terms have not been resolved merely arouses vague associations with unpaid work. Like most metaphors, however, the concept in many contexts refers to values of a more figurative and symbolic character. *Dugnad* is thus a prestige word in Norwegian nowadays, with several layers of meaning.

In terms of cultural analysis, *dugnad* is a more peaceful but no less striking example of Clifford Geertz's frequently quoted analysis of cock fights in Bali (Geertz 1973). The symbolic values of *dugnad* are just more implicit, an obvious counterpart to Bali's rigid caste system and hierarchical power structures. Appeals for a spirit of *dugnad* contain implicit ideas of a willingness for self-sacrifice, solidarity, and work on behalf of the community. These values were the foundation for *dugnad* in its original form, and they are in line with the Lutheran Christian moral which has pervaded Norwegian culture for generations.

Yet *dugnad* also implies values of community which have been central in the building of modern Norway. It is often emphasized as a positive feature of *dugnad* work that no attention is paid to social differences. Tasks are assigned according to practical understanding and ability, and an hour's work is equally valuable regardless of who does it. This stress on equality makes the *dugnad* community a socially

equalizing and democratizing force. In terms of values, the *dugnad* tradition is a perfect fit for the social democratic idea of solidarity, the very guiding star in the shaping of the Norwegian welfare state after the Second World War. The *dugnad* contains several of the stereotypes that are perceived as basic democratic values in the Norwegian cultural tradition, such as equality, codetermination, and local belonging (Klausen 1996:213). These are things that are also closely associated in various ways.

Greater importance is attached to local belonging and regional origin than in most Western nations. When two Norwegian scholars meet for the first time in academic contexts, for example, it is just as likely that the conversation will start with questions about their regional origin as that they will ask what subjects they represent. Conversations tend to proceed from regional markers such as dialect or surname.

This attention to regional belonging figures prominently in foreigners' descriptions of Norway. The South African anthropologist Julian Kramer (1984) has gone so far as to say that Norwegian identity is "a product of underdevelopment and tribal affiliation". The extensive use of folk costume, especially on ceremonial occasions such as the celebration of the national holiday, he regards as one of the most expressive manifestations of a tribal society and local belonging. A comparable sense of local identification has traditionally been based on commitment and obligation as necessary conditions for *dugnad* work.

Local belonging is also associated with the ideology of equality, which has a two-way effect. At bottom this means that no one should assert himself at the expense of others. Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, for example, was a master at emphasizing that, whatever he was, he owed it to the Norwegian labour movement. But if no one should raise his head higher than others, the ideology of equality nevertheless presupposes that it is possible to raise all heads equally high. This has undoubtedly given extra strength to many *dugnad* projects, based on the idea that "when other people can manage it, we should not be put to shame". This competitive attitude can also derive motivational power from envy, which according to an old Norwegian proverb always accompanies honour.

In today's Norway both solidarity and equality are objects of concern. It is a common saying today that a "culture of greed" is developing instead, and there is no shortage of examples to confirm this. This gives extra value to the much discussed *dugnad* spirit, as a sign of a socially "healthy" society.

An Expression of Powerlessness Rather Than Political Vigour

All activity at grass-roots level, together with the increasing use of the concept of *dugnad* in the media and the public debate, would seem to suggest that the Norwegian will to perform *dugnad* is more vital than it has ever been. Yet it is a fact that the things that are taken for granted in a society are rarely questioned, thus receiving little attention. Could the increased public use of the concept not just as well be seen as a symptom that the spirit of *dugnad* is in danger of being swept away, as one of many expressions of traditional Norway? One of the characteristics of a transition from the traditional to the modern is that collectivity is replaced by individuality, community control by market control. This means that

self-sacrifice and work for the common good are among the values at risk in today's society.

A sports leader who finds it more and more difficult to recruit leaders to a well-organized sports club puts it like this:

> Hedonism is on the advance. We are obsessed with our own welfare, living "the good life". This means that there is less time for voluntary work, on which sport is wholly dependent.[19]

Moral worries of this kind account for an increasing share of the media focus on *dugnad* in recent years. It is a reflection of the tendency whereby figures of thought which no longer fit are defended by moralizing. What the moralizing concerns, deep down, is that *dugnad* no longer functions as an automatic ideal and programme of action, what – to use Sherry B. Ortner's term – once made it a key scenario in Norwegian culture (Ortner 1973).

It is the desire to appeal to this action-promoting function that lies behind the many calls in recent years for national *dugnad*, in contexts where extraordinary efforts and contributions are necessary. When the expression is used, it is with the implicit expectation of general benevolence and determination among the affected parties, an unspoken moral appeal to the spirit of solidarity that has been the traditional basis of the *dugnad*. The call for national *dugnad* expresses a vain hope that local commitment to the idea can be expanded, as a cement that can help to maintain the idea of a society based on solidarity. An expression of such a thought was heard when the former Labour prime minister, Torbjørn Jagland, proclaimed his metaphorical vision of "the Norwegian house". He did this at a time when there were several signs that the structure built by years of social democratic toil was cracking.

Unlike more down-to-earth *dugnad* organization, the many appeals for national *dugnad* are rarely followed by extra grants or allocations of concrete responsibility and division of labour. In practice the appeals concern complex and virtually insoluble problems, such as when international market fluctuations threaten the fatherland. To put it in extreme terms, one could say that Norwegian politicians call for *dugnad* – preferably national *dugnad* – when there is a need for efforts that can scarcely be achieved, at least not with the instruments at their disposal. Despite the fanfare-like impact, the expression "national *dugnad*" in the political debate smacks more of powerlessness than of vigour.

A Wolf in the Sanctuary!

In the winter of 1999–2000, Norwegians were shaken by a couple of terrible accidents with the loss of many human lives. At the end of November a steamer sailing along on the coast of Vestlandet came off course in the darkness and strong winds. After a dramatic rescue action it transpired that sixteen people had drowned. A few days after Christmas, two trains collided on the Røros line. The accident that "should not have been able to happen" cost nineteen lives.

After these accidents, the chairman of the Norwegian College of Bishops, Odd Bondevik, was asked for some reflections about what happens when disasters strike a small country at such short intervals. The bishop declared that extraordinary situations like these exposed "a latent brotherly feeling" (*medmenneskelighet*) and continued:

The spirit of *dugnad*, which many people are calling for in our days, is again becoming visible in many places. In many ways, something is being revealed which makes me glad: at the depths of the Norwegian national soul there is still a desire to take care of each other.[20]

Although the bishop expressed his satisfaction with the sense of commitment aroused by the accidents, the quotation nevertheless gives the impression that the brotherly feeling is now well below the surface, at the *depths* of the Norwegian soul. Perhaps it takes increasingly violent shaking to wake Norwegians out of the lethargic smugness which comes with greater welfare?

Despite all the voluntary efforts, something of the increased attention paid to *dugnad* values seems to be attributable to the fact that the willingness to work in a cooperative spirit can no longer be taken for granted and therefore has to be appealed for. The Norwegian self-image has in many ways been founded on values from pre-industrial agrarian society. That was where national romanticism in the nineteenth century found the most important building stones for its project. The *dugnad* encapsulated a collection of traditional values which could be adapted and passed on in the construction of modern Norway. That is why we still like to hold it up as an example of Norwegianness – roughly like the wearing of folk costumes on the national holiday. When *dugnad* values are threatened, there is therefore a threat to national – not to say sacred – values. When viewed in this way, today's calls for the *dugnad* spirit are a modern rewording of the pagan warning *varg i veum* – literally "a wolf in the sanctuary" – issued when an outlaw had desecrated a protected place.

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Notes

1 The article is based on an ongoing study, "The Exchange of Services in Social Networks", in which *dugnad* is one of several themes. The source material includes my own interviews and observations concerning *dugnad* work in present-day Norway. In addition, a questionnaire has been distributed by Norwegian Ethnological Research (Norsk etnologisk gransking, NEG), an institution which documents contemporary culture through a nationwide network of permanent informants who mainly write their responses in essay form.

2 In the newspaper *Aftenposten* the word *dugnad* appeared alone or in compounds in an average 140 articles a year in the four-year period 1984–1988. In the period 1996–1999 the figure had risen to an average of 248 articles a year. The word was most frequent in 1999, appearing in 287 articles. In the Norwegian News Agency (Norsk Telegrambyrå, NTB) *dugnad* was used in an average of 26 articles a year in 1985–1987, a figure that rose to 59 articles in 1996–1999.

3 The account of the traditional *dugnad* is based on the nationwide study "Bygone Farm and Neighbourhood Society in Norway", conducted by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. This was undertaken as a collection of oral tradition from the end of the 1940s until the mid-1970s, first with local collectors, then with interviewers who travelled round the country. The material is in the National Archives.

4 The traditional term *torvtak* "sod roof" means a roof where birchbark kept the water out. The birchbark was laid on planks. To keep it in place, and to protect it from exposure to the elements, it was covered with a layer of sods and turf. When the roof had to be changed it was because the birchbark had begun to rot and was no longer watertight. All the sods had to be removed along with the old birchbark before new birchbark could be laid.

5 NEG questionnaire no. 176: "The Exchange of Services in Social Networks".
6 Arne Myhrvold, President of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports, in *Aftenposten*, 10 September 1997.
7 Survey of living conditions (Levekårsundersøkelsen), Statistics Norway.
8 "A-tekst" comprises all the editorial matter from *Aftenposten* since 1984, from the NTB since 1985, *Dagens Næringsliv* since 1988, *Bergens Tidende* since 1992, and *Dagbladet* since 1996. The figures for the increase in *Aftenposten* and NTB are shown in note 2. The tendency is the same in the other newspapers. As an institution working purely with news, the NTB rarely mentions *dugnads* organized by sports teams or residents' associations, as the newspapers do. NTB reports mainly quote statements made by people in various public contexts. It may thus be said that NTB reports are a fair reflection of the use of the word *dugnad* in the Norwegian public debate.
9 *Bergens Tidende* about the neighbourhood of Arna in Bergen, commenting on the building council's municipal plan.
10 Associate Professor Dag G. Aasland of Agder College in a feature article in *Aftenposten,* 30 October 2000.
11 When the war ended in the spring of 1945, Gerhardsen was prime minister of a coalition government, until he formed a Labour government after the elections in the autumn. He was prime minister until 1951. Until 1955 the Labour government was headed by Oscar Torp. Then Gerhardsen took over again, staying in office until 1965 (with an interruption for three weeks of non-socialist government in the autumn of 1963).
12 Gunnar Kagge, *Aftenposten*, 15 November 1998.
13 Sverre Aam, Administrative Director of SINTEF Energiforskning, and Gunnar Sand, Director of SINTEF, feature article in *Aftenposten* 22 February 2000.
14 *Aftenposten*, 26 November 2000.
15 Per Arne Dahl, leader of Modum Bads Samlivssenter, in *Aftenposten* 1 June 1997.
16 NTB, 2 November 2000.
17 Knut Almskog to NTB, 28 October 2000.
18 *Dagbladet* and NTB, 9 June 1998.
19 Ole Paulsen, Sola Handball Club, to *Aftenposten*, 8 November 1999.
20 Feature article in *Aftenposten*, 19 January 2000.

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Public Face, Respected Name
The Conditions of Fame
By Fredrik Schoug

In religious or other communities there is a tendency to crown kings and heroes. This often functions to celebrate and strengthen the group's standards and hierarchy of values. Within the spheres of religion, art and sport, roles such as prophet, saint, maestro, virtuoso, genius and world champion can be played out. Agreement about the 'top of the charts' of heroes can, however, vary. The closer the group integration, the greater the consensus usually becomes. Correspondingly, large and loosely knit societies such as in sport, art or society at large are often distinguished by a varying degree of rivalry, concerning whichever of the gods that ought to populate heaven. There are both similarities and differences in the forms that a star-cult takes on in such different fields.

Sport often borrows examples of old-fashioned rhetorical figures from art, religion and the military. Each achievement, that in one way or another can be said to be unique, is claimed as "historic" and by that, unforgettable. To be the first Swede to take an Olympic Games medal in a certain event, to become the 20th Century's last world champion, break a world record or win a grand-slam victory in tennis, automatically qualifies that person to eternity. Sensation seeking sports journalism, however, has gradually tended to lower the price of admission to heaven and even begun to immortalise achievements that, at the most, can be said to be reasonably uncommon. With the passage of time, the wonders and deeds have multiplied so that hardly a single day passes without a couple of new pages being added to the history books. Nowhere do the wings of history beat with the same frequency as in the sporting world. Even if sport-idols hence come to play in the same division as Alexander the Great and Napoleon and become immortalised in approximately the same way as the great masters of art and literature, the constantly panegyric intonation tend to loose its aura. "History" cannot be written more than a few times every century, without ceasing to feel "historical". The commonplace miracle has thus contributed to the alienation of sport-idols from this so-called heaven.

Like many of today's celebrities, prominent sport-idols appear above all on television, which tends to further deprive them of their celestial image. Through the TV media, heroes stand out more as celebrities than as untouchable gods. The great masters in art, literature and science have, however, always made a name for themselves through other channels. Even if art has naturally devoted itself to creating visual effects, it is not least via the printed media that the masters' nimbi have been established. The reputations of "immortal" authors, artists and scientists rest not least on the power of books to give rise to fan clubs among experts and lay people alike.

Irrespective of which domain is concerned, media attention is fundamental for the creation of real world champions. First of all, no effective way of spreading rumours, and thus hardly any fame or "historical" prominence, exists without the media. In addition, different media technologies tend to influence the design of star-cults in different ways. To the extent that "the medium is the message", which Marshall McLuhan (cf. e.g. 1964) probably rightly claimed, there is reason to observe the social consequences in the area of heroism that various systems of transmitting information create. This article aims to sketch out some fundamental features in the forms

of reputation and prominence that are cultivated in different areas, with the main focus on TV stars on the one hand and the grand masters within art, literature and science on the other. How are "eminent" or "brilliant" authorities within these fields idolised? How is the star-cult influenced by changes in media technology? Can television's increasing dominance be said to colour our relationship to intellectual celebrities, whose status above all rests on the production of rumours in print?

To Have a Face

It has often been said that we live in a society that is unusually full of imagery. Today, TV, films, newspapers and magazines produce such an inexhaustible stream of photographs, pictures and other illustrations, that the whole of contemporary culture has undergone radical changes. In this context Mike Featherstone has (1992: 270ff.) spoken about an "aestheticization of everyday life" – a phenomenon that despite certain historical precursors can still be particularly connected to postmodern society. In the same spirit, Scott Lash (1988) has contrasted an ideal typical "discursive" modern sensibility with a "figurative" postmodern counterpart. While modernity entertained a rationalistic culture that put priority on the word rather than the picture, the postmodern condition has, according to Lash, come rather to imply a reinforcement of the sensibilities that are connected to desire and the visual. The most well-known commentator of the postmodern flow of images is presumably Jean Baudrillard, who in a critical tone claimed that the real and the imaginary have increasingly come to be mixed up in a "hyperreality" of aesthetic fascination and pleasure (cf. e.g. Baudrillard 1983). In order to form a quick opinion on these cultural shifts, it is enough to compare any contemporary weekly newspaper with any other from the 1940s or 50s. Whilst the publications of those earlier days were dominated by text, the photographers and layout designers of today have shown increasing dominance and transformed today's weekly magazines into an explosion of pictures, colours and symbols. The experience of "reading" a weekly magazine has, therefore, increasingly come to remind one of how it is to watch MTV.

These ideas have often been articulated and are perhaps not so remarkable. The media's growing focus on pictures has, however, had radical consequences in people's relationships to famous people. Every day we are confronted with an assortment of celebrities. Their faces appear in the daily newspapers and the weekly magazines, in the advertising columns and on our TV screens to such an extent as never before. Hardly a single newspaper article about the Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson, Jacques Chirac, Pamela Anderson or Pernilla Wiberg appears without being accompanied by an illustrating photograph of the person in question, and not many days pass without their appearance on one or another TV programme. Because public figures and celebrities are now exposed *en masse*, we have become conscious of their appearance as never before. One can see the most renowned person's face as often as those of one's own friends and acquaintances and thus it isn't very strange if they seem familiar. Strangers visiting Stockholm, which is packed with famous people, sometimes impulsively greet passing celebrities as if they really were personal acquaintances.

Since the famous people have visited the majority of sitting rooms countless times, via our TV screens, they can, to some extent, be regarded as precisely that.

In societies or epochs dominated by writing or speech rather than by images, impressions of well-known people's countenances are in turn vague and diffuse. When the radio media ruled the general public, an attractive, charming, sexy or in any other way impressive exterior, counted less for the famous person's public popularity. On the radio one can sound like a soldier even if one is a cripple, and the most important criteria wasn't therefore to look good on the outside, but that to be in command of the rhetorical means of expression. Consequently, one can wonder whether a figure such as wheelchair-bound Franklin D. Roosevelt really could have been the American President one or two decades later when the TV media became the politicians' chief platform. In the 1930s and 1940s, however, people had quite diffuse perceptions about what their Head of State looked like and consequently the general public never fully realised the state of the President's health (cf. Meyrowitz 1985:280ff.). Today, however, the situation is quite another. There is hardly an adult person in the world that can't straight away identify Bill Clinton on a picture. The politicians' chief distinctive feature is, above all, their appearance, not the political message or the final decisions. Göran Persson's physiognomy is accordingly better known among Swedes than is the political programme of the Social Democratic Party. In the same way, people today remember the late Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's well-caricatured countenance rather than his long since forgotten political deeds.

Thus, to be distinguished today doesn't mean only to "have a name", as it is usually called. It has to a greater extent also come to mean to "have a face". Among others, this holds good for politicians, TV presenters, film stars or sport-idols. Common to these categories is that, albeit in different ways, one could claim that the media of pictures are their actual work places. In addition, it would seem that the most well known rock stars also increasingly have a public face, though the sound in their public appearances perhaps still means more than the visual.[1] Most people can presumably identify Madonna, Bruce Springsteen or John Lennon, irrespective of whether or not they appreciate or recognise their music.

Despite the media's flood of images, there are groups of well-reputed people whose immediate countenances seem like blank sheets of paper. Artists, writers and scientists in general are nowhere near as well known in appearance as are, for example, politicians in a society dominated by TV, or sport-idols. Naturally, that is due not least to the fact that they belong to what is sometimes called "the highbrow culture" and therefore usually lack impact in the channels of mass culture, but that is hardly a complete explanation. Even inside the more esoteric circles, where the great masters of art, literature and science are paid homage, are their appearances proportionately unknown. Most ethnologists and sociologists have read Anthony Giddens, but not many know what he looks like. Fredric Jameson has undeniably made himself a name amongst the scholars of literature, but only a few of them would probably recognise him if he passed by on the street. And how many sociologists by trade would

be able to identify "masters" such as George Herbert Mead or C. Wright Mills from a picture? In other words, admiration, fame and idolatry exist among researchers as well as among "ordinary folk", but the star-cult operates on different conditions. To refer back to Scott Lash's conceptions, one can say that the "the highbrow culture" still appeals to the discursive rather than figurative sensibilities. Examples are scientific magazines that are characteristically well filled with text, but usually include no pictures at all. Accordingly, there aren't particularly many of the "big" prominent academics that have a face at all in their own arenas. One of the relatively few exceptions might be Michel Foucault's well-known physiognomy among classical scholars and social scientists, but the explanation for this can hardly be traced in some stream of photographic reproductions that would have granted him a face amongst his admirers. His clean-shaven head, launching out from a polo-neck sweater and wearing the very popular 1960s "TV spectacles", has given him rather a distinctive appearance that has become engraved on people's corneas despite a paucity of pictures. Similarly, a few other distinguished intellectuals have obtained well-known countenances. Among them we may count Friedrich Nietzsche with his enormous moustache, Karl Marx, whose face is so encircled by hair and beard that he reminds one of a lion, and possibly also the harelipped Jürgen Habermas.

In other words, in the domains of art, literature and science, one often creates heroes with well-reputed names, but with anonymous faces. The history of art accommodates an established round of great men, but beyond Picasso, Van Gogh and (possibly) Salvador Dali, their appearances can probably only be identified by a few in a wider audience. The history of Swedish literature accommodates another row of great celebrities, but not many besides Strindberg have an especially well-known countenance. In contrast to the politicians of the day and rock stars, they are represented in the general consciousness by their name and work rather than their appearances. As far as science is concerned, the face of Einstein is presumably the only one that is generally known. Only in a few cases do artists and scientists achieve such magnitude that they even become the subject of popular cultural entertainment and thus obtain a public face.

The Face as a Symbol of Personality

Now when many categories of well-known celebrities of our time are so often visualised in the media that their countenances become as well-known to people as those of their own friends, it probably has consequences concerning relationships between the celebrities and the public. How is the shape of the well-reputed name influenced when a face is added?

In the essay "Die ästhetische Bedeutung des Gesichts" [The Aesthetic Significance of the Face], Georg Simmel[2] (1965:276–281) discusses the face's meaning with a main focus on art. One of the central ideas here is the connection between physiognomy and spirituality. Within art, an established convention exists about facial features as being the part of a person's aspect where the soul has its clearest expression. The face is composed of a series of elements that forms a whole. The closer these elements are related to each other, the more the whole seems permeated with spirit and consciousness. No other part of the body is

an indicator of this sort of inner unity. The facial structure does not particularly influence much of the body-weight, which strengthens the impression of spirituality. Eventual signs of such an influence from gravitation, like closed eyelids, bags under the eyes, a bent neck or slack lower jaw, can however be interpreted correspondingly as proof of spiritual absence or spiritual poverty. Man, however, is not only the bearer of a consciousness. Spirituality is also the essence in one's individual being. The face, therefore, doesn't seem only to be a symbol for one's soul, but also for the whole of one's personality. An impression strengthened from the dawn of Christianity by the fact that the rest of the body was covered with clothes and, as a consequence, made inaccessible to the glance.

These observations are applicable even outside the world of art. Similar principals have, for example, been used in older "sciences" like physiognomy and phrenology, according to which mankind's mental qualities are reflected in the facial muscles and in the form of the skull. Hence, physiognomists and phrenologists carried out personality analysis from appearance, facial expression and skull form. Today, our daily life accommodates many situations where the connection between the face and the personality can be confirmed. When we "identify ourselves" at the bank or the post office it means that we demonstrate proof that our name really belongs to our appearance. The so called "identification document" usually only consists of a few snippets of information: the name, a personal signature, birth date and a close-up of the owner's face. It is not by chance that the face is the part of the body that is considered to be proof that we really are the people that we claim to be. On the contrary, the connection between "ourselves" and our countenance is so central that we often don't make a clear distinction between our personage and the reproduction of our faces. If, together with an acquaintance, I browse through a photograph album, I might suddenly exclaim, "There I am!" when I see a photograph of my face. If the picture had depicted some other part of my body, I would probably have been more inclined to separate the picture from the person and perhaps have seen "my hand" or "my foot" instead of myself. The other parts of the body are mentioned rather as possessions: my hand, my foot, my bicycle, my fridge. The face's strong function as a symbol for personality means, however, that I can show a picture of Foucault to my students or colleagues and maintain that "this is Foucault" without meeting the slightest doubt, in spite of the fact that he has been dead for almost two decades.

As the mass media now produces such a massive stream of images it seems that celebrities' personalities increasingly squeeze out of the media and into "ordinary people's" world. I sit on the settee in front of the TV, turn on the news and think that "there is Göran Persson", as if the TV media in itself didn't exist. I thumb through a weekly magazine and am inclined to see Yassir Arafat, Madonna and David Beckham themselves, rather than photographic reproductions of these celebrities. It is daily experiences such as these that have transformed our relationships to famous people. When they have become faces, they themselves seem to be present in our everyday world. It is therefore no wonder if one greets them when one occasionally happens to come across them in the street.

It is, however, a different story when we turn to the well-reputed notabilities that have a name but not a public face. More often than not they lack personality in the general public's consciousness being, as such, represented by their scientific, literary or other creative achievements. This state is perhaps truer for scientists than for artists and writers. Art and literature historians have, in earlier days, emphasised not only the work but also their ingenious creators. Consequently, the history of literature, for example, has to a great extent come to consist of the authors themselves, and researchers have made great efforts to reconstruct their personal characters and life histories. In this way, Strindberg's life and way of living has been viewed from every possible angle by generations of literary scholars, whereby important problems have touched upon the relationship between the work and the biography of the author. In what way does *Fröken Julie* ("Miss Julie") reflect Strindberg's marriage with Siri von Essen? How is Strindberg's personal relationship to the opposite sex expressed in his portrayal of women? Accordingly, Strindberg has come to be what one might call a personality for many of his readers.

Even if this fascination about great men, the creators behind the works, had also occurred inside science (cf. Shapin 1994), that approach has at times been overrun by another ideal that reduces the scientific "author's" importance in the value of the work. Scientific texts have rather been judged on their own merits, within an anonymous system of concepts of established truths and methods of verification, where the scientist's brilliance as guarantee for the work's degree of truthfulness has become cushioned (cf. Foucault 1977:126). The worth of the scientific work is not here defined by its relation to the writer's own biography, but by its relationship to the world around. Thus, nobody questions whether Durkheim's sociology of religion is an expression of his personal relationship to religion, but rather to what extent it can be said to be a "correct" representation of religiosity as such. Whether Strindberg's portraits of women adequately represent how women really are has, on the other hand, not been a central question for literary scholars. Maybe we might now find some clarification to the fact that the personal lives of many of the great men in, for example, the social sciences, are proportionately unknown. While the personality of the researcher traditionally has been judged as irrelevant for the estimation of his scientific "masterpiece", little is known about the careers of, for example, Simmel or Durkheim, if one disregards trivial details. Despite their "indisputable" greatness in their own field, they *as themselves* seem to be absent. They are represented in their academic circles by their books, articles, concepts and ways of thought, but hardly by their personalities.

Visualisation of Prominent Figures

My argument here is that our experience of the personalities of famous figures is dependent on the extent to which their faces are made visible (together with the presence of an articulated, personal biography). Sometimes that can also be seen in the different techniques for visualising prominent people. Throughout history man has sculptured, painted, sketched, photographed and filmed the great men. Certain of these techniques seem particularly well suited to give an impression of individuality and

personality, while others rather bring about a more monumental experience of majesty and grandeur. In general one can say that the sculpture, and particularly that of a full figure statue, is the principal technique for monumentality, while other media willingly bestow a comparatively more personal and individual expression on the depicted figure.

A statue conveys greatness in a figurative as well as in a literal sense. It functions as a gesture of honour (in any case in the West), and as such cannot be bestowed on scoundrels or people on the margin. Only great men are presented with such prestigious monuments, even if one statue or another can be pulled down at a later stage if the status of the distinguished person is reviewed. So when we come across a statue during a visit to an unfamiliar city, we assume that it represents a "great" figure with hero status in the city's history, for example, a writer, an artist, a military commander or a founder. These statues, as a rule, are much bigger in size as a symbolic expression of the represented hero's majesty. The monumental representation depicts the hero in a heroic pose. Since the statues are erected outside in public places, as buildings between other buildings, and usually looked at from a distance, the heroic pose must appear as extra theatrical. Thus the face is of lesser importance, the body posture and possible attributes being the more important. Hence the statue portrays less of the *individual* Napoleon or the *personality* of Charles XII than certain style-determined conventions of greatness that are to be associated with such well-known historical names. Perhaps we don't recognise the historical person in the statue's physiognomy, without being forced to look in the tourist guide to find out who is being portrayed. One or another "great man" has however come to be associated with specific poses or attributes, which make them easier to identify. Without difficulty we can recognise Napoleon on a picture, but that is less dependent on his face being particularly well-known and more on the fact that he is usually portrayed in his classical, theatrical pose with his hand inside his waistcoat.

Modern media such as photography, film and TV have brought about a radical dismantling of the monuments whereby the great men are stripped of their classical grandeur and increasingly appear as celebrities. These types of media have implied an increasing intimacy and creation of personality of the celebrities that were unattainable within other technologies. The media here steps more easily into the background, whereby the representations of prominent people, to some degree, seem to lose their quality as representations and instead reproduce him or herself as if the media didn't exist. Probably no one mixes up the statue with the depicted person, but the TV media diminishes the experience of distance between "the sign" and "the signified" and facilitates such confusion. The changeover from black and white to colour, and from photography to moving pictures, has further accentuated this fact. Presumably the most personal of all seems to be the heroes in the media, where in many programme types they represent themselves instead of fictitious role-figures. Just as significant is presumably the unprecedented quantity of images that are now produced, which of course is a prerequisite for the outward appearance and the personality to be firmly fixed in the public's consciousness.

Hybrids and Barriers in the Star-Cult

Many commentators and debaters have remarked that the earlier well-established hierarchy between highbrow and mass culture, between high and low, has collapsed in the postmodern world (cf. e.g. Jameson 1984). TV series, advertising and kitsch increasingly serve as sources of inspiration for Art and Literature. Respected periodicals publish special feature issues on pornography, popular sport-idols are presented with their own museums, the more highly educated read James Joyce as well as Superman or Donald Duck and new academic institutions are established for the study of popular culture. To the extent that such processes also take place in the star-cult sphere, one ought to be able to see the signs of how different matrices for tributes to the heroes increasingly intersect.

The power of the TV media to create conceptions among the public of the celebrities' personalities means that to some degree they have been lifted off their pedestals to be placed on the same level as "ordinary people". On TV the celebrities appear in a less grand form; they clear their throats, scratch their heads, are at a loss for words, stumble and sometimes make fools of themselves like anybody, except that the *faux pas* cannot be undone afterwards. Sport-idols and modern politicians, through constant exposure by the TV media, stand out as well-known faces and personalities, but as such have been deprived of a lot of the great person's majesty. In particular, sport-idols are often famous for being "wonderful fellows", "ordinary blokes" or "precisely who they are". To some degree they seem like us, like you and me, and have thus increasingly become the object of identification rather than only of humble praise.[3]

There has also been a corresponding interest of the personality in art and literature, with its romantic interest for genius. The Artist or the Writer, however, has rather been seen as a Creator and thus like an image of God, or in any case in connection with the higher powers, thanks be to his muse. In this privileged position he has been perceived as anything from the prophet seer to the penetrating outsider and through this grandiose elevation has received a place in Helicon that to a lesser degree has offered identification than submissive worship and hagiographic portraits.[4]

While science sometimes has entertained a somewhat lesser interest for the canonised 'big shot' personalities, and placed more weight on the verification procedure that is available in its work, it would sometimes seem that art's matrices for hero worship have, to some degree, influenced the world of the humanities and of social science. Creativity and originality have become the prominent ideals, not only for artists and writers but also for researchers, and anyone that cannot be said to correspond to those, risks being assigned to science's B-team. The intellectual has increasingly come to be idealised, which entails an increased fascination over his or her personality. Today biographies are being published about intellectual heroes such as Sartre, de Beauvoir, Lacan and Foucault, in a proportion unparalleled during the period of Durkheim and Simmel, that is for intellectuals outside the group of artists.

Interest on how the intellectuals are and how they look seem to grow stronger. I remember the fascination that we felt during a seminar as fourth-semester ethnology students, towards the end of the 1980s,

when someone was lucky to get hold of a magazine with a picture of Pierre Bourdieu, who was at that time regarded by many ethnologists and sociologists as *the* grand master of social theory. In our time, preoccupation with the magic of the personality, strengthened by the TV media's cultural dominance, has hardly left the university world untouched. Occasional scientific magazines have introduced an author's portrait as an impression of the man or the woman "behind the work" and popular science TV programmes such as the in Sweden well-known *Fråga Lund*, where scholars and scientists answer questions from laymen, have made the faces of certain researchers available to the general public. Not least in France have the academic spirit's most well-reputed grand masters enjoyed a status that to a certain degree reminds one of that which is bestowed on rock stars or sport-idols. They appear on TV broadcasts during peak viewing times, their books sell in large editions and the public queue for hours at their public lectures at the Collège de France.

Despite such signs of the increased importance of personality, even concerning the intellectual world's forms of reputation, barriers exist that can hardly be violated. It has sometimes been said that science prospers well in a written culture and one can ask oneself to which degree intellectual activity may occur in a context that is dominated by desire and the visual (cf. Eriksen 1987). Since the world of research at first hand appeals to the discursive and not to figural sensitivities, it perhaps represents a last bastion for the rationalistic culture of modernity. If there is some content in all the visions of the developing "information society" or "knowledge society", we are probably not confronted with a farewell to the written culture, which some apocalyptic prophets might have predicted. Would there rather be space for stronger appeals to the discursive sensibilities in the figural media?

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Notes

1 The rock video has naturally contributed to strengthen the element of visual meaning, something that can now sometimes dominate the musical performance. When models like Victoria Silverstedt and the Graaf sisters not only market shampoo, tampons or low-fat margarine, but also start careers inside the music business, this can be seen as an example of how familiar faces (and the bodies associated with them) are used to sell music.

2 Simmel is moreover a typical example of the intellectual superstar's character: a "classical scholar" whose magnitude is assimilated in one of the weightiest academic names, but who is almost totally without a face, even among his most devoted admirers.

3 I have discussed this tendency in more detail from other angles in Schoug 1997: 89–114.

4 I am not unaware of the fact that this traditional role has long been moving towards a lower profile. The aim here, however, is not to discuss the role of the artist as such, but rather those mechanisms that regulate the conditions of fame and, thus, ideal types fulfil the analytical aims better than real types.

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Dead Dogs
Utility and Emotions
By Liv Emma Thorsen

An analysis of the various ways in which human beings have treated dead dogs is a good point of departure when discussing the distinction between human and beast, spirit and flesh, and culture and nature. This distinction is not given historically nor in a contemporary sense, as I will show in the following.[1]

The dog is humankind's oldest house pet, a smart and loyal four-legged friend whose keen sense of smell and hearing have served his master well in a number of fields. The dog has also made his way into the hearts of human beings, to the point that in the 19th century "dog" was equated with "old faithful" (in Norwegian called "Trofast"). The fashionable friends of dogs were found among the upper and middle classes, and the many anecdotes on the faithful dog were shared with the general public through newspapers, magazines, textbooks and dog manuals, more often than not accompanied by illustrations. The plethora of 19th century literature on dogs thus acquainted the reader with numerous stories of the faithful dog, the most famous being Greyfriars' Bobby (Atkinson 1912; Wood 1875). In these texts dogs saved their masters' lives, the canines sacrificed their lives for their humans, and they waited for their lost master a lifetime, preferably on his grave or by the dead body. These emotions were elaborated on by poets and painters. Lord Byron (1788–1822) touched this cord when he wrote an elegy to his dead dog Boatswain after it succumbed to rabies in 1808. In one of the stanzas in his epitaph to his sorely missed Newfoundlander Boatswain, Byron writes that the dog had "All the virtues of Man without Vices".

Boatswain was buried on Byron's property Newstead Abbey, and it was the poet's intention that he too, and the family's old servant Murray, would share a grave with the brave Boatswain. But it was not to be. Lord Byron died in Greece, and his remains rest in the family grave in Hucknall Torkard at Newstead (Elze 1876). Boatswain's memorial is a cultural monument that reveals a close emotional relationship between the master and his dog, while it also expresses the romantic's sensibility with respect to plants and animals. In those days the dog's grave would be situated in the estate's park and garden together with the graves of other dear domestic animals and memorials for other deceased family members and even distinguished persons. It was the exception rather than the rule that people could be buried on their own property. On the 17th of August 1818, the Norwegian Peter Christian Bech, 68 years old, unmarried and a student, was buried on his property at Haakaas in Båstad, in an idyllically situated burial chapel overlooking picturesque lake Øyeren. Adjacent to the chapel the student's horse and dog also lay buried (Nygaard 1974:28; Mellbye 1950–53). A century later, dog lovers could bury their four-legged friends in specially built pet cemeteries in a number of European and American cities.

There have been several other ways of mourning an esteemed dog than what I have mentioned above, and I would like to give two examples here, the first from the royal Renaissance in France and the second from Victorian England. A third dead-dog story will link the 1930s Norwegian countryside with the 16th century French court.

Mourning the Dog: Make It a Souvenir!

When Courte, the French King Charles IX's favourite dog, died around 1570, her

master ordered her hide to be tanned and made into gloves. Courte had been a dog big enough for deer hunting, but despite her considerable size – the typical chamber dog was a lapdog – she was allowed to join the king's table where she ate biscuits and marzipan from her master's hand. Like many other favourite royal dogs, Courte's life and death were memorialized in verse, the last stanza on one such verse goes:

> Courte ainsi, morte et vive a fait
> A son Roy service parfait.
> (Franklin 1899:53f.)

We then move to 19th century England where one of the numerous Victorian writers of animal literature, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, opens his discussion on dogs with this personal confession:

> There is a little skull amongst the bones I have collected for the study of anatomy, which any slightly scientific person would at once recognise as that of a dog. (...) To me this beautiful little example of Divine construction may be a teacher of scientific truths, but it is also a great deal more than that. My memory clothes it with mobile muscles and skin covered with fine, short hair, in patches of white and yellow. Where another sees only hollow sockets in which lurk perpetual shadows, I can see bright eyes wherein the sunshine played long ago, just as it plays in the topaz depths of some clear northern rivulet. I see the ears too, though the skull has none; and the ears listen and the eyes gaze with an infinite love and longing.

This little dog had been the author's "friend of boyhood", and the skull was kept as a dear souvenir of happy and bygone days. Indeed, to Hamerton, this skull is not a symbol of ghostly death; rather he calls it a relic: "Every year makes the relic more precious, since every year recollections gradually fade, and this helps me to recover them." Normally a relic, a piece of bone or garment, refers to the holy person it once was a part of. In this case, the skull indeed does evoke the memory of the little terrier, but even more, it memorializes the author himself:

> When I think of how much devoted affection this bony tenement once inhabited, it seems to me still a most fair and beautiful dwelling. The prevailing idea that reigned there was the image of me, her master. Shall I scorn this ivory cell in which my own picture had ever the place of honour? (Hamerton 1874:17ff)

Hamerton saw, as did so many contemporary dog lovers, the man-dog relationship as the ideal master-servant relationship.

Our last visit will be paid to a Norwegian stationmaster's home during the interwar years. Here, in two chairs, the tanned hides – in this case the dogs had been skinned so that the claws were kept on – of the two brave hunting hounds Cora and Pan helped to keep the stationmaster and his wife warm. Cora's hide lay in the wife's chair, Pan's in the husband's.

The French King Charles, from our first example above, lived in the same century as the Italian duke of Mantua, Frederico Gonzaga. Gonzaga was famous for his extensive dog keeping activities, and in spring 1525 he possessed as many as 111 dogs. He also ordered his court artist Giulio Romano to design a marble tomb with an epitaph for his little favourite dog that had died while giving birth. According to the English art historian N.B. Penny, this could be the first example in modern times of the custom of burying dogs in a human way (Penny 1976:298).

The French king apparently chose the opposite solution: The dog was converted into a useful object. The glove is a symbolic

object, however, and apart from the fact that dogskin makes durable gloves, the transformation of the dog may be given a more sophisticated interpretation. Literally, master and dog – the animal servant – fitted like hand and glove. The dog, when converted to gloves, would now serve as a protective barrier between the royal, immaculate hands and the touch of the unclean surroundings. Furthermore, the gloves were a significant part of a nobleman's dress, and their immanent symbolism became particularly evident in situations where honour and shame were at stake.

The second example, the skull-relic, may be seen as a typical Victorian gesture, although there were other and less gloomy canine relics to keep than the dog's skull. In dog manuals, taxidermy was recommended as a way of keeping a beloved, dead dog, although there were warning voices against this practice. Alfred Bonnardot, who wrote the first French dog manual, was definitely not in favour of taxidermy. His objections were of a practical as well as an emotional nature: When filled up with stuffed dogs, the parlour would soon look like an overcrowded museum (Kete 1994:89ff). Even though some people preferred to mount only the head, Bonnardot's advice was nevertheless to only save the fur, or, preferably to have the animal photographed while it was still alive. The latter way was also the preferred modern choice.

In Britain, Sir Edwin Landseer made his fortune by painting animals. Upper-class dog fanciers literally queued up to have their pets painted, some waiting for years until their turn came, even though the artist at his quickest succeeded in painting a dog portrait in three quarters of an hour (Lennie 1976). In the U.S. we also find examples of canine post-mortem pictures, and as Katherine Grier has pointed out in her study of American pet keeping in the 19th century, post-mortem pictures of dogs represent a parallel to the custom of taking photos of dead children (Grier 1995:128; Kildegaard 1984).

Hence, during the Victorian era, which saw the breakthrough of modern dog keeping and the concept of the family dog, the love of dogs, evidenced by the wide range of institutions such as the Kennel Clubs, pedigrees and dog shows (Ritvo 1987), also manifested itself in the various ways used to keep the memory of the dead dog alive: The dead dog might be stuffed, the hide tanned, or, less frequently, I suppose, the skull was kept as a memento. All of these may be seen as ways of transforming the dog into a souvenir, a souvenir that awoke the recollections of one who had been a faithful companion during a stage on the highway of life.

Church Ceremonial Clothes

Side by side with this sentimental approach, an approach which included dog graves, canine cemeteries and epitaphs, there has been one of utility. In the textile stores of Trøndelag Folkemuseum in the Norwegian city of Trondheim, we can find several objects in which dog hide is an important material. Similar artefacts are found in several museums on both sides of the Norwegian-Swedish border. The dog hide has actually given the name to some of the items, like the *hundskinnshuv* (dog fur cap) from the mining village of Røros, a cap which was acquired for the museum's collections in 1920.[2] The cap is made of dog fur and red, woollen fabric and is lined with fine lambskin. This kind of cap was part of

the well-off peasant's dress, and was worn together with a *hundskinnsmudd* and *hundskinnshandska*, a long coat and mittens all made of dog fur. It is said that the ankle long coat was made of fur from the Lappish dog, a small spitz. This costume was worn when the peasants rode to church on Sundays and on other special occasions. The less well off had coats of reindeer or sheep. In another part of the county of Trøndelag, we find a farm where the occupants once had two of these coats, one made of wolf fur and the other of elkhound fur. The dog-fur coats were used until factory-made clothes became easily available. Since the dog-fur coats were of higher value than coats made from the more numerous farm animals, the canine furs might have been appreciated as a substitute and alternative to wolf-fur coats. It is hard to see the difference between wolf fur and the fur of spitzes, and coats and other items in museum collections registered as made of wolf fur, may as well have been made of dog fur.

Museum artefacts prove that dog hides have been used for various purposes in popular as well as in upper-class culture. Dog hides are, for instance, found in hunting accessories like the hunting bag. There was a great deal of tolerance for using parts of dead animals in the Victorian age, which may explain why not only the working class, but also the bourgeoisie found the dead dog hide useful, or rather why they *still* found this way of utilizing dead dogs useful.

"Å være seig som bikkjeskinn" (literally translated meaning to be as tough as dogskin, equivalent to the English expression "tough as nails") means to be a strong and persevering person. This saying explains why gloves made of dogskin have been widely used for gloves in different Western countries throughout history, as well as for men's suede pants. The English 18th century gentleman used "dogskin gloves, for country wear" (Cunnington & Cunnington 1972:261). In the same century dogskin were used for ladies' gloves in Norway (Hammer 1797:113). This particular use of dogskin is frequently mentioned in 19th century dog manuals as well. The British veterinarian William Yoatt, who was an enthusiastic dog lover, writes in his book *The Dog* from 1853, that the animal evidently "was designed to be the companion and friend of man," a sentiment that did not keep him from informing the reader that our best friend's skins are suitable "for gloves, or leggings, or mats or hammer cloths". To this list of useful purposes, the Swedish author Sundström, one of the founders of the Swedish Kennel Club, adds in his dog manual from 1889, dog fur and other products made of canine wool, paraffin wax and soap.

Rugs

Let us return to Cora and Pan: Their skins did not end up in the chairs just by chance. There are still people, both in Norway and Sweden, who remember that dog hides were used to sit on or as rugs, often by the bedside. The Danish cultural historian Troels-Lund writes in his autobiography, that his boyhood dog, Sluf, was buried in his basket lying on a dog hide (!) (Troels-Lund 1924: 127). I first became aware of this use of dog hide when I read the responses to my questionnaire. This is the most striking one, written by a farmer and local butcher:

I was outside when a truck came by. A young boy was standing on the truck bed with his German Shepherd. Suddenly the dog jumped off the truck

– right against a rock and was killed immediately. The boy knocked on the driver's cab and yelled stop! He jumped off the car and rushed to the dog – and appeared to be very distraught about what had happened. I walked down to him and tried to comfort him as much as I could. He cried and didn't know what to do. In the end I brought my wheelbarrow, wheeled the dog home, skinned it and dried the skin for the boy, while I buried the carcass (b. 1915).

A woman born in 1930 remembered that she was four (perhaps she was a little older, people seldom remember from such an early age), that one day she couldn't find her dog Bella. Bella was white with brown spots and used to look after the children: "One day I couldn't find Bella. But I found her skin had been hung up to dry, this was a day I will never forget, full of tears and sorrow." A similar story is about Trille, a nice and kind dog: "I can't remember how it died, but the skin was pinned up at the barn's gate and hung there for a while. I don't think that the next dog's skin was hung by the barn's gate. Times are changing" (male b. 1916) .

Most recollections of the use of dogskins are from people who grew up in the countryside in a period when tanners were still frequent and it was common knowledge how to skin an animal. I think, however, that the use of dogskins may have been just as widespread in the towns as it has been in the rural regions. This usage disappeared, together with the knowledge of skinning and tanning, when living standards improved, but also, and probably mostly, because of a new aversion to this use of dead beloved animals. This change in mentality has taken place in our most recent past. The astonishing fact is that something that was not controversial but rather a common praxis, has in a very short period of time become taboo, an act that provokes abhorrence. This shift in attitude came between the 1930s and the 1950s. A man born in 1932 writes that his childhood dog, when old, still had a beautiful coat. The dog was skinned:

I don't know how Jossi died, I was away. But when I came back a couple of years later, my parents had taken care of the skin. The skin was as soft and thick as when she lived. Personally I don't think I would have skinned Jossi or stuffed her, but my parents belonged to another time when such things were normal.

The dog rugs were kept in their natural form so that in their remains, Bamse or Frøya, traditional names of the Norwegian Elk Hound, could still be recognised. Today anoraks and caps produced in foreign countries may be lined with dogskin. Maybe this use of dogskin is tolerable because the skin has been cut and formed and hard for a Scandinavian customer to identify as dogskin. Today, just imagining that dogs are skinned for their fur is a distasteful idea to Norwegians.

It is worth noting that in the stories about skinning we also encounter dogs which had been emotionally close to their owners. The way the dead dog has been treated does not automatically reflect how the dog has been perceived when alive. To exemplify this, I would like to give you one of the many anecdotes about the great Norwegian Romantic poet Henrik Wergeland (1808–1848). Wergeland had a very close relationship to nature, and his love of nature was reflected in his life as well as his work. Through generations Norwegian children have been brought up to look upon Wergeland as a profound lover of animals.

Throughout his short life span Wergeland fought with great intensity to teach his contemporaries to treat animals more gently. He also focused on convincing the people to sweep away their prejudices, rather trusting their knowledge and intellect. Wergeland was an eccentric person, and among the colourful stories told about him, the following is of particular interest in this context. During the Christmas holidays in 1834 Wergeland invited his friends to a good meal on roasted kid and liquor. Roast veal was also prepared for the supper. During the meal the guests preferred the kid dish, and the poet himself only ate this meat. Hans Tønsager, who wrote down the episode, and his brother, knew that the kid meat was really puppy meat, and stuck to the veal. What the guests had assumed was kid meat was in fact the family dog Frøya's approximately seven-week old puppies. After the meal was finished, the host urged his friends to have another drink. Then he moved on to what had been his secret intent with this peculiar arrangement, to examine the degree to which people are led by their prejudices rather than their taste. He wanted knowledge to sweep away prejudice, a wish that was fully shared by all the others who were present. Wergeland then revealed the truth about the roasted kid. A couple of the guests left the table, one of them returned on Wergeland's request, however. More glasses were then filled and dutifully emptied.

Henrik Wergeland expressed his strong devotion to dogs in stanzas like *hans Blik mit Hjerte ser* (His eyes see my heart) and *I min Hunds Øje sænker jeg mine Sorger som i en dyb Brønd* (I sink my sorrow in my dog's eyes like in a deep well). As an experiment, admittedly, but also in the name of enlightenment, this same man could serve puppy meat to his friends. A few days before he died, Wergeland donated his last dog Bella to the Natural History Museum to be mounted and exhibited as an example of the seeing dogs (e.g. greyhounds) found on Greek vases. In my opinion this indicates that in his profound love of nature, Wergeland kept the borderline between man and animal clear. The dog was a creature of many qualities, but still a beast.

The Mounted Dog

The fact that well off people in the 19th century chose to "prolong" their dog's life by keeping the stuffed hide, reflects the different attitudes and trends of the period. One was the general interest in nature, an interest which, for instance, was exposed in the Victorian homes' interiors. The bourgeois home was crowded with wax flowers, and animal remains were part of a bizarre applied art. These were the years of the big game hunt. Certain parts of the animals were more recognised as trophies than others. The famous Victorian taxidermist Rowland Ward advised hunters to select the head and also the foot from the elephant, "since it affords a gauge of the height of the animal" (Ward 1911:35). Elephant feet were used as umbrella-stands and liquor-stands, racks and lamps were made of antlers and the legs of cloven-footed animals were inserted in furniture.

The art of taxidermy had been radically improved when big game hunters returned to Europe with their dead animals. Parallel to this the natural history museums were in need of skilled taxidermists to build up their collections and exhibitions of wild and domestic animals. From literally stuffing the hide, the taxidermist now passed to

more refined techniques, building up the animal from inside and the animals looked dramatically much more natural than they had earlier. The good taxidermist had to be both an artist and a good zoologist who was able to model the animals (Ward: xii). In his book *The Sportsman's Handbook to Collecting, Preserving, and Setting-Up Trophies & Specimens*, Roland Ward presents himself in a painter's smock, drawing and surrounded by animal paintings. The dead animal was made into a piece of art. Thus the domestic fashion and the skill of the taxidermists might have encouraged dog owners to stuff their dear, four-legged companion.

It is, however, essential not to focus on this way of mourning the dog too heavily. Victorian examples of stuffed dogs are rare to be found today, and few of the British 19th century's taxidermists actually did this kind of job (Morris 1984:54). Nevertheless, mounting a dog, and animals in general, was much less controversial in the Victorian age than it is today.

There may be several reasons for this, the most important one probably being the fact that the dog in most people's minds still clearly belonged to the animal realm. On the other hand, this was, as already mentioned, the period when the concept of the faithful dog was given an interpretation that still influences the way many people see the dog today; an interpretation that implies a strong identification between man and dog. We should keep the image of "old faithful" in mind in the following discussion of the stuffed dog.

To Stuff or not to Stuff

In the spring of 1997 the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* published an article on dead pets and pet cemeteries. One of the interviewees remarked that rather than cremation and burial, he chose to mount his pets. According to him there was an essential difference between the hunter who mounted an elk head and the animal owner who stuffed his pet. The mounted elk head became a trophy while he himself regarded the stuffed pet as a memorial.

One of the questions in the questionnaire asked: "Would you mind stuffing a dog you have been particularly attached to?" Most of the respondents answered in the negative. The majority of dog owners do not have any need to cultivate the memory of their dog, neither in a concrete nor an imaginary stance, other than in their minds, in the photo album or on video. One of them writes: "I don't like pet cemeteries. Neither would I stuff a dear dog. Death must be the border." (male b. 1939)

A closer examination of the various reasons people give for not wanting to stuff their dogs reveals different attitudes to the dog's status as a beast. At one end of the scale we find those who are strongly opposed to mounting because this is "nonsense", an unnecessary and eccentric way of handling a pet. To these persons stuffing is equivalent to burying. Both procedures are considered as typical manifestations of a sentimental dog keeping in which the borderline between man and beast disappear. As one farmer writes: "Dog cemeteries are nonsense. Stuffing is nonsense."

Those at the other end of the scale express a deeply felt wish to give the dead dog a worthy end. In this context, stuffing the animal is contrary to decent treatment. The argument is that we would never stuff a member of the family or a good friend, nor anyone for that matter:

Stuffing one of my dogs would have been unthinkable! In general stuffed animals are a little weird. Only the thought of having my first Boris in the living room as a kind of a knick-knack gives me the shivers. That's how it would have been, a thing you have to dust, a thing with dead eyes and a dead coat, a kind of ghost. No, I shiver when I think of something like that – I mean, nobody would dream about stuffing grandfather to keep him in the rocking chair just for decoration...would they!?!! (female b. 1959).

Another woman writes:

I would *never* reflect on stuffing a dog that had been close to me. To me this sounds absurd and grotesque. You don't stuff human beings either! (Of course, that would be even more grotesque.) (b. 1961).

In these statements, human beings and dogs are valued by the same standards. To many dog owners the dog is a close friend, to some even *the* best friend. As one man writes: "I could never consider stuffing any of my friends" (b. 1926). In this discussion the degree of intimacy between man and dog is decisive.

Only one of the informants is definitely in favour of stuffing. The man, a farmer, writes: "I don't understand people who want to make special cemeteries for dogs. To stuff one's dog is quite another thing, because it doesn't need to have anything to do with idolizing the animal." (b. 1923) I find this statement of particular interest because of the religious undercurrent it contains. Stuffing is the opposite of worshipping the beast. In Christian tradition, worshipping the animal is a deeply rooted image of idolatry. A similar way of reasoning can be extracted from the following statement, but in this case, idolatry is the argument used to explain the opposite point of view, that is why we should *not* stuff dogs:

It would have been nice to have special burial places for dogs. On the other hand, the dog is an animal that may be replaced by a new one. You should not worship them or estimate them higher than man. It may be true that most dogs are more faithful and trusting than many a human being. And they don't speak ill of you or hurt you. /.../ But we are created in the image of God. In another human being we may see God. A dog is only created by God, a creature to be kind to, but not exalted to the same degree as God and not to be worshipped. That would be a sin. Therefore, stuffing a dog would be the same as making an idol. Something you worship instead of God (female b.1938).

The two respondents have in common that the animal, the dog, is not to be equated with man. To the first, the act of stuffing a dog would serve as a normal demarcation of the borderline between man and beast just because we do not treat our own loved ones in such a manner. To the latter, stuffing the pet would be to blur the borderline. Man and the beast are intermixed if the owner chooses to give his dog a quasi-eternal life by mounting it because of his strong emotional commitment to the dog. In the later interpretation, a symbolic elaboration of dog keeping, such as stuffing one's dog, implies a degradation of humanity and, implicitly, a desecration of the holy.

Concluding Remarks

My material indicates that the way in which Norwegians construct the human-beast border differs greatly. The above-mentioned practices are conceived as phenomena ranging from idolatry to considering the dog as a creature to be encompassed by the same ethical standards as human beings.

When studying the different ways of handling dead dogs in Western society throughout history, one has to take into account the habits and mentality of the

upper classes as well as the lower classes. But dogs cross social markers and they have been given tasks and have had a variety of practical and sentimental purposes. Some of these exist in both cultures. The dog has had, and has, a social as well as a private function. Some dogs have only been working animals, others have been both working animals and pets, and some are only pets. This variety of positions has led to different ways of treating the carcass during the same period. The strong reactions against stuffing dogs in late modern Norway indicate a close emotional bond between man and animal. I am not sure if anthropomorphism is the proper designation for this bond – rather, empathy should be included in the discussion.

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Notes

1 This article is based on *Hund. Bidrag til dyrenes kulturhistorie*. Pax Forlag. In press. My sources are 130 written answers to an open-ended questionnaire, field work in European museums and pet cemeteries in the U.S. and several European countries, a wide range of 19th and early 20th century dog literature where the texts are treated as primary sources, and pictures.
2 This particular cap is registered as FTT 810.

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Biographical Notes

Anna Birgitta Rooth 1919–2000

Anna Birgitta Rooth died in June 2000, aged 81. She was born in Ängelholm, where she returned after retirement. She was appointed professor of European ethnology at Uppsala University in 1973, the first female professor in the subject in Sweden. This meant leaving Lund and Skåne, where she had studied and worked since the 1940s. She studied at the Department of Folklife Studies, Lund University, taking her licentiate in 1943 and her doctorate in 1951. In the same year she was appointed research associate in folklore (1952–61) and then research professor (1964–72). She spent 1963/64 as research associate at the Department of Anthropology, University of California. For a period she was also on the board of the Nordic Institute of Folklore, the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, the Nordic Council for Anthropological Research, and on committees for research into dialect, placenames, and ballads, which reflects her breadth as a researcher and her spheres of interest.

Anna Birgitta Rooth was a pupil of Carl Wilhelm von Sydow and wrote her doctoral dissertation about *The Cinderella Cycle* (AT510+511). As a folktale scholar Rooth departed somewhat from her teacher's line, examining not just one type of folktale but a whole group of related tales. Following diffusionist theory, she carefully charted the tale types and their motifs, to draw conclusions about traditions areas and paths of diffusion.

From fairytales she proceeded to myths. Her best-known work here is *Loki in Scandinavian Mythology* (1961). Rooth shows that most myths about Loki are variants of popular European medieval stories and can therefore not be used as a source for Norse mythology. In *The Raven and the Carcass* (1962) she analyses not only texts but also a large corpus of pictures. One of her purposes here was to show that myths are not religion but traditional fiction, literature.

Studies of myth gave the idea for pictures as a source for folklore, and in 1969 Rooth started the Iconographic Archive in Lund, later moved to Uppsala. The idea was to register pictures of interest to ethnology and cultural history and to establish a system for coding their content.

In the mid-1950s Anna Birgitta Rooth started fieldwork among Indians in Alaska and northern Canada. Alaska was then a little-researched area and her fieldwork was in many respects pioneering. The material was published in a series of studies, the most important being *The Importance of Storytelling* (1976). Her interest in Alaska may be linked in part to her interest in tradition areas, in this case the connection between Alaska and Greenland, but there was more to it. She also highlighted questions such as the significance of storytelling in a culture and the role of storytelling in an enculturation process. By collecting present-day traditions, Rooth was also able to develop her analysis of narrative technique and oral style; here she can be regarded as a forerunner of today's folkloristic interest in narratives.

Anna Birgitta Rooth was a folklorist, ethnologist, anthropologist, and picture scholar, early to realize the importance of interdisciplinary work. She did fieldwork at a time when most European folklorists were still studying archival material. Rooth drew attention to the usefulness of pictures as a source and was interested in methodology. In several of her later studies she emphasized the importance of methodological awareness, and she polemized against evolutionistic views in favour of a functionalist outlook.

Inger Lövkrona, Lund

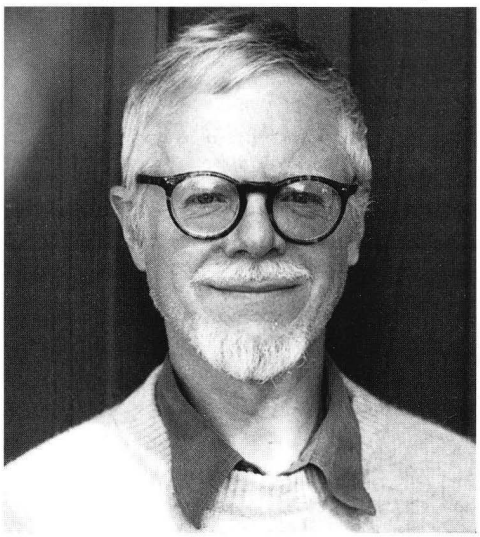
Gösta Arvastson, Professor of Ethnology at Uppsala University

In 2000 Gösta Arvastson was promoted to Professor of Ethnology at Uppsala University. Born in 1943, he belongs to the baby-boomers in Swedish ethnology who have studied cultural identity and its societal background, from various theoretical angles. His research topics cover exclusion and marginality, the dark sides of the welfare state. He has taken a keen interest in material culture, place, and the historical transformation of the town. With poetic flair he can bring out details, capture impressions, and build analyses on observations of rapidly passing phenomena – perhaps a by-product of his artistic talent. He often publishes works along with students or colleagues – a characteristic feature of those with the ability to listen and inspire.

Gösta Arvastson studied in Lund, becoming an expert on vernacular architecture through his dissertation on vicarages in Skåne, *Skånska prästgårdar* (1977). At the Department of Ethnology in Gothenburg in the 1980s he renewed the study of working life in industrial society, conducting studies of SKF, Volvo, and Götaverken. In *Maskinmänniskan* (1987) he shows how different generations of workers shaped their lives in the machine age. He co-edited a many-sided account of the fifty-year history of ethnology in Uppsala, while simultaneously expanding that department's research field with international collaboration projects.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

Mats Hellspong, Professor of Ethnology at Stockholm University



Mats Hellspong was born in 1940 and took his Ph.D. in ethnology at Stockholm University in 1983, where he has lectured since the 1960s.

His early research was geared to local communities. His first book, *Borlänge* (1973), dealt with life in a new industrial town from the late 19th century onwards. His thesis on boxing, *Boxningssporten i Sverige*, was pioneering in many ways, with a broad and systematic ethnological perspective on the practitioners and spectators, and on boxing as a reflection of changes in the Zeitgeist. He has gone on to develop his interest in sport in a number of studies, most recently (2000) in a major work on the history of popular sports in early Swedish society.

Hellspong's studies of social movements in 20th-century Sweden are synthesized in *Korset, fanan och fotbollen* (1991). His ambition here was to focus on everyday activities, interaction, traditions, and symbolic language in the free church, temperance, labour, and sports movements. His interest in local communities and subcultures was combined in a series of studies of the Swedish army as a cultural setting.

Despite all his teaching and administration, Hellspong has done an impressive amount of research and writing. He has covered widely differing research fields, with his ambition to consolidate and renew the tradition of cultural history in Swedish ethnology.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund

The 28th Nordic Congress of Ethnology and Folklore, Hankø, 2000

In spring 2000, Nordic ethnologists and folklorists were able to meet again after a few years' break. The theme of the congress this time was "Norden and Nordic Subject Traditions". The congress, which gathered over 150 participants, was held at the Hankø Fjord Hotel near Oslo on 3–6 May 2000. There were nice people and good food as usual, and we were also treated to beautiful spring weather and magnificent sea views.

The main arranger of the conference was Professor Bjarne Rogan, Oslo University. The congress consisted of plenary lectures and thematic sessions. The plenary lectures, which were relatively numerous, kept fairly strictly to the theme of the congress, which meant that many of them had a retrospective character. They concerned the history of folkloristics and ethnology, a study of how and why the subject has developed into what it is today, and the conditions for further development. Other plenary lectures, however, highlighted the current and future potential of the disciplines. Lena Gerholm's lecture, "Body, Intimacy, and Sexuality" looked at central research fields today. Birgitta Svensson emphasized in her lecture the cultural heritage as an opportunity to study crucial arenas such as body, gender, identity, and environment in the past, present, and future alike. Interdisciplinary approaches were also stressed as a way for ethnologists and folklorists to transcend boundaries.

The plenary sessions on the third day consisted of foreign scholars' comments on Nordic ethnology and folkloristics. Galit Hasan-Rokem (Jerusalem) showed the significance of Nordic folkloristics for the methodological development of the subject internationally. Thomas Schippers, a Dutch ethnologist working in France, put forward his view of Nordic ethnology: he viewed it with a mixture of envy, scepticism, and admiration. He also noted that Nordic ethnologists and folklorists find it fun to attend conferences. He regarded good food and pleasant company as more typical than academic disputes. Konrad Köstlin (Vienna) pointed out the change of orientation in Nordic ethnology from the German to the Anglo-Saxon world. He also commented on the orientation of Finnish ethnology to the Russian and Baltic sphere. This was extremely interesting, since one element in the theme of this congress was Norden, yet one of the Nordic countries was scarcely represented at all, namely, Finnish-speaking Finland. Köstlin's analysis would put the absence of Finnish ethnologists and folklorists down to their subject orientation rather than the question of language. One might ask whether the Nordic dimension is sufficiently vigorous as a unifying factor. It would be a pity if this were not the case.

Before dinner on the Thursday evening, the newly established Krohn Prize was awarded by the Nordic Network of Folklore. The prize for 1999 went to Valdimar Hafstein (Reykjavik and Berkeley), who presented his winning essay, "Biological Metaphors in Folklore Theory: An Essay in the History of Ideas" while the delegates sipped their sparkling drinks.

On the second day of the congress, Professor Nils-Arvid Bringéus gave a plenary lecture entitled "Ethnology, a Comparative Science?" He asked whether today's ethnologists and folklorists engage in comparison at all. Is the time for comparison over? The answer, of course, depends on how one defines the term.

"Nordic and Comparative Folklore Studies", "Nordic and Comparative Folklife Studies", and "Nordic and Comparative Cultural History" were the designations of some of the professorships instituted at the start of the twentieth century, with the focus on both the Nordic and the comparative aspects. Evolutionism, which was a basic paradigm for comparison as a scientific method, originated in the natural sciences. It was transferred to cultural sciences such as archaeology and ethnology by Sven Nilsson and other scholars, while the first person to apply comparison to non-material topics was Wilhelm Mannhardt. Origin and development, distribution and dispersal were studied and interpreted with the cartographic method, where comparison was at the centre, uniting folkloristics and ethnology.

Bringéus's lecture was interesting and thought-provoking. What is the state of the comparative perspective today? That question provoked dis-

cussion immediately after the lecture and later, as delegates mingled during coffee breaks and stretched their legs in the sunshine. Distribution maps may not be common today, but surely we still work with comparisons, both synchronic and diachronic? All cultural analysis may be said to be based on a certain degree of comparison, although not necessarily geographical.

It is obvious that ethnology and folkloristics in 2000 are different from what they were at the start of the century. It is questionable whether von Sydow and his contemporaries would recognize them if they attended a lecture on ethnology for undergraduates or a research seminar for folklorists, no matter which Nordic department they went to. What would they have said if they had read the programme of this congress, with headings such as "Craving for Nothing – Anorexia from the Perspectives of Gender and Cultural Science" or "HIV/AIDS, Desire, and Health"?

The core of ethnology and folkloristics was discussed time and again during the congress. Is there anything that ties together all the topics that undergraduates, doctoral candidates, and established scholars work with? To take some examples from recent Nordic dissertations, what does the study of police detectives in Stockholm have in common with a study of Elvis as a carnivalistic king? What do biographical spaces have in common with patriotism in eighteenth-century Denmark? Very little, it might seem at first glance. In the discussion of the sprawl and division, or the complexity and diversity, depending on how you look at it, "method" nevertheless seemed to be a key word. Perhaps it is the methods that are the common denominator, uniting us no matter what we study. Discussions of method usually start sooner or later when ethnologists and folklorists meet. Some delegates deplored this, saying that it would be desirable to have something more general and content-based to unite us.

There are two possible objections to this. One is that it really may not be so deplorable if shared methods are all we have in common. Is that not sufficient? The question would then be what makes us specifically ethnologists and folklorists, since the same methods are used in many other disciplines (which also carry on their own discussions about what unites them). The second objection is that our various research areas perhaps have more in common than we might at first think. If one looks at the topics presented at the congress workshops, it is clear that many old ethnological and folkloristic themes are still considered urgent. It goes without saying that the perspectives and theoretical approaches are different today – the society in which we live today differs significantly from that of the 1920s or the 1960s. A clear example of how a classical ethnological research area – ideas and traditions about death and burial – can be illuminated from new aspects is the study by the Stockholm ethnologist Ingeborg Svensson on the funerals of homosexual men who have died of AIDS. Another is the extensive food studies, an old research tradition which is now following partly new paths, including studies of genetically modified foods and people's attitudes to them.

The congress offered many fascinating lectures, both in the plenary sessions and in the workshops. It would have been desirable, however, to have a somewhat different distribution as regards the time and the number of lectures. The mornings were devoted to plenary sessions and the afternoons to the workshops. This meant that ten sessions, each with four to six presentations, were squeezed into two afternoons, with five parallel sessions. Those who gave papers could not attend any other session but the one to which their own paper belonged. Although most of the plenary lectures were both important and interesting, it would have been more rewarding if there had been fewer of them and a greater share of the time given to workshops. A great advantage compared to previous conferences was that all the plenary lectures were available in advance on the Internet in their entirety, along with abstracts of all the papers presented at the workshop sessions. It is highly valuable to be able to acquaint oneself beforehand with what the speakers are going to discuss. Information technology is all very well, but it will still be nice to see the planned conference report, containing a large number of the lectures. We look forward to exciting discussions the next time we meet, this time with Danish ethnologists as hosts.

Charlotte Hagström, Lund,
and Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

New Dissertations

Let's Follow a Sensible and Healthy Fashion

Päivi Aikasalo, Seuratkaamme järkevää ja terveellistä muotia. Naisten pukeutumisihanteet ja vaatevalinnat 1920-luvulta 1960-luvun loppupuolelle. (Let's follow a sensible and healthy fashion. Women's ideals in dressing and their choice of clothes from the 1920s to the late 1960s). Kansatieteellinen arkisto 47. Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys. 320 p. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-9057-41-2.

■ This dissertation deals with what Finnish women used to wear between the 20s and the late 60s. The description and analysis of the ideals and values pertaining to everyday clothing is based on articles and advertisements in the most influential Finnish women's magazine, *Kotiliesi*, and on interviews with seamstresses, clothing department personnel and readers. The choice of *Kotiliesi* is justified by the fact that this magazine was published continuously during the study period, and the editors and reporters were influential women in the Finnish society. The readers are said to be women representing different ages and social categories but, more precisely, the subscribers were particularly teachers, cultured housewives and forward-looking farmers' wives.

The dissertation aims at defining the main principles that guided the choice of everyday clothing and at outlining the way of thinking behind these choices. The author also promises to present attitudes and ideals connected with clothing and to show how they form part of the popular culture and reflect its changes. The presentation of the principles that guide women's selection of clothes items is an interesting and challenging task. It is hardly feasible to solve the question in full in one dissertation. But, the study illustrates the matter through women reading the magazine.

The long study period, some 50 years, makes the task of the author quite demanding. This period includes some decisive stages in Finland's history, which cannot but have influenced dress choice, too. The author also has to decide to what extent external matters influence women's selection of their daily garments, and what role other considerations have in the context. Additionally, the major changeover from seamstress work to use of ready-made clothes falls within this period. Clothing, according to the author, reflects certain types of common behaviour, and these are studied in relation to specific themes.

The research material consists of issues of *Kotiliesi* during 19 selected years between 1923 and 1968. The interviewees include three editors, three professional advertising staff, six clothing department staff and seamstresses, and nine readers. The themes for the interviews are derived from an analysis of the articles and advertisements, which have been selected because they refer to dress and clothing. Pictures, photographs and illustrations as well as various cultural signs play a main role. The researcher's idea is that the pictures can be understood, because the meanings of the signs have been agreed within the same culture, they are well established, and people understand one another at least relatively well.

The research method used is a qualitative analysis of contents and a semiotic viewpoint. The analysis deals with the themes of the texts, and the classification enables the author to interpret the meanings inherent in what women wear, to provide an overall description. Here, the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative methods come out clearly. The author's forte is a clear and enlightened overall picture, whereas it proves difficult for the reader to follow the paths that she has taken to reach her goal. Occasionally, the generalization and simplification required by the methodology in use is slightly disturbing.

Aikasalo refers to media researcher Norma Fairlough's view that the reflection of cultural changes in the media is sensitive, but she herself states critically that the magazines reveal the value world of their editors. The study contains a good analysis of the thinking which permeates *Kotiliesi*. In the study, the advertisements are included in the *Kotiliesi* rules and regulations for dress. This solution would require some justification as well as a clarification of the attitudes that the editors and reporters take to the advertisements. We might ask, for instance, to what extent the advertisements influenced the articles. Advertising is seen as part of the volatile popular

culture, and it is surmised that through the adverts we may distinguish the awareness, way of thinking and ideology of the readers.

Dress and fashion are central concepts. The understanding of dress follows the main lines of ethnological and dress research. Dress is seen as a varying phenomenon tied to the surrounding culture, society, way of life, and values; and, from an ethnological view, dress is an important part of material culture. But, in ethnology too, the signs and meanings in clothing have increasingly come to the fore. Aikasalo is well justified in calling craft science an issue broadening the scope of the study. Dress has been seen as a signal and as part of the overall social interaction. Nevertheless, the dissertation does not particularly mention women's different roles and their influence on dress. Here, dress and clothing have been restricted to the creation of an appearance by means of clothes items, accessories and footwear, whereas other parts of women's external appearance, such as hairdressing and makeup, have not been discussed.

The material shows up fashion as an explanatory factor in dress. The author builds her concept of fashion on Georg Simmel's ideas and defines fashion as a social phenomenon requiring imitation, and differentiation. Fashion is taken as an international phenomenon which is interpreted in Finland, with *Kotiliesi* acting as one of the interpreters. This study does not deal with what fashion is about, an interesting question in itself, nor with the choices and justifications underlying *Kotiliesi*'s presentation of international fashion trends.

The dissertation follows certain themes appearing in the material: 1) fashion as ideal dressing; 2) the fashionable dream: feminine, svelte and carefree; 3) dressing according to situation and status; 4) practical ideals; 5) to buy or to have made; and 6) dress problems when times are hard. Each chapter discusses the theme from several viewpoints and presents quotations from the research material, as well as referring to the illustrations in the appendices. At the end of each chapter, one Kotiliesi reader is presented as an example.

The chapter on fashion as ideal dressing, e.g., describes fashion as presented in the basic material and, by means of subtitles, directs the reader's attention to the principles of fashion. These come out in similarities and differences, the circulation of fashion, reason as a basis for fashionable dressing, glimpses of fashion pictures, some details of fashion, models of fashion, applying fashion to Finnish tastes, and fashion itself. This presentation requires a critical mind. At the end the author states that *Kotiliesi* both idolises and criticises fashion. The whole 50 years' period studied is largely dealt with as one entity.

The chapter on dress ideals in a changing society presents Aikasalo's understanding of the type of clothing presented by *Kotiliesi*. According to her, the social character of fashion comes out clearly in the *Kotiliesi* pages. In her dress and clothing, a woman was dependent of the opinions of others. *Kotiliesi* endeavours to find reasonable justifications for different features of fashion.

In addition to fashion, the clothing presented by *Kotiliesi* stresses a feminine appearance, different clothing for different situations, and social status. The author finds that as *Kotiliesi* combines certain ways of dressing with the individual's social status, the magazine also upholds the prevalent social hierarchy and the stability of society. The practical ideals for dressing seem, according to the author, to be hidden by *Kotiliesi* behind femininity and fashion. Aikasalo points to an important question as she discusses different types of texts describing dress ideals. The articles stress uniformity, whereas the adverts primarily focus on being different. All in all, the articles have an educational tone, whereas the advertisements are bolder. The stories of the readers are built into stories of the dress ideals they have adopted. They function as examples and do not provide material for generalization.

The overall analysis of the research material is fluent and reads well. All in all, this dissertation gives us much new information on dress and the factors influencing it. The author also presents one way of organising extensive magazine material and of recognising overriding ideas. This ethnological work is also interesting for craft science. It reinforces the idea that dress reveals principles that have not changed much over the decades. Dress and clothing quite obviously function as an important part of social behaviour, which this study brings out. There have been more changes in the external appearances of clothes items. The subject is important and well

justified and gives us additional information on the everyday life of people.
Marketta Luutonen, Helsinki

Travellers in the Car Society

Håkan Andréasson, Resenärer i bilsamhället. Vardagligt resande i kulturell belysning. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 30. Göteborg 2000. 285 pp. Diss. English summary. ISBN 91-85838-50-0.

■ This book, entitled "Travellers in the Car Society", is one of the most recent in a long series of studies of motoring as culture and lifestyle to see the light of day in Sweden in the last twenty years. In the introduction the author nevertheless wonders why so little has been written about motoring and traffic as culture, in comparison to all the technical literature about the car and its place in the history of technology, about traffic and all the construction it gives rise to. He finds the reason in the massive character of the car society which makes people take it for granted, and in the tradition of uncritical fascination with technology that is typical of traffic journalism – and traffic planning. It is striking, however, that Swedish – and in part Norwegian – ethnology actually has dealt with traffic and motoring, whereas there are virtually no Danish studies. Andréasson's exhaustive bibliography has about 200 Swedish, Norwegian, and American references, but not a single Danish one. One of the explanations may be found in the Swedish choice of topic areas and methods, which Andréasson characterizes as "focusing on everyday life", using Frykman and Löfgren's "moving searchlight". This flexible and down-to-earth sense of the diversity of life has not been present in Danish ethnology to the same extent in recent years.

In the three studies that make up this book, the author's aim has been "to understand parts of the culturally anchored causal connection in everyday travel" and thereby rise above the "tool mentality" of traditional histories of traffic and technology. Just as the huge traffic constructions, roads and bridges, have a great symbolically charged significance for modern Western society, the author also views the car as a symbol of society and the spirit of the time, as both "culture-bound" and a "culture-bearer".

For various reasons the three studies were undertaken at intervals of several years. The first consists of interviews in the Gothenburg area: first among families with young children in two parts of the city, a suburb with council housing and a middle-class residential area. The second contrasts habitual users of public transport and habitual motorists. Finally, the third study examines high school pupils in Gothenburg and the smaller town of Kungsbacka. Among these informants, the author has charted the general "biography of travel habits" and asked them in detail about their choice between public transport and private cars, about their views of environmental problems, about traffic in Gothenburg, and about the car society in general. The picture thus obtained is then put into a historical context in which the author, after periodizing the development of motoring in Europe, concludes that we have moved from the optimism of the 1950s and 1960s, when the car occupied a central place in luxury consumption, to a time when people have a more realistic view of cars, but regard them as a necessity. The car is no longer a status symbol, but part of a modern social movement, in which the strong position of the car is partly due to its properties as an individual, private space and a tool for self-determined mobility. At the same time, modern people feel a fundamental ambivalence about the car in view of the general awareness of the damage it does to the environment. One result of this seems to be that young people, who are otherwise accustomed to cars from kindergarten onwards, have surprisingly flexible travel habits and do not attach high priority to obtaining a driving licence.

With this thesis Håkan Andréasson has given us an interesting and well-informed introduction to relevant problems in traffic culture, with good surveys of previous research and concepts. As regards method and presentation, however, the work is more sociological than ethnological in the strict sense. A good deal of the book consists of summaries of individual interviews, and the subsequent excursuses look at issues such as women versus men in traffic, political awareness, generations, etc. Here I miss the focused ethno-

logical gaze which really could have followed people on their bus journeys or car trips, describing the elements in the environment of traffic culture, from the contents of the glove compartment to sitting patterns inside the car. Such an approach could have generated many pictures, but there is not a single illustration in this very cheaply produced book. Although it is neither spectacular nor sparkling, it may be read as a solid standard work on the cultural history of traffic.
Peter Dragsbo, Middelfart

Police Work in Stockholm

Ann Kristin Carlström, På spaning i Stockholm. En etnologisk studie av polisarbete. Institutet för folklivsforskning/Etnologiska institutionen, Stockholm 1999. 207 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7153-985-9.

■ In this book we follow a group of plain-clothes police officers from the criminal investigation department in Stockholm. The author did fieldwork with the group over a long period and observed all their various periods of duty, both in the police station and out in the cars.

The topic of this dissertation was chosen following an assignment from the Stockholm City Museum, for which Ann Kristin Carlström had to document the everyday life of police officers. Before starting the fieldwork she had a fairly negative view of the police, influenced in particular by the novels of Sjöwall and Wahlöö.

When the fieldwork began, Carlström had to sign a form promising not to disclose confidential information. Since the detectives also do all they can to avoid being recognized as belonging to the police, this has involved restrictions on the form of the dissertation. The author was not able to use the photographs she took during the fieldwork, nor was she able to state the real names of people and places connected with the police work.

The dissertation rests mainly on fieldwork with a specific group of detectives. The author conducted tape-recorded interviews with members of all four detective groups in the unit and with their superiors. In addition, the tape recorder was switched on during meetings, except when more "confidential" matters were being discussed. The recordings are presented both in narrative form and in verbatim "ethnopoetic" transcripts which also show pauses, loudness, and emphases. The method is explained in the chapter where the transcripts are presented. Carlström had a notebook with her everywhere, which she did not try to conceal. She photographed the detectives in various situations as an *aide-mémoire*, although the pictures could not be used in the book.

Carlström was accepted by the group, and on each working day she accompanied one of the detectives in the group, observing everything he or she did in the course of duty. It was the group that decided, without consulting her, whom she would accompany on any particular day.

The author discusses the researcher's role in fieldwork, in which she chose to follow a reflexive line, which allows two-way communication with the subjects being studied, and which means that she maintains contact with the subjects during the writing process. The detectives have thus had the opportunity to read the manuscript several times and comment on it.

The dissertation is inspired by several theoretical perspectives: identity formation and the significance of gender. Carlström seeks to show how the detectives shaped their tasks in the group, how the tasks were assigned, the knowledge the detectives needed, and the type of knowledge that was developed during the work. Another aspect was to illuminate how the group created meaning in the work on the basis of the conditions and opportunities of the police organization.

Carlström also studies how the group was constructed socially, the self-understanding within the group, how they regarded themselves and their work, the conceptions, thoughts, and ideals the detectives had, and how these were translated into practice. She also examines the detectives' vertical and horizontal relations within the police organization, the ties they had to other police officers, and the demands and expectations of the superiors and how the group related to these.

The study reveals the categories into which the detectives divided the world and how they related to the three main categories: "Average Swedes", "police", and "criminals". The police station reflects the three categories. Suspects are kept at the back of the building, the general public are admit-

ted from the front, while the police can move all over the station.

The author is also interested in the language of the detectives, using the term *trope* to clarify their way of speaking. Their language should not be understood literally; they frequently use metaphors and irony. Carlström has assembled a fourteen-page list of "technical terms" which in her opinion require translation into ordinary language.

The scholars on whom Carlström bases her analysis include the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz and the sociologists of knowledge Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. The discussion of the professional knowledge of the detectives is inspired by Michel Foucault's idea that power and knowledge go together, each presupposing the other. The author also surveys previous research on the police. Apart from this, she mentions many scholars in connection with the relevant parts of the dissertation. The bibliography fills nineteen pages.

Carlström concludes that the detectives lived with two central categories: honest people (or taxpayers) and "villains"; they reckoned themselves as belonging to the former group. There were also four paradoxical features in the way the detectives exercised their profession: (1) In certain situations they were forced to conceal their identity. (2) They were in a stratum between the honest people and the villains. The game between police and villains was a series of battles, with winners and losers. This meant that the detectives and the suspects could judge each other's actions in a matter-of-fact way and sometimes appreciate the achievements of the other side. (3) The detectives, whose task it is to supervise other people, tried to avoid supervision from above in the police organization. They regarded themselves as crime fighters, while their superiors were perceived as bureaucrats with no knowledge of real police work. (4) The detectives in the group had equality between workmates as an ideal, but female detectives were subordinate to the men. The men had a head start on account of their age and experience. Each of the four groups had one female detective who was younger and had served fewer years than the men.

The book was interesting reading. One feels one almost gets to know the different detectives. From an ethnological point of view it is vexatious that it was not possible to document the events and places in photographs.

Birgit Andreasen, Rødovre

Officers of Technology

Katarina Ek-Nilsson, Teknikens befäl. En etnologisk studie av teknikuppfattning och civilingenjörer. Etnolore 21, Uppsala 1999. 192 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1388-X.

■ Representatives of some central actors in twentieth-century development are given a voice in this study of engineers by Katarina Ek-Nilsson. Rapid technological progress and the entry of technology into virtually all cultural contexts has not been reflected in a corresponding interest in one of the most crucial factors for this development, namely, the presence of the necessary resources in terms of people with the education and skills required to play the role of developers of technology. It is noteworthy how little research interest the group of technologists and engineers has attracted, in contrast to the huge body of literature devoted to, say, working-class culture.

Ek-Nilsson's book considerably redresses this imbalance, with its intention of analysing "technology as a field of knowledge" and "a world of cultural experience" among Swedish engineers. She regards our perception of engineers as being intimately linked to the current understanding of the twentieth century as oriented to progress and characterized by constant change. Engineers are a core group in this connection. The reverse is also true: the primary condition for the existence of engineers is "modernity" in a very broad sense, with its emphasis on the responsibility and potential of the individual in a society geared to change.

Modernity – a term that appears frequently throughout the book – is the author's most fundamental perspective on engineers as cultural beings. Inspired by Stephen Toulmin's *Cosmopolis*, Ek-Nilsson points out that modernity has its roots not only in the rationalist thinking of the seventeenth century but just as much in the more open, searching humanism of the sixteenth century. It is fascinating to read about how two such different outlooks made themselves felt at the same time in

the decades around 1900, when engineers tried to acquire status as established scientists. On the one hand, engineers are rational product developers in the expanding industrial sector; on the other hand they have altruistic ideals of being central players in a general humanistic endeavour in which technology is supposed to help humanity on its way towards liberation from material limitations. The latter intention plays a crucial part in line with the more rational arguments in the efforts towards professionalization which had a concrete outcome in the foundation of the Royal Institute of Technology in 1877 and later also the Royal Academy of Engineering Sciences, the creation of a separate association for engineers and a journal of their own. It is exciting to hear how the crowning moment in this development towards professionalization and institutionalization was the establishment of a museum of technology in the 1920s, where engineers could pay tribute to their own contribution to human development, while simultaneously the museum, unlike most other types of museum, was supposed to inspire people to innovation. It is likewise interesting how, in the earliest phase in the establishment of the museum, ideas of mainly being an internationally oriented group, with an emphasis on the boundary-transcending character of technology, had to give way to a greater profiling of Sweden's own technological capability.

The previous paragraph is a summary of the first main chapter of the book, "Technology's Song of Songs", in which Ek-Nilsson convincingly shows how technology and engineering were regarded more or less officially by those who had an interest in the professionalization of the group. The chapter ends with a – rather brief – observation that the once highly respected profession has in recent decades fallen somewhat into disfavour, particularly since the debate about nuclear power has pointed that not all the potential of technology is attractive to use. The chapter also considers relevant feature films which are regarded as presenting ideal images of the engineer typical of their times; these are nicely related to the staging undertaken by the profession itself.

In the next three chapters the author looks first at the initiation rituals – known as *nollning* or "zeroing" – that take place when freshmen ("zeros") take their first step into the education that will ultimately make them engineers. The author then analyses a selection of autobiographies written by engineers and finally illuminates the gender perspective in relation to the male-dominated world of technology.

The material for these three chapters primarily comprises 67 engineers' autobiographies collected by the Nordiska Museet in 1991, 80 questionnaires collected by an idealistic association focusing on gender barriers in the engineering profession, and participant observation of the *nollning* rituals by the Nordiska Museet in 1993. The author herself also conducted a number of interviews in the early stages of the project.

The chapter on *nollning* – a term that is supposed to make one think of the novice engineers as an empty mass that has to be filled with content – sheds light on young people's first encounter with the formal world of engineers when they begin their training. Highlighting the boundary between the Royal Institute of Technology, where the observation and interviews took place, and the rest of society is one of the most important functions of the rituals. As part of the initiation, students with at least one year's education behind them have prepared a series of activities which can run for a couple of weeks. During this period the freshmen are subjected to a series of rituals, and activities are undertaken in the community, in which the arrangers dazzle ordinary people with ingenious pranks, partly to emphasize the ability of engineers to set the agenda. Ek-Nilsson views *nollning* as a rite of passage, preparing initiates for what is important in the life awaiting them. The distinctiveness of the engineers' world is cultivated and overexposed in this identity creation.

In the next chapter, which undertakes an analysis of five selected autobiographies, concrete life stories are highlighted. The main aim here is to detect how the engineers regard themselves in "the modern project" or rather – for this connection is of course rarely conscious – how engineers can be viewed as clear representatives of "modern" ideals such as progress, fascination with technology, rationality, opportunities for individual development, and constant movement. The concluding chapter on the gender perspective is closely connected to this, but looks more con-

cretely at strategies used to get on in the male-dominated world of technology.

With this book Katarina Ek-Nilsson has thrown fascinating light on an otherwise somewhat anonymous world – which has nonetheless played a crucial part in the twentieth century – and this is laudable. It is interesting to see concrete life stories held up as a kind of mirror image of societal development. Having said that, I think that a great deal is also left untouched. With the method by which the author has allowed herself to be inspired, one is left with a sense that a great deal of the results of the investigation are self-confirming. From the first chapter with its outsider's perspective on the establishment and ideal form of the engineering profession, to the supposed insider's perspective in the analysis of the autobiographies, Ek-Nilsson never really puts her theories to the test. It is scarcely surprising that we can find in the engineers' memoirs expressions of such general things as a fascination with technology and a belief in progress (and later on doubts about progress) – allegedly features of modernity in the twentieth century. The result is that the external ideal image is largely confirmed by the analysis of the autobiographies – as if there actually *is* a special engineering culture. Much more could have been obtained by delving into the concrete conditions to which engineers have to adapt their lives. This could have revealed a much more variegated picture, showing widely differing ways of understanding one's role as an engineer. In occasional places, things like this shine through, as when the low-paid Rune mentions that he has not had the same promotions as his colleagues (for example, those who acquired important management posts in leading sectors of industry), but otherwise he has had a good life. Why not penetrate such statements and show the reader that our ideal image of the happy engineer with an energetic urge to invent has some justification, but it also makes us blind to the many different roles that one can play as an engineer, not least the many different ways in which an engineer can understand his own existence? It is partly due to the material: autobiographies – unlike interviews – are rarely suitable for penetrating new problems because, when all is said and done, they are brief and selective.

Ultimately, however, I believe that the problem is due more to the perspective applied to the material than to the material itself. When the broad general evolutionary lines of modernity studies – such as individualization and rationalization – are used as the most important guidelines, it stands to reason that the internal contrasts in the field will not be revealed. Why are differences in strategies only briefly considered at the end as a condition for women? Cultural survival is after all a matter of limited possibilities to which a person has to relate – that condition is general. Insight into these possibilities, and the different ways of relating to them, is surely the most fundamental aim of culture studies. In my view, modernity studies are unable to give insight into the complexity, the simultaneous existence of differences, even when statements about general cultural conditions are "corrected" with "class" and "gender". I would have liked to see a more whole-hearted outline of the "market" – both as regards the demand for concrete skills and in terms of the different forms of adjustment to work (preparedness for change/routine work, mobility/permanence, and so on) – which engineers have encountered throughout the twentieth century. This is surely a crucial feature of the "engineers' world of experience" that is one of the central features of the book, and it would have given the study greater nuances.

These concluding reservations about the ability of the modernity perspective to open our eyes to the complexity of cultural worlds do not detract from the fact that Katarina Ek-Nilsson has produced a well-written book about significant features of an overlooked cultural group in the twentieth century.

Niels Jul Nielsen, Copenhagen

Domestic Childbirth

Hilkka Helsti, Kotisynnytysten aikaan. Etnologinen tutkimus äitiyden ja äitiysvalistuksen konflikteista. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 785. Helsinki 2000. 439 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-746-200-X.

■ The social and cultural regulation of reproductive practices is an issue that has preoccupied

sociologists and historians a lot over the past 20 years, and anthropologists and ethnologists, of course, have been doing research on that topic ever since the late 19th century. It is a subject worthy of an extensive study in its own right but, moreover, in the past 20 years we have seen that the socio-cultural arrangements of childbearing and childbirth can also serve as a focal point in the analyses of certain important and much debated social-political and cultural-political questions as: Women's subjectivity, in matters of control over their own body in particular; the relationship between a modern welfare state apparatus and women's subjectivity and social citizenship; the rise of modern rationalized state apparatuses more generally; medicalization, i.e. spread of medical explanations in the interpretations of everyday-life phenomena; the rise of modern professions and regimes of expert knowledge more generally.

Considering the aforementioned background it should be easy to believe that I have read Hilkka Helsti's doctoral thesis with avid eyes, and I have had no reason to feel sorry for the time I have spent reading this handsome volume (almost 450 pages!). It is definitely worth attention.

Helsti discusses the popular notions and practices concerning pregnancy and childbirth (mostly) in the Finnish countryside, and, more precisely, she focuses on how the modern, medicalizing views on pregnancy and childbirth were gradually substituted for older popular views during the early decades of the 20th century. So this is a "story" of how lay-women were gradually persuaded or forced to adopt the educated midwives' instructions on how to manage pregnancy and delivery properly. Indeed, the subtitle of Helsti's thesis is, "An ethnological study of the conflicts between motherhood and maternity education", and it underlines the fact that the aforementioned process was not always too smooth. On the one hand, the laity were often suspicious of professional midwives interfering in what had been regarded as the natural way of handling pregnancy and childbirth. The midwives also were not infrequently condescending and patronizing when dealing with their "clients". On the other hand, the midwives were often baffled, even exasperated, by what they experienced as people's astounding reluctance to abandon their archaic and seemingly irrational, unhealthy practices. To midwives and physicians this was, of course, a matter of propping up their legitimacy as professionals, but, in addition, they also regarded it as a matter of utmost national importance that childbirth and infant care would be handled according to the best available (read: currently endorsed) medical knowledge.

The material that Helsti uses when describing pre-20th century popular views and practices of pregnancy and childbirth consists of ethnographic notes that were taken in the early decades of the 20th century, and she analyses the testimony of these notes nicely and skillfully. Her most important material, however, is the large collection of reminiscences of norms and practices of "domestic childbirth" which is the outcome of an enquiry carried out by the National Board of Antiquities in Finland, in 1989. In these reminiscences one can hear the laity's voice, whereas the competing voices, so to speak – those of the midwives and physicians – have been looked for in the Midwives' Journal (*Kätilölehti*) and also in the memoires of midwives who were out in the field in the early decades of the 20th century. In most chapters it is either the laity or the professionals who are speaking, but the chapters together make up a nice coherent whole where the proponents of the old and new methods of childbirth are as if commenting upon each other and telling the reader their own story of the cultural encounter between the "high" and the "low".

The one single feature that has attracted Helsti's interest most in older popular practices of childbirth is the so-called reproduction taboo and its dissolution. By reproduction taboo the author refers to the various rules of taboo nature that restricted the everyday activities and social life of women during pregnancy and during the weeks after childbirth. She interprets the taboo with Mary Douglas's theory of symbolic dirt and pollution: the pregnant mother was in a way symbolically unclean and therefore temporarily excluded from ordinary social life. However, as Helsti points out somewhat functionalistically, such taboos may have served the good (health) of the pregnant woman, too. But there is also a number of stories about "hero-mothers" who allegedly took no notice of the taboo restrictions but contin-

ued their ordinary, hard daily work till the moment the baby fell out the womb, after which they again resumed their tasks in the household. According to Helsti, such stories became more numerous in the early 20th century, and she proposes the following interpretation for this: The stories were for the women a way to refute the validity of the reproduction taboo; the stories showed, as it were, that pregnancy and childbirth did not make the woman less capable of socially valued contributions (work) in the household. Here Helsti enters into discussion with Laura Stark-Arola, who part of her doctoral thesis has proposed that women in the pre-20th century Finnish-Karelian cultural context constructed their social worth in terms of their capacity for work rather than their sexuality-related attributes (such as their fertility); hence the oral tradition of incantations where the woman desires to return to her everyday work as soon as possible after the childbirth. Helsti, however, argues that women did appreciate their motherhood as socially valuable, too, and they did not mean to downplay their role as mothers; they only wanted to send the message that a pregnant woman or a woman during her postnatal weeks was not inferior in her ability to carry out socially appreciated duties in the community. The increase in the number of stories about "hero-mothers" suggests, according to Helsti, that there was a deeper cultural change taking place where hard, unyielding work effectively became a symbolic purifier of the pregnant woman. As Helsti points out, subsequently also the midwives and physicians would be asking the mothers to work hard and "purify" their homes (and themselves) by meticulous cleaning and brushing and washing, but that, of course, would be stricly in the kitchen and in the nursery (middle-class ideology!) and not out in the fields or in cowshed like in the stories about "hero-mothers".

Basically I do not mean to challenge Helsti's interpretation, but there is more I would want to know about the stories and their possibly increased popularity in the early 20th century in order to better assess the plausibility of her conclusions. I want to pose the following four questions: Who told these stories, and to whom did they tell them? It is hardly possible to always answer these questions, but I believe there may have been different motives behind such story-telling.

Didn't the (female) story-tellers anticipate the "risk" that when they challenged the reproduction taboo with their stories of women's mythical deliveries in the midst of their daily drudgery they were also indirectly establishing a very demanding standard of proper childbirth and motherhood? Or maybe such a standard had been there also before the early 20th century?

Was the breaking up of the reproduction taboo as prompt as Helsti implies? In fact, she admits that there may have been (and also have been) such stories about "hero-mothers" also before, and I wonder if they actually have only gained more visibility in the 20th century because the social context and the method of collecting ethnographic material also partly has changed. At the turn of the century, knowledge of popular customs of childbirth etc. was collected by ethnographers or by priests and alike, at the instigation of ethnographers. It may well be that the informants were sometimes suspicious of the motives of the "finer" people prying into their affairs, and in that case they may have wanted to tell about childbirth practices according to the "ideal pattern" and not the "real-life" pattern (cf. Brit Berggreen's distinction between *idealmønstre* and *realmønstre*, in her doctoral thesis in 1990).

To what extent does the author think that these stories also relate to social reality, i.e. to actual conduct? Sometimes she seems to be speaking of a proliferation of the stories only, but at other times she suggests there was also a change in the actual practices. I think she could have clarified a little whether she is speaking of one or the other, or of both of them. As for the change in lived practices, Helsti suggests that women's adherence to the reproduction taboo became less common because rural agriculture developed into dairy farming and, consequently, a farmer family could no longer afford loosing the mother's work input for weeks after the childbirth.

I have devoted a lot of space to the issues of reproduction taboo and women's allegedly heroic deliveries in stories, and they have an essential role in Helsti's analysis. The main chapter focuses on the cultural clash between the "popular" and "learned" norms and practices of childbirth (remember the subtitle of the thesis!). Here Helsti

identifies three particular key-issues: birth control; the interpretation of pregnancy as private and shameful vs. public and laudable; and hygiene and cleanliness at home. It was with reference to these matters that the midwives and physicians were busy demarcating the boundaries of the civilized, the rational, and the modern. The perhaps most striking point to my mind in this section is the one where Helsti shows how the women were often at pains in trying to cover up their pregnancy in the village community, for various reasons. The midwives, however, would insist on their coming to the maternity clinic for health check, and this was often socially and psychologically a difficult step for the mothers to take because of the "publicity" that it entailed.

There are many sympathetic features in Hilkka Helsti's thesis, one of them being the prominence of the author's own voice in the text. The introduction is a nice example of reflexivity where Helsti – a mother of two children – discusses her own experiences of pregnancy and childbirth and her encounters with expert-professionals' knowledge in maternity clinic. The thesis is well-written and it presents a huge amount of ethnographic information in a very accessible style, though it may also be that in some places the author gets carried away by the colourful reminiscenses and she quotes them actually quite a lot.

At the general level I don't *disagree* with the author. But this may also be an indirect outcome of the fact that the theoretical and methodological points in Helsti's thesis are in the end rather conventional and not very likely to raise animated debate. Her use of Mary Douglas's theory, e.g., is valid and legitimate but not very original. The final chapter is a clear and concise summary – but it is "only" a summary. I would have liked the author to discuss, e.g., the topics for further research or also the wider political and cultural debates relating to maternity education (cf. my list in the beginning). But such critique notwithstanding, I think Hilkka Helsti's thesis is a substantial and in many ways an impressive achievement. It offers a comprehensive account and a sensitive analysis of the cultural change in the norms and practices of childbirth in Finnish society, *c.* 1900–1950.

Jan Löfström, Jyväskylä/Helsinki

Change and Resistance

Margaretha Herrman, Förändring med förhinder. Omvårdnadselevers beskrivning av sin yrkesförberedande utbildning. Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige, Göteborg 1998. 312 pp. Engl. summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-43-8.

■ Margaretha Herrman is an ethnologist at Gothenburg University. Her dissertation is based on descriptions by about a hundred students of the training in nursing which they began in the autumn of 1992 at two nursing schools in two nearby towns in western Sweden. The students were young people following a three-year programme and mature students whose training took only two years. The vast majority were women, but there were some men among the students. Most of them came from lower social strata, many of them with an immigrant background. Herrman followed these students throughout their training and also met them a year after their studies were completed.

It is of particular interest that the study started at the same time as a far-reaching reorganization of nursing training, which was to be tested in practice in autumn term 1992. The author, who was at that time one of the teachers, developed a project plan along with her colleagues for a longitudinal study aimed at evaluating the new nursing programme. This pilot study was to be the starting point for her dissertation work.

A distinctive feature of this dissertation is that the reader is presented with a fascinating running account of the background to the evaluation project, how it developed and changed during the four years while it lasted, and the various difficulties, setbacks, and conflicts that arose along the way. Herrman has thus complied with the rarely satisfied wishes of many researchers to be told a little more about the crooked and stony road that usually precedes the final product. The usual thing is that most of the stumbling blocks on the way have been removed. Such unrecorded obstacles and dead ends mostly have to be overcome, and the reader's interest in finding out about them is evident, for example, from the fact that examiners at doctoral disputations often ask the author of the dissertation to explain in detail why he or

she chose one particular approach instead of another. The author then often has a great deal to tell about the many different paths that were tried without success before the final choice presented in the dissertation.

Right from the start, an express purpose of the longitudinal project was to focus on the students' interpretations of the training and to emphasize their perspective. The aim – "to show how mature and adolescent students on the nursing programme say they perceive and understand their education, their living conditions, and their future prospects, and how they actively help to shape the education" – has also guided the dissertation study in which the project resulted. To achieve this, Herrman and her colleagues did extensive fieldwork in the form of interviews, questionnaires, and observations. The various approaches are described in great detail. The author's accounts of empirical material, method, and handling of sources overall shows not only great thoroughness but also a striking trustworthiness.

The same can be said about her discussion of the theoretical sources of inspiration on whom she relies in her analysis. She continually refers to a large number of scholars from different disciplines to support her views and compare her observations. She says that she has worked eclectically but has above all been impressed by Foucault's theory of power. Running through the dissertation are discussions of various kinds of power struggle, partly interwoven, in which different categories of teachers and students act in a complex way with or against each other as representatives of different viewpoints. One such power struggle is that between the older tradition of nursing training, which was characterized by more authoritarian teaching, and the newer participatory pedagogy, intended to give the students greater self-determination and responsibility. Another conflict that is highlighted is the differing views of the professional role for which the training is supposed to prepare people: on the one hand a concentration on a specialist role in line with the earlier training of nurse assistants in somatic care, and on the other hand a more flexible role geared to generalist competence, being prepared to help out in various sectors of care, such as psychiatric care, elder care, and home care. On the basis of the students' own descriptions of their training, Herrman discerns here a paradox in the way many teachers act: while they stress how important it is that the students should learn to be independent and assume responsibility for their own actions, they disapprove if the students' independence is expressed as criticism of the content of the tuition, for instance, that the rhetoric does not agree with the reality and the demands that they encounter in the practice of their education.

Here the author sees a link with something that she believes to be a general tendency in late modern society. She uses the concept "liberal governance", borrowed from the educationists Kenneth Hultquist and Kenneth Petterson and based on their interpretation of Foucault. Briefly, the concept means the following: while citizens are given greater freedom and are expected to be critical and reflecting, they are subjected in a refined way to a hidden control which makes them believe that they are endeavouring of their own free will to reach the goals that are set up as the right ones by the established authorities.

Besides this overall Foucault-inspired view of power, Herrman uses some other concepts to assist in her analysis of nursing training and its changes. As I suggested above, her empirical material shows that the students actually do not let themselves be seduced by the liberal governance, as it is expressed in the visions and practice of the new high school programme. To illuminate the students' opportunities to offer resistance and assert their own culturally inherited values and/or those based on their own experience, she uses the concepts of strategy and tactics (borrowed from Michel de Certeau). Strategy is the ability of those in power to restrict the freedom of action of those with less power. Tactics are the chances those without power have to question and to show resistance. Herrman is able to show how the students, especially the mature students with their own previous experience of nursing, used their collective potential to protest against certain features of the teaching and to maintain their own values and ways of acting, which in their eyes were more relevant and functional.

With the aid of these analytical tools (plus some others), Herrman thus cites numerous ex-

amples from her material to analyse how different kinds of power games between different kinds of actors and between different ideologies took place during the years when her fieldwork was carried out. It must be said that she has set her ambitions high in trying to cover so many categories and the boundaries between them: adolescent vs. mature students, immigrants vs. native Swedes, female vs. male students, a traditional view of the nursing profession vs. an innovative attitude, authoritarian vs. participatory teaching. In addition, she deals with crucial problems such as the relation between women and men in a female-dominated workplace where the men, despite being in the minority, nevertheless have greater status in certain respects. There are also the difficulties encountered on the labour market by people like the groups under study here, who mostly have low status as regards social and economic background, who are not used to studying and have poor grades. The author had the ambition of understanding the students' entire situation: their living conditions, self-understanding, and future prospects. This was made possible because the students themselves had a chance to bring up questions and problems encountered during their training and one year later, when they knew how well the training had given them an opportunity to continue their studies or enter the job market.

It cannot have been easy for the author to work with all these components and try to obtain an overall view. She has not always succeeded in giving the reader a concerted picture of the longitudinal process of change that she has studied. One can easily get lost in the multitude of facts and themes.

Herrman nevertheless deserves praise for her ambition to paint an all-round picture not just of the students' life situation but also of how the special programme that she studies fits into the world of school and the late modern societal process as a whole. It should also be said that, amidst the polyphony of voices, the main message stands out, namely, the one hinted at in the title, which means "Change and Resistance": that the students on the new nursing programme, despite their weakness, proved to have the potential to use various tactics to question and resist the attempts by those in power – teachers and school authorities – to introduce changes in the educational content which the students felt to be contrary to their values and wishes.

I will round off by taking up some of the ideas presented by the author in an appendix on methodology and source criticism. She discusses her own role in the research process with special reference to the fact that, as a member of the teaching staff, she was in a special relationship both to colleagues and to the subjects of the study, the students. A discussion has been going on for some time now, especially in ethnological research, about the desirability of researchers reflecting upon their own role. Since Herrman met so many negative reactions from some colleagues, who were suspicious and possibly felt threatened by the new nursing programme that was the aim of the longitudinal project, she found herself working a great deal with her own emotions in the analysis. She gives an account of her reactions and her considerations in what I take to be an honest and unreserved way. She thus makes a valuable contribution, in my opinion, to the debate on reflexivity.

My final verdict is that this dissertation as a whole is distinguished by its honesty, as well as by the thoroughness and trustworthiness that I mentioned earlier. The fact that it deals with a highly topical subject naturally increases its value. The health care sector is said to be in crisis: shortage of care places, shortage of staff, difficulty in recruiting new staff because of the low social and economic status of the profession, unsatisfactory working conditions with stress, heavy lifts, and so on. Having this situation illuminated from an ethnological perspective, close up and from below, as Margaretha Herrman does here, should be of great interest not just as regards research but also in terms of its relevance to society as a whole.

Lissie Åström, Lund

Media for the Common Man

Henrik Horstbøll, Menig Mands Medie. Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840. Det Kongelige Bibliotek/Museum Tusculanum Forlag, Copenhagen 1999. 791 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 87-7289-530-6.

■ Henrik Horstbøll's doctoral dissertation on popular printed matter in Denmark 1500–1840 makes different reading for anyone used to consuming Swedish dissertations in ethnology or closely related subjects. In its very format – 791 pages of sober print – it is equivalent to at least four Swedish dissertations, and it evidently required sponsorship of a kind that a Swedish doctoral candidate can only dream of finding. As regards the content, too, it differs from a Swedish dissertation. The absence of a theoretical introduction or a rigid structure shows that it is a highly individual product which has grown with no real supervision and without a set time limit. The dissertation reflects an educational ideal that no longer exists in Sweden, and a need to get to the bottom of a subject in a way that we no longer have time for. The author therefore cannot expect even the reviewer to have read the book from cover to cover. I have concentrated on the pages that attracted my attention; several chapters are self-contained and may interest readers with a background in various subjects.

The dissertation, which is more a collection of papers than a monograph, bears the stamp of an interdisciplinary approach. It is both learned and easily accessible. Although it is in large measure based on what previous scholars have said, it works well as an introduction to a topic that we view today with new eyes, namely, as a medium. This medium is visual. The introduction of the printing press thus brought about a significant change. In former times, people, even in the monasteries, had mainly acquired book knowledge through the ears by listening as books were read aloud. Older people in our own times experienced a similar change when radio was to a large extent replaced by television.

The dissertation belongs best in the new subject of book studies. Yet the focus on popular books arouses the interest of an ethnologist, although the two Danish words *folkelig* (folk, popular) and *bogtryk* (literally, book printing) are both debatable. The former of course refers not to the producers but to the consumers, or what would now be called the target group. The latter refers not only to the printing of bound volumes but also to broadsheets and single-sheet prints, or what we in Sweden call *kistebrev* (chest-prints).

While medieval scriptoria served a limited circle of churchmen, printing presses made the word accessible to anyone who could read. Paper took the place of parchment, which was then subsequently used only for covers. The book became a new power factor which was at once desired and feared – desired because it spread knowledge, feared because that knowledge could find its way outside the control of the church and the crown. The concept of censorship therefore arose almost as early as the art of printing.

The products of the presses that were intended for the common man (the *Menig Mand* of the title) cover different areas, but they are often reckoned as what Nordic libraries classify as *småtryck* (pamphlets, prints, etc.). Whereas books in the strict sense have always been catalogued in the libraries, the smaller items have often escaped cataloguing. Those who wish to use them as research material therefore have a heavy task; at the same time, the work takes on the character of primary research and offers rich opportunities for new discoveries.

Bibliographical data such as year and place of printing and format are central concepts. One point that does not emerge from the dissertation is that such data can also be steered by national conventions. Danish chest-prints do not bear the year of printing, whereas this is the rule in Sweden, which gives us a much better chance of determining the distribution. To obtain an overall grasp of all the printed matter requires the presentation of statistics. Horstbøll's thesis is full of figures, tables, and diagrams. In other words, it is empirically thorough, and the many appendices give it a lasting value.

The focus on popular printed matter required the author to demarcate this from printing as a whole. The author devotes chapter 3 to a discussion of the perception of popular printed matter from the Enlightenment until the present. This

highly rewarding chapter can very well be read independently of the others. The author's starting point is the definition of the word *folk* in a Danish dictionary from 1793. Among the compounds we find here already the term *folkeminde*, which would later be adopted in Swedish by Peter Wieselgren (cf. my article in *Rig* 1962) and used again in Danish by Grundtvig, designating what would later be called folklore.

Horstbøll shows that it was not until broadsheets were assembled and published in book form that they were esteemed by the educated classes. Here he singles out Rasmus Nyerup and Svend Grundtvig, from whom he evidently has taken the *Menig Mand* of the title. For the time after 1960, however, he broadens the perspective to an international one, treating both the mentality historians and their critics. Horstbøll mostly follows communication theory in his definition of the concept of popular book: "The only thing to go on is the books themselves – the printers' use of Danish as a written language" (p. 208).

In the fourth and fifth chapters Horstbøll deals with printing in the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era. Contrary to the prevailing view that the vernacular had its breakthrough with the Reformation, he shows that this development was in progress even before. The main figure was Christian Pedersen, a canon in Lund (then part of Denmark), who was equally at home in Paris and Antwerp and who had good contacts with the great printers of his day. In this part of the book, popular printing is synonymous with printing in Danish, the extent of which is compared year by year with books printed in Latin.

Later in the dissertation the author considers different topics in printing. These include leaflets, religious reading, chronicles, and almanacs. Horstbøll conveys a solid history of learning. At the same time, his dissertation functions as a reference work, and even as a handbook.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Life-modes, Gender, and Risks

Liselotte Jakobsen, Livsform, kön och risk. En utveckling och tillämpning av realistisk livsformsanalys. Arkiv avhandlingsserie 50. Lund 1999. 303 pp. Diss. English summary. ISBN 91-7924-130-1.

■ The primary aim of this inspiring and important book is to present and discuss a theory of science applied to structural life-mode analysis. This, in combination with critical realism, according to Liselotte Jakobsen, can help to solve some of the problems for which life-mode analysis has been criticized. Another aim is to present an analysis of gender and risk, which thematizes in a fascinating and exemplary way these theoretical problems, because the perception of risk is crucial to a praxis analysis of ends and means viewed from within a given life-mode. The study has also been reported by Jakobsen and Jan C. Karlsson in *Vardagsliv och risk – en livsformsanalys* (1999).

Structural life-mode analysis was developed in Copenhagen in a research environment centring on Thomas Højrup at the Department of Ethnology in the 1980s, and presented in his main work *Det glemte folk* (1983) and his dissertation *Omkring livsformsanalysens udvikling* (1995). Over the years it has inspired other research environments. Through highly competent and relevant critical reading of the Danish tradition, Jakobsen, working at Karlstad University, has tried to develop structural life-mode analysis in crucial theoretical respects. This work has tackled many of the same basic problems that the department in Copenhagen also has worked with, although different approaches are tried here.

The most basic problem is the relationship between concepts/science and reality. Jakobsen points out theoretical and methodological problems in the structural life-mode analysis that distinguishes in principle between "pure concepts" in a logically specified conceptual system and reality. Problems of principle arise in the use of the concepts of life-mode analysis to study "reality". Critical realism instead presupposes the objective existence of reality, but simultaneously postulates that science is meaningful despite its incompleteness and fallibility in terms of principle.

Another central problem is how to understand the subject or the actor, the power relations between actors, and the relation between actor and structure. Here Højrup has worked with relations and terminals, or societal conditions and culture as two sides of the same coin, or two perspectives on the same thing. Yet Jakobsen argues that the subject, its ideology/culture in classical life-mode analysis, is not sufficiently developed. The same problem forms the basis for Højrup's further work with the concept of praxis, inspired by Hegel to introduce the spirit and try to develop a theory and history of culture which ends up by putting the state in a crucial new place as a basic theoretical concept. Jakobsen instead follows Roy Baskar and Margaret Archer in the development of different strata, which has the advantage of revealing several decisive structures, which, for example, give a fundamental place to the life-modes that structure human work, but on the other hand allow, for example, gender and state to be other central coexisting structures. Furthermore, very useful concepts are employed to differentiate between agent, actor, person, qualifying the relationship between structure and actor in an interesting and operational way.

A third discussion point is to give gender a theoretical explanation and integration in structural theory. Jakobsen sees it as a problem that life-mode analysis, especially in Lone Rahbek Christensen's *Hver vore veje* (1987), operates with differences between women and men in some life-modes, without providing a general theoretical foundation for gender differences between men and women. Højrup rejects the consideration of gender differences as an independent production mode or structure.

Jakobsen asks, on the other hand, why specifically female life-modes arise. The two female life-modes – the housewife's life-mode and the backing-up woman's life-mode – have crystallized out of the wage-earner life-mode and the career life-mode respectively, and detailed and recognizable analyses of such life-modes have been carried out, without successfully explaining them in the same way as other life-modes. This calls into question the foundation for the other life-modes, because all life-modes are conceived in relation to each other. Jakobsen criticizes life-mode analysis for equating life with working life, as a consequence of using modes of production as the primary concept. Life-mode analysis does not deal with gender at a theoretical level, and it is blind to gender – but not in a neutral way. Nor does the family receive a satisfactory theoretical basis, although it is included as an essential element in analyses of life-modes. However, work with state perspectives, in Jakobsen's opinion, gives hope for a new understanding of the family.

On the basis of these problematizations, the author tries to stick to the classical approach of modes of production, developing a new concept of production mode. Alongside the production of the means of existence, she argues for an independent mode: the production of human existence. This second mode is a parallel basic concept. Both production modes are necessary and ever present foundations of human society, but they vary through time and place and in form. They are interlinked but partially independent of each other. The production of human life comprises both body and soul. It is not just a matter of giving birth and raising children. Women and men also produce each other in the total interaction with each other in couples and in groups. People are not just raw material but also means of production and producers in this production mode.

Love, like work, is a social practice, with an associated ideology. Just as work has productive forces, so love has love forces. Love forces contain two components. There is the love form of the empowerers, which provides care. Then there is the love form of the empowered, which stands for erotic fulfilment, although it is not entirely clear what this life-mode actually contributes. The two presuppose each other but stand in an asymmetrical relationship.

Like production modes, love forms are not universal or biological, but are shaped differently in each society. One of the love forms is patriarchy, which corresponds to the concept of class society. Marriage and the family are a special socio-sexual structure for the organization of love production. Relations of power and dominance between man and woman may be seen here as a parallel to the relation between capitalist and worker. The exploitation of women's love forces has the result that men can maintain legitimate

authority over women. As the class struggle is a struggle over the conditions of work, the gender struggle is a struggle over the conditions of love.

The two together are necessary for concerted ways in which to live: self-reproducing life-modes and also societies. A life-mode requires both work/economic production and love/socio-sexual production. The whole of this ambitious construction, which is based on feminist theorists such as Anna Jónasdóttir and Margaret Archer, leads to the conclusion that, under patriarchy and capitalism, different love forms must be borne by men and women.

The combination of love forms and work forms results in different conditions for both. For example, the combination can explain why, despite today's formal equality, there are crucial differences between the genders. Women often live mixed types of work forms, whereas men live pure life-modes.

The love forms result in radical differences in praxis and ideology for the two sexes. The goal of woman's praxis is caring for others (the man), and the woman herself becomes a means for others' enjoyment and development. Women thus stand in a double means position, which they find difficult to change, since they would then lose their own goal. Ideologically the women have a care-, need-, and relation-rationality, which does not make any demands of the conditions for care and her own benefit from caring. In the men's praxis the men are their own goal and everything else (including women) is a means to it. Men are thus in a double goal position. Ideologically, the man has an instrumental achievement-rationality, and he makes demands on others to be a part of his goal.

The love production mode is thus asymmetrical. Women are more dependent on men than vice versa. Men dictate the conditions for women. Yet what the man does that is necessary in the woman's praxis is not quite clear. One of Jakobsen's important conditions is to integrate the power aspect in theory, but when viewed from the model of Danish life-mode analysis, where all life-modes are supposed to give and receive something from each other within a given production mode and societal formation, this is not so easy to achieve with this approach.

For women the combination of love forms and work forms gives special conditions and opportunities which are closely connected to the life-mode and conditions of her husband. Combinations and power relations must be analysed at a much more general level than has hitherto been done in life-mode analysis. Female life-modes are thus not only relevant in some life-modes, as in Rahbek, but in connection with all work forms.

The theory is tested in the study of risk, and the results reveal some interesting things. A study of risk understanding among the Swedish population has been carried out for the national defence and civil rescue service. It is based on 52 interviews with people selected according to gender and life-mode. A shared conceptual structure for risk proceeds from the assumption that risk contains the opposites of threat and security, with crisis being the unleashed, realized threat.

Risk may be conceived in both abstract and concrete terms, and as positive or negative. In addition, the interviewees agreed in believing that the *goal* of their own praxis is not perceived as a risk, or if it is, it is an acceptable and positive risk, whereas risk in the *means* of their own praxis is perceived as negative and unacceptable.

The differences are analysed according to life-modes and gender, reflected in what or who is regarded as a risk, and what may be risked. In the analysis of the men, Jakobsen finds the expected life-mode differences. For example, men in the wage-earner life-mode think of risk in concrete and negative terms, with unemployment, poor material conditions, and occupational injuries being the main themes. Positive risk is mentioned only in connection with leisure. Men in the career life-mode, on the other hand, think of risk in abstract, distanced, and system-oriented terms. In this life-mode, risk is moreover viewed as a challenge or opportunity for personal development. People in the independent life-mode think of risk as concrete and negative threats, directed against their activity. What the men have in common, however, is that they focus on their occupation, economy, and – most strikingly – themselves.

Gender proves to be the fundamental dividing line in the material, in that women go across life-modes and set up the family and other people as their goal, and think of risk in terms of accidents,

disease, and crises in relations with other people. Differences between women are connected to features in the other life-modes, which mainly follow those of the men, but in special forms. Women in the housewife's life-mode, in connection with the wage-earner life-mode, for example, think of the risk to the family in the event of unemployment, poverty, and misfortune, and they are, interestingly enough, well oriented about the world around them, as reflected in worries about war, environmental problems, disease, and so on. The backing-up woman, a new life-mode defined in relation to the independent life-mode, thinks of risk as the consequences for the family of problems with the chosen activity and its economy. The analysis of women in the career life-mode is particularly fascinating. Here the features of the female life-mode are combined and developed in new patterns which point to the possibility of change in the future.

The results are exciting in themselves, but they prove in a convincing way that there are differences in principle between the praxis of the genders and in basic relations of ends and means. Life-mode analysis proves to have high predictive power and to be useful in risk studies. The construction of female life-modes corresponding to all work forms is consistent on the basis of the premises of the love production mode and is definitively worth further study and thought.

The dissertation deserves to be read on many levels, both for the important and profound discussion on the theory of science and for the rather loyal but nevertheless critical reading of Danish life-mode analysis. In addition, it has an independent and elaborate suggestion for a parallel production mode for life, which goes deep into the foundation for life-mode analysis and other social theory based on production modes, but it also advances feminist studies and research into gender and family, to which it contributes important concepts. Finally, the book can be recommended for its thorough study of risk, and for its critical analysis of earlier risk studies. The difficult material is mostly presented with great clarity and engagement, paving the way for important discussions and further development – hopefully in closer Nordic collaboration.

Lisbeth Haastrup, Copenhagen

Computers and Children

Barbro Johansson, Kom och ät! Jag ska bara dö först. Datorn i barns vardag. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 31, Göteborg 2000. 272 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-51-9.

■ Traditionally, parents have known more than their children about virtually every sphere of life. In recent years, however, children and adolescents have become the experts in new technology in the household. The ethnologist Barbro Johansson has written a dissertation about the computer in children's everyday life. The title means "Come and Eat! I Just Have to Die First."

The use of information- and communication technology is still a relatively new research field in ethnology and folkloristics. Although researchers in these disciplines are showing an increasing interest in new digital technology as a conceptual world, as practice and experience, not many large works have been published on the subject yet. It is therefore an important event that we now have a doctoral dissertation which can help to establish a research practice in this field.

Relations between people and computer technology constitute a huge research field that is far from uniform. Yet there are some themes that cross disciplinary boundaries, and Johansson seeks to problematize these in relation to ethnological children's studies. Computer technology as a qualitatively new phenomenon in society; today's children as a unique generation because they are the first to have been born in a computer society; new relations between people and technology; new relations between people; new ways of self-understanding.

Johansson's aim in the dissertation is to investigate what children do with computers and programs, and what children and adults do with the *ideas* about children and childhood that come up in connection with children's use of computers. The computer as an element of children's everyday life is the empirical field described in the dissertation. When, where, and how do children use computers? What do the programs contain? What reasons do children and parents give for buying and using computers? How are computers

incorporated in the everyday lives of the children and the families?

Johansson looks closely at the everyday use of computers. She studies what children do when they sit in front of the computer. She considers the use of the Internet and computer games. Boys and girls do not choose the same games; an important topic is therefore how the use of computers invites the situational construction of gender. She looks at the interaction between play and children's culture and how the computer is integrated in children's play. Violence, death, and moral panic are themes that cannot be avoided. The media image of the violence in computer games helps to shape our ideas of the dangers involved. Researchers in children's studies, however, point out that play is different from reality, which means that the morality of reality is not transferred to play. The theme of the game must be distinguished from its practice. In computer games it is the act of playing that engages children and gives rise to emotions. Johansson problematizes the subject by seeing how children and parents reason about the violence in the games.

The dissertation is first and foremost about children. The author positions herself in a branch of research into children's culture which chooses to view childhood as a cultural construction rather than, say, a special phase of development or a "foreign country" in cultural terms. In this study, children are regarded as active, reflecting individuals. It is a successful approach to combine the study of the interaction between new technology and culture with this orientation in children's studies. It is thus possible to gain insight into the relation of new generations to technology, such as computer games. Johansson constantly underlines that she wants to get behind our adult-produced images of children and computers by showing that children are reflective participants in the same world as adults.

Children have been her active discussion partners, along with parents and teachers, and through their reflections the main intention in the thesis has become to demonstrate the complexity of the topic. Johansson points out that it has room for conflicting understandings, for ambivalence and polyphony. She thus renounces the role of normative researcher in relation to children and the new digital technology. She cannot or will not give advice, neither about how old children should be before they are given a computer, nor about what they should be permitted to do. Instead Johansson uses her empirical material to answer other kinds of questions which can give knowledge about children's relations to computers. She asks whether children and adults approach computers in different ways, whether computer games reinforce stereotyped gender roles, and whether children create their own world of play around computers and computer games.

The presentation of children and computers in the media can be highly one-sided. We may hope that Johansson's dissertation will contribute to a more nuanced debate. She seeks to problematize what is taken for granted, to add more angles and information to the debate. Not least of all, she wants to convey children's own voices, in the conviction that children themselves should be allowed to take part in the discourse. She has therefore done a considerable amount of fieldwork in which she has got the children to speak. The dissertation is packed with quotations from the children themselves. The text alternates between theoretical discussions and concrete illustrations of the topic being analysed. The reader thereby has a rare opportunity to evaluate the theory against the empirical reality. The comprehensive source material for the study was accumulated over a period of eighteen months, 1996–98. Johansson interviewed teachers, parents, and children. She did participant observation in the children's homes and in schools, and she also followed the children when they were not using computers, in leisure and outdoor activities. A total of 101 children have been studied.

Barbro Johansson chose her research topic because the combination of children and computers is a field in which different notions of children, childhood, technology, play, and learning meet and confront each other – particularly because both children and computers are associated with one of the most powerful symbols of our time: the future. Because of its high impact and rapid spread, computer technology often arouses strong emotions and gives rise to fantasies about the future, and hence to a rhetoric which researchers may find it hard to shield themselves against,

writes Johansson. When it comes to children and computers, at least three different scenarios are presented in the debate: there is the optimistic vision that today's children, as the first IT generation, will change the world for the better; there is the fear of growing global inequalities between those who have access to IT and those who are left outside; and there is scepticism about children adopting IT because of the negative influence it represents as regards violence.

Children's marginalized position in culture is often reflected in day-to-day interaction between adults and children. In relation to children's computer habits, however, their marginality is not so self-evident; IT is a context in which children have a central position representing the future. Another area where children as individuals occupy a central position is as consumers. Both the media range and the marketing of commodities are increasingly geared directly towards children. The latter point is important for Johansson, since computer games for children are produced and manufactured by adults.

There is a constant discourse in society about children, childhood, and adults. It is important to investigate the very categories "child" and "adult" and how they are made to seem natural. Instead of solving the problem with the ambivalent attitude to children as either "beings" or "becomings", one can study how this ambivalence works in different contexts. The child at the computer is like a meeting point for different discourses about childhood: children who have the right to access to a computer; competent children who are at home in virtual space and can handle electronic media; vulnerable children who must be protected against the harmful effects of computers; innocent, natural children who should be outdoors rather than in front of a screen; the child of the future; the child as a *tabula rasa* requiring real stimulation to become a competent adult in computer society; and finally, the evil child who takes inspiration from the violence in the computer games. Children and adults who reflect on the phenomenon of children and computers use these discourses in order to understand.

Most of the chapters in the dissertation place the emphasis on children as users of computer programs and the actions, thoughts, and meaning production arising from children's use of computers. In the last empirical chapter, however, the focus is on the computer games. Apart from the visible content in the form of graphics, the characters, and so on, the games communicate cultural ideas and values. Johansson shows that computer games have traditionally put victory before justice, competition before cooperation, speed before flexibility, transcendence before empathy, control before communication, and strength before adaptability. She analyses the messages, norms, and values conveyed by the games and looks closely at three examples: *Backpacker*, *Super Mario*, and the violent game *Doom*, a predecessor of *Quake* and similar games. She contrasts her analysis with the children's own ideas about their favourite games.

In an interesting section she discusses how the perception of death has allowed the generation of new meanings through the games. Death has lost its definitive character in the games, and Johansson finds that this corresponds perfectly to the post-modern view of death, which means erasing the dividing lines between the transient and the permanent. First of all, death in a computer game is not final, for there is no ultimate death in that world. Secondly, the concept of death has taken on a wider meaning, since it is also used when a game is not about characters who die. Thirdly, the shifts of focus between the player and the character have linguistic consequences, as children switch between speaking of themselves as players and as the character they play. The concept of "I" thus alternates between the self as an individual and the character one is steering.

In the concluding chapter Johansson finally concentrates on the children's own opinions as an example of the complexity of the subject and the reflexivity of the children. Some children say expressly that it is not possible to generalize about the use of computers by children. For Johansson it is imperative that no partner should have preferential right of interpretation. Against the background of her extensive empirical study, she can nevertheless see the ongoing discussions about children and IT in a qualified light. She points out that by speaking within the discourse about the competent IT child, the children place themselves in a favourable position in relation to

adults, so that their views have a chance to attract attention and be taken seriously. This discourse even gives the children a chance to deconstruct age categories, to position themselves as "human beings" with the potential to be treated as individuals beyond the adult-child dichotomy. The actual computer with its program offers a space for new ways of practising childhood, a new arena of children's culture. It allows new ways to play and socialize, to transcend boundaries which in other contexts are dictated by age and other factors.

Johansson says that each child is in the process of creating its own good childhood. She believes that children have been portrayed for too long as the Other. She concludes by pointing out that researcher's concepts of childhood have consequences for the position of children in society. She finds an emancipatory potential in the new children's studies, but a nuanced understanding of childhood can only be achieved if children themselves are allowed to speak.

Barbro Johansson's book about children and computers is rich and diverse. Her intention is to illuminate the subject from a number of angles and to discuss the complexity of children's use of computers in everyday life. The book contains many chapters which cannot be reviewed in detail here. Nor is it possible to sum up her conclusions, for the simple reason that she does not present clear conclusions. That is a distinct weakness in a dissertation. On the other hand, this form of presentation gives the reader an interesting and readable book precisely because Johansson shows in such detail the variation and diversity of children's relationship to computers.

Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen, Oslo

Country Shopkeepers

Lars Kaijser, Lanthandlare. En etnologisk undersökning av en ekonomisk verksamhet. Institutet för folklivsforskning/Etnologiska institutionen, Stockholm 1999. 195 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7265-018-4.

■ The topic of Lars Kaijser's doctoral dissertation is country shops in a marginal area of northern Sweden. It contains a stringent analysis of country shopkeepers and their businesses in the 1990s, conducted within the framework of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. The author seeks to show how the country shopkeepers act in the given social context, and the conditions and limits that exist for the shopkeepers in the pursuit of their economic activity.

The dissertation is arranged in accordance with the theoretical apparatus. After a presentation of the central concepts, the social conditions are defined in the chapter "The Field of Trade", which is followed by a discussion of the shopkeepers' habitus, that is, the personality features which, together with the social conditions, determine practice, in the chapter "Dispositions for Retail Trade". Finally, Kaijser analyses "The Shop in Practice", including the interiors and the range of goods.

Kaijser did his fieldwork in Värmland, in Norra Klarälvsdalen, near the Norwegian border. This is a marginal area, a row of villages along the River Klarälven, surrounded by forest and mountain. Apart from the permanent residents there are tourists who come both summer and winter. Lars Kaijser spent a couple of summers working in a country shop here, and he has interviewed the other country shopkeepers in the municipality. Alongside the fieldwork material, the trade press is an important source.

The central concepts in the analysis are field and practice. The field is where the rival and contradictory ideas about trade clash, in this case the features that characterize the concept of "healthy trade". This is the ideal to which the shopkeepers aspire, but the concept means different things depending on the social context. In this connection, Ferdinand Tönnies' dichotomy *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* proves useful for Kaijser's analysis. The two concepts cover two ideal types. *Gemeinschaft* characterizes the form of trade that belongs to the local community, the kind that we expect to find in the countryside. *Gesellschaft*, on the other hand, is synonymous with the society of market competition, where a shopkeeper is expected to act purely on the basis of economic rationality. As Kaijser sees the situation of the country shopkeepers, they have to make their choice in this field of opposites, and they have to shape their practice, that is, their concrete actions, within the given social condi-

tions. For the shopkeeper the customers are the most important asset. He must know his customers, in a literal sense as well; good local knowledge is crucial for running a business in a small community. He must also choose his range of goods to suit the customers and their changing needs the year round, including special goods that the tourists ask for in the different seasons. The overall goal of the country shopkeeper is to be able to keep the business going, and it is far from certain that the disposition that gives economic profit in the short term is also rational in the long term. A sure intuition as to what is economically and socially acceptable behaviour is an important asset for the shopkeepers.

Most of the shopkeepers studied by Kaijser are members of ICA, a chain through which purchases of goods from producers are coordinated. This chain serves both large and small shops, and for the country shopkeepers it can be a problem that the special offers advertised by ICA cannot always be ordered in sufficiently small quantities – yet the customers expect their local shops to have the good offers. Kaijser tells us about one shopkeeper who drove to Karlstad to buy a set of scales which were on offer in a big ICA store and sold it to one of his customers at the same price; this uneconomical measure was weighed up against the loss of reputation that would have been a consequence of not satisfying the customer's wishes. If it became known in the village that the shop did not have a proper range of goods, there would be an imminent risk of losing customers, and as Kaijser emphasizes time and again: the customers are all-important for the continued existence of the shop.

A purchasing chain like ICA has an ambivalent attitude to the country shopkeepers. On one hand they are aware that this group of merchants cannot run an economically rational business on a par with the supermarkets in the big towns, and they do not provide particularly good service to this group. On the other hand, they treat the country shopkeepers with a nostalgic benevolence, as representing a traditional form of trade that is regarded as an ideal: the shopkeeper maintains close personal contact with the customers and provides extended service. Kaijser experienced this ambivalent attitude during his first visit to the ICA headquarters, where the streamlined office interior of the reception also had room for a reconstruction of an old-fashioned country shop.

The country shopkeeper thus has to navigate between these two poles: the concept of the purchasing chain adjusted to suit the big stores in the towns and the customers' expectations of the village shop. At the same time, the shopkeeper – like other retail traders – is constantly subject to the penetrating interest of the media. In the opinion of many shopkeepers, they are victims of unreasonable suspicion. The media focus almost exclusively on prices, often based on those of the discount shops, which do not always live up to the country shopkeepers' ideals of "healthy trade". But the country shopkeepers are also portrayed in favourable terms. There is an understanding that country shops are in crisis, that the owners work hard to survive, and that the continued existence of the shops is of crucial significance for the development of marginal areas. It is striking, however, that this positive interest concerns not so much the shopkeepers' future as that of the rural districts as a whole. The shopkeepers are also subject to legislation and controls that are felt to be irrelevant to their special situation and an expression of distrust in their honesty. There is nevertheless a general perception that it is simply impossible to follow all the rules; the shopkeepers show a distinctly pragmatic attitude.

Whereas country shopkeepers a hundred years ago represented modernity and constituted a new and different social category in rural society, this professional group is regarded today as a guarantee of continuity in the community, and the shopkeepers do not differ socially from the customers they serve. Kaijser describes this change as follows: the country shopkeepers, from having been entrepreneurs of *Gesellschaft* or pioneers of modernity, have become an integral part of the village *Gemeinschaft*. Whereas the early shopkeepers had clear entrepreneurial features in their endeavours to find new ways, this property is completely absent in the modern shopkeepers.

Many of them take active part in the life of the valley, as members of clubs and associations, and they set up stalls at sports events. The shopkeepers also live up to the traditional idea of the shop

as the local meeting place, and they try, for example, to change the interior of the shop in pace with the rise of new needs. The introduction of on-line pools and lottery machines gave one shopkeeper the idea of establishing a corner where customers could sit together and fill in their coupons. On Saturdays a pot of coffee is even set out in the pools corner.

For country shopkeepers the shop is a part of their identity, and their personality is reflected in all facets of their activity: the shop fittings, the range of goods, and the business strategy itself. Work and leisure merge – a general feature of the independent life-mode. This means that they work outside opening hours, but also that they have time during the day to deal with private matters – telephone calls and the like. A shopkeeper and his wife said that when they had small children it was practical to be independent and have the home and the workplace in the same building: they could look after the children and devote the necessary attention to the shop at the same time.

The whole analysis is conducted with great stringency, and the dissertation is extremely well written. My only objection is that it is too concentrated. This is no doubt a plus for a doctoral dissertation, but after reading it one is left with a desire for much more concrete knowledge of the shopkeepers and the community in which they act. And this is vexatious, for there is no doubt that Lars Kaijser possesses all this knowledge, but he shares it too sparingly. And what is wrong with pictures (apart from higher printing costs)? For a reader with a peripheral knowledge of Värmland it would give a greater understanding if one also had a visual impression of the villages and shops described here.

Margit Baad Pedersen, Haslev

Town Musicians in Denmark

Jens Henrik Koudal, For borgere og bønder. Stadsmusikantvæsenet i Danmark ca. 1660–1800. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 2000. 836 pp. Ill. Musical notation. English summary. Diss. ISBN 87-7289-548-9.

■ This large dissertation, defended for the degree of Ph.D. at Copenhagen University, by an author who is an archivist at the Danish Folklore Collection, is a reconstruction of a forgotten chapter in Danish music history, but it has relevance far beyond the boundaries of Denmark. It describes a cultural institution which existed parallel to the courtly music played in the residences of the king and the nobility, and which set its stamp on 17th- and 18th-century Europe: the town musician. The stimulus for the development described here came partly from Germany; it is natural to compare the two countries, and this can be done using the excellent documentation. Koudal bases his method and approach in part on German models in musicology (H. W. Schwab and W. Salmen) and on the modern study of folk culture (P. Burke). The social system and the culture of the society are analysed as one whole.

In the centrally governed autocratic Danish system there were roughly 25 town musicians, each serving one of the 25 biggest towns with the surrounding countryside. These musicians were not organized in a guild, which distinguishes them from their Central European counterparts. Countless documents, such as ordinances on luxury, police regulations, legislation on crafts, job applications, employment contracts, estate inventories, and the like are analysed. It is fascinating to read how the privileges (that is, the monopoly on the provision of music), although they protected the town musicians, affected and even restricted the musical development of the villages (and hence what we today inaccurately call "folk music"). This monopoly proved in the end to be more of an obstacle than a regulation, so the absolutist institution was abolished in the countryside in 1800 (in the towns *c.* 1850).

The archives are full of complaints and lawsuits from the town musicians concerning their rivals, such as peasant fiddlers and organists. The town musicians had various strategies to use against their competitors, ranging from exclusion to alliance; one example of cooperation was to lease the right to play. In places where the town musician, for various reasons, was not important, such as on the islands of Fanø and Bornholm, and among the Dutch colonists on Amager, rural music was preserved and developed. In Norway too, despite the monopoly system, peasant music developed in a vigorous way.

The position of the musicians was integrated in the environment of the market towns. The state tried (with no great success) to place old military musicians in the posts; and in some cases discharged soldiers became rivals, after they were granted the right in 1732 to exercise their occupation freely. Navy trumpeters were recruited from among the town musicians. Many of the musicians were bilingual (Danish and German), able to read and write musical notation; itinerant Danish journeymen musicians visited Germany and other countries. Expressions like *bierfidler* (dabbler, peasant fiddler) and *gassaten* (to sing and play in the streets in the evening) thus entered the Danish language.

The most prominent instruments were the violin family, the gamba, woodwind, flutes, the German zink, the trumpet, the French horn, and the bassoon. Some instruments also influenced rural music, so that the violin in particular replaced traditional instruments such as bagpipes, drums, and hurdy-gurdies between 1660 and 1720. This process makes it clear why "rural folk music" was likewise under the influence of the fashion music of the towns, and why there is no repertoire of tunes older than the 18th century.

Since there are only a few studies of musical life in Danish towns, the author is working in mostly virgin territory. We may envisage a number of complementary studies following in Koudal's footsteps, in an academic discipline for which he has created a foundation. Facts and suppositions are presented in a highly vivid way, the documentation is extremely thorough, and the many good illustrations have been carefully selected. They match the contents, making this an outstanding book which gives great pleasure to the reader.
Otto Holzapfel, Freiburg i. Br.

Regionality in Discourse and Practice

Carina Kullgren, Ack Värmeland – regionalitet i diskurs och praktik. Etnologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg 2000. 236 pp. Diss. English summary. ISBN 91-628-4176-9.

■ When a young couple from the Lemvig district on the west coast of Denmark moves across Jutland to go to university in Aarhus, they look for accommodation by putting an advertisement in the newspaper: "Young West Jutish couple seeks flat", and they get one faster than other students. West Jutish identity exists in a regional self-perception. And it can be used because other Danes have a clear idea of "West Jutishness". The couple transform themselves from ordinary students into something that inspires trust: hard-working, well-behaved West Jutes. If you ask where they come from, they will say without hesitation, West Jutland, and they will take a keen interest in where their new friends come from.

In the introduction to her dissertation, *Ack Värmeland*, Carina Kullgren tells us what it was like to move from Värmland to Gothenburg. When, true to habit, she asked new acquaintances where they came from, many reacted with surprise or mild irritation. Regional identity was not as obvious for them as it was for the newly arrived Värmlander. This gave her the idea for a dissertation topic, which acquired further relevance in the 1990s with the discussion of identity and the new tendencies to regionalism. The study starts with Värmland and its identity, but the overall aim is to describe and explain how regional identity is created and used.

On the surface the book looks boring, 200 pages without a single illustration. It could have done well with some stringent revision, especially as regards the arrangement of the sections in the last part of the book. But it is well written, occasionally with a personal touch, showing that the author could have produced a really trenchant and amusing popular book if that had been her purpose. The material is clearly presented in sections with well-chosen headings, and the language is not overburdened with unnecessary academic terminology. The problems selected for analysis are tackled and illuminated using a broad and varied range of source material, and the results will be useful for others working with the topic. The only thing I miss is material from fieldwork in today's Värmland, and this has some significance for the answer to the questions asked in the study: How are ideas of Värmland identity constructed? In what context are they used? How do they change through time? What cultural significance do they have?

The section on "Regionality and Narrative"

gives a preliminary definition of the concepts of identity and regionality, introduces the terms narrativity and codes, defines the limits of the study in time and place, describes the source material, and outlines the history of previous study.

Identity is an act of communication; only when someone claims that something exists does it come into existence in people's conceptions. Regionality stands for a sense of belonging, community, and familiarity with a geographical area, and ideas about regional identity are a matter of how people identify themselves and are identified by others. Neither identity nor regionality thus exist in themselves; they come about in "narratives". That is where we formulate, understand, and communicate experience and knowledge about ourselves and other people, about our relations and the world in which we live. *Narrativity* is thus an important term that is used to underline that it is not a matter of stories of the everyday kind. The word *codes* is used to express the symbols, situations, and actors that are essential for finding and interpreting what is specific to Värmland. Codes are the glasses one puts on when looking for cultural substance in the heaps of heterogeneous source material: newspapers, club minutes, questionnaire responses, tourist brochures, biographies of the local rock band, fiction, political policy statements on the Internet, etc. Here the author muses wittily about how tricky it can be for ethnologists to explain to others (especially in neighbouring disciplines) that varied sources like these can be a gold mine for the ethnological study of human life.

The chapter on "Värmland Landscapes" analyses the special Swedish use of the word *landskap*, which refers to an ancient administrative division of the country into provinces. Although these lost their juridical, political, and economic function in 1634, the term is still used in everyday speech, as a regional identification. As the author writes, the loss of juridical significance has liberated the province, so that it is now a tool in a more imaginary geography of fluid identifications. She refers here to the human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, who says that descriptions of landscape can best be defined as a mental image in which the visual elements of the landscape suggest – and are interwoven with – relations and values which cannot be seen. A landscape is thus not identical with the scenery and nature of the area. It does not become real until we see it, interpret it, and ascribe certain properties to it, properties which can moreover be transferred to the inhabitants. According to the national romantic explanatory model, the varied, sometimes contradictory, characteristics of the Värmlander reflect the diversity of the landscape.

The concept of regional identity always includes a relationship to the nation state or central government, and to other regions near or far. This is clearly seen in Värmland's position as peripheral to the Stockholm region and on the Norwegian border. Värmland is everything that the provinces around Stockholm are not. There is a distinct boundary between Värmland and the neighbouring province to the east, Närke, which symbolizes eastern Sweden and the central government. Kullgren argues that a peripheral location does not necessarily create a regional identity, but the repeated emphasis on vulnerability in relation to the central government highlights and consolidates the notion of Värmland as a distinct region. The landscape almost acquires the character of a colony, an area whose raw materials (iron and forest) have attracted the interest of the state throughout history and can be exploited by outsiders, such as the "companies" of the twentieth century, the big corporations with their headquarters outside the province.

The chapter on "Communicated Community" is about how the idea of regional identity is built up and communicated in an unending dialogical process between life-mode, market, social movements, and the state. The new products that appeared on the market in the first decades of the twentieth century contributed to the increased categorization of other regions – stick-back chairs from Småland, boots from Närke. It was often felt that bad non-local products drove out the local/regional craft products. The railway brought new patterns of communication; formerly distant places came closer. The twentieth century also saw the rise of regional newspapers as producers and transmitters of regional "narratives". Local history societies arose as a counter to the new norms of industrialization, but they were at the same time part of the national project.

The next chapter begins with a description of a drastic ceremonial execution of a "Jante figure" symbolizing the negative sides of the "ironworks spirit", a paralytic lack of initiative. The author claims that this spirit has been of the utmost significance for the definition of Värmland as a distinctive type of society. The ironworks community comprised all of life: work, leisure, school, church, housing, land, the purchase of household necessities, and the system can be interpreted in both positive and negative terms. On one hand, it was a highly collective system with great solidarity, on the other hand it had a repressive power structure and a hierarchical social order. This ambivalent type of community has been used to explain such different aspects of the Värmland character as the general refinement and artistic nature, and the fact that a large share of the population turned to drink when the ironworks were closing down at the end of the nineteenth century. Kullgren also draws on narratives about the Värmland character in Selma Lagerlöf's novels, in legends about wicked ladies of the manor, and in a biography of the Värmland rock band Sven-Ingvars. These narratives, which range over a long period, show that the ironworks spirit is a malleable concept which acquires its meaning by being reinterpreted and adapted to the time and the context. In the present, when the ironworks have vanished, the spirit of the ironworks is reformulated as "the Värmland spirit" – a tricky undertaking that requires removing the connotation of passively receiving and instead emphasizes qualities that are also established as typical of Värmland: concord and cooperation. As a present-day example Kullgren analyses the struggle in Värmland against neo-Nazi movements.

The chapter on "Värmlanders" paints a fascinating picture of the special Värmland identity from national romanticism to the present day – for it still exists as a "narrative", even though it has been politically incorrect since the Second World War to speak of collective characteristics. A bold description is cited from the linguist Eva Wennerström-Hartmann from 1951: "Nation builders and organizers, stubborn rebels and powerful rulers have come from Uppland, Dalarna, Västmanland. But Värmland has mostly produced poets and singers, musicians and pranksters, and the occasional fantastic inventor." The light temperament, good humour, and imagination are stressed in countless narratives. A popular Värmland saying is "It'll work out all right." Outsiders may interpret this as laxity, but from the inside it has a completely different meaning, a faith that most problems can be solved with a little good will, humour, patience, and a pragmatic attitude. The good humour can degenerate into craziness: exaggeration and making fun of things. This characteristic is held up as favourable, and can even be used to promote tourism!

Through the centuries Värmland has been a mixed area to which new groups and individuals have migrated, often to work in the distinctive trades in the region. As a result, Värmland has an open culture – newcomers can convert to become Värmlanders if only they are willing to learn what it means and to adopt the norms and values. It is said to be some help if one is cheerful and witty, intellectually alert and fond of debating, and with a healthy detachment. The Värmland identity is ambivalent, with many seeming opposites, "both/and" rather than "either/or". This way of relating to life has been described as "being prepared for evacuation", a special way of interpreting, understanding, and handling both everyday things and more extraordinary events. The mixed culture is often invoked as an explanation for the flexibility and speedy reactions.

In the chapter on "Cycles in Regionality", the author identifies the situations in which it may be felt necessary to define regionality. This may happen "in exile", for example, when students from Värmland took part in the regional students' union in Uppsala, where several poets from the province – Geijer, Tegnér, and Fröding – studied in the nineteenth century. It can happen when the role of the region is changed in connection with political events, for example, the dissolution of Sweden's union with Norway in 1905. It happens in the battle for tourists in today's "experience industry". And it happens when it comes to finding strategies to solve problems when the population base of the region shrinks and opportunities for making a livelihood are restricted. It happens in what the author calls the "nostalgic reprogramming" that has typified the period since the 1970s, when traditional community systems

and the "authenticity" of the past are asserted as superior to the modern market economy. The relation between centre and periphery is reappraised; in the forests of Värmland people can try to live as in bygone times, far from the big city.

Ideas of the Värmland character are reinforced when it is given new political roles. The county governor, Rolf Edberg, said in 1991 that the regions have a future in a European context, while nation states, which are a recent phenomenon, may have outlived themselves.

The last chapter, "Värmland in the World", shows how ideas of regionality can help to form and strengthen a regional awareness that can be used as a resource in political endeavours and negotiations. To cope with adjustment to the future, all regions must change and market themselves, and in the struggle for attention they use everything that can further regional identification. The presentation of Värmland on the Internet by the County Administration emphasizes the ability of the province to accept and develop stimuli from outside, to forge strategic alliances and international contacts. These qualities are typical of neoregionalism, and when they are formulated here as self-evident historical facts, the region can be inscribed by politicians in the correct global discourse.

The strengthening of regional identity is also furthered by the increased polarization between the central government and the periphery, illustrated by the struggle between the people of Värmland and the Swedish Sportsmen's Association on the one hand and the National Environmental Protection Association on the other hand, a struggle about the pack of wolves that has established itself in Värmland. Regionality is used here to protect the integrity and self-determination of the inhabitants.

To reinforce solidarity within the region, new cooperative organizations have been set up in recent years. Värmland's crisis is thus being turned into a common project for everyone. Here the traditional flexibility and creativity are seen as an inherent potential which only needs to be put in the right situation to be liberated and transformed into a delivering force. To quote the Yearbook of the Swedish Touring Club from 1985, the Värmland character is "a sense of community, genuineness, forthrightness, diversity, accessibility, ambition, and innovation. The author adds: "Is there a clearer illustration than this of how such sought-after qualities are inscribed in the very name of Värmland? Thus are drawn the contours of a character that agrees ideally with the demands and the personalities that post-industrial society is considered to need. It is just a matter of trying to live up to the image." Do we detect some ironic detachment on the part of the author?

In this context, "Värmlander" means "anyone who lives and works in Värmland", and these people have to be prepared to join in the efforts to ensure the survival of the region as a place in which to live. Ideas of the Värmland character no longer need to show any internal consistency – all that remains is a stress on the ability of Värmlanders to cooperate and develop bonds of loyalty.

After reading this book one has learnt something both about the Värmlanders and about how one can carry out an ethnological study of the tricky concept of regional identity. Kullgren makes the important point that identity is an act of communication, and that a regional identity is an imagined community, which only exists if people themselves express it in one way or another. And it is also essential to be aware that a study like this requires both a wide variety of source material and an open gaze.

I read this book with particular interest. In summer 1999 Lemvig Museum began a study of West Jutish identity. Like Kullgren, we have boxes and files full of the strangest source material. Behind the study lies the same ethnological tradition. This is not surprising: my generation of students at Copenhagen University grew up with Sigurd Erixon, Börje Hanssen, Åke Daun, Orvar Löfgren, and Fredrik Barth. This was what I brought with me to Lemvig in 1972. With Carina Kullgren's dissertation I have been inspired to make the concepts and methods of the continued study more stringent. I am probably not the only one who will borrow methods, terminology, ideas, and comparative material from her. In January 2000 a number of Danish museum and archive workers set up a network for the study of regional identity. Here we have our textbook!

Kullgren's dissertation will be a natural starting point for comparative studies. In our study of

West Jutish identity we have worked with many of the same aspects included in the Värmland study: links with life-mode, market, social movements, and the state, the historic development of the relationship between periphery and centre, etc. As an experiment, one could take Kullgren's book, keep all the technical terms and viewpoints, but replace Värmland with West Jutland throughout, and one would have a description and analysis of two regions whose peripheral location is the same but everything else is different. A quick-witted Värmlander prone to craziness would be regarded by a West Jute as *narvorn* (foolish) and thus lacking credibility.

When Kullgren says in her preface that she did not want to write a dissertation about why Värmlanders stress their regional identity, but instead how identities are created and used, she has achieved her aim.

Having said that, I should say that there is one dimension I miss here. After finishing the book, one wonders what happened to today's Värmlander in the neoregionalism that is controlled by politicians. What the County Administration lists as characteristic features of the present-day regional identity – the characteristics demanded by the global market – is one matter; what the situation is like in reality is quite a different thing. Is the successful transformation from an "ironworks spirit" to a "Värmland spirit" part of the regional narrative anywhere except in presentations by politicians? Are Värmlanders so prepared for change that they have actually disappeared? This is where the lack of fieldwork in the present is felt; it could have given a satisfactory answer to the last of the four main questions posed in the dissertation: what is the cultural significance of ideas about a Värmland identity? Have Värmlanders become citizens of the world, while politicians, people in tourism, and museums have taken over the narratives about regional identity? What narratives live in today's Värmland among all those who do not have websites or write novels or market the scenery and the imaginative inhabitants? I ask out of curiosity, not criticism.

Finally, I was highly surprised to learn that one can convert to become a Värmlander by learning some essential expressions, having a cheerful disposition, and being willing to lend a hand in the communal project of creating good living conditions in Värmland. I have lived in West Jutland now for nearly thirty years and worked exclusively with the history of the area, have my home here, have taken part in all aspects of life, assisted in numerous communal projects, I am dependable and economical, have a twinkle in my eye and can keep my mouth shut. People occasionally say to me, "You must fit in well, since you have stayed here." But if I ever made so bold as to claim that I could be regarded as a West Jute, they would look kindly at me and say that you have to live here for at least three generations before you can begin to belong.

Ellen Damgaard, Lemvig

Love, Sexuality and Marriage

Malin Lennartsson, I säng och säte. Relationer mellan kvinnor och män i 1600-talets Småland. Lund University Press. Lund, 1999. 381 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7966-567-5.

■ In recent years a number of dissertations written on the basis of historical court records have appeared in Scandinavian historical research. In her dissertation "Bed and Board" the historian Malin Lennartsson discusses relations between women and men in the province of Småland in southern Sweden in the 17th century. Inspired by different trends within cultural history – the history of mentalities, historical anthropology and the new cultural history – her approach is of particular interest to ethnologists who work with historical themes, with similar sources or issues.

The purpose of Lennartsson's dissertation is to explore the understanding of marriage, love and sexuality and relations between men and women in religious, legal and popular thought in the 17th century, as represented mainly in lawsuits. She has analysed betrothal and divorce suits brought before the ecclesiastic court at the chapter of Växjö as well as trials of punishable sexual offences dealt with at the local level within the diocese of Växjö. Of central concern is the impact of the Reformation on marital and sexual relations, and subsequent efforts to regulate such relations. This was a time when rules, norms and ideology were reformulated by secular and cler-

ical authorities, and she also wants to examine how ordinary people adjusted to new ideas or even expressed alternative understandings.

The dissertation is divided into ten chapters. In the first four chapters Lennartsson introduces the framework of her investigation. She starts with an outline of the knowledge provided by previous studies on the history of the family and the role of men and women in 17th century Europe. Then she turns to the role of the church in early modern Sweden, and its judicial responsibilities as compared to those of an increasingly powerful state. Finally she discusses her own position, her methodological approach and understanding as a modern woman and historian.

The main body of the book deals with four chief subjects: betrothal, love, divorce and sexuality. In exploring how these topics were discussed by the court, she has addressed several questions: When was a relationship considered to be a marriage? Were emotions of any significance? On what conditions could a divorce be granted and how frequently was a divorce obtained? What were the norms of sexuality and how did the control of sexual relations operate? Questions like these are discussed from different angles, against a background of changing legal rules, and of studies of similar subjects in Scandinavian and European history. Lennartsson's analysis of these issues is thorough and systematic. To trace the effects of developments in Swedish society she has compared a period in the 1650s with a period in the 1690s. Methodologically she alternates between recounting individual stories and analysing the general patterns appearing through the categorization and quantification of the total of cases in the two periods.

In her analysis of betrothal disputes Lennartsson asks what constituted a legitimate relationship and why some couples – or rather mostly the man – wanted to break it off. The modern reader may wonder why men and women had to turn to court when they had second thoughts about marriage, but a legitimate relationship was not constituted by the wedding only, but also by the steps preceding it. Marriage was a triangular relationship where the state and the church, parents and neighbourhood, and the couple might have contradictory interests. The dissertation shows how the balance between these interests shifted at this time.

In the 1650s the chapter at Växjö normally granted permission to dissolve the betrothal, even if a formal contract had been made. There was one important exception, however. A promise consummated by intercourse was considered a legitimate marital relation, irrespective of whether a formal contract or a secret promise had been exchanged. In the 1690s a marked shift had occurred. An informal promise combined with intercourse had lost its previous significance.

This can be ascribed to the Church Ordinance of 1686 which stated that intercourse constituted marriage only if preceded by a formal and public contract. As a result the burden of evidence shifted from the body of a pregnant woman to the word of a man, and disappointed women rarely met with success when their fiancés disputed the promise. The shift to a greater emphasis on formalized relationships is explained partly by the process of disciplining, and partly by a weakening of the social control of illegitimate sexuality. As a result of fraying social ties in times of social change, a need arose to introduce rules that were clearly formulated by the law.

An interesting observation is that men and women might refer to the inability to love each other or to loving someone else when they wanted to break off a betrothal, although women seemed more inclined than men to speak of emotions. The recurring references to love have led Lennartsson to question assertions that the discourse of love spread from higher social strata to the lower ones as a result of the process of civilization, and that love was an "invention" of the romantic period of the late 18th century. On the contrary, ordinary people as well as the ecclesiastical court stressed the importance of love as a foundation of a happy marriage. The court regularly questioned the authority of parents to decide marriage, as a relationship not entered into by free will could not be tolerated. Although the influence of parents cannot be dismissed as insignificant and common social and economic background was important, Lennartsson argues that marrying couples must have had a greater scope for personal choice than has previously been thought to be the case.

The importance of a loving marital relation-

ship is logical considering that people feared disorder above everything else. A couple on good terms was fundamental to order in the household and to neighbourhood relations. Husbands and wives in the peasantry were dependent on cooperation to survive, and Lennartsson argues that this indicates that love may have been even more important to the making of a well-functioning household for people on lower than on higher social levels.

Order is a subject Lennartsson returns to in her analysis of the phenomenon of divorce. From the negative representations of married life given in divorce suits, it is possible to obtain a picture of what was considered an ideal marriage. Sharing bed and board was fundamental to the idea of marriage, thus illustrating that marriage was a joint enterprise consisting of the sexual relation as well as the burdens of running a household.

After the Reformation divorce could legally be granted in cases of adultery and desertion. The majority of those who applied for a divorce because of adultery were women. Compared to figures from European studies on divorce, Swedish women must have been more inclined to turn to the courts. Lennartsson sees this as a manifestation of the fact that they did not have to tolerate the infidelity of their husbands.

The question of violence in marriage occasionally occurred, and in exceptional cases divorce was granted, even though the law did not allow this. It seems to have been decisive that a badly reconciled couple would disturb order in the neighbourhood. These occasional instances raise the question of the subordination of women. In religious thought a husband had a right and a duty to discipline his wife. Does this mean that women in the past ran a greater risk than today of suffering violence in the household? Lennartsson argues that the right and duty to discipline had to be exercised within certain limits. Physical violence within the household was neither judicially nor culturally accepted.

The understanding of sexuality in the 17th century is controversial in historical research. By comparing how premarital and forbidden sexuality, such as adultery, incest and sodomy, was dealt with, Lennartsson wants to modify the picture drawn of the control of sexuality as particularly harsh on women. On the contrary, she maintains that in the 1650s the court did not condemn female sexuality as such. Rather a pregnant woman had a right to demand marriage or compensation for violation from the man. Towards the end of the century, however, these rules were replaced, men and women alike were sentenced to pay a fine for fornication, and women were thus made to share the responsibility for a sexual relationship.

Lennartsson starts from the premise that women were seen as subordinate to men, as fathers or husbands, but argues that the conditions of women were probably more favourable than religious thought or legal rules indicate. Even though the central theme of the book is the changing relations between man and woman, gender is not used as an analytic category. The focus is on the lives and conditions of women in relation to men, and gender as a power relation is not extensively discussed. A gender perspective might have deepened our understanding of how gender relations worked and were transformed at this time, circumscribing the agency of women.

Lennartsson's study indicates that the state in this period wanted men and women to take responsibility for their sexual relations in a different way than before. A popular and religious way of restoring order seems to have been replaced by a different way of thinking about gender and order. This shift and the way it affected popular mentality could have been developed further.

In the sense that men and women were made to share the responsibility for a sexual relationship, the law may be regarded as gender-neutral, as Lennartsson asserts. The situation of women about to enter marriage must, however, have become more vulnerable. The rules on betrothal, breach of promise and violation, which had previously favoured women, were replaced by rules that made it difficult to prove a promise of marriage, at the same time as they risked punishment for a premarital sexual relationship. How was a girl regarded in popular culture when her sexual experience began before marriage? What were the social consequences when her allegation of breach of promise was dismissed by the court? When an increasing number of men seized the opportunity to avoid marriage, it seems to indi-

cate that the interests of men and women in respect of marriage were inconsistent, but what does this inconsistency signify?

Part of the problem of tracing popular mentality is that court records are judicial texts, making it difficult to distinguish between legal and popular categories. Lennartsson has tried to solve this problem by combining detailed narratives of individual cases with a quantification of various aspects of the cases analysed. In this way she has succeeded in demonstrating that each story is unique, at the same time as it is part of a more general pattern. Still there is a tendency that the narratives serve as illustrations of the patterns, or they are even left to speak for themselves. The impression is that her interpretations and conclusions are mainly drawn from quantification, thus reducing past reality into clear categories and collapsing the nuances and complexities into unambiguous patterns.

The changing patterns do tell about judicial and social developments that had an impact on people's lives, but Lennartsson's ambition is also to explore how they interpreted and understood their world. In the parts of the book where a thorough reading of the narratives has been made she gives the reader a more profound understanding of past popular culture. To my mind her analysis is at its best when she explores the issues raised, and listens to the various voices appearing in her narratives, thus letting us share her search to understand the significance of utterances and actions, or the silences of a distant past.

Her interpretative approach has particularly been used with success in the fascinating chapter on love. Through the unique story of Annika, a clergyman's daughter, who fell in love with Anders, a journeyman goldsmith, she draws a picture of the hopes and conflicts of love. Even though their love relation resulted in a stillborn child, her father would not consent to marriage, and arranged for Annika to marry a student of theology. The court at the chapter overruled the father, however, and decided that Annika should marry Anders, the man of her own choice. Still the story had no happy ending. After the death of her father, Annika chose to marry the student whom her father had chosen for her after all. The unhappy conclusion of this particular love story seems to modify the assertions that Lennartsson makes elsewhere. The court did not make people who had slept together marry. By exerting pressure parents could have their way in the end in spite of the court's ruling. Thus we must also question how great scope young people actually had to marry a person of their own choice.

The variety of ways to express love, emotion and even passion, still convince us beyond doubt that love was of fundamental importance to marriage. But why call it romantic? The concept of romantic love invariably leads our thoughts to romanticism at the end of the 18th century. Romantic love is not a concept used in the 17th century; indeed, Lennartsson states that neither the peasants nor the bishops at the chapter were romantic. The idea was that a loving couple would make an ordered household. But love is also a disruptive force, and passionate love had the power to create disorder. In case of adultery, love did not serve as an excuse, and neither could it do so if a man and a woman who were closely related fell in love and wanted to marry.

Love obviously was significant in the 17th century, but we are left to wonder what the concept of love actually meant in this particular historical context. Lennartsson seems to equate love with emotions, but love also has a physical side. When the ecclesiastical court in its verdict in the case of Anders and Annika, declared that those who "highly desire", and "love" each other "must get together", were the emotions of the couple the sole reason for this decision, as Lennartsson asserts?

Could it be that the court put decisive emphasis on the fact that a loving couple, who had consummated their emotions by the physical act, had passed the point of no return? The love story of Anders and Annika is from the 1650s, a time when the court paid more heed to the importance of love than later. This was also a time when a promise combined with intercourse constituted a marital relation. Could it be that love understood as the sexual union – the idea of man and woman as one flesh – was just as decisive for the court as love understood as emotions?

Lennartsson has broadened our understanding of social, religious and judicial developments in the 17th century. She has worked thoroughly with

her source material, and her dissertation is well written and lucid. At its best her interpretations succeed in giving the reader a close impression of people in the past, she offers many insights and unexpected perceptions, and raises many fascinating issues which serve to inspire further discussions.

Kari Telste, Oslo

Infant Mortality and Modernization in Denmark

Anne Løkke, Døden i barndommen. Spædbarnsdødelighed og moderniseringsprocesser i Danmark 1800 til 1920. Gyldendal, Copenhagen 1998. 568 pp. Diss. ISBN 87-00-34078-2.

■ At the start of the nineteenth century it was considered a matter of course that children could die of infancy in the same way that old people died of old age. These matters were something that God alone prevailed over, and mankind neither could nor should try to intervene. Towards the end of the century, infant mortality was instead regarded as a problem for society, which could be solved with the aid of medical, hygienic, and social efforts and with plenty of maternal love. Science and medicine had acquired a privileged speaking position when topics such as child care and infant mortality came up. All this is the subject of a thick, fact-packed dissertation by the Danish historian Anne Løkke, studying infant mortality and the discourse about it in the years 1835–1920 in Denmark. The different parts of the dissertation focus on the players in the drama: statisticians, parents, doctors, philanthropists. The author's method is to combine demography with material on social and cultural history.

Around 1900, statistical arguments were used in almost all contexts concerning infant mortality. Statisticians are therefore the first group of players examined by Løkke. During the Enlightenment statistics was viewed as an important tool for rational decision making by the state administrators. It was not until 1835, however, that the first tables were compiled separating those who died in their first year from other deaths. In Denmark it was the physician C. E. Fenger (1814–1884) who "invented" infant and child mortality (as statistical categories), to prevent these groups from distorting the calculation of adult mortality and thus making it difficult to study the biological laws of mortality in which he was interested. By constructing statistical categories for births and for deaths in childhood, Fenger was thus one of those who created a foundation for the perception of childhood and death entertained by the educated élite. Increasingly fine classification of the statistical material towards the end of the century showed with absolute certainty that child mortality was higher among poor families in the city slums and was influenced by conditions such as malnutrition, poor housing environments, substandard hygienic conditions, poverty, and too frequent births. Measures in the form of better nutrition, rational child care, improved social and hygienic conditions seemed essential to the humanitarian bourgeoisie of the time.

In the second part of the dissertation, Løkke asks what we can really know about the levels and causes of infant mortality in nineteenth-century Denmark. The focus hitherto has been on social differences and variations between town and country, whereas there has been no in-depth study of regional differences. Løkke's contribution is therefore to provide a survey of regional variations in infant mortality and to try to capture factors that contributed to higher mortality in certain regions than in others. In a large number of excellent graphs and maps, many of them in colour, Løkke reveals great differences in infant mortality in rural Denmark. In the parts of the country where it was common for a child to be fed on breast milk until it was old enough to sit at the table, infant mortality was low. In regions with high infant mortality the people believed instead that it was best for the child to be given solid food alongside the breast from birth or soon afterwards. The high infant mortality in the big towns, especially Copenhagen, was due, in Løkke's opinion, to the large numbers of poor mothers who had to go back to work soon after giving birth, which meant weaning the children early; another factor was the substandard sanitary conditions. The harsher the physical circumstances are, the more important it is to breastfeed, Løkke points out, showing convincingly how reduced poverty leads to reduced infant mortality if only the improved eco-

nomic standard allows mothers to devote more time to their children and nurse them longer.

Part three deals with the medical programme for child care, which in its "modern" form around 1900 was all about "calm, cleanliness, and regularity". The foundation was laid here for the "terror of the clock" against which later reformists reacted. There was also a new view of cleanliness, hygiene, and good physical care as a right for all children. One major aim was to reduce child mortality, and Løkke also believes that the new insight into bacteriology had positive effects, not least the recommended boiling of feeding bottles, the new hygienic rubber teats, and the invention in 1886 by the German chemist Soxhlet of a device for sterilizing cow's milk. In contrast, the requirement that children should be breastfed at regular intervals, not too often and not too long each time, probably had a deleterious effect on the sensitive interaction between mother and child, which is a precondition for satisfactory breastfeeding. The great fall in infant mortality, which coincided with new ideas about infant care, therefore probably had more to do with the general economic and hygienic improvements in society than with the new programme itself.

In one of the most interesting parts of the dissertation, Løkke asks why the child care programme, despite the difficulty of demonstrating positive effects, had such an impact and success among doctors and mothers alike. In the emerging bourgeoisie there was a more individualized view of infants and a greater demand for emotional involvement on the part of the mother. At the same time, infant mortality was still high in the bourgeoisie. Old folk beliefs about dangerous beings exerting a harmful effect on the children's health were meaningless to the new, well-educated bourgeoisie. Nor did they accept providence, fate, or the will of God as causes of infant mortality. New explanatory models were called for. The basis of the child care programme was systematic observations of the infant's body by pathologists and anatomists. The infant, who had previously been in the border zone between nature and culture, was now demystified and inscribed in the scientific world-view. The normal infant was established. Childhood was no longer viewed as a pathological state which could lead to death in a seemingly undiscriminating way. Instead, the new bacteriology gave satisfactory answers to the question about the origin of diseases. The need to discipline the child was also brought into the culture of child-rearing. A mother had to train a child to be calm and regular by satisfying only expressions of real physiological needs, not manifestations of mere "desire".

The battle against infant mortality acquired its own special niche in contemporary philanthropy. It brought together doctors, statisticians, hygienists, and women from the upper and middle classes in a shared ambition to save children's lives. In the last part of the dissertation, Løkke asks how it came about that concern for the building of the nation was translated into actions to reduce infant mortality. She believes that the reason can be found in a new view of child health as an investment in the future. Healthy children became strong adults, who could work for themselves and the fatherland. Poor children were regarded as a potential resource. The wave of optimism about the future engendered a faith in the utility of trying to influence the future prospects of these children too. The time for mobilizing women's networks was also optimal. The number of well-off women with a desire for social commitment was large, and there were few other outlets for this energy. The philanthropic societies that combated infant mortality may therefore be seen as an expression of the changed outlook on children, and through their work they also helped to shape this outlook.

Løkke has presented a solid piece of work here. The amount of facts is impressive. Her compilation of material on regional differences in infant mortality must be perceived as being of great international interest, particularly in demographic circles where the study of changes in infant mortality has attracted considerable interest, with networks at both Nordic and international levels. The analyses are conducted with great empathy, sensitive source criticism, and imagination. My chief objection concerns something that Løkke only comments on briefly at the end of the book: the consistent praise of unlimited breastfeeding as a necessity for the child's health and well-being. Although Løkke says that she supports a multicausal explanatory model of the

reduction in infant mortality, she nevertheless singles out breast feeding as the main cause. The theme running through the dissertation is thus the positive effect of breastfeeding rather than infant mortality *per se*. In the conclusion she mentions the feminist critique of the unbridled breastfeeding propaganda as a way of infringing the autonomy of the woman's body and the right of women to combine motherhood with a professional life and involvement in society. The problem is that Løkke herself is obviously an advocate of free breastfeeding, and this permeates the book to the extent that it could be used as a weapon by champions of biologism in the current debate about the affirmation of the female body's innate potentials and the duty of all women to breastfeed a great deal and for a long time.

Nor does Løkke succeed completely in her ambition to study the "speaking position" of the different players, that is, who expresses opinions and with what weight. She manages best in the analysis of the medical discourse and the work of the philanthropic societies. The description of how infant mortality was constructed as a statistical category is thought-provoking. However, the material in the long and very interesting section about regional variations in infant mortality is presented as incontrovertible fact. It would have been very interesting if Løkke had returned in the conclusion to an analysis of the mutually conflicting speaking positions. As it is now, the dissertation gives the impression of harmonious collaboration across class boundaries rather than a struggle for positions and definitions. Yet the dissertation does undoubtedly provide the basis for such an analysis, and we may hope that Løkke will return to it later.

Despite these criticisms, Løkke's work is a good dissertation. The struggle against infant mortality is an unceasingly fascinating story as she tells it. The book is lucidly arranged, with recurrent summaries and clear graphs. The ambition to write accessibly and bring out aspects of social and cultural history helps to make the book a reading experience, despite the size and the mass of facts. It can therefore be warmly recommended to all those interested in the history of childhood and perceptions of childhood.

Helene Brembeck, Göteborg

Narratives of Childbirth

Lena Marander-Eklund, Berättelser om barnafödande. Form, innehåll och betydelse i kvinnors muntliga skildring av födsel. Åbo Akademis förlag – Åbo University Press, Åbo 2000. 229 pp. + Appendix 154 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-765-035-3.

■ Giving birth to a child is at the same time a commonplace and an unique experience. This span is well described by Lena Marander-Eklund in her doctoral thesis, where she analyses the way women talk about their experiences after having given birth to their first child. The main purpose of the study is to examine how first-time mothers describe the experience of having a baby and to analyse the effect of time on the textualizing process. Marander-Eklund studies how the women talk about their experience in terms of the form of the narrative of childbirth, what the narratives are about on the level of theme and content, and why the women narrate what they do, what meaning the narration expresses. There also is an aspect of action involved: the concrete narration as a physical act.

The material consists of thematic in-depth interviews with Swedish-speaking first-time mothers in Åbo and Pargas in the years 1994–1997. Marander-Eklund interviewed fourteen women on three different occasions: once before the birth, once just after, and once when the child was about a year old. Since the interviews were held at intervals, she had the opportunity to analyse the women's expectations and experiences of the birth. She also obtained two coherent variants of their narratives to compare over time: the narrative formulated immediately after the birth and the one she recorded after about a year. It was thereby possible to study the textualizing process, that is, how a text is created with the aid of a composition technique and narrative strategies, how narration varies through time.

The theoretical point of departure and the analytic tools that are chosen are said to be folkloristic narratological analysis, including a close-up cultural analysis of the themes in the narratives and a constructivist outlook, combined with the actor's perspective with the focus on

corporeality, the body as a seat of experience. The verbalizations of the birth experience, the accounts of childbirth, are analysed as personal experience narratives. The form of the story, the dimensions of narrative strategy, and the content are illuminated on the basis of the narrative elements: events, actors, place, and time, along with evaluation. The place of the narrative in the surrounding conversation is analysed with the aid of the concepts of taleworld and storyrealm.

Lena Marander-Eklund's thesis consists of four separate articles and one monograph. It thus combines the two alternative ways of writing a doctoral dissertation. Why this is the case is, in my opinion, not made clear enough. Either the articles should have been left out, or perhaps the monograph part could have been abridged. It should also be pointed out that the dissertation is somewhat top-heavy. All perspectives presented are not used in the analysis, and it is hard to see why the author has to mention some of them at all. One explanation could be that she has worked in an interdisciplinary way, thereby writing for readers from different disciplines. No doubt the author is well-read and wants to give an account of this, but the dissertation would have improved if some problems had been more in focus while others had been left out. In spite of the fact that the text is well written, it is still a little patchy.

One of the merits of the study is the way the author has carried out her fieldwork. In a reflexive way Marander-Eklund discusses her role before, during and after her work in the field, and it is obvious that she has been conscious of the ethical issues as well as of her responsibility towards the informants. Her effort to establish a good relationship to the women she has interviewed seem to have succeeded.

The most important critical remarks I have are associated with Lena Marander-Eklund's theoretical standpoint(s). It is a challenge to try to bring folkloristics/ethnology and gender studies together, as all who once have tried know. Marander-Eklund has made creditable attempts and almost succeeded, but there are still some gaps. When reading the text, it is clear that the gender perspective is of a more recent date than the folkloristic one, which seems to be logical, since the author is first of all a folklorist. The problem arises when a more cultural relativistic perspective is to be brought together with a perspective that problematizes power. There are many good attempts in this study, but they are not fully developed. A problem is that the author does not declare her own standpoint: is she a feminist, a folklorist or a feministic folklorist?

Even if Marander-Eklund does not explicitly inform the reader about her own standpoint concerning a feminist perspective, her decision on the sex/gender distinction is clear: to avoid the distinction between sex and gender she prefers the Swedish concept *kön*, here referring to the Norwegian-Swedish sociologist Eva Lundgren. Probably Marander-Eklund made her decision after careful consideration, but she does not tell the reader much about it. This is a weak point in the theoretical discussion and it is unfortunate, because I think a close scrutiny of the concept *kön* in relation to the empirical material within a folkloristic framework could have been a fruitful approach. Under the present circumstances she does not use the potential of the theory of gender constitution to its full extent.

Another crucial point is the discussion concerning the so-called reflexive life project of the modern individual, a frequent discussion where Marander-Eklund does not convince me. Referring to masters such as Anthony Giddens, Thomas Ziehe and Mike Featherstone, she establishes that a variety of phenomena are the results of late modernity. First of all I would like to know when late modernity, according to Marander-Eklund, was born, and I would also have liked a discussion of the concept of modernity, at least aspects relevant for this study. The interest in autobiographies and today's body fixation might, for example, be interpreted as modern phenomena, but they have a rather long history. Since the author obviously finds Giddens' and others discussions about modernity useful, she should have shown it more thoroughly to convince the reader that it is not just an expression of her own sensitivity to research trends.

If we turn to the main results, the study shows that the expectations of the informants shape the experience of delivery as well as the story of childbirth. The expectations are influenced by actual discourses of childbirth in literature, mass

media, information from preparatory courses in antenatal care and from other women's narratives. The expectations are more emphasized in the interview soon after the birth (narrative I), than in the interview that was recorded after a year (narrative II), and it is obvious that the expectations concern the delivery more than the motherhood. When narratives I and II were compared, an apparent variation was found not on the plot level, but on the level of information and attitudes. After a year new information was incorporated in the story and a more critical attitude towards the delivery wards and the mother's own efforts was formulated. Although the experience of childbearing is individual, the narratives of childbirth make up a common pattern due to the discourses. In other words, the experience is unique, but the narrative is a cultural product. Even so, every informant tells her story in her own personal style, reflecting her attitudes to childbearing, obstetric care and the staff of the delivery ward. The intention of the story is to give information about what happened, but it also reveals attitudes to childbirth and often has an entertaining potential. Last but not least, it functions as a kind of presentation of the self.

In spite of some critical remarks, I think that Lena Marander-Eklund's doctoral thesis is an example of a good piece of folkloristic work. Her topic is central and she has contributed important results to folkloristics/ethnology as well as to gender studies. Her fieldwork and ethical considerations are worthy of imitation and her feeling for language is good for the most part. The challenge has been to combine the gender perspective with the folkloristic framework, and Lena Marander-Eklund's efforts deserve respect. I am convinced that her interdisciplinary work approach will constitute a solid platform for her future academic career.

Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

The Body Politic

Fredrik Nilsson, I rörelse. Politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2000. 207 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-89116-13-5.

■ Friday the 8th of December 2000 was a good day for Nordic ethnology, when two promising young ethnologists defended their doctoral dissertations. One was Heidi Richardson from Bergen, whose thesis *Kampen om jorda* (The Struggle for the Soil) is about Norwegian alternative farmers in the 1970s. The other was Fredrik Nilsson from Lund, whose thesis is entitled *I rörelse* (In Movement). The former has not yet appeared in book form, so it will not be discussed in any detail here.

The common feature of the two theses is that they are both about ethnology and politics – but not in the sense of political science; we are far from strict dependence on theory and models. Here it is a matter of *Fingerspitzgefühl* and new, surprising angles of approach. In the Norwegian case the study analyses how some of the 1968 freaks in Norway moved to the countryside in the 1970s to become small farmers, tilling the soil in the traditional way. In the Swedish case the analysis concerns the farmhands' uprising in Skåne in 1811 and the Scandinavianism movement among students in the 1840s and the concomitant politicization. Both works are extremely ethnological in their combination of empirical observations and theoretical perspectives. It is pleasing to note that the discipline can maintain its identity and its tradition of on-the-spot analysis while still breaking new paths in research. The future looks promising.

It is also pleasing that this (re)politicization of the discipline may help to drive out the futile post-structuralist analyses, which as a rule lead up a blind alley, since they are unable to relate to the absolute in existence – the fact that we are born, live our lives, and die – which cannot be explained away with the aid of discourse and conceptual analysis. That kind of waffle is absent from these theses. Both could be described as post-constructivist, in that both give human embodiment its proper consideration and relate to the fact that humans live as a body in time and

place. One could speak of a corporeally structured subjectivity – in contrast to discursive subjectivity and reflexive subjectivity. In both theses an important point is that what people do is just as important as what they say and believe in. The movements and actions of the human body are ultimately more decisive than a person's mental readiness and ideological stances. The theses also avoid the other trap: proclaiming the body as the absolute referent and authentic entity. They both know that the body is also structured. Bodily actions are also historically and culturally specific.

To concentrate on Fredrik Nilsson's thesis: there is no doubt that this is an original work, testifying to considerable independence and a desire to tread new paths. It is also shows that the disciplines of history and ethnology can get on well together, and that the historical dimension is still strong in Swedish ethnology. Nilsson has delivered a highly interesting illustration of what ethnology and history can achieve together, particularly when they are linked by a third dimension, so that they do not need to be set up against each other in a competition over analytical competence and demands for truth.

In the 1980s and 1990s, this third dimension was often Foucault, but here it comes from geographical research, namely, Virilio, along with Nigel Thrift, and their reflections on the elasticity and plasticity of space, as revealed at the intersection of body and technology. This approach is original, and Nilsson sees and conveys it with great clarity.

The trinity of ethnology, history, and spatiality is displayed in an analysis of two movements in Skåne. The first was a peasant protest against conscription in 1811. This was an offshoot of the Napoleonic Wars, when Sweden was threatened by both Britain and Russia/France and the government felt compelled to strengthen the army, first by demanding extra tenement soldiers from farms which had not previously been obliged to maintain soldiers, and then by conscribing farmhands, who were chosen by lot. It caused the peasantry of Skåne to rise in protest. This was thus one of a long series of spontaneous, uncoordinated feudal revolts in which the population no longer accepted unreasonable demands which conflicted with the yardstick of their moral economy. This is also how the events of 1811 have normally been viewed.

What is new about Nilsson's analysis is that, instead of viewing the protest in social or ideological terms, he considers it spatially. He concentrates on the conflict between the ways in which the state and the peasantry controlled space. Following the Russian historian Aron Gurevich, Nilsson sees this control as being closely connected to the ability to control space by means of sound: the church bell and the village alderman's drum. Both were used to summon people to meetings, sometimes along with the "message stick" that was relayed from place to place. Those who controlled these instruments also controlled space. The peasants knew that and began to take over the sounds of power. Once assembled, the mass could then be set in movement and propelled forwards, almost of its own self-generating power.

These instruments nevertheless had a limited range; space is divided into local enclaves, and it takes time for slow bodies to move through space. This combination of spatial fragmentation and bodily inertia brought the uprising to an end. Peasants on foot could not compete with mounted officers, who could move faster and thereby command the landscape. So much for the combination of body, space, and technology in 1811.

Another reason for the suppression of the uprising was that the state took a completely different view of the peasant protest. When viewed from Skåne it was more a moral than a political concern. From Stockholm it looked very different, and the government feared the worst, with the murder of von Fersen the year before fresh in mind: the mob, having become involved in court intrigues after the sudden death of Crown Prince Karl August, had slaughtered von Fersen.

This aspect of the matter is present in the thesis, but the link between Virilio and the events in the forecourt of Bondeska Palatset in Stockholm is far from sufficiently illuminated; it is only hinted at. Here it is as if Nilsson cannot make up his mind: does he want to write political history or the history of space and technology? The result is too little history, which is annoying, because he shows in his wise critical assessment of the sources from the ensuing trials in Skåne that he can see clearly in this field. Generally

speaking, it is a shame that he has not devoted more energy to considering other studies of protests in time and place. The history of the early English labour movement would be a gold mine in this respect. The Chartists' march in 1842 from Stalybridge to Manchester is probably the most spectacular, but there is also Bristol in 1831 and the famous Kersal Moor meeting in 1838, when a "sound-space" was created, as emphasized both by a researcher in socialization like T. Leithäuser and by historians of labour like P. Pickering and M. Vester. My own Ph.D. thesis is also, to some degree, proficient in this field. At that time, none of us knew of Virilio. We do now – thanks to Nilsson's insight in incorporating him.

The analysis of student Scandinavianism in the 1840s is much more successful. Here the focus is sharper, the problem is easier to grasp, and the sources are handled with greater rigour and daring. The point is that, whereas space in 1811 was fragmented, steamship transport now allowed space to be condensed. The Nordic students could move from place to place relatively quickly, just as quickly as the authorities, and the new technological alliance between a bon vivant ideology and steam could appear threatening, to the Swedish authorities – and to Russia. Of course, it was much more dangerous than the students had imagined. Several of them showed, after later coming to power, that they were political dilettantes with big words, better able to instil enthusiasm than to keep a cool head. These people bore a great responsibility for the Dybbøl trauma in Denmark – particularly in view of the fact that Scandinavia after 1850 had two visionaries as kings.

In other words: here too we have a problem of national politics in the background, but in this second part of the thesis it is considered in a much more satisfactory way and with a better balance between diplomacy, national liberalism, and fear of revolution. Here Nilsson shows how far one can come with a combination of phenomenological experience, politicization as an ideological by-product, and national politics. This interweaving is wholly unique, never before seen in the admittedly relatively sparse research into Scandinavianism. Nilsson deserves further praise for having used a large amount of letters from archives. This is brilliant empirical research and bold use of theoretical perspectives, and it is very salutary. Here the dissertation adds something essentially new to existing research.

Besides praise for the thoroughness in the use of sources, the book is also praiseworthy for its presentation. It is written in an unforced, fluent language, which makes it a pleasure to read. The book also has a number of local maps and fine illustrations with enlightening captions. Whether the author or the publisher deserves the credit for this I cannot say. At all events, the result is successful – a beautiful book. The list of sources and literature is clearly presented, albeit with a few incorrect dates.

Heidi Richardson's dissertation makes the important point that there are limits to how much one can explain with the aid of a diagnosis of modernity based on the foundation of reflexivity. Nilsson (p. 155) expresses the same thought in his concluding chapter on "Politics in Movement". Being set in movement involves a logistic, an emotional, and an ideological dimension. This is how Nilsson starts his thesis (pp. 17–18), and it is how he ends it. We as readers have come a step further in the explanation of the essence and possibilities of politics, and Fredrik Nilsson can take satisfaction in having written a good thesis.
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Dance – Continuity in Change

Mats Nilsson, Dans – Kontinuitet i förändring. En studie av danser och dansande i Göteborg 1930–1990. Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 25, Göteborg 1998. 302 pp. Ill. Engl. summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-35-7.

■ The empirical theme of this dissertation is dance. Nilsson discusses the cultural phenomenon of dance as expressed in Gothenburg in the period 1930–1990. By dance he means recreational dancing rather than art dance such as ballet. Going dancing has been and still is one of the most common amusements among young people, and both middle-aged and elderly people continue to practise this activity. Dances are an important place for social interaction. The book is about dancing as a concrete cultural expression

and about the contextual expression of dance. Nilsson points out in the introduction to the book that none of these expressions can exist without the people who create and recreate dance. The dissertation is thus primarily about the culture- and tradition-bearers in dancing.

Nilsson considers the dance environment from two main perspectives. One is the dance process, the other the dancing and the dancers as part of a larger societal process. Nilsson investigates how different dance environments relate to changing trends and styles of dancing. His aim is twofold, to show how general cultural knowledge is used and changed, and to build up more knowledge about the dance environment itself. Although the empirical study was carried out around Gothenburg, the book has a national Swedish perspective.

The time dimension is an important structuring factor, both in dance culture and in Nilsson's cultural analysis. Time is the precondition for processes of Swedification and changes in the dance environment. The most important eras are 1920–1930 and 1970–1980, but the author also outlines the dance tradition in north-west Europe, showing us the polarization between popular dancing in dance halls and organized dancing in dance schools. Other recurrent themes are generation, age, gender, and social group.

Mats Nilsson is a teacher and researcher at the Department of Ethnology at Gothenburg University and one of the leading experts on the Nordic dance tradition.

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Besides the introduction they deal with: material and method; previous research on dance; theoretical frames of reference; the historical development of dance in Europe and Sweden; the dancers of Gothenburg in a socio-cultural perspective; a type of dance called "sailing". Finally, in chapter 8 the threads are brought together in an analysis of the empirical and theoretical material.

Nilsson wishes to emphasize both continuity and change and to show that both aspects are present in our own times. Just as in the 1930s, culture in the 1980s and 1990s is a mixture of new and old cultural expressions.

Dance has existed in one form or another in most societies throughout history. It has been regarded as a self-evident cultural phenomenon but also as controversial; it is at once innocent and dangerous. Dancing and dancers have been a target for the guardians of morals and for political players. As an analytical tool in the discourse he uses Norbert Elias's concept of "continuity and change", a theme that he says is closely connected to tradition and modernity. Like Elias, he thinks that "tradition may be seen as intertwinements that give rise to an action that is more compelling and powerful than the will and rationality of the individuals who have created it. It is these intertwinements that are the reason for both historical change and historical inertia." Dancing is both a cultural form and a social act which is passed on from one generation to the next.

To be able to analyse all aspects of the concept of dance, Nilsson distinguishes the concepts of *dance* in the sense of the patterns of movement in the act of performing dances, and *dancing*, which refers to the social activity of which dance is a part. In other words, he distinguishes two concepts which are mutually dependent. The former consists of the various dances or the repertoire, which he calls the text, while the latter is the event, which he calls the context. He then discusses these concepts in relation to gender, age, and generation throughout the dissertation. In addition, Nilsson also considers the concepts of folk dance and popular dance in his analysis.

In both empirical and theoretical terms, tradition is central in the study. Tradition denotes the temporal aspect and the transfer of knowledge over time. Here Nilsson uses Peter Burke's idea of the little tradition and the great tradition. He views tradition in connection with culture and class. Tradition, culture, and class are always something one shares with other people. They stress different sides of the same phenomenon. For Nilsson, dance and music are a tradition that is influenced by cultural expressions from the past. He also includes the concept of intermediate culture, which stands for the space that often arises between the popular culture that is called the little tradition and the élite culture that is the great tradition. Besides Burke's theories of the concept of tradition, Nilsson looks in detail at how many other cultural analysts understand tradition. He thus gives the reader a good, well-written survey of the concept.

The question of the meaning of dancing, according to Nilsson, has many dimensions. It is a matter of function, significance, and style. In this connection dancing involves the search for a sexual partner, belonging to a group, the joy of dancing, and the urge to use the body creatively. Nilsson divides the concept of dancing into three groups. It can be socially motivated, the aim being social companionship and the search for a partner. It can be a way to get exercise. Finally, it can be an end in itself, a form of aesthetic bodily expression. In the little tradition, the social motives dominate. Dancing as a way to find a partner can be found in both the little and the great tradition, but dancing as an end in itself and as a means to achieve pleasure and flow is an important dimension in the great tradition. The concept of flow refers to non-verbal qualities, giving dancing a dimension above and beyond the search for a partner and companionship. Achieving flow requires intensity. Nilsson says that this can be viewed as "moments of depth" with a certain aesthetic quality. Many activities in life can give a sense of flow, but some have greater potential than others. These include music and dance. Moreover, dance is a complete break from everyday life for most people.

Nilsson moves between these concepts in his empirical material from the dance environment in Gothenburg. First, however, he gives a historical survey of the history of recreational dancing in Northern Europe.

In the chapter on dancers in Gothenburg we are given detailed insight into the culture of dancing. Nilsson quotes liberally from his interviews. The informants tell of their first encounter with dance culture, how they learned to dance, who taught them, the repertoire of dances they have acquired, and the dance music they like. We get an overview of fifty years of dance culture, where we learn that the foxtrot is the most common dance, and that most informants were taught to dance by friends of the same age or siblings. Many people have taken dancing lessons, but this should really be seen as a supplement to the knowledge of dancing they already acquired from friends. Nilsson investigates the gender problem and class affiliation, finding, for example, that the classes have rarely mixed, not even in the same dance hall. In the 1980s this cultural feature was taken even further, when the middle class and the working class began to prefer different dance places.

"Sailing" is an example of a style of dance that developed in the little tradition. It is a mixture of waltz and foxtrot performed in a special way. This style arose among working-class youth in Gothenburg between 1920 and 1940. It was not passed on to the next generation, as it simply became unfashionable. The funny thing here is that the 1930s generation continued to sail, and the dance reappeared when this generation began to attend pensioners' dances in the 1980s and young folk dancers thus learned the style. The dance was given the name "sailing waltz" and became a part of the repertoire of the dance halls. The little tradition was transferred to the great tradition.

The book concludes with a thorough analysis of dance as part of our shared cultural heritage. Dance is a cultural expression that is changing all the time. Some things are accepted by new generations while others are rejected and forgotten. Nilsson claims that it is more difficult to demonstrate continuity than change. Old cultural features are often concealed by more eye-catching new ones. Dancing as a cultural tradition is highly tenacious, but dance styles are changed and replaced at different intervals through history. The tradition is passed on partly in the great tradition via dance schools and courses, and partly in the little tradition as the dancers copy each other on the dance floor.

This is an exhaustive dissertation. The author has a good grasp of the empirical material. He has a thorough inside knowledge of the environment. Yet that is perhaps also the weakness of the book. Nilsson is so fond of his material that he becomes over-explicit. He documents his statements and analyses with quotations in such detail that the reader gets bored. The reading process is broken up with lengthy quotations that only confirm what the author has already said. The strength of the book is the theoretical discourse. Here Nilsson is lucid and thorough, and it is a pleasure for an ethnologist to follow his analyses in the debate about tradition.

Mari Alvim, Oslo

The Construction and Conservation of Self-Images

Eva Reme, De biografiske rom. Konstruksjon og konservering av selvbilder. Universitetet i Bergen 1999. 176 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-90258-39-9.

■ With her dissertation "Biographical Rooms: The Construction and Conservation of Self-Images", Eve Reme shows that she is thoroughly familiar with the traditions of ethnological research and that she is also able to explore new paths. Her ideas about a brand of culture studies that proceeds from the interaction between people and things is not completely new; this was one of the most common policy statements of the 1970s. Here, however, it is skilfully undertaken with lucid logic and argumentation. In the preface to the dissertation, Reme says that writing is a matter of grasping words and thoughts in movement. This is an interesting point of view.

The study of objects used to be a major concern of ethnology, which followed set scientific principles. There was a method and a curriculum which took it for granted that objects could be broken down into details and organized in categories. Objects were pinpointed on maps, forming patterns in time and place. They were thus important for the study of cultural regions as well. There were theories for cultural dissemination which proceeded from what could be measured and what was considered significant. But there were also areas where the discussion of form and function, symbolic communication, analogous relations and type concepts could be carried on in a more experimental way.

Eva Reme delineates the research background in the first few pages of the introduction. At the same time, she points out that there is a new interest in objects as regards the production of meaning, and they have become interesting once again as expressions of multidisciplinary and boundary-transcending ambitions. She shows in her introductory survey of research that she is well acquainted with folkloristics and with the classical ethnological study of objects.

The problems tackled in the dissertation proceed from objects and the materialization of individuals' biographies. It is a matter of the production of meaning which lays the foundation for concepts, systems, and patterns, which are seen as "mirrors, background patterns, reflectors, and generators for cultural categorizations of meanings and connections, on both the individual and the collective level". With the emphasis on the private life sphere, Reme seeks to expose objects and their meanings as categories, classifications, boundary markers, directions, and states in the lives of individuals. Things become "components in constructions of life-courses and self-portraits" and representations of individuality.

Reme presents her method of "reading" material objects as texts. She stresses that the things have a grammar of their own. To structure the large corpus of empirical material she chooses to concentrate on three historical phases: the latter half of the 19th century, when material biographical patterns were created; the inter-war years, with the great changes in the material environment; and the late 20th century with its reshuffle of biographical references, the compression, miniaturization and universalization of objects. People's attempts to explore their lives as matter, with reference to shifts between individual and collective conditions, are discussed in an exemplary way.

Eva Reme is a very competent writer. Her language is lively and free, and it is easy to follow her thoughts. Her writing style is not only a style but also a method, revealing a reflexive and analytical awareness. She develops the complicated social and cultural language of objects by means of searching formulations. The presentation displays empathy and self-criticism. She moves with secure ease in the tradition of "writing culture", while her ethnography simultaneously reaches more levels and attains an impressive depth. I have rarely seen anyone work so skilfully with language. Her presentation of the problem in chapter 1, "Prelude in One and a Half Storeys", gives us some insight into this way of working. She ends the chapter with some conclusions which further sharpen her approach: "When one leaves the rooms, it is like closing a novel, or perhaps better, an exciting historical biography".

The theoretical discussion winds through the book, sometimes standing by itself, sometimes as spotlights or backdrops. In the second chapter Reme investigates how biography has become a

research field which reflects the development of society in recent decades, following up the discussions carried on by ethnologists such as Bjarne Hodne, Anne Eriksen, and Liv Emma Thorsen. The subject is close to issues of identity and home. It is also close to the current research on notions of home and away. There is a spatial dimension to the "plots" of the home and of autobiography which structures human thinking. It is about "people who have to 'invent' themselves" with references to places, but as I see it, it is just as much about our search for places where we can invest our sense of being at home.

Two kinds of autobiography developed in the nineteenth century: the public kind which had an entertainment value, and the private kind, which was intended for an inner circle of people, especially relatives and friends. In the latter case, existential values were more dominant, says Reme. The gap between public and private biographies is interesting. There are public interests in all human destinies, but there are also more personal biographical genres in which people talk about themselves in a way that is intended only for the initiated. The private sphere with its varying autobiographies and identity-construction projects makes it possible to transcend the limitations of the literary form. The private sphere makes life and autobiography less dependent on style and freer as a narrative form.

The home has several authors, and – like books – it has its title page and preface. The reader identifies the objects and finds a plot; the things converse and mediate. Personal autobiographies are enclosed in subjective relations to an imagined circle of readers. It would be a simple device to put the objects together in literary genres. It would not be going too far to speak of a continuous creation process and regard the objects as the creation of texts in a way similar to writing. There are, however, important differences between the autobiographical room and the literary autobiography. Autobiographies as text genres, according to Philippe Lejeune, depend on the person of the narrator and the main character being the same: the reader searches for a world of experience but simultaneously expresses a critical suspiciousness. Like Paul de Man and Roland Barthes, Reme devotes considerable attention to autobiography as an epic form, as an intensifying narrative, as form and rhetoric, as something that captures only what is described, not the author. Here Reme shows the awareness of a literary scholar, displaying a degree of competence that is not common among ethnologists.

Eva Reme consults Richard Sennett and exposes a world of moral discourses. She turns to Jean Baudrillard to discuss an aesthetic hyperreality, and to Daniel Miller for a dialogue on man's quest for objectifications in the landscape of consumption. As so often, the researcher's attempt to understand the longing of bourgeois people for pictures starts with the great exhibitions of the 19th century and Crystal Palace in 1851. On the one hand, Reme shows her wide reading and reasons in a very interesting way, but on the other hand it might have been appropriate to develop the perspectives further. I am thinking of her discussion of the flaneur as a critical, educated middle-class person who not only perceived the exhibitions in the 20th century as materialized life-worlds, but also as a threat to civilization. The magic of objects was part of Walter Benjamin's "phantasmagoria".

Reme skilfully juxtaposes folk and aesthetic features in the style-setting ideals of the 19th century, contrasting Eilert Sundt with Lorentz Dietrichson. After a detailed discussion of their significance, and the expression of the female public sphere in periodicals, where the home was seen as a reconciliation with the world and a "universe of biographical realization" (p. 92), she finds her way to the writings of Ellen Key, to correct things that previous scholars have missed.

The biographical and cultural transformation of the inter-war years reflected a breach with the 19th century way of thinking. Reme searches for a field of tension around the home and finds it in modernism and functionalism. Obvious features here are women's new role as stewards of the new ideals of style, the scientific, history-denying approach to housing, the reduction of the private sphere to homes as societal projects. Reme makes interesting links with the interior of the social organism, the body as biography and collective norm, and film. This was the time of social unmasking.

In the chapter on "New Biographical Rooms",

Reme comes to the 1990s, where she thinks she can rediscover an older time when the emotional side was allowed to dominate and the materiality of objects was not as pronounced. She tests the potential of the concept of discourse and the postmodern theory which says that we are living in a different society from before. She exposes the emotional layers in our own time and the materialization of life-wishes. The *associative text* as a literary form and as an expression of multidimensional narratives leads to yet another parallel between the literary genres of the late 20th century and the spirituality of objects. At the end of the dissertation Reme shows her great familiarity with new cultural logics, systems, and taxonomies, in a way that ought to inspire other scholars.

Eve Reme's dissertation is highly learned. She has an analytical ambition to deepen research on objects, and she uses the modern epistemological tradition of the social sciences and humanities. She uses the conclusions to formulate new questions, thus successively raising the bar. This is a searching dissertation which shows how valuable it can be to "write one's way to insight". The study demonstrates how alternative narratives create continuity in society. Instead of the well-known postmodern surface, she shows vertical movements which are capable of shaping human thought, while simultaneously investigating the effect of temporary cultural constructions, places, and people's various attempts to reconquer their life contexts. What is unsaid does not always reflect a lack of meaning.

Problem formulation, conceptual precision, and methodological discussions are at a high scholarly level here. All in all it is a very interesting and innovative dissertation. It rests on an impressive methodological and theoretical foundation which will contribute to the development of new knowledge in the field.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

Changes in Everyday Life

Eero Sappinen, Arkielämän murros 1960-ja 1970-luvulla. (Changes in everyday life in the 1960s and 70s.) Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 46. Helsinki 2000. 509 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-9057-40-4.

■ Eero Sappinen describes in his thesis the ruptures and changes that occurred in everyday life in Finland during the 1960s and 70s. He studies this phenomenon by concentrating on Finnish workers' ways of life and their local characteristics in the Finnish town Rauma. Studies on contemporary urban culture and everyday life were quite rare in Finnish ethnological research when Sappinen started this research. Due to this the research effort required a reorientation in several aspects; besides the fewness of similar research efforts, also the abundance of information available and the fast occurring changes during the period made the research somewhat a pioneering work. Due to this the operational concepts and tools, with which to approach everyday life, different ways of life of contemporary culture and changes in it, needed to be specified carefully.

Sappinen aims at addressing both the macro and micro levels in everyday life. The biggest factors bringing about change in everyday life are felt to be the advances in society, economy and technology. On the macro level everyday life reflects the prevalent values and attitudes of society. Sappinen mentions industrialization, urbanization, and general improvement of standards of living and growth in income level, technological development and commercialization as factors contributing to change in everyday life. However, in order to gain a comprehensive picture of everyday life and changes in it, observing micro level phenomena is also essential. He acknowledges that micro level distinguishable features are also complexity and individual choices.

Sappinen reviews widely concepts and research traditions related to the object of study. The operational concepts he uses are everyday life, way of life, lifestyle, values and norms, identity, and time dimension. He concentrates on the life outside work, and depicts everyday life and different ways of life by using a traditional

categorization including housing conditions; social relations; food; housekeeping; leisure; and highlights in the annual round and lifecycle. These categories are approached as basic components of everyday life, by which the differing ways of life are formed. They are also basic features in the expression of identity. Changes in everyday life and the formation of ways of life are affected by the above-mentioned macro level factors, but also by individual choices shaped by individual values and systems of values. Sappinen interprets identity as a determining factor influencing choices concerning values. According to him, both material and non-material changes have shaped the everyday life; everyday life being determined by the identity of each individual according to one's personal values.

Sappinen reviews related research from different research traditions and disciplines. Especially he relies on ethnological research on urban life and working-class culture. Nevertheless, he calls for a multidisciplinary approach for studying present day and urban life. Ethnology needs to turn to achievements obtained within research traditions in social, economical and historical sciences. Everyday life is formed by interaction of cultural, social and economic factors, and the influence of these factors and their interaction cannot be studied separately.

The author defines his research to be in its orientation realistic, fact-oriented and explanatory. However, he acknowledges the fact that theories and previous research affect and direct our observations. The researcher is always tied up to his or her culture, values and subjective conceptions. Due to this the research results are a construction created by the researcher – they are derived not only from empirical facts, but also from earlier research results and from theories shaping the frames of reference within which the interpretations are constructed. Sappinen acknowledges that already while defining the questions to be asked in the interviews, the researchers have necessarily made certain choices and highlighted certain aspects in relation to the object of study.

The primary research material consists of theme interviews and semi-structured interviews based on questionnaires containing closed-response questions. Altogether over 200 individuals were interviewed. The research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative approach; both quantitative and qualitative material is collected and analyzed. The author reviews the discussions occurred during past decades concerning methodological issues, especially issues related to the use of qualitative and quantitative research approaches. He emphasizes that using multiple methods in data collecting enables the achievement of versatile data from multiple perspectives and levels. Different methods offer complementary information. Sappinen acknowledges that quantitative approach may restrain the phenomena studied into series of numbers, and due to that the individuals with their feelings and thoughts disappear. However, he considers the quantitative data very useful in many respects. Quantitative material enabled the development of more precise and consolidating picture of different phenomena and characteristics related to the object of study. Qualitative material was used as a counterbalance, albeit it mainly supported the ideas achieved from the analysis of the quantitative material. In addition to the material collected during the fieldwork period, he also used statistics of various kinds as a secondary source of information.

Sappinen offers descriptions of the fieldwork conducted and of experiences with different methods. The data collection was conducted as teamwork; the students of department of ethnology participated in the process. The data was collected in the beginning of 1980s. He has participated in the research process from the beginning, and makes comparisons between different data gathering methods. According to Sappinen semi-structured interviews based on questionnaires were useful especially when interviewees were not used to being interviewed. As one problem he mentions that it was not always easy to get people to talk about their private life, even though the interviews did not handle very sensitive issues. The author concludes that the research material has certain limitations, but these were compensated with large amount of interviews. He gives hints about problems occurred and modifications required during the fieldwork period. Unfortunately he does not go into more detailed level about these issues.

Sappinen's aim was to elicit the convergent and the diverging aspects of Finnish workers' everyday life. He describes obvious tendencies and changes related to each category of everyday life. He defines especially increased individualism, consumption, and mechanization of homes, familism, privacy, commercialism and the importance of leisure time and material values as notable tendencies occurring in our recent history. Sappinen offers very detailed information in relation to all categories. Empirical evidence, but also numerous statistics and earlier research results verify the large-scale changes occurred. Mainly he seems to be searching empirical illustrations of the already well-known changes in our culture and society. In his thesis these changes are authenticated by discovering them also in the lives of workers of the Finnish town Rauma.

In all, Sappinen describes widely aspects of and changes in everyday life of Finnish laborers' in 1960s and 70s. He bases his thesis on material gained during an extensive fieldwork period and on national statistics related to the issues. His work offers an invaluable review of recent history – of prevalent trends and changes – from the viewpoint of everyday life and workers' ways of life. However, his object of study – present day culture and changes in it – is quite demanding. Earlier research does not necessarily offer clear guidance on how to comprehensively and sensibly address these issues. This research is quite an excellent effort towards obtaining descriptions of social, cultural and economic macro and micro level trends and features of recent history. Sappinen congregates descriptions of housing, social relations, food, housekeeping, leisure and celebrations, thus providing a point of departure also for future analyses of contemporary everyday life. This research effort provides detailed, comprehensive and reliable material for researchers, but as well also for other individuals interested in this subject, to go into.

However, as a result of the particularity and comprehensiveness of this work, Sappinen seems almost to be trying to say too much at one time. He indeed addresses a multitude of issues within one dissertation. This matter is discernible thorough his thesis. He has acquainted himself with a vast variety of research traditions, with views developed within different traditions and with the current debate within the disciplines. He goes into a detailed level both while presenting relevant research traditions, defining operational concepts, presenting methodological issues and while demonstrating the empirical material and research related to it. This is both the strength and the weakness of this work. No doubt has the author carried out this research effort very thoroughly, and the research results appear to be very valid from the viewpoint the researcher has adopted. However, due to the particularity and extensiveness of this research, reading through it was quite burdensome. Certain critical observations will now be invoked concerning research's structure, content and the approach adopted.

While specifying the operational concepts used, Sappinen describes widely approaches that have previously been used and views that have been adopted within different disciplines, but a concluding summary of the theoretical frame of reference he has adopted, would have been helpful. Even though he demonstrates his familiarity with earlier, relevant research, a somewhat clearer limitation on a certain definition or theoretical model underlying the concepts used and the approach adopted would have made the research more focused, at least in the eyes of the reader. In addition, the structure of the thesis is lacking some clarity; especially the large introduction section confuses the reader a bit. Theoretical basis is presented separately from the definitions of the operational tools. The presentation of the relevant research traditions, and of the frames of reference within which his thesis can be located, is somewhat scattered as well. Perhaps because he has tried to address such a large amount of issues, managing them and the structure of the presentation has slightly suffered.

Sappinen aims at capturing the changes occurring in everyday life on two vast levels: on both micro and macro levels and on several aspects related to them. His traditional categorization of aspects of everyday life includes many topics that could have alone been the focus of this study. Due to this the chapters describing the empirical research material lack some depth. This was the impression, even though he presents a lot of related research in relation to the empirical find-

ings. Perhaps precisely because of this vast amount of information – because this all-encompassing exhaustiveness – the thesis sometimes seems to be having too wide a scope. It seems like the author has at times tried to review and present everything that has ever been said and done about the issues under consideration. In addition, features and trends of contemporary culture, and changes related to it, are at times described at a very general level, albeit he himself acknowledges that in micro level distinguishable features are also complexity and individual choices. Even if Sappinen aims at considering also the individuals with their feelings and thoughts – as flesh and blood – they seem to disappear.

Sappinen relies heavily on statistical material. This way certain macro level changes and ruptures can reliably be depicted and described. However, he has also gathered with his research team a vast amount of qualitative material by interviewing individuals and families. The interviews offer the researcher 'real, lived experiences' "from the natives point of view". From this viewpoint there exist also alternative ways of presenting this material. Sappinen, while addressing themes and manifest changes in everyday life by generalizing the findings, leaves unnoticed individual stories as well existing in the interview material. By using quotations from the interviews, the dissertation would have offered more vivid descriptions of everyday lives and ways of life of the informants. Quotations would have provided a portrayal of everyday life from the 'native's point of view' 'using native's own words'. That way of presenting the results would have offered quite an intriguing, microscopic peek into the contemporary culture of working class inhabitants of Rauma. The micro level analysis would this way have been a 'thick description', instead of broad but shallower generalization. Sappinen raises many important questions concerning characteristics, and especially differences, apparent in everyday lives of the informants. Questions, which his research material cannot give answers to, due to the material's quantitative nature and/or the formulation of questions in the interviews. Nevertheless, these questions introduce many interesting objects for future studies.

Sappinen offers remarkably comprehensive and detailed descriptions of our recent history and of changes occurred and still occurring in everyday life. This research effort offers an important data bank containing information of numerous aspects of everyday life of past decades. His thesis also contributes to the current debate concerning definitions and uses of currently quite vague and questioned concepts like working class, regional and local culture and identity. The reader warmly recommends this work for all interested in recent history of Finland, and especially for those aspiring for descriptions of contemporary urban or working-class culture.

Netta Iivari, Oulu/Jyväskylä

Gender and Rituals

Laura Stark-Arola, Magic, Body and Social Order. The Construction of Gender through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland. Studia Fennica, Folkloristica 5. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 1998. 330 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 951-746-051-1.

■ Magic ritual and belief were an important part of everyday life in Finland, and numerous descriptions of women's magic rituals have been recorded over the past 150 years. These records, mainly those from Karelia, are the main corpus of Laura Stark-Arola's doctoral dissertation. Her interests focus on several gender-related themes in these rituals such as: What categories of worldview are expressed in women's magic ritual? What social conflicts and boundaries? What aspect of the female body, and what role and status for women in social life? How is motherhood addressed? The author considers the magic rituals to be both a concrete, goal-oriented activity and an expression of, or resistance against, community-held concepts, values and perspectives. She uses a symbolic-cognitive analysis in that she tries to grasp the meanings and symbolic representations from the texts in distinguishing different analytical levels. Arola examines symbols, core motifs and symbolic structures regarding the texts' expression of cultural values and enactment of symbolic scripts. On another level she approaches the rituals as an event which effects real changes in social power relationships. Ritu-

als work to alter individuals' perceptions. A somatic perspective clues us into what happens to the "performing body" when it participates in ritual singing, lamenting, storytelling and folk healing.

The magic rituals show that the periods of greatest hazards to both community and individual were courtship, the wedding and the early years of wedding. Motherhood *per se* was, however, not seen as problematic and nor was childbirth. Women's rituals addressed mainly how farm households as social units were organized. Furthermore, gender-specific manipulations of "outsides" and "insides", the ways men's and women's activities were organized, are represented in the rituals as important symbolic structures. At issue were margins and boundaries, not the contents. "Outsides" were the forest, other farm households and the village; "insides" the inside of the farm household. Women's magic rituals expressed the idea of women as insiders in the farm household, who guarded and protected the household from outside dangers. Women tried to protect the household from the evil eye and from intruders, and safeguarded those things belonging to the household that went beyond its boundaries (children, cows, husbands); in other words, they acted as gatekeepers. In this protection women used their bodies and the female väki (power, "mana"), which was given a positive value in women's rituals. In men's rituals and beliefs, the female body was depicted as polluted. Things from inside the female body were represented as pollution in the male body. Thus the women's bodies were seen to both pollute and be polluted by the environment beyond the domestic sphere, the men's sphere. Another symbolic structure addressed was hierarchies and exclusion in the household realm, and this was directed towards other women.

Rituals operated on the embodied person within a scheme of obligatory heterosexuality, that is, each body was socially created or constructed through post-natal rites. New-born babies were gendered according to their anatomy. Heterosexuality was made apparent through ritual and made to happen through the magical manipulation of human bodies; it was thus not self-evident.

Lempi-bathing (to raise a woman's sex appeal in order to ensure luck in marriage) was both a ritual for empowerment and a rite of passage; it inscribed a new culturally important role into the body of the young woman: that of potential sexual partner in a marriage relationship. The ritual also redefined the girl's body as a social territory – the girl had to fulfil the destiny awaiting her – and worked to alter her individual perceptions.

The symbolic structures, rituals functions and objectives should be understood in a context of restrictions, choices and anxieties faced by a person in everyday Finnish traditional agrarian life. Apart from gender, the rituals had a meaning at a socio-economic level, since folklore is linked in complex ways to the social environment in which it occurs. Oral and ritual discourse, the author sums up, can thus guide us to the tensions and contradictions inherent in traditional rural life.

As regards theory, the thesis follows the gender approach outlined in recent Anglo-American anthropological research, which focuses not on gendered relations or dominance/subordination but takes into account all possible structures, dynamics and dialectics between men and women, male and female, gendered individuals and society. Arola's dissociation of a power perspective is grounded in a fear of theories of universal oppression of women, she states. According to the author there are new perspectives that stress the historicity of women's subordination, the active personhood of both women and men and the intersection of gender and other differences. These perspectives are not used, however, but would have given another analytical dimension to the rituals. In the description of the social and economic context of the studied region, power relations between men and women are very obvious, as well as in the archival sources quoted. It is difficult to understand why Arola refrains from theorizing power relations, particularly as she emphasizes that "gender is perhaps the most important component of social identity and cultural classification".

Nevertheless, Arola's analysis is most interesting and challenging, not least because it offers a folkloristic reader useful tools, methods and perspectives on magic, rituals, genre, interpretation and text. It also contributes to the ongoing paradigmatic change in international folklore research.

Inger Lövkrona, Lund

Gender and Honour in Norway

Kari Telste, Brutte løfter. En kulturhistorisk studie av kjønn og ære 1700–1900. Acta Humaniora No. 67, Unipub forlag, Oslo 1999. 495 pp. Diss. ISBN 82-7477-039-0.

■ The subject studied in this dissertation is marriage pledges in Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A marriage pledge was a promise that a man gave a woman before they started a sexual relationship. It was the first decisive step on the way towards an emotional and economic community which was supposed to last for life. The pledge marked the start of a process that would ideally lead to marriage.

We learn about the meaning of the marriage pledge from those cases where something went wrong and the man broke his promise, with the result that the woman brought him to court, mostly because she had given birth or was expecting a baby. A sexual relationship was a breach of legal, moral, and cultural norms if it did not lead to marriage. The pledge was therefore both individual and collective by nature, and breach of promise had a series of consequences – economic, social, and cultural – which affected not only the woman, although she suffered most, but also the man and the whole family.

The meaning of the pledge varied through time, and this is Kari Telste's point of departure. Yet the study of the marriage pledge is not an end in itself for her, but a means to find out how women's and men's mutual relations and self-understanding were transformed in changing social, cultural, and ideological frameworks. The way in which women and men positioned themselves in relation to the marriage pledge, both its expression in law and judicial practice and its reflection in popular norms and bourgeois gender ideology, shows how gender relations were shaped, tested, and reshaped at the transition from a traditional to a modern society.

The main source material consists of court records of cases dealing with themes related to sex and to gender relations – besides broken marriage pledges there are cases concerning defamation, paternity, infanticide, fornication, and other unspecified offences. The cases represent both town and country, different social groups – the working class, middle class, and peasant population – and are geographically confined to the counties of Ringerike and Hallingdal with the towns of Drammen and Christiania (Oslo). Three periods have been chosen: 1730–39, with lines going backwards and forwards in time, a period representing traditional society in the early modern era; 1810–19, which is a time of transition to modern society, where the periods 1880–84 and 1890–94 have been particularly studied. Telste deals with a total of 450 cases from both secular courts and ecclesiastical courts such as the cathedral chapter and the consistorial court.

Methodological questions about how court records should be interpreted are discussed in chapter 2, "The Court as the Mirror of Culture?" Telste points out the complex interplay between law, daily life, and cultural processes. In the judicial situation, conflicts between women and men were transformed into juridical narratives revealing the dominating ideology of marriage and sex: she asks questions such as: Does the text reflect a historical reality or a reality shaped by the court? What reality do we reach through the court narratives? Is it possible to capture both how the court reflects an earlier event and how it simultaneously creates it? Whose reality may be represented? Such questions are raised by the "linguistic turn". The concepts of speech act, experiential space, and expectation horizon are central here.

Another important question that is asked is what scope an individual had in the power and dominance structure of the court. What role was played by gender? Here Telste uses feminist theory and the concept of position in the sense of subject position, the "place" from which women and men spoke and acted. On the basis of this concept, she discusses the power and potential for action that women had in relation to the father of the child and to other people's and the court's definitions and categorizations of her actions.

The analysis fills eleven chapters. It is structured according to the three periods stated above and presented chronologically under the headings "Honour", "Love", and "Seduction". The headings refer to the theme that characterizes the marriage pledge in each period. In the text we

meet a multitude of people whose experiences and lives are examined from various angles, not just in relation to the pledge but to other circumstances as well. In a brief summary it is not possible to do justice to all the questions considered, but I shall try to convey the main features.

In the eighteenth century there were two opposed images of the young unmarried woman against which she could measure herself and others could measure her. These images were connected to honour and shame. Honour was constituted by the woman's actions in the way they appeared from outside, in other people's eyes. Being honourable meant doing the proper thing and not doing anything that had to be concealed. A woman's entire way of life was counted, and the same applied to shame. Shameful behaviour referred not only to how she behaved in relation to the men. A woman could bring shame on herself by acting in conflict with set models of action. She could also incur shame through other people's words and actions. A rumour of loose morals jeopardized her honour and required her to demand full public redress. Women's struggle for satisfaction after a broken pledge may therefore be viewed as a struggle about categorizations and definitions.

In chapter 5, "A Man of his Word?", Telste analyses the consequences that a broken pledge had for the man's honour. In eighteenth-century Norway a man's word was guaranteed by his honour, so a woman could trust him to keep his promise. Intercourse in a conventional courting situation implicitly meant that the man undertook certain obligations which the woman could demand that he fulfil. This opened opportunities for the man to take advantage of the time difference, and he could allow the woman to hover in uncertainty. He could manipulate the speed of the action. The time when the child was to be born was the critical point for the woman, by which she had to have an answer. It was also at this point that the woman could appeal to the court. The mere threat of legal action could force a man to make up his mind. This may be regarded as a game, says Telste, in which the man and the woman had to respond to each other's challenges. A broken pledge may therefore be seen as a game with fixed moves and counter-moves. The rules of the game were established in the prevailing code of honour. In the juridical situation there was also a game, played for the public. The man and the woman had to make the moves that fitted the situation.

The man used time to find evidence that the woman had a bad reputation by raising doubts that he was the father of the child. He could start a counter-case and demand the right to swear an oath that he was not the father. Before he could do so, however, he had to put forward evidence of the woman's reputation. This became a critical point, and a woman who had behaved properly was expected to tell the truth. In the courtroom the man could raise suspicions about a mysterious stranger, previous suitors, and so on, which could make the woman lose the case. A suspicion was enough; no proof was needed. A woman with a bad reputation had no right to described herself as defamed. The woman could raise doubts about the honesty of the oath by continuing to claim that the man was the father of the child. She thereby challenged his honour, since accusations of paternity were a threat to the man's honour.

If he denied paternity without taking any further steps, then the woman was believed. His trustworthiness was at stake. A man had to take responsibility for his actions. The conflict with the woman, Telste concludes, was a tricky balancing act between truth and lies, honour and disgrace. Honour required a man to be trustworthy, but a man could lie without jeopardizing his honour. The explanation for this paradox is that a man compromised only his honour if he had stated his true intentions. One therefore could not equate a man's speech with his honour. A man who had two women at the same time could not be expected to have honest intentions with both.

A man who kept his word was a man of honour, both in his own eyes and in other people's. He confirmed the male virtues, such as truth, trustworthiness, honesty, and firmness, and he had three different ways to support his word if he had made a woman pregnant: (1) he could rehabilitate the woman's honour by marrying her; (2) if he did not want to marry her, he could give her redress by means of a settlement; (3) he could admit paternity.

When they got married, both the man and the woman were winners; otherwise there was one

winner and one loser. Playing for time was a proof of what the woman and the man were worth, and through time everything fell into place: the honourable people were distinguished from the dishonoured. The game had fixed rules which may be compared with rituals to restore order after a period of disorder. The ambivalent features of the women's and men's actions were made unambiguous. Differences were erased, asymmetries were harmonized, and a new balance was established.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, emotions acquired a more prominent place when the marriage pledge was considered in court. The conflict between traditional and new perceptions of marriage, pledges and sex, duty and love, reason and emotion were expressed in the breach of promise. The entry of the new romantic love into history is described with the aid of known theorists of modernity such as Anthony Giddens, John Gillis, and Niklas Luhmann. In the footsteps of romantic love, constructions of femininity and masculinity were transformed.

The transient nature of love is now a recurrent theme in court, in contrast to the former constancy of love. The men invoked the inconstancy of love and the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of women. Women in court seemed to be the opposite when they demanded redress for breach of promise and violation. The women were caught in a difficult dilemma, between traditional and new perceptions of female sexuality.

A woman's reputation was wholly attached to her sexuality, in that she could not achieve restitution as a woman without a reputation – a disreputable woman could never obtain redress for violated honour. This interpretation deprived all unmarried mothers of the chance to define themselves as women with an unblemished reputation. If the man persisted in wanting to deny paternity on oath, the woman had very little to counter with.

There is nothing to suggest that people in general at the start of the nineteenth century were less interested in honour than before. Cases of defamation were dealt with in the commission of judgement (the court for civil suits of this kind). There was, however, a new dividing line between the authorities and the people as regards the understanding of the term "disreputable". In the gender perception of the authorities a new image of woman had begun to take shape, that of the unhappy fallen girl, and homes for fallen mothers were set up in the towns. This image presupposed a corresponding image of masculinity, that a man had to be held responsible for having brought such disaster on a woman.

The nineteenth century saw the growth of a stereotyped image of the woman as governed by emotions, as well as passive and weak, impulsive and submissive, but also withdrawn, modest, dependent, and self-denying. This image went hand in hand with a redefinition of marriage.

From the early nineteenth century, images of romantic love began to impact on popular culture as well. Another pattern is delineated: men are now allowed to use concepts such as love, intimacy, and goodness to legitimate illicit intercourse. Women were more cautious in their choice of words and seem to have stuck to conventional role models. At the start of the nineteenth century, talk of honour and violation had disappeared from the vocabulary of unmarried mothers, but women still defined themselves in relation to the traditional female virtues of industry and duty. These duties had previously been incorporated in the concept of honour. An unmarried mother no longer claimed that a breach of promise had violated her honour; instead she wanted the man to assume responsibility for the child.

The myth of Don Juan is initially allowed to represent the theme of the last period – seduction. The exploits of Norway's own Don Juan, Peder Borgenstierne, are examined. Borgenstierne, like all Don Juans, uses the power of language to dupe and promise. He utilizes the promise as a speech act. He also plays with identity, acts the part of someone else, has a theatrical nature. The seducer's game humiliates the woman. She is not only left deceived; Don Juan also uses public morals to reveal that she is the one who has broken the moral rules, or he makes her into an accomplice.

But Don Juan represents not just a superficial game; his actions should also be seen as a rebellion against paternal authority and power. He challenges the men around the women – fathers, brothers, fiancés, and husbands – and also the authority and power of society, since established morality does not mean anything to him. As he transgresses all boundaries, he simultaneously

confirms the social order. The encounter with Don Juan makes clear the woman's place in society and the limits to her sexuality. This says something about the relation between the sexes. It is still enmeshed in the gender and power relations of a patriarchal society.

The way in which seduction took place shows that, at the end of the nineteenth century, there was still an underlying association between marriage pledge, honour, and sexuality. Yet none of the women mentioned the concept of honour, referring instead to the values traditionally associated with that concept. The men likewise still used a traditional norm system for marriage pledges and betrothal, and traditional definitions of male honour – name and reputation – as well as opposing identities: he was stable, secure, rooted in the farm, and at the same time unstable, free, unpredictable. The man, the seducer, therefore stands out as the prototype of the modern released individual. He made himself guiltless and listened only to his own conscience, took no responsibility and behaved narcissistically.

In 19th-century bourgeois society there was no scope for women to restore the honour they had lost because of a broken pledge. There was admittedly a law from 1842 stating that a man who had made a woman pregnant while pledging marriage should be punished by imprisonment or a fine. The problem was that few women took advantage of this, which is partially explained by the fact that it was humiliating for the woman. Nor did it become easier for them to prove that a man had pledged marriage, since the 1734 ordinance had not ceased to apply and the formal requirements were still valid. The women in court were faced with men who denied paternity and cast suspicion on their honour. The seducer as a phenomenon corroborates that broken pledges as a juridical problem were antiquated, or that the rules were not designed for the demands of a modern society. The woman's reputation acquired a central position, and if she had a bad reputation, the man's obligations ceased. The representation of the faithless woman survived.

Telste's dissertation, as will be obvious, is large not just as regards the number of pages but also in terms of its content. She has expended tremendous effort on presenting and analysing a very large body of source material from two centuries. Her analysis of the individual cases is full of insight, painting a nuanced, poignant, and vivid picture of the lives and conditions of men and women. We come close to people in a way that is unusual in studies of historical change.

The strength of the dissertation also tends to be its weakness, however. The many detailed analyses raise more questions than they answer, thus obscuring the view. They can feel overwhelming, but I must admit that Telste almost always finds her way back to the main thread. Yet I would have like to see greater methodological and theoretical awareness, not to mention a more questioning and impertinent attitude and a consistently applied gender perspective. The use of theory may be described as eclectic, not just in a negative sense. It is permissible to be eclectic, but it requires reflection and a paradigmatic sense. Almost all the megastars of the humanities and social sciences are invoked: Mauss, van Gennep, Habermas, Lévi-Strauss, Turner, Douglas, Bourdieu, Giddens, Berman, Pitt-Rivers, Heller, and more besides. On the other hand, we do not hear Geertz or Foucault, although their presence might have been justified in view of the chosen problem. It is also highly remarkable that a dissertation with an explicit gender problematization uses so many non-feminist theorists and very few feminist ones. This has consequences for several of the general discussions and conclusions. I shall round off with some examples of this.

In part three Telste discusses the coming of romantic love with the assistance of the well-known theorists of modernity. The story runs like this: during the eighteenth century the idea of love as a duty was transformed into an idea of love as mutual liking. This ideal gained its earliest foothold among the upper classes and then spread down to the lower classes, like a kind of "gesunkenes Kulturgut", first to the men and then to the women. Men were quickest to become modern, while women stuck longer to traditional values. Telste buys this narrative of modernity without comment, citing numerous examples from her empirical material which confirm it. She finds exactly what she is looking for, using modernity theory as her divining rod. It all becomes so predictable, especially since she structures the

chapter around quotations or references with statements taken from this research tradition, to which she merely adds her own observations.

I would have liked to see a challenge to the theorists of modernity, not just as regards the narrative of love but also the construction of the modern man and the unmodern woman. Both Giddens and Berman have consciously (or unconsciously) chosen to hold up a traditional female image in order to contrast and highlight the autonomous, active modern man. With the great knowledge that she has of early modern society, Telste should at least have qualified the established narrative and added a gender perspective. The examples cited in support of the modernity narrative could just as easily have been interpreted as evidence against it, as far as I can see.

Another aspect that would have required a more thoroughgoing analysis is the theory of culture from which she proceeds to study gender relations. Early modern society is described with the concepts of balance and order, taken from structuralist culture theory. How does this view of culture agree with a hierarchical gender relation, which the author nevertheless demonstrates? As regards gender relations, Telste describes society as patriarchal. She gets round the problem by explaining that the asymmetry in gender relations was just temporary. Like culture as a whole, gender relations strive for equilibrium, which is achieved by the "play" of the individuals with and against each other.

The play metaphor can be traced back to game theory in the social sciences, which rests on a completely different view of the individual and the role of actor than, say, the concept of position, which Telste has taken from feminist post-modern theory and identity constitution.

When game theory is transferred to a reality with broken marriage pledges and infanticides, experiences with profoundly tragic consequences for the people involved, when, above all, women fought for their lives, it feels cynical. The women were not playing games about their honour, neither in court nor outside it; they opposed the men's exercise of power by questioning their preferential right of interpretation.

The use of game theory therefore brings us to the question of how people should be represented in research, that is, the question of research ethics. This is particularly acute in the analysis of the silence surrounding infanticide, which is interpreted as an expression of a liminal state. Here the distance between analysed event and theory becomes too great.

Inger Lövkrona, Lund

Time for Reflection

Ninni Trossholmen, Tid till eftertanke. Kvinnligt pensionärsliv ur ett klass- och livsloppsperspektiv. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 32. Göteborg 2000. 231 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-52-7.

■ Gerontology was a field that was hardly explored within ethnology and folklore until 1990. Since then studies of ageing from a cultural analytic perspective have been carried out in Joensuu, Copenhagen, Lund, Stockholm and now also in Göteborg. Ninni Trossholmen's dissertation about the everyday life and life history of female pensioners is an important contribution from ethnology to the new development in cultural gerontology.

From an overall perspective, the book presents a very thorough study delving into many aspects of the lives, life histories, and life reflections of different elderly women of today. The informants have been chosen with the intention of studying potential class differences in the elderly women, which means that Trossholmen has worked with six female pensioners from a working-class background, and six female pensioners from a more mixed background, representing the middle class and upper middle class in various forms.

The empirical work carried out by Trossholmen is impressive in its length and depth. For several years, in a long process, she has gathered the women into two different groups, one for each class represented, entitled "group 1" and "group 2". Group 1 consisted of the middle-class women, whereas group 2 counted women of working-class background. The two groups never met each other, but Trossholmen let topics of the conversations of the one group inspire discussions in the other. At the beginning, the researcher set up a one-year-long course with each group, with the

aim of writing their life stories, while discussing themes and subjects. In group 2, she explains, less text was produced, but discussions were taped and written down by the author. In group 1 more autobiographical text was produced by the women themselves. As far as I understand, the two groups and their teacher continued to meet in their homes after the courses had finished. Hence, Trossholmen's empirical material consists of autobiographical text, life history discussions on tape, her own field notes from the sessions, field notes from the impression of the homes of the women, as they proceeded to visit everyone in their private surroundings – for years. It seems as if the author still meets her informants once in a while, which enables her not only to study "the ethnographic present" but also transitions in time in the lives of the elderly women. Furthermore, Trossholmen conducted single interviews in some cases with some of the 12 women. All in all, then, the empirical material must be enormous.

As a theoretical point of departure Ninni Trossholmen employs the Swedish historian Birgitta Odén, which in my opinion is an odd choice. Not because the theoretical point of departure is "odd" – on the contrary, it seems very relevant to study, as Odén suggested, micro-history in order to understand structures on a macro-level. What she encourages is to operate on a "mezzo-level" in between the two, which means combining individual experiences with structural phenomena. This is a very reasonable incentive, and not very easy to do. On the other hand, is that not precisely what many ethnologists and folklorists usually do? A Danish proverb describes it as: "like crossing the river in order to get water". On the other hand, what Odén, and only she, can contribute is her vast knowledge of historical factors related to old age, which has been one of her prime topics of interest in the last twenty years, and the reason why she now carries the high status as queen of humanistic gerontology among the gerontological community in Scandinavia.

Other theories which are tested in the material are "Højrupian" life-mode analysis and two life-course theories, both developed by Scandinavian gerontologists. One is by the Norwegian psychologist, Kirsten Thorsen, the other is by the Finnish sociologist, Peter Öberg.

There are two large analytical chapters in the book; one is a chapter about the life histories of the women, including their reflections and opinions about the past periods of their lives. The other analytical chapter is concerned with present lives as lived, experienced, and reflected upon by female pensioners. Each of these two chapters discusses a variety of topics from the perspective of the two groups: middle class and working class. This structural strategy of the dissertation is wise; hence the class perspectives are related to temporal changes, and temporal changes and situations are provided as backgrounds to understanding present situations and opinions. This strategy is also, as I understand it, Trossholmen's methodology on a "mezzo-level": to connect individual agency with structural tendencies on "macro-historic" level. The two analytical chapters are divided into various themes of significance to the old women, and the chapters are rather strictly chronologically structured, starting from childhood and the relationships with parents and siblings, life in school, housing, youth, work or education, marriage, children and life as a housewife or/and working in the workforce outside the home. The book in general contains many interesting discussions of this important field of tension; the working life of married women in the middle of the twentieth century. The twelve women represent a wide range compared to contemporary statistics, and few of them have experienced a situation as full-time housewives. Trossholmen reveals gender aspects in historical perspective, demonstrating how these women are influenced by the cultural norm of gender and family life that was prevalent in the middle of the twentieth century. It was connected with status if the husband alone could support the family on his wage, so that the wife could stay home and fulfil the many new demands of motherhood and good house-keeping. To the working-class women, life as a housewife seemed more attractive than it was to middle-class women. "As the alternative was either to clean other people's homes or to stay home and take care of your own home, the choice was not that difficult" (p. 101).

However, most of the working-class women had to work due to economic needs – and tried to do flexitime at strange hours of the day, so they

could stay home with the children while their husbands were at work. A class difference in this respect may be mentioned: working-class husbands seemed better at sharing housework and caring for children. To them, the economic contribution from the wife was important, so they had to support her work outside the home.

Middle-class women were in a different situation. For them, working life outside the home was founded on a concept that Trossholmen borrows from Kirsten Thorsen: the principle of desire. In middle-class homes, economy could not be a reason for wives to work, so the incentive had to be desire in the woman, but this meant that she had to take care of her *real* duties, the household and looking after children, by herself. No help from her husband, because her choice was based on personal desire alone. Many of the women in this group realized that they found their work just as meaningful as every other aspect of their lives, but as representatives of their generation they still find it ideal if the mother of small children stays at home.

Now that all the women are pensioners, their lives in many ways follow lifestyles they picked up during their life course. However, one important factor mentioned by Trossholmen is that class differences seem to have diminished. The chapter on the present life of these female pensioners circles especially around the experiences about the passage rite of becoming a pensioner. Other themes are touched upon, such as the views of one's own age and ageing, gender aspects, sexuality, social life and relations to family members and friends, involvement in leisure activities, sports, cultural events, socialization.

In the final part of the book, the information about the female pensioners is put into perspective with the theoretical frames introduced at the beginning, including some new aspects. The discussion is very interesting, situating elderly women on the map of gerontological and ethnological research, and introducing them both as individuals each with their own agency, and as representatives of certain cultural and temporal categories, hence revealing knowledge about certain structures in the 20th century and their influence on the lives of individual women who have lived with and within these structures.

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Copenhagen

The Unknown Conscript

Susanne Wollinger, Mannen i ledet. Takt och otakt i värnpliktens skugga. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2000. 160 pp. Ill. Diss. English summary. ISBN 91-7203-983-3.

■ For cultural and geopolitical reasons Sweden and Finland are often considered twins, but they are by no means identical twins. Several crucial institutions and establishments which were created after 1809, when these countries were separated, are quite different. State railway companies and defence forces in the two countries are good examples. As regards the former, the track gauge is broader in Sweden than in Finland. As regards the latter the differences are enormous in spite of our long common military history. As a matter of fact, a Finn reading Susanne Wollinger's doctoral thesis on conscription in Sweden cannot avoid comparing the Swedish and Finnish military establishments.

Books like this function at three levels whether they are written in Sweden or Finland. There is the national level, the common Swedish-Finnish (or Nordic) level, and the international level. I cannot discuss matters on the Swedish national level, For me it is impossible to see the degree of importance of these, which does not mean that these are meaningless – quite the contrary – but I am just the wrong person because of my Finnish nationality. I shall return to this, however. For me the most important level of the book is the common Swedish-Finnish level, and that is why I hope that the book will gain plenty of readers in Finland, too, especially among military circles. But the international level is also important here, because on the one hand all the military establishments in the world are alike, and on the other hand they all have their distinctive national character.

The title of the book, *Mannen i ledet* ("The Man in Line"), comes from J. L. Runeberg, the Finnish national poet, who also belongs to the history of Swedish literature. It is an analytical description of the military life of Swedish conscripts in a southern Swedish artillery regiment in 1995–96, based on ethnological fieldwork, participant observation, interviews and photographs. Special attention has been paid to the masculinity of military life, but from a woman's viewpoint.

Soon after the fieldwork was done, the regiment was disbanded in connection with the reduction of armed forces in Sweden, a fairly general trend in Western Europe at present. Since World War II military equipment has become more technical and more expensive, and perceptions of threats have changed, especially after the collapse of the USSR, which has led many countries to develop smaller but well-trained and well-equipped rapid deployment forces and to diminish or even give up forces based on conscription. (Finland has not yet made the final decision, but a heated discussion is going on in parliament and the press. The threat of abolishing the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Regiment of Turku is just in the headlines as I write this.) So, as the author puts it herself, her presentation was meant to describe the present but it became history.

The book begins by introducing earlier descriptions of Swedish military life, where little proper research seems to have been done, and by discussing fieldwork methods from a theoretical point of view. The empirical part consists of three larger themes: conscription, life in the barracks and life out in the field. The analysis follows in the final chapter. However, due to the researcher and the research methods, the emphasis lies on the periods when the men are together off duty and without their superiors present. Less attention has been paid to proper action such as practising formal marching or close order on the drill square, practising shooting with hand weapons or guns, practising digging trenches or action stations for the guns etc. Similarly, the emphasis is on ordinary conscripts, with less attention paid to officers of different ranks. Also relations between conscripts and their superiors in action have been almost totally ignored. How does it feel for the men to take orders from their conscripted officers, and conversely how does it feel to give orders to men of the same age? Are there no problems? And what kind of relation is there between the regulars (professional officers) and the conscripts? There are only a few words about military discipline as a whole. The author naturally has no military training herself, and she could not have been present in all situations or perhaps could not always understand what was going on. Yet I am not accusing her of biased research here; she did what she could. As a result we have an important book on a topic seldom treated in ethnology. However, national service based on conscription has for more than a century concerned most modern societies, or at least the men, so in principle the question is about a topic where approximately half of the population has been involved,

So what did she actually find out? There are two kinds of results, those written in the book and those absent from it. In Sweden the system of national service was introduced in 1901. (In Finland this had already taken place under Russian rule, from the beginning of the 1880s.) At present, at least, the system is such that conscription is based on tests, mental and physical, lasting two days. From a certain age group, the officers of different ranks are selected on the basis of the results of these tests before entering the service. Then the officers at company level enter the service in March, officers at platoon level in June, non-commissioned officers at group level in July or August, and privates in October, All are disbanded the following May, so that the service time is between five and fifteen months depending on rank. This also means that when the platoon-level officers enter, their company-level officers are already trained for their duties and are prepared for them, and when the group-level NCOs enter, both these higher ranks are trained and prepared for them, and when the privates finally enter, all their superiors are trained and prepared for them. I think this system is very sensible, and if we compare it with the Finnish system, we can see why. In Finland the conscription is just a short routine doctor's checkup. The privates of a certain age group normally enter in three groups at three different points in the year. All the men in a new group are at first just recruits, and during their service the future officers and NCOs are selected from among them, but they do not become superiors for the men of their own group but for the recruits in the next one. So in this system, descending from Russian rule, the men in a particular group feel solidarity with each other, and authority lies in membership of this alone and not in rank. This leads to bullying between groups. In the Swedish conscription system bullying is impossible, because there are no different solidary groups to bully each other.

In the Swedish Army there seem to be no sanctions in use either, or these have been given only slight attention. In the Finnish Army these are the main circumstances differentiating military from civilian life. There are also other remarkable differences. According to the book, the conscripts were allowed to leave the barracks any evening after service hours – even dressed in civilian clothes. In Finland civilian clothes are permitted on leave, but the men are not allowed to bring them to the barracks, so that in practice men have to wear uniform on shorter periods of leave. In Finland the most usual reason for conscripts to be punished has been being late back from leave, which always ends precisely at midnight. In Sweden it is enough to get back to the barracks before service begins in the morning. In Finland the conscripts always leave the barracks or at least the squad-room when possible, but in Sweden they may spend their free time there. In Sweden a conscript has to order his meals if, contrary to normal practice, he stays in the barracks over a weekend; in Finland only those who have permission leave the barracks. I could continue this kind of comparison forever. Besides the negative sanctions there are also positive rewards in the Finnish Army, such as possibilities for extra leave and promotions to motivate the men and to maintain military discipline, In Sweden there must be something similar, but that has not been treated here. However, these are just features which make the sharpest difference from civilian life.

A lot of attention has been paid in the book to masculine culture, the circumstances and the conversations of the conscripts when they live and spend their free time among each other in the barracks. The documentation here lies on national level mentioned above, and to be honest, this does not interest me much – and the level of documentation is too difficult for me to estimate. For instance, for the author the question of the attitudes of the men to potential female conscripts seems important considering the space she has devoted to it, in spite of the fact that there were no female conscripts serving in this particular unit at all. In the Finnish Army voluntary service for women has also been possible for several years, but this has not evoked any great discussion for or against. Another important issue seems to be the fact that some men have to do national service and others do not. For me the importance of the topic is difficult to estimate, because in Finland practically all men still have to do the service. However, for the Swedish reader topics like these might be of the utmost importance.

A different masculine military culture appeared when the unit was in the field and lived in tents. Then the uniforms, the faces and the hands were expected to be dirty, and men relieved themselves in the forest, even if there was some kind of toilet somewhere further away. A bleeding wound from a knife while gathering firewood also belonged to the picture, and the soldier was not supposed to complain or seek medical care. But was this at least partly a consequence of the strange situation of having a woman among the men in the bush? Maybe these masculine features were a bit exaggerated here, maybe not. However, this is where the most important features of military life arise in any army, whether in peace or war: cold, hunger, tiredness and first waiting and waiting and then hurrying, Only fear was absent because it belongs only to war. In this sense the Swedish and Finnish armies are alike. But which of these two armies would be better, which would act better when the men are afraid, which would have better soldiers? This can be found out only in a situation of war, a real war. I hope we shall never find out, and so do we all, I am sure. (I do not mean here a war between these two countries, because the thought is absurd.)

A very astute observation of the author is that there are two different military organizations valid in the army. In the barracks it was the *peacetime organization* with just conscripts and regulars, and in the field it was the *wartime organization* with just privates, NCOs and officers of different ranks. In my own research into the Finnish army I had to strain my brains quite a lot to discern these two organizations. This was because in the Finnish army these two organizations overlap both in the barracks and in the field, and even during service hours and free time. The differences between these were not made clear in our army. For instance, the conscripts were not necessarily left in peace during their free time. A conscript who was to be found in the barracks during free time might be ordered to do some

"voluntary" duty by his superiors or might be a victim of bullying by the older conscripts. This was why the conscripts left the barracks whenever possible. In the Swedish army a conscript is only required to be on duty during service hours, not in free time. When the difference between these has been made clear, the army organizations are clearer and easier to recognize for those involved. And this is also a clear advantage in the circumstances for which the army really exists.

Erving Goffman introduced his concept of *total institution* in the early 1960s in his classic book *Asylums*. Total institutions include prisons, mental hospitals, ships, monasteries, boarding schools, concentration camps – and military barracks. A characteristic feature of such a total institution is the basic split between the two groups of its members, that is, the inmates and the staff. This kind of basic split can be found in most but not all total institutions. In the Finnish Army it can be found between conscripts and regulars in its peacetime organization. The author knows of the book, and the Swedish translation is in her bibliography – but she has not used the crucial concept of total institution in her book. Why? Simply because the Swedish Army, unlike the Finnish Army, is not a total institution. What else could be the conclusion from all the data presented above? However, another important American book seems unknown to the author even though Mats Rehnberg used it in his book *Vad skall vi göra med de blanka gevär* (1967), which is familiar to her. During World War II it was found that American civilian men had difficulties in adjusting to the army. A large group of military sociologists were therefore commissioned by the military leadership to study the problem under Samuel A. Stouffer. The findings were published after the war in a huge work of four volumes called *The American Soldier* (1949), which became a classic of military sociology. Before publishing it, Stouffer had analysed the research material and written a joint theoretical frame of reference for the whole. This small article is the nucleus of the book. According to Stouffer, during the Second World War American civilians had very much greater problems adjusting to the army than their fathers had had during the First World War. This was because American society had changed radically between the wars: it had become industrialized, urbanized and professionally differentiated, and the educational level of its young men had risen drastically. In other words, American society was agrarian during the First World War but industrialized during the Second. On the other hand, the social structure of the army, that of a military community, had remained unchanged, and was closer to the agrarian than the industrial pattern.

It is obvious that similar changes later took place in the Nordic countries, in Sweden perhaps around the Second World War and in Finland after the reconstruction, about the early 1960s. In her book Wollinger tells how in Sweden in the 1970s and 1980s military training was applied to correspond more to the democratic trend in the contemporary development of the society. I think this was done just according to Stouffer's ideas, and thus his book would have helped the author to understand that this was a question of a general cultural development rather than just that one in Swedish society. However, these changes were carried out in Swedish military training more radically than in any other army as far as I know, and it seems, according to the book, to be quite unproblematic for civilians to adjust to military communities in Sweden – unlike in Finland.

After reading Susanne Wollinger's book I have realized much more clearly than before that there is an alternative to the traditional methods and military culture still carried on in Finland. Our military culture and training methods happen to derive from the Russian Imperial Army. These methods were developed for big, heterogeneous, multicultural and multiethnic imperial armies, and similar methods have been used, for instance, in the Austrian, German, French, British and American armies. Perhaps these methods were necessary under the circumstances of these countries, but this kind of military culture and military training methods are badly suited to the needs of small, culturally and ethnically quite homogeneous, modern nation states like Sweden and Finland. This has been understood in the former but not in the latter, and that is why these two armies are so different today.

Pekka Leimu, Turku

Book Reviews

The Conversion of Iceland

Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, Under the Cloak. A Pagan Ritual Turning Point in the Conversion of Iceland. Second, extended ed., Jakob S. Jónsson (ed.). Háskólaútgáfan, Félagsvísindastofnun, Reykjavík 1999. 233 pp. ISBN 9979-54-380-9.

■ In 1978, Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson first published his dissertation *Under the Cloak* at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. (It was reviewed in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1979 by John Lindow.) He concentrated his efforts on studying the conversion of Iceland from Paganism to Christianity in the year 1000. In his detailed study he examined the central sources, i.e., the archaeological findings, poetry and topographical and personal names in order to answer his main question of "why Iceland was converted to Christianity with no more shedding of blood than was the case" (p. 10). *Íslendingasögur* and *Landnámabók* were considered the most important documents. The author makes it clear that the newcomers, most of whom were pagan, hallowed land for temples and conducted sacrifices as pieces of their cult. Thór and Freyr were the most frequently worshipped gods, fatalism played a great role and Christ was regarded as weaker than the indigenous gods, but superior to fate.

The author conducted his research by a text-critical, historical-genetic method and comparison of sources from Northern Europe. The result of his investigation of what happened at Þingvellir was as follows. Although pagans and Christians had declared themselves "out of law" with each other there was no serious fight because Þorgeir the Lawspeaker was engaged in the process. He was a pagan, well acquainted with non-Christian ways of handling critical situations. Aðalsteinsson even mentions his relationship with the Finns, thereby perhaps hinting at the supernatural skills of this group of Norse men as being not too far from Þorgeir. A central idea in the book is that Þorgeir was asked to decide for the old Icelanders whether they should adopt the new religion or not, and that, before making this decision, he stayed under his cloak for an unusually long time, isolated and alone. Instead of accepting other scholars' thoughts about what Þorgeir did under the cloak, such as pondering the law or preparing the promulgation speech, Aðalsteinsson showed that this custom was well known in Norse tradition for meditation and efforts to contact the gods, for soothsaying and looking into the future. According to the author, this had been the custom used in critical situations. It gave Þorgeir the authority to decide that the old Icelanders should become Christian without protests.

In this revised edition of his book, Aðalsteinsson returns to several details of his original work, and re-reading the sources he examines them anew regarding hitherto not so well investigated but known texts. He also takes into consideration the comments that his first version on the issue provoked. This means that motifs just mentioned incidentally in the 1978 version are now examined in detail, assessed and incorporated in the new edition in order to shed even more light upon Þorgeir's time under the cloak. Here the author says that he makes use of the folkloristic perspective, but, unfortunately, he never explains what he means by this so often discussed and hardly ever defined concept. The appendix is almost seventy pages and constitutes a fine documentation of a scholar's development over almost thirty years.
Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Turku

The Politics of Cultural Reification

Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity. A Festschrift for Barbro Klein. Pertti J. Anttonen *et al.* (eds.). Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka 2000. 290 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88560-39-2.

■ The title of this book refers to a Nordic research network, launched in 1998, which goes by the same name. The book contains the first published results of this collaborative effort, which is led by a coordinating committee comprised of four distinguished folklorists, selected with the national eclecticism characteristic of Nordic cooperation: Pertti J. Anttonen, Barbro Klein, Anna Leena-Siikala, and Stein R. Mathisen. The book consists partially of papers originally delivered in 1998 at the first symposium organized by the network in collaboration with the Multicultural Centre in

Botkyrka, Sweden. Other papers were solicited after the conference.

Above and beyond presenting research fostered and furthered by the Nordic network on "folklore, heritage politics and ethnic diversity," this anthology is a Festschrift in honor of Klein, who is presently a professor at Stockholm University and a director at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (SCASSS) in Uppsala. In addition to research articles, the volume contains a short overview of Klein's scholarly career – so far – and her manifold contributions to folkloristics. As the author, Anna-Leena Siikala, notes, Klein's unwavering commitment both to fieldwork and theory is remarkable, and, I would add, exemplary. In this as in so many other ways, Klein embodies the intellectual enterprise of folklore. The great emphasis in her work on global dimensions of the local and vice versa is no doubt a direct correlative of her simultaneous commitment to fieldwork and theory, as well as her own international scholarly background in Europe and the USA.

Most inspiring in her work is the way in which it theorizes the cultural ground, while at the same time grounding theories in concrete people of flesh-and-blood, social agents making their lives under circumstances not of their own making. This is the kind of contribution to the general production of knowledge to which folklore and ethnology are uniquely suited and towards which we ought to strive in our study of vernacular culture.

Klein has a short essay in this anthology in which she introduces the research network on "folklore, heritage politics and ethnic diversity." The network's purpose, she tells us, is to "investigate the role of folklore and folkloristics in the reshaping of Nordic life that is now taking place as a result of the recent extensive transnational migrations and related changes in the political maps of the world," to address the manner in which folklore "come[s] into play in the ways in which people think about the relationships between majorities and minorities" and "the role of folklore when people create symbols for the inclusion of some peoples and the exclusion of others".

What I find particularly worthy of note in Klein's essay, however, is her discussion of folklore archives and their role, in the capacity of important heritage sites, "as watchdogs guarding the purity of national tradition ... long thought to exist only among the sedentary rural folk, not elsewhere". This discussion concludes with the demand that "the traditions of newcomers, minorities or outsiders [be] represented in public archives" as a matter of acknowledging their cultural citizenship. If nothing else, one hopes at the very least that the network represented in this anthology will provide the impetus for a broader and more inclusive mandate for folklore archives.

The symposium on which this volume is primarily based went by the name "Hybrid Heritages? Folklore and Ethnic Diversity," and was colloquially known as "the H-symposium". The papers in the volume cluster around several such "H-concepts": heritage, heredity, hybridity, homogeneity, and heterogeneity. Thus Regina Bendix, the keynote speaker at the symposium, has a wonderful article with a title that over-alliterates its H-s, "Heredity, Hybridity and Heritage from One *Fin de Siècle* to the Next." Discussing three Austrian heritage sites, she problematizes the use of these concepts, pointing out how snugly heritage fits in the discursive slot formerly filled by heredity in the discourse of property, privilege, and nationalism. A legal metaphor has taken the place of a biological one, as democracy and capitalism have displaced other political and economic systems, but the racial, ethnic, and class-specific connotations of heredity are sometimes surprisingly close to the surface in the discursive uses of its terminological successor, heritage.

Orvar Löfgren and Pertti J. Anttonen discuss the construction of "the national" in Sweden and Finland, respectively, and how cultural homogeneity has been located and relocated, affirmed, confirmed, and deconstructed in the discourses of Swedishness in 1950–2000 and Finnishness in the 19th and 20th centuries. Löfgren's paper, "The Disappearance and Return of the National," examines the way cultural forms are appropriated in identity projects and how the resulting identities are used for integration as well as exclusion. Needless to say, this is a topic of study to which Löfgren has contributed important insights in the past and he is revisiting his earlier work, albeit with a new twist. The strongest points in this paper are his analyses of selected historical mo-

ments, such as the advent of the automobile society in the 50s, the informalization of social relations in the 60s, the creation of a unified Swedish childhood in daycare centers in the 70s, and the changing rhetoric of flag waving throughout the period. The cultural analysis of these concrete cases lends support to his argument that the scholar of national discourse ignores the generational dimension of the discourse at her own peril.

"Cultural Homogeneity and the National Unification of a Political Community" is Anttonen's contribution to this anthology. This article is conceived of on a grander scale than that of Löfgren. Its subject matter is the discursive construction of the Finnish, and he pays particular attention to the role of our predecessors in the disciplines of folklore and philology. Anttonen investigates the modes and techniques of production of homogeneity (cultural and biological) in Fennoman and other Finnish nationalism, contextualizing the historical circumstances and motivations of this production. He goes on to discuss the creation of heritage – most notably the Kalevala – for the purpose of rooting Finnish homogeneity in history, as well as placing it in the system of property relations, defining "us" as those who could make a claim to this heritage, while excluding the cultural have-nots. Perhaps because of the scale and the theoretical sophistication of this piece, the lack of data is all the more conspicuous. I have been given to understand that the paper as presented at the symposium did rely on a close analysis of cultural texts to support the general argument. I look forward to reading this article again once Anttonen has found a venue for the full-length version.

Mikako Iwatake's article, "A 'Postcolonial' Look at Kunio Yanagida, the Founding Father of Japanese Folklore Studies," continues the exploration of "the national," while crossing the globe and placing an even greater emphasis on the part of scholarship in the creation and definition of homogeneity, heritage, identity, and alterity. The paper presents a disciplinary history of the present, how the inherited theories and discursive conventions of Japanese folklorists are to a great extent co-extensive with their active participation in the construction of a political and conceptual Japan, through various technologies of Othering (linguistic, ethnic, racial, cultural), palpable, e.g., in folklore collections, archives, museum collections and exhibitions, and folk atlases. The discussion of greatest interest to me is found in the sub-chapter on "'jyushutsu risshoho' and 'hogen shukenron,'" two folklore methods attributed to Yanagida. The former refers to the search for Ur-forms through comparative studies, the latter to the wave-theory of diffusion, where innovation takes place in cultural centers, whereas peripheries are characterized by conservatism and, hence, are repositories for cultural survivals. Here, Iwatake politicizes philology and shows how these philological models – drawn from 19th century comparative philology, particularly Indo-European linguistics, a highly political project in its own right – were "used to draw selective pictures of politically desirable cultural relationships" and "to construct a center-local relationship within the predetermined Japanese territorial ends".

The articles of Kjell Olsen and Stein Mathisen continue the examination of the dialectic construction of homogeneity and heterogeneity, identity and alterity, and the role of the cultural disciplines in the production and purveyance of boundaries. Olsen's piece, "Ethnicity and Representation in a 'Local' Museum", presents a reading of an exhibition in the Alta Museum, Norway, paying particular attention to the representation of (Sami) ethnicity. While the paper raises interesting questions, it inscribes itself into a scholarly tradition with which I am rather uncomfortable, viz., the researcher's close examination of his own intellectual and emotional responses, which Olsen conceives of as the "narratives" presented by the exhibition. Actually, Olsen cites James Clifford and Edward M. Bruner on the necessity of focusing on "a specified audience" in museum studies, but he takes this to mean that the scholar should put himself into the frame of mind of a particular audience with a particular background and cultural knowledge, rather than conduct research with a concrete audience. Hence, the article is brimfull of speculation as to how various visitors "in all likelihood" react to the exhibition. Empathy is a weak basis for interpretation, not least because it is epistemologically unsound, and it is a poor substitute for fieldwork and empirical data. While far from unprecedented,

this type of scholarship operates in a terrain well beyond my comfort-level.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's approach in her contribution "Performing Knowledge," might be compared and contrasted with that of Olsen. Much like Olsen, she does not rely on fieldwork in her readings of (Swedish) museum exhibitions. Unlike him, her interpretations are not premised on empathic interrogation of audience response, but depend, rather, on intertextual linkages and contexts, including responses documented in historical sources. Rather than investigate contemporary audience response, she examines structural permutations in sensibilities and modes of relating to museum pieces through the past few centuries, the changing ways in which "an historical imagination can project itself" upon the surfaces of museum pieces. The essay pays particular attention to objects that "open up a space of ambiguity and speculation" and bases its readings upon an examination of the shifting methods of exhibition and on the words of actual visitors describing how they related to the objects exhibited, examining the way words are put to objects and objects are put to words, how knowledge, in other words, is verbalized and materialized.

Mathisen's paper on "Travels and Narratives: Itinerant Constructions of a Homogeneous Sami Heritage" presents a more complex and intricate picture of how difference has been documented and exhibited in Sami-Norwegian encounters. This difference is constructed by and for the hegemonic Norwegian culture, in order to assert its own homogeneity, mirroring itself in a corresponding homogeneous Sami culture constructed by culture brokers and specialists. The paper treats this subject historically, presenting examples from cultural policy, exotic exhibitions, ethnographic museums, and folklore collections. The paradigms of the Finnish school of folklore, particularly notions of 'migratory' and 'borrowed' culture, get a fair share of scrutiny and critique. As the author points out, underlying notions of cultural homogeneity, seldom foregrounded in historic-geographic research, make it very difficult for its practitioners to conceive of cultural hybridity in any way other than as contamination (not to mention an obstacle in the way of diffusion studies and cartographic mappings of culture). Discussing the cases of two Sami narrators whose stories bear the mark of multiethnic and international encounters, Mathisen follows the example of James Clifford and suggests a conceptual shift towards "travel" as a more apt metaphor for the production of culture than "borrowing". From this perspective, culture emerges "from heterogeneous and shared experiences rather than from a homogeneous and common heritage".

The metaphor of travel reappears in Roger D. Abrahams's short contribution to this anthology, "Narratives of Location and Dislocation." Here, Abrahams expresses a desire to see folklorists go beyond studies of pluralism and immigrant populations, to "a folkloristics of dispersals and forcible removals". He exhorts his colleagues to confront "even more dark and important subjects" of moral and political importance, e.g., "narratives of movement and victimage ... stories collected in combat zones, refugee encampments, prisoner of war stockades, prisons, concentration camps, [and] resettlement zones...".

While the papers collected in this volume do not explore the uncharted territories of which Abrahams speaks, they generally move beyond the basic precepts of multiculturalism. In fact, Barbro Klein mentions in her introduction how uneasy many folklorists are made by the rhetoric of celebration often surrounding discussions of multiculturalism and "tradition diversity", particularly in American public sector folklore. While the ideology of multiculturalism has been invaluable in the reconfiguration of cultural politics, it also has its problems. For one thing, it is premised on the reification of culture and its partition into discrete units, even if the goal is the harmonious coexistence of these cultural units. Even hybridity presupposes distinct species, much as heredity. This is not just an academic objection; there are practical consequences as well, in the way in which people are categorized, the way their relation to others is conceived, and the way a particular heritage is thrust upon them. This reification on the level of the cultural is all too easily put in the service of a conservative social agenda, for it obscures and culturalizes relations and configurations that are at heart political.

Multivocality may well be a more fruitful notion and more in keeping with current realities;

it reconceives the relations of the center and the margins, while accounting for the forces of hegemony. Of course, the multivocality of contemporary culture is to some extent produced by the exigencies of global capital, i.e., it is a cultural constellation of late modernity, multiplying market niches and diversifying the production of cultural commodities. I am not suggesting that we ought to put our faith in the invisible hand of the market, but we need to acknowledge that current social processes we may condone owe much to the proverbial logic of late capitalism, as well as the political sensibilities that reflect and react to this logic. It goes without saying that the shift in scholarly interests and attitudes responsible for the production of works such as this very anthology is also a by-product of the same logic.

Heritage creation is patently another by-product of the logic of global capital. It has increased exponentially in response to globalization, as part of the production of the local, but it is a response that is uniformly generated by the logic of globalization; the same tokens of local (regional/national) particularity are produced and marketed all over the world, so that every place seems different in the same way, resulting in an ironically homogeneous celebration of heterogeneity. In this way, difference and diversity are not only commodified but produced by the logic of the commodity, so that the different is always easily recognizable as such – it is displayed in similar locations and sold in the same airport boutiques, where we can partake of it in transit.

The remaining papers focus on constructions of identity and traditions in the global age. Based on her fieldwork in the Udmurt Republic, Anna-Leena Siikala discusses the transformation of secret sacrificial rituals of villages into new cultural forms, i.e., national heritage, through the various processes of "tradition making" and "ethnomimesis, the imitation of past cultural forms". This discussion is reminiscent of Michel de Certeau's insight about the "beauty of the dead," that the moment of death and the moment of birth are one and the same for folklore/traditions. Once an expression becomes folklore and a practice becomes tradition it is always already dead, if only because those very categories belong to a necrophile cultural aesthetic. Clearly, the same goes for cultural heritage; only the dead leave an inheritance.

Siikala also critiques the way in which tradition is conceptualized in social theory, particularly in the work of Anthony Giddens, where it provides the antithesis of modernity and derives its meaning from modernity's negation. While it may be important to distance oneself from this definition, it should be noted that Siikala's deconstructive move also questions the concept of modernity as it is used in social theory. Removing the other half of the pair of opposites empties modernity of meaning and renders it synonymous with "the contemporary," thus voiding its value as an analytical concept. One cannot help but wonder therefore to what extent Siikala's objection is useful; even if one does not buy modernization theory wholecloth, it seems unnecessary to trash it entirely only because one's own work is inscribed into a different disciplinary 'tradition,' in which the concept has a different trajectory and a different meaning.

Lotten Gustafsson's essay is based on fieldwork on 'Medieval Week' on the isle of Gotland. Here, we are shown how the Middle Ages serve, in late modernity, "as a rewarding surface for various contemporary projections", as participants in the costumed carnival "dramatize a modern dream: the ultimately feasible and unquestionable self". The street spectacle of 'Medieval Week' provides the playgrounds of the late modern identity project, giving participants a venue for temporary and malleable essentializations of the self. Gustafsson herself plays with the masquerade as a metaphor for identity construction in the world beyond 'Medieval Week'; I wonder if the onion is not at least as apt a metaphor, connoting the layering of cultural identity in the identity project of late modernity: if you keep peeling away at it, you will still not find the true self. All you'll have is the peel.

Representations of identity are also the topic of Karin Becker's paper, which presents a reflexive look at the author's previously published colloborative project with Barbro Klein, on "Fences, Fertilizers, and Foreigners," photography- and interview-based field research in "municipal garden plots near Stockholm where the gardeners come from many national, ethnic and linguistic groups". The co-authored article established how

"in gardening we see deep emotions and traditions territorialized and embodied, often in highly visual forms", but the present paper works back from the objects of the photo to the researchers's intent and the cultural knowledge and conventions of photography informing their research, to "how the images themselves are constructed and how they reverberate with deeply rooted cultural assumptions about what they represent".

This brings us back, once more, through reflexivity to disciplinary heritage and, ultimately, disciplinary identity. One of the things that struck me while working my way through *Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity* is the extent to which J.G. Herder is still with us. It seems we are still defining ourselves, explicitly and implicitly, by and against the ideas of our disciplinary patriarch and his patrimony. Not only is Herder's populist mandate still very much alive, echoes and repercussions of the 'primal patricide' also abound in various deconstructions of the national, of natural/national homogeneity. This anthology is far from unique in that regard, though perhaps it makes it particularly obvious that we are still wrestling with this heritage of ours and its multi-faceted politics. The funny thing is that Herder already conceived of folklore as a site of multivocality in 1778, as witnessed in the pluralized title of his most famous collection of folksongs, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*.

Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, Berkeley/Reykjavík

Folkloristic Dialogues

Kunnskap om kultur. Folkloristiske dialoger. Knut Aukrust & Anne Eriksen (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 1999. 205 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7099-311-5.

■ In "Knowledge of Culture: Folkloristic Dialogues", seven folklorists and one ethnologist present the folkloristic profile and the recent research emanating from the discipline of folkloristics at the University of Oslo with the intention of contributing, from a specific angle, to the immense field of cultural studies. The dialogues mentioned in the title are manifold, for example, the dialogues with the history of the subject, with kindred disciplines, with new source materials and, last but not least, the dialogues among colleagues now and in the future.

In "National Culture and National Identity", Bjarne Hodne discusses the relation between national culture and national identity in Norwegian research. The ideologies and the perspective created in the 19th century were in many ways still synonymous with the folkloristic research programme in the middle of the 20th century. The changes in paradigm were not obvious until the 1970s or 1980s. The inspiration came from abroad and influenced a group of young Norwegian folklorists. The interest turned towards the study of communication as a process. Two areas were especially focused on. One was the tellers of fairy-tales and the other was the tradition of historical legends. Hodne gives us both a general and distinct description of the historical change within the Oslo discipline.

Ørnulf Hodne presents the tellers of fairy tales as a special field of research. From a context-oriented view Hodne presents a female storyteller from the 19th century and relates her repertoire to conditions in her own life history, which he does in a very interesting way.

Arne Bugge Amundsen discusses a document from 14 February 1721, in which a clergyman reproduces the supernatural stories told by Karen Brynildsdotter. The stories or memorates relate events that took place fourteen days before the document was written. Following the analysis of the text is like reading a detective story. The document is seen as a meeting between individuals and individual expressions, and Amundsen tries from this point of view to interpret the meanings in which the text operates. He also discusses another important problem: whether stories and story telling can be a central factor in creating conditions for strategies, values and actions. As the experiences exposed in the text are of a visionary kind, this will be quite obvious in the discussion. In conclusion, Amundsen succeeds in analysing the text to arrive at a rich series of results. It is an important article for every folklorist with historical interests.

The presence of the past in society today is the subject tackled by Anne Eriksen in chapter 4, "Autobiographies between Memories and History". Autobiographies – life (hi)stories – are usually regarded as a kind of source material charac-

terized by the individual approach, but Eriksen argues that they are also influenced by the cultural framework and the society surrounding the individual. This means that the material reflects a collective memory and not merely the individual's private recollections. The disposition of the chapter is lucid: first some folkloristic and theoretical perspectives are presented, then a couple of examples follow.

In "Life Course and Lifeworld", Knut Aukrust describes a research project concerning Norwegian nuns or, more precisely, nuns living in Norway. The project in question seems to be a very interesting one, and this chapter would probably have been even more worth reading if the author had presented the collected life story interviews in more detail. The aim of this chapter is twofold: first Aukrust describes the research project, second he discusses autobiographies as source material and ways of analysing them. Especially the concept of the lifeworld is scrutinized. The intention is good, but the author has not completely succeeded in linking the two parts of the chapter together. The discussion of the theoretical framework is too long, all the more so as the theoretical concepts are rarely applied in the rest of the text. As it now is, the first part of the chapter is a bit top-heavy and one lacks a good integration of the theoretical and empirical parts. Apart from that, Aukrust has given a glimpse of a kind of female everyday life that not many of us know much about. The interested reader can, fortunately, read more about the life of nuns in Norway in Aukrust's and E.-B. Nilsen's (1996) book on the subject.

In "Popular Religiosity as a Research Field", Anders Gustavsson provides an informative survey of research efforts in this area. The focus is on research in the Nordic countries, but the author also pleads for a broader European perspective.

Velle Espeland discusses in "Songs and Regional Identity" how folklore can be used in the construction of cultural identity, linked to the nation as well as to certain regions of Norway. Among other things, the importance of the folk ballad, as compared to that of the fairy tale, in the building of the Norwegian nation in the 19th and the 20th centuries is described. The reader also gets acquainted with folkloristic ballad research from Moltke Moe onwards. Particularly interesting is Espeland's report on the discussion of the "genuine" and the "false" versions of the folk tradition among the folklorists about a hundred years ago. Another interesting subject, linked to the question of identity, concerns the ballad revival in Norway in the 1970s.

Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen presents a study of humour in contemporary society, "Folk Culture and Globalization: Humour in Today's Society". The concept of "globalization" – one of the more frequent words in articles today – is applied in a relevant way here. With new technologies humour and its expressions are spread in a way that was impossible only a few decades ago. Referring to J. Fiske, Hertzberg stresses "vertical intertextuality" as a characteristic of humour communication in daily life. Different theories of intertextuality have been discussed among folklorists for some time now, which is simply explained by the fact that a text acquires its meaning only in relation to other texts. "Vertical" relations, for example, are those between a television programme and texts which explicitly refer to it.

Hertzberg gives examples from northern Norway, and in her conclusion she finds that humour communication is increasing, as witnessed in the great number of variants. At the same time there is an increasing tolerance of all types of humour. These facts are changing both the commercial mass culture as well as local and national culture. Hertzberg's article is filled with interesting observations and gives the reader an excellent picture of folklore in contemporary society.

In the last chapter, "Dialogue and Distinctiveness", Anne Eriksen concludes the central traits of the book and discusses some perspectives of the discipline and the present research.

The understanding of the empirical source material as the solid basis for research is a common point of departure for the authors of *Kunnskap om kultur,* an approach that must be appreciated in these postmodern days. Here theory and theoretical concepts are regarded as tools needed for the analysis, the aim of which is a deeper understanding of the culture in question. Accordingly, theory *per se* is not the object. Another characteristic trait of the articles in the book is the emphasis on the historical perspective, no matter whether the study is a historical or a contemporary one.

The crucial point is that a historical perspective is important if you want to understand your own time. The comparative perspective is also accentuated and, as Eriksen points out, there can arise a certain tension between the historical and the comparative approach. Where the former focuses on the unique and specific qualities of a phenomenon, the latter sheds light upon phenomena that are alike. Folklorists often solve the problem by studying cultural processes – a process goes on over time and consequently exists in a historical period – thereby retaining the historical dimension as well as the comparative perspective.

Kunnskap om kultur is an ambitious and informative anthology, which can be recommended to those who are interested in an introduction to Norwegian folkloristics. It can also be useful for students of folkloristics and ethnology.

Birgitta Meurling and Per Peterson, Uppsala

Between Geopolitics and Guilty Consciences

I andra länder. Historiska perspektiv på svensk förmedling av det främmande. Magnus Berg & Veronica Trépagny (eds.). Historiska Media, Lund 1999. 219 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88930-55-6.

■ It is (almost) a great pleasure to read this anthology, if nothing else, because it contains articles with old-fashioned learning, a rare thing indeed. In our breathless times, when journalistic half-wits who care nothing for knowledge try to steal the scene from researchers, it is salutary to read such articles, written with a huge grasp of history and an ability to put difficult matters in simple and accessible terms.

It is also, however, an extremely heterogeneous anthology. In fact, it does not hang together very well – not because any of the articles are bad; they are just so very different. One has to exert oneself to find a common theme. From the weighty historical articles by Åke Holmberg and Jan Hjärpe it is e.g. an enormous distance to Lena Gerholm's highly interesting but also somewhat fluttering article about being a Swedish woman married to an Egyptian man – in Egypt. Also, the two editors give us a very strange Introduction. There is a multitude of interesting stray thoughts, but they are all in a jumble, pointing in umpteen different directions. All in all, more painstaking editorial work would have done wonders.

Like so many other recent books, research is focused on the Other. More specifically, it is about how Swedish men and women have experienced other countries. One notices the heritage of Edwards Said's controversial book *Orientalism*, which has given rise to so much debate and so much European self-reproach. Said's book is concerned with the question of Us and Them, resting securely in its conviction of an outright dominance of the Orient by the West. In the 19th century age of imperialism one could see a clear tendency to a view of the Orient and its people as inferior to Western culture. Said is here obviously inspired by Foucault, who likewise stressed the knowledge-producing features of domination. This Orientalism corresponded with and legitimated the colonial powers' interests in the Orient. As is clear from Mohammad Fazlhashemi's article about Swedish officers in Persia in the 1910s, however, it is not necessary to come from a colonial power to behave in a colonial way: the Swedish officers behaved like full-blooded imperialists.

However, there are grounds for pointing out – more explicitly than the Introduction suggests – that it is not just a matter of an unambiguous relation of dominance. Orientalism contains both negative and positive aspects: Orientals are portrayed now as unpleasantly indolent and sluggish, now as fascinatingly sensual and "natural". In other words, they are pictured as the white man's burden or as imaginary beings who can incorporate all conceivable projections of Western people's dreams and longings. Ambivalence and heterogeneity characterize Orientalism. Of course, 19th century scholarly Orientalism – which is the kind that Said focuses on – quickly dismissed Orientals as inferior, but there was also another current, namely, the Orientalism in bourgeois art and literature, where the Orient was synonymous with a world of pleasure, sensual intoxication, and enjoyment, which romantics and people tired of Biedermeier could dream about and long for as a counter to the monotonous and alienated everyday Western world.

This ambiguity is completely absent from the editors' Introduction. They view the problem

one-dimensionally as a relation of pure dominance. It is all the more pleasing to note that the authors of the articles do not fall into this trap. Åke Holmberg in particular is alert to this new tendency to hypostasize the Other.

In general, one wonders about the editors' motives. They want simultaneously to appeal to an academic audience and to those without academic merits (what a fatuous division!). They also want to challenge 200 years of blindness – implying: now there are a few of us who can see everything perfectly clearly, in the politically correct way; you can safely rely on us, for we have seen the light. This is intellectual arrogance, moreover testifying to naïve evolutionary thinking.

We are also told that, if the distance between Swedes and people of other countries is to be shortened, it takes action and a search for knowledge, and also critical reflection about the actions that are performed and the knowledge that is produced (p. 18). One can only agree with such banal truisms. Yet one is left with a bad taste in the mouth because of the emphasis on Sweden (as also seen in the subtitle). Why must things be considered from a national angle? Is it not the normal geopolitical strategy to consider things in the light of a national state? Why did they choose this perspective? And why did the editors choose to maintain it? It is almost automatic that the anthology in this way becomes extremely nationalistic in its arrangement. Is it in reality the case that they are most interested in understanding themselves as Swedes and guiding other Swedes, and that it is not a matter of understanding the Other? It looks like an attempt to establish mutual understanding between Swedes, rather than between Sweden and the Orient.

Is this a particularly refined kind of Orientalism? One is at least tempted to believe this when one reads Holmberg's at once mischievous and wise question at the end of his article: "Are we on the way back to the 18th century nostalgia for the noble savage?" – a crucial question which the editors shy away from considering in their Introduction. This is vexatious, since there is substance in the question.

If the Introduction is muddled, several of the articles state things clearly. Holmberg takes us on a trip through three centuries of Swedish perceptions of the world, starting – amusingly enough – in the 17th century with the German Pufendorf, the man who, among many other things, belauded King Karl X Gustav. We then pass by the portraits of negroes in the encyclopaedia *Nordisk Familjebok* and Herman Lundborg's racial biological drivel to the more low-key, but still active, xenophobia of our own days, as expressed in *Nationalencyclopedin*. The article provides a good survey, showing the author's great learning, but unfortunately it is too short.

The same applies to Jan Hjärpe's article about Swedish Islamology. Here too we have a learned scholar, who rightly points out that the study of Islam, like that of other religions, has moved from psychology of religion to sociology of religion; in other words, religions are increasingly regarded as collective and societal phenomena (p. 44). For Islam this means a move from exoticism to everyday problems , and to the study of "Islamic discourse", as manifest, e.g., in propaganda and literary production. The author's own role in this is modestly underplayed. Hjärpe further points out (p. 39) that it was not until the end of the 18th century that it became common to make foreign culture an object of ridicule or a source for collecting curios.

A third important article is Björn Horgby's study of the construction of an imperialistic worldview. Here we are almost in Said's territory, but we are given a splendid illumination (pp. 101, 104, 106, 109) of the ambivalence that we miss in the editors' Introduction. He points out that the time around 1900 also celebrated nature and the natural as opposed to all that was industrial, civilized, and cultural. The article can be warmly recommended. It is one of the gems in the anthology.

By contrast, Erik Nagel's article about photos take out in the Orient by Swedish seamen is in true Said style. He analyses a fascinating collection of material in the form of three marine engineers' manuscripts and photos from their travels round the world. The analysis is precise and well substantiated, leading to specific conclusions: the spirit of the age encouraged Westerners to revel in delightful exotic ladies and primitive Arabian coolies, with an almost pornographic interest. Ideas of a master race and dreams of masculine glory are ventilated here. Weren't those three

seamen nasty! This could be kept up for ages.

And Mai Palmborg does so in her study of Africa in schoolbooks. Thankfully, she makes a very useful distinction between old and new prejudices. This gives her occasion to clarify the dichotomy between essentialism and constructivism. Unfortunately, she also makes a strange distinction between the scientific view and the "general" awareness of the Other's culture, and here she leaves us in no doubt as to which is right and which is wrong (p. 172). Here, as in the Introduction, one has the impression of an unpleasant distinction between correct and incorrect opinions. There is a great risk of sorting people into A and B teams. Perhaps it is in reality the stupid B people's frustration about not being taken seriously that is the crucial element in the view of the Other.

Tom O'Dell also starts in history, writing a highly readable article about how Swedes have viewed America. An important point here is that, despite certain fundamental conceptions there are constant changes, with the result that there is a permanent fluctuation between continuity and innovation. This gives the article more far-reaching perspectives as regards culture theory.

The learned contingent in the anthology definitely includes Göran Malmstedt's brilliant article about the celebration of Intercession Day (*böndag*) that gained momentum under Gustav II Adolf. The central authorities issued Intercession Day notices to the Swedish clergy so that they could read them aloud to their congregations. Here the prince outlined his view of the state of the world. As Malmstedt says (p. 91), it can be characterized in one word: threatening. The Intercession Day notices were thus part of a geopolitical mentality based on the outward aggression of the national state (this was the beginning of Sweden's Age of Greatness) and internal solidarity maintained with the aid of constructed threats. Foreign policy is a question of outward and inward "boundary production". Then, as now, the threat came from "the Turk". It is extremely interesting to contrast this with Jan Hjärpe's mention of the fraternity between Swedes and Turks in the 18th century, when they had a common enemy in Russia (p. 37).

On the whole, it would have been fruitful to have pursued this geopolitical track, which is found in only a few of the articles. There could have been a study, e.g., of the Swedish view of Poland through the ages – and the Poles' view of Sweden. It is interesting here to cite a brief news item in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* from 10 November 1999. The planning of the Poland Days arranged by Sweden included the idea of letting soldiers in the uniform of Karl XII's army march during festivities in Krakow. The Swedes completely forgot the reputation that these soldiers acquired in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries as a consequence of the violence and destruction they wreaked. The Poles refer to the Swedish ravages as "The Great Flood". Wisely, the Swedish Foreign Ministry withdrew the idea and replaced the soldiers with a parade of functionaries from the keep-fit club Friskis & Svettis (Healthy and Sweaty). So "The Great Flood" continues.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Television Humour and Ethnic Relations

Staffan Berglund & Karin Ljuslinder, Humor som samhällsmoral. Svenskar och invandrare på den svenska TV-humorns arena. Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 252 pp. ISBN 91-44-00894-5.

■ Staffan Berglund and Karin Ljuslinder, both at the Department of Culture and Media at Umeå University, have together written a book about television humour and ethnic relations. It has its origin in the Council for Social Research project "Inter-ethnic Understanding and Collaboration on the Air: A Study of Guidelines, Thought Models, and Interpretations in Practical Programme Work", which ran from 1992 to 1997. The strength of the book is that it captures one's interest on several levels; it is about humour, about ethnic relations, and about scientific method.

The main aim of the authors is to analyse the potential of television humour to communicate understanding and tolerance across ethnic boundaries. This is a topical subject which it is important to examine, since television is producing more and more ethnic humour about the relations of society to immigrants, and it cannot be taken for granted that there is an unambiguous answer about the consequences of this humour. In addi-

tion to analysing a topical and complex issue, Berglund and Ljuslinder also have a general discussion of the methods and analytical tools they use in the book. The book is therefore of interest not only to scholars working with humour or studies of ethnicity, since it also offers this discussion of methods of scientific study. It could therefore be used as a textbook as well. The authors have thus tackled an ambitious task.

The humour they study consists of 60 selected texts from Swedish television programmes – and all the scripts are printed in full at the end of the book. This is a great advantage, making it possible for people to use the book even if they are not familiar with the programmes, although of course a printed script cannot give a complete picture of a television programme. In addition, the study is based on interviews with almost all the script writers and comedians involved in the programmes, and a relatively large selection of informants representing potential viewers of the programmes. The viewers were interviewed both individually and in groups where they were shown selected excerpts from the programmes. In the interviews with the viewers, Berglund and Ljuslinder have attached special importance to eliciting the informants' thoughts about relations between Swedes and immigrants in general and the humorous elements in particular.

The authors have chosen a positive starting point in their approach to ethnic humour: they want to see the qualities of television humour as a progressive force in society. The theme is thus anti-racist television production. Berglund and Ljuslinder analyse what Swedish television humour says about Swedes and immigrants and how it says this. In addition, they analyse the functions of television humour at the individual level and its socio-cultural and political functions in relation to xenophobia and intolerance.

The overall problems concern how humorous representations of the encounter between new and old Swedes can help to further understanding, tolerance, and cooperation across ethnic and cultural boundaries. The authors want to say something about the potential of humour to function as a progressive force in attitudes to strangers. To achieve this, they use different methods and analytical tools – and soon run into fundamental problems. They do not try to conceal the methodological difficulties; on the contrary, these are discussed and analysed in an instructive way.

The problematization of the relationship between reception analysis and the various contributions of discourse analysis to communication studies is interesting reading because it is a way to test and compare the qualities of the different analytical methods on empirical material. The demonstration of the limitations of reception analysis is convincing, and the grounds for expanding the study with the use of discourse analysis are well argued. In reception analysis one studies the thoughts that arise in the receiver in the encounter with a particular media text, and the authors claim that the only thing one can say with any certainty is how meaning is created in a studied individual at any one time, in other words, isolated occasions of the cognitive construction of the meaning of individual texts. Because they doubt the general validity of reception analysis for these reasons, the analysis is supplemented with the perspective of discourse analysis. They thus hope to achieve a connection between individual texts and social relations in society. The chapter on methodological considerations is one of the best in the book.

In their analysis of content, the authors show that television humour does not make the immigrant or refugee the butt of the laughter, but that the humour is about observing and illuminating Swedishness. They point out that Swedishness is shaped in relation to immigrants and consists of attributes which can be detected in a well-known negative Swedish self-image, which the individual recognizes but does not identify with. The authors therefore claim that the thematic content of Swedish television humour is progressive in its view of strangers. After an analysis of the sketches and monologues dealing with inter-ethnic relations in the programmes *Helt Apropå*, *Lorry*, and *Släng dig i brunnen* in the period 1986–1997, they believe they have shown that Swedish television humour can be regarded as a potential force against xenophobia. This, however, concerns the content of the texts.

This clear conclusion is complicated and modified by the insight that the understanding of a message can be very different at the individual

level. What is narrated in television humour can be viewed from at least three perspectives. First we have the intentions of the script writer, then we have the concrete text which may be read in many alternative ways, and a third perspective is constituted by the receiver's reaction to the texts. The problem is that there is no automatic agreement between these different aspects. By means of content analysis one can describe what the media text is about, but this type of analysis does not necessarily reveal much about the original intention behind the text, nor can it predict what meanings will be recreated in "the unpredictable productivity of the text". The authors claim that text analysis is a rather unreliable instrument if one wants to try to understand the meanings that a message can carry. They therefore say that they feel rather powerless in the face of the infinite potential of a text as a bearer of conceivable alternative meanings. Although the programme makers may have the best intentions, Berglund and Ljuslinder also wish to demonstrate what they call "non-racist racism" in the programmes. They assert that our cultural and social conventions involve prejudices which are discreetly interwoven in our conceptual world. In the coding of a text there is the constant risk of unconsciously using linguistic signs and symbolic constructions which in a certain interpretation can mean something other than what the narrator intended.

Although they claim to be able to show tendencies towards non-racist racism in individual texts, the authors conclude that in television humour it is not the immigrants that represent a problem, but the Swedes, the Swedish establishment, and the Swedish authorities in personified form. On the basis of "the reader position of an ideal type of average Swede" (whatever that may be), they find it difficult to read anything in the texts other than that they take up a stance against xenophobia and follow a kind of official, morally based, normative main discourse. Swedish television satirists are thus politically correct, defending the fundamental values that are formally expressed in Swedish legislation and in the school curriculum as regards the desired attitudes to other races and cultures. A moral, more or less formalized guideline runs through the humour. Despite this, the interviewed script writers and comedians say that they are not out to educate, but primarily to be funny and make people laugh. The reason they choose this subject is that it is topical and that it has a great humour potential.

Berglund and Ljuslinder have thus tried to detect any latent xenophobic content in the humorous texts. Their experience is that, by intensively studying a text, one runs the constant risk of forcing on it meanings which are rather far removed and not so easy to notice immediately in everyday situations. A television viewer is exposed to the texts for a much shorter time than a researcher, and the viewer's aim is entertainment rather than research.

The study shows that even though the informants do not interpret and understand the jokes in exactly the same way, there is no problem with the more general abstract understanding of the anti-racist purpose and character of the humour. Berglund and Ljuslinder are able to recognize a main code in the informants, a discursive community. The media texts are therefore not totally open to just any interpretation. Main codes and implicit meanings come across as a rule, despite the possibility of many different variations in the way of understanding the details of the message.

The authors also analyse the narrative structure of television humour, showing that ethnic humour mostly follows a traditional narrative structure. The plot is built up according to a coherent chain of events towards a climax with a comical punch. The traditional narrative form steers the receiver's interpretations. The programmes use different humorous techniques, and it turns out that certain artistes prefer certain techniques, although irony is the most common in all the studied programmes. The functions of television humour are investigated on the individual level. The authors declare that the narrative structure is significant for the receiver's interpretations, but that it is very difficult to investigate how and to what extent. The most important factor they found was the viewer's advance perception of the artiste. The use of humour techniques is also significant for the interpretations, but even the use of irony seems to be interpreted differently depending on the informants' assessments of the person performing the humour. Their perceptions of the artiste can in some cases

lead them to interpret the narrative techniques literally and not as humour.

The authors are ambivalent when they try to analyse the potential of television humour as a force capable of changing ideas. Their basic assumption is that humour can further understanding, tolerance, and cooperation across ethnic and cultural divisions. It can make people aware of their own ingrained notions, prejudices, and "automatic trains of thought", as they put it. But they believe that humour easily loses this transformative power on its way to the receiver. The familiar narrative structure and linguistic techniques become a kind of insurance that we already know how we are expected to understand the content. This means, by extension, that no humour technique, no matter how surprising, can catch us off guard and change very much in our world-view, according to the authors.

They also discuss the socio-cultural and political functions of the humour. They believe that it can be both an instrument for social control and an expression of opposition and resistance. In the material they have investigated, the comedian seems to be a portrayer of society's morals.

Despite the ambitious aim and the thoroughness with which the study has been conducted, the analysis of Swedish television humour is not wholly successful. One reason for this is that the authors, in their conclusions, do not take into sufficient account the fact that they have created an artificial viewer situation. Several of the informants who interpret the humorous content in different ways from the authors' and the comedians' intentions dislike both the programmes and the comedians and would never have watched them on their own initiative. They are simply outside the target group of the programmes.

One weakness of the research project, in my view, is that Berglund and Ljuslinder seek from the start to attribute qualities to humorous television entertainment which are in fact irrelevant to the genre. The main function of the genre is simply to entertain and amuse the audience. The aim in showing these ethnic elements in humour programmes on television is not to help with public education or to actively encourage the viewers to think or act politically; the interviewed producers admit this. The authors nevertheless want to study whether television humour has a socio-cultural function which actually has these results. Yet even if it may be able to achieve this in occasional cases, it can scarcely be proved in artificial situations where "viewers" are interviewed by a researcher.

Berglund and Ljuslinder do not study television humour on the internal premises of the genre. They do not assess whether the programmes in themselves are successful. There are two main driving forces behind the production of television humour: one is to create good humour, the other is to make programmes that attract many viewers; for some channels this also involves a commercial aspect. These fundamental conditions are not discussed from the point of view of the special conditions of television humour.

The authors have a concluding chapter about the general political issues connected with xenophobia and intolerance. It goes without saying that television humour about ethnic relations can be put in a larger social and political context, but it looks as if the authors wish to draw more far-reaching conclusions than is warranted. Humour as a form of communication is ambiguous. How it functions depends on the context and varies from one individual to another. Moreover, humorous entertainment is not primarily geared to any purpose other than making people laugh. It is therefore not easy to see how humour actually functions in a larger social and political context, and here Berglund and Ljuslinder are unable to give the reader any lucid answer. They do discuss a great deal, but the reader is left without any clear idea of what they want to achieve with this book.
Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen, Oslo

Method and Memory

Metod och minne. Etnologiska tolkningar och rekonstruktioner. Magnus Bergquist & Birgitta Svensson (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 253 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-00859-7.

■ This book is a collection of twelve articles by Swedish ethnologists about the "methodological issues, search routes, and approaches of cultural analysis". Evidently nothing is alien to them. Everything can be subjected to cultural analysis;

anything can be relativized. Here "the school of cultural analysis" in Swedish ethnology is interested in a body of historical material which they themselves have assembled from archives and publications, and another body of material collected by other people, but collected on premises to which they are opposed.

The anthology gives a sense of what is understood by cultural analysis in Swedish ethnology. It is a rejection of the positivist scientific outlook that lies behind the vast majority of the material amassed in the archives of ethnology and folklore in Sweden. This positivism distinguished between facts and values and it worked with quantitative methods. The aim of science was to explain things and to arrive at an objective and collective understanding of culture through the study of forms (pp. 131, 237). Today's ideal for Swedish ethnologists, on the other hand, is a hermeneutic outlook with an infinite horizon, which does not produce objective and collective descriptions but instead provides subjective and individual narratives, in other words, furthering a subjective understanding of culture on the basis of qualitative methods ("listen to a few who say a lot rather than to many who say little", p. 237), cutting across all forms through the study of norms. The point is interpretation and understanding. The task of a hermeneutics of suspicion (P. Ricoeur) is also to doubt traditions, texts, actions, and expressions, because these can be examples of distorted communication due to coercion, fear, and neurotic self-deception. Terms such as discourse, construction, deconstruction, reconstruction, and staging have developed, with the assistance of M. Foucault and P. Bourdieu. And if the myth about the death of the grand narratives is to be invoked, then D. Bell, R. Inglehart, and J.-F. Lyotard are available. The interest in small stories has enjoyed a revival, and Swedish ethnologists have brought folkloristic terms in from the cold, as this anthology shows.

In the introduction, writing history is perceived as a poetic process which is constantly changing. With reference to H. White, the scholar is described as a poet who constructs history. There is a difference, however, between a novel and a work of history; the latter is based on events that exist independently of the writer. Unlike the novelist, the historian has an unsorted mass of actual events which he or she orders in a particular way to give the desired narrative. The scholar creates the plot by excluding some things and highlighting others. It is thus also important that the scholar should describe the way in which the material has been collected and processed. The results then have to be presented in a credible way. Our task as scholars, according to K. Hastrup, is to make what is different seem probable.

The contributors to this volume each present their own way of collecting and analysing the material in which they are interested. Anna Maria Claesson looks at Swedish missionaries in China around 1900 and the narratives about them, whether read aloud in lectures or printed in periodicals and pamphlets in Sweden. Claesson does not seek to study them as historical documents but is interested in the contents, why the missionaries wrote as they did, and what crucial factors made mission supporters in Sweden interested in 400 million pagans in China. This is interpreted on the basis of the narratives supplemented with other material, of which she has a detailed account that uses terms such as contextualization and intertextuality. The special feature of the missionary narratives is that they do not tell of things that were and are, but of something that ought to be.

A completely different world is the Swedish upper class, among whom Angela Rundquist has searched for sources. There is no shortage of them, since there has been systematic production of aristocratic memories, and there is no lack of staging. Moreover, the Swedish manor house is said to be a significant element in the construction of the Swedish nation.

Annika Nordström writes about "Blind Petter" and his ballads. He is said to have been born in Västergötland at the start of the nineteenth century and died in 1869, although this cannot be verified. What we have here is legendary material and reports, along with Petter's ballads and tunes, if they are his. Nordström believes that it is possible to apply some of the folkloristic approach of today's performance school to the study of the past.

Birgitta Svensson writes about the darker sides of life and society. She brings us into the jail of Malmö Castle in October 1877 to tell of the

prisoners Per Nyberg and Johanne. The social order is expressed more clearly in prison than in many other institutions in society. Discourse, according to Svensson, may be compared to what ethnologists have mostly called culture. "A discourse is established by means of three phenomena, exclusion, definition, and learning. This thereby regulates who may speak, about what, when and how" (p. 84). By trying to understand the order in prison, one can follow the normative processes that create the basic values of society. In other words, Svensson is not concerned with Per and Johanne as individuals. She wants to study the basic values of Swedish society in 1877.

Bo G. Nilsson also uses discourse in an article about the workers' memoirs collected by the Nordiska Museet in the period 1945–60. He writes about the memoirs of agricultural labourers, the first to be collected, and his concern is to show what these memoirs were used for. According to Nilsson, they were to become part of the argumentation for the Swedish welfare state. Conditions for the lowest strata of society had been unbearable. This was documented by the workers' memoirs. Things would now be better if they voted for the Social Democrats. Nilsson admits, however, that the collected memoirs were simultaneously a corrective to a one-sided historiography focusing on the upper classes.

Agneta Lilja writes about Swedish folk culture in the Swedish archives of tradition. Her example, the archive in Uppsala, is perceived as a place or a battlefield with "built-in relations of power and dominance which regulate the positions of the members and their relations with each other" (p. 117). She provides concrete examples of this. All the work in an archive is based on an ideology of power, according to Lilja. This determines the projects that are started and the position of the employees in the hierarchy, and it governs the collectors. Until the 1960s the positivist paradigm was followed. This allowed the development of the dream of the genuine tradition, the possibility of documenting the past. Facts were supposed "to reflect 'the traditional types of the folk imagination, thought, and custom', but not 'purely individual formations' such as excessively personal perceptions entertained by a particular narrator" (p. 119). Scholars had a monopoly on interpretation. The collector was steered into producing material that satisfied the demands of the scholar.

Characteristically, the next article, by Anja Petersen, is not about photographs as ethnological source material but photographs as "ethnological narrative". She claims that it is above all through language that ethnologists today deconstruct and interpret reality. Self-portraits tell about social norms and cultural conceptions.

The articles about film (Magnus Berg), cinema tickets, film-star albums, and questionnaires (Carina Sjöholm), and daily newspapers and the creation of collective memories (Lennart Zintchenko) follow roughly the same line of thought. For Berg, the interesting thing is not film in itself but its cultural functions, its relations to what happens in society, a source of information and a reflection of society. Sjöholm investigates what it was like to go to the cinema in rural Sweden in the 1940s and 1950s. She views biography as the new arena of modernity, that is, a framework around activities connected with going to the pictures. Questionnaires helped to promote "a kind of reconstructed memories and subjective descriptions of a different time" (p. 190). Zintchenko's starting point is a collection of newspaper clippings about the negative side of life in urban neighbourhoods. They are part of "collective living contexts where memories, narratives, conceptions, and historical awareness are created" (p. 203).

Magnus Bergquist uses the minutes of the Göteborg Allotment Garden Association 1904–1915 as his source. His aim is "to get 'behind' the minutes and describe values, norms, strategies for action, and everyday life among a group of people who did not produce any sources on their own terms" (pp. 222). He asks whether allotment gardens can contribute to the narrative of the grand history and the modern project, and whether modernity was staged and questioned in the gardens.

Ella Johansson concludes the anthology by problematizing whether quantitative methods alone are an expression of the collection of facts. The question for her is whether "an ethnologist has special methodological tools or professional knacks for culturalizing quantitative sources as well" (p. 242). She analyses a number of reports on the health and working conditions of Swedish

forestry workers and arrives at the conclusion that the inquiries were tailored to suit the desire of the authorities to show that the health of forestry workers was poor. The quantitative data were qualitatively and culturally influenced. The reports were products of their times, expressions of a cultural construction.

It must be recognized that cultural analysis in ethnology has had its breakthrough, not only in Sweden, but it has also had its price. Things have been left out. The analysis of forms of expression and behaviour or cultural elements has been given a lower priority. The study of norms has been prioritized, and when norms cut across genres and types of material, the interest is not in the form itself: only what is said and why, not the way it is said. No distinction is made between primary and secondary sources. Everything is text. Nor is any distinction made between values and facts. And the use of quantitative methods is out. We have here a subjectivism that seems to have its feet firmly planted high up in the air. Materialist thinking seems to be far removed from this concern with the world of ideas, and the desire to change conditions in society seems to have vanished. Cultural analysis has a confirmatory character. Those in power today, as before, have nothing to fear from it.

Flemming Hemmersam, Albertslund

Chest-Print Catalogues

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Skånska kistebrev. Berlingska Boktryckeriet, N. P. Lundbergs Boktryckeri och F. F. Cedergréens Boktryckeri. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 1995, Skånes Hembygdsförbund Årsbok 1995. 325 pp. Ill. Engl. summary. ISBN 91-7798-983, ISSN 0347-2418.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Kistebrev tryckta i Växjö. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm, in collaboration with Växjö Stiftshistoriska Sällskap 1998. 143 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-251-0.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Kistebrev, tryckta i Blekinge. *Blekingeboken* 1998, pp. 23–81. Also as an offprint without ISBN.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Kistebrev tryckta i Jönköping. Jönköpings läns museum, Jönköping 1999. 391 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85629-34-4.

■ Popular single-sheet prints with illustration, text, and decoration are known in Scandinavian research as *kistebrev* or chest-prints because they were pasted to the inside of chest lids, especially in Denmark and southern Sweden. They could also be pasted to walls, and later put in frames behind glass. In Sweden chest-prints flourished in the period 1750–1860.

It was rare for printers to deliver copies of these prints to the copyright libraries, although they were supposed to. This makes it difficult to obtain a good overall grasp of the source situation in public libraries, museums, and private ownership. At Kulturen in Lund, Bengt Bengtsson and Nils-Arvid Bringéus therefore initiated an inventory of southern Swedish chest-prints. The register, which was completed by Bengt Jacobsson in 1997, forms the main foundation for the catalogues published by Bringéus. He is without doubt the leading expert on chest-prints, presenting here both previous and new research in an exemplary way.

The most comprehensive introductions are to be found in *Skånska kistebrev* and *Kistebrev tryckta i Jönköping,* which contain sections on the following topics: chests and the rooms in which they were stored; the designations chest-print, Christmas print, and others; blocks and carvers; typography; format; paper; scenes; texts; colouring; motifs; unknown chest-prints (of which only the printing blocks survive); function; sale; the models for chest-prints and chest-prints as models; framing; and the size of the print runs.

Bringéus has chosen to publish the chest-prints according to the place of printing and the producer. He first presents the producers with details of the printing houses and their operations; chest-prints were mostly printed in periods when there was little else to do. In addition we are given information about the blocks and the at times rather complicated history of their movements through inheritance and sale.

I can only give a taster here of the question of function. In the Växjö catalogue, Bringéus quotes Gunnar Hyltén-Cavallius' account of the pictures that decorated the walls in his childhood home. The chest-prints were placed in the kitchen, and the motif of the lazy maids was "a constant source of annoyance to the servants in the house".

Throughout the year "the servants could be disciplined and reminded of the Lord's commandments. At Christmas, however, the season of good will, they were taken down" (Växjö, pp. 34f.).

Skånska kistebrev contains a register of the prints produced at the two big presses in Lund, Berlings, which produced chest-prints 1756–1816, and N. P. Lundberg, 1839–47, which used many blocks from Thiele in Copenhagen. The catalogue concludes with six chest-prints from F. F. Cedergréen's printing house in Kristianstad

Under each producer, the actual catalogue is ordered according to the same principle as Clausen's Danish catalogue, but without numbers. First come religious motifs, which make up the majority, motifs from the Old and New Testaments, then royal and other historical personages, allegorical and popular motifs.

All the prints are reproduced in colour, and when the block survives a new print from it is also reproduced in a smaller format in black and white, to bring out details. The pictures and ornaments are described briefly. Whereas previous research has largely concentrated on the pictures, Bringéus reproduces all the texts in full. In addition, all known years of printing are stated, as well as reprints, information on the blocks, copying, mirror-imaging, reprints by other producers, format and size, models, and references to literature, including Clausen's Danish catalogue. At least one owner is recorded.

The Växjö catalogue is introduced by a presentation of all the publishers. Anders Thetzell was succeeded by his widow Christina Thetzell in 1798 and his son-in-law Rasmus Rask, whose widow Beate ran the house from 1819 until 1840. Joh. P. Lönnegren started his own printing house in Lund but moved to Växjö in 1834 to run a printing press and bookshop. As for Thetzell/Rask, the production of chest-prints was small, intended to fill periods when there was little work. We know of eleven prints from Lönnegren's. He was faced with some competition from A. G. Durell and his widow, but production was on a modest scale. Bringéus catalogues 54 chest-prints from Växjö, of which 28 have biblical or religious motifs. Like other producers, they copied prints or carved new blocks after models, and they themselves were copied. In Blekinge there was small-scale production of prints in Karlskrona and Karlshamn, with 28 items, 20 of them with religious motifs. Of the six prints from Karlskrona, one was printed by the otherwise unknown G. Åberg, one has the inscription "Printed in the Press of the Royal Admiralty 1796", while the rest do not name the producer. From the printer J. M. Stenbeck (1819–87) of Karlshamn we know of 20 chest-prints in 30 editions in the period 1830–60, four of them with secular motifs.

Production in Jönköping was relatively large, with 149 motifs in 770 known editions. With an average print run of 1,000 copies this means that a huge quantity of chest-prints was produced. The great producer of prints here was J. P. Lundström, who bought Sara Christina Falk's press in 1806. His youngest brother, Nils Erik, also settled here and opened a bookshop and printing house, which his widow Frederika carried on. Bringéus has drawn up a table showing that Sara Falk published three chest-prints, J. P. Lundström issued 413 runs of chest-prints, and his brother 232. In addition, Björk printed 106 and Bergman, who took over his business, printed 13. The reason for J. P. Lundgren's large production was that he had so few competitors. Berling in Lund, for instance, had stopped producing chest-prints in 1816, and in 1831 Lundström borrowed at least ten blocks from Berling, and in the 1840s he bought up his brother's blocks. Despite this he introduced few new motifs after 1837, because he had competition from P. A. Hultberg, who began to publish cheap coloured lithographs in Stockholm.

With these catalogues Bringéus has presented the bulk of the chest-prints produced in southern Sweden and provided an exemplary survey for international picture research. We may hope that Bringéus intends to cover production in the whole of Sweden. As a conclusion to this outstanding work, an assembled index of motifs would be highly desirable.

Reimund Kvideland, Bergen

Cultural Structures of Homosexuality

Bo Göran Carlsson, Religion, kultur och manlig homosexualitet. Homosexualitetens kulturella strukturer. Carlssons, Stockholm 2000. 228 pp. ISBN 91-7203-960-4.

■ With this book Bo Göran Carlsson presents a detailed survey of knowledge about cultural attitudes to homosexuality. He also wants to outline the main features in existing theory in the field. According to Carlsson, the perspective is twofold: (1) to examine how the great world religions and other important culturally anchored religions past and present have judged homosexuality and homosexuals in theory and practice; (2) to examine the role played by religious ideas alongside other factors for the creation of cultural attitudes to homosexuality and homosexuals.

In the first part of the book Carlsson wishes to say something about how the cultural assessment of homosexuality has varied over time and place, and to say something about why these variations occur. In the second part he asks which structures (general or culture-bound) can be rejected on the basis of the first part of the book. The emancipatory aim of the book is obvious, as is stated both in Lars-Gösta Dahlöf's foreword and by Carlsson himself. The emancipatory strategy that the author has chosen can, however, be questioned in both scholarly and political terms.

The sources on which he bases his account are mainly a selection of previous research and various descriptions of homosexual practices between men. These written accounts of homosexuality in different cultures in different periods are supplemented with letters, oral statements, and the author's observations from his travels. The book starts its ambitious project among primitive peoples and then turns to Islam, the polytheistic high cultures of Asia, and the attitude to homosexuality in the ancient cultures of the Near East, before the reader is brought home again to the history of homosexuality in the West. This history begins in Classical Greece and ends in today's Sweden. The attitude of Christianity to homosexuality receives two chapters in this part of the book.

The author has read a great deal about male homosexuality, giving us a series of examples, many of which were new and interesting to me. I nevertheless found the account somewhat problematic. Part of the problem is the seemingly random selection. Carlsson himself writes: "Apart from the studies listed under the headword 'homosexuality' in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* ... I have quite simply included anything of importance that I came across." I myself would have wished that he had come across some other literature, and that he attached greater importance to other studies. A great deal of the literature is rather old. In the field of homosexual studies, the last 15–20 years have been of crucial significance, but perspectives and knowledge from this period have been given a surprisingly small place in this book. Another problem is the author's unforced – and seemingly also unreflected – movement over enormous distances in time and place. The study of "the cultural structures of homosexuality" ranges from descriptions of major cultures, geographical areas, or long historical periods in short sections, to a quantitative investigation of personal advertisements in the journal *Revolt* in 1976. I find this alternation between different levels problematic, especially because the author appears to have the ambition of telling a complete and coherent story.

The author postulates early on in the book that ethnologists are not interested in why a culture or an individual is more or less "homosexual", but that it is extremely important why the culture or the individual should or should not be homosexual in relation to the culture's own norms. I find this an incomprehensible attitude. Surely it is interesting why a culture is more or less homosexual and why homosexuality is more central to some cultures than to others. I also find it interesting that an author who has covered such a wide, diverse, and fascinating range of disciplines should seem to wish for a rather confined framework for both self-understanding and practice among today's homosexuals. In connection with the way that some homosexual men play with feminine expressions, e.g., Carlsson writes: "The effect of this provocative role play is nevertheless unambiguous: it makes the emancipation of homosexuals more difficult" (p. 185).

To me the analysis in the book seems weakened because it joins the ranks of emancipatory works based on one fixed and somewhat limited perception of human sexuality and sexual categories past and present. Despite these objections, it certainly is praiseworthy that Carlsson does research into the cultural history of homosexuality, a field that still far from complete. He takes the reader on a fascinating journey through the com-

plex history of different homosexual practices, and he gives references to a great deal of relevant research on the topic. Both the general and the more informed reader will find stories of great interest in the book.

Tone Hellesund, Bergen

Repoliticizing Ethnology – or Premeditated Patricide?

Ta fan i båten. Etnologins politiska utmaningar. Tine Damsholt & Fredrik Nilsson (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 152 pp. ISBN 91-44-00936-4.

■ Several hundred Danish history students, as part of their undergraduate education in methodical source criticism, have had to solve the problem of whether the island of Als in Southern Jutland was proclaimed a republic in 1918. The answer is simple: it was not, for the leader of the coup forgot that the rest of the world should have been informed of the existence of the new republic. It was not enough to inform the inhabitants of Als.

One is reminded of this tragicomic story when one comes in this anthology to Kjell Hansen's highly readable article about the republic of Jämtland – or Jamtland as it is called in the local dialect of Swedish. The people of Jämtland also "forget" to proclaim the independence of their republic. But, Hansen writes, this does not matter so much, for it is not the proclamation itself that is decisive. The purely constitutional aspect is not so important; the matter is more symbolic, to do with identity. Yet this does not change the fact that this symbolism is of crucial political significance. It is just the view of what politics is and means that has changed. Politics today is not so much a matter of the relation to state and society as a question of identity creation and identity maintenance, and of the actors' self-understanding in relation to time, space, and place. By establishing this, Hansen makes himself a good representative of the demand for revitalization of the political dimension of ethnology, which is the purpose of this anthology. The "fathers of the church" come under fire here, and we detect a new departure that bodes well for the forthcoming debate about the status of ethnology as an apolitical "Sunday science". Here attentive readers will stand up and assert that the fathers of the church, that is, Lund's professors of ethnology, have always paid attention to the political dimensions of their subject. In this respect, the attack on Löfgren and Frykman (as, e.g., in Fredrik Nilsson's article) is rather like battering at an open door. It is not ethnology's intradisciplinary fault that the demand for repoliticization is making itself felt; it is rather extradisciplinary conditions that dictate the agenda, forcing ethnology to take up a stance.

This, however, does not change the fact that all the articles in this anthology make significant contributions to the ongoing debate about the future position of the discipline in the tension between universalism and localism, between culture and civilization. For it is this problem which has become current during the 1990s and which now has consequences for research. In short, it is a matter of whether local and regional culture can claim justification at a time with growing demands for geographically larger, perhaps universal forms of civilization as the need for global cooperation is increasingly making itself felt. Can we maintain a local and regional Jämtland culture in a new Europe? Can we tolerate Swedish and Danish and Finnish (local) culture in a multicultural world which has to work things out together? Is it not the obligation of a common democratic and civilizing standard that is the way forwards? Most people would answer yes. Otherwise NATO would not have needed to carpet-bomb Serbia. – On the other hand – and this is the paradox – NATO's "civilizing" and "democratic" bombing of the Serbs concerned the right of the Kosovo Albanians to ethnic and cultural independence. It is this cryptic field of tension that the anthology tackles. It is rightly entitled *Ta fan i båten* (the first half of the Swedish equivalent of the proverb "He that has shipped the devil must make the best of him") with reference both to the devil and to venturing into deep water.

The best articles by far are those which admit the paradoxicality of the situation. Here again we have to take up Hansen's article about Jämtland. He declares (p. 33) that the independence movement there is also subject to a paradox. It arose in the 1960s as a protest against the consequences of the driving forces of welfare policy, namely,

rationalization and structural change, which also required a mobile workforce. Since the 1980s, the focus has been on cutbacks in public welfare. In other words, the protests have either been about too much or too little welfare.

The same sense of paradox is seen in Søren Christensen's fine article: on the one hand, the justification for the existence of ethnology is its work with culture and hence differences; on the other one can more easily find oneself legitimating the abuse of power and repression in the sacred name of "culture". As the author puts it in extreme terms (pp. 54f.), cultural relativism is forced to regard every form of global power relations as illegitimate and to declare that the distance between cultures should be respected, so that cultural differences will be left in peace; on the other hand, it happens too easily that one thereby sides with the Other against the West and hence – indirectly – is guilty of complicity in the "local" and "cultural" government's repression of opposition and suppressed minorities who have a different, non-powerful culture. I have rarely seen this dilemma portrayed in more diabolical terms than in this article; I have seldom seen such a nasty suspicion that it is all a defence of a special Western civilization, and I have rarely seen such an explicit invitation to abandon ethnology in favour of political science. There is a danger in this otherwise agreeable line of thought. It reminds me of the kamikaze behaviour practised by some sociologists at the start of the 1990s: that in the age of deregulation and freedom of choice there were no longer any sociological patterns, which meant that the death of sociology was imminent. Later the sociologists became wiser and found that class differences continue to flourish (albeit in a new framework). The same thing will probably happen with ethnology: the report of its death or irrelevance is an exaggeration.

This, however, does not alter the fact that it is salutary to point out that there are no cultural entities or essentialism. In this respect Christensen's article is extremely relevant and will be worth reading for many years to come. Hopefully, one fine day it will be read as a relic of the discussion of cultural substance that was carried on in the 1990s.

A third contribution that deserves mention is Thomas Højrup's article about the relationship between state and civil society. He points out that this distinction is not historically and universally valid. There are in fact examples, such as the polis of ancient Greece, of state and society being one, or rather: at that time there was nothing called "society"; this is a later European construction, established during the Italian Renaissance. Højrup deserves credit here for questioning our discursive understanding of what politics basically is – and in a wider sense he raises the question of what it means to be a citizen. Is it a concept defined in contrast to state or authority or *res publica*; or is the citizen himself part of this – by virtue of the very fact of being alive as a person? If the answer to the question is yes, society would appear to be a purely arbitrary and abstract phenomenon, although as result of the absolute monarchy's demand for an independent army, it took shape by virtue of this independence and thus laid the foundation for the idea of the people. In Danish we know this in the form of the *landsoldat* or rural soldier, who played a significant part in the legitimation of the abolition of absolute rule in 1848. One of the central points in Højrup's article is thus – again, paradoxically – to point out the significance of absolutism's military order for the development of civil society. At present, however, this has not been studied in real historical terms.

Closely related to Højrup's article is Tine Damsholt's paper on patriotism and nationalism as discourse – in Denmark. The actual concept of discourse is often used indiscriminately, so it is refreshing here to see it used in its proper meaning: the set agenda which has the effect that anything not related to this agenda is irrelevant and outside the discussion. It is a significant quality of this article that it draws our attention to the fact that the construction of the phenomenon of "nation" had to be accompanied by a culturalization if the nation was to have a character – and a meaning. This discussion can be traced in a number of collections of letters exchanged between Danish national liberals in the 1850s, when local and cultural nationalism was struggling against universal and civilizing liberalism (in the political sense). Damsholt's article thus fits this well-edited anthology nicely. At the same time, she points out indirectly that politics, right from

the start, has been an important ingredient in the construction of a special concept of "folk culture". Sober observations of this kind – with historical examples – are extremely beneficial, especially at a time when one is tempted to speak of the dismantling of culture.

As an expression of the internal coherence of this anthology, one can also highlight the correlation between Hansen's and Engman's articles. They both share an awareness that carnivalistic elements cannot be reduced to mere fun and joking. Hansen declares (p. 29) that the joking also has political dimensions, including harsh political attacks, while also allowing an escape route thanks to the playfulness behind which protection can be sought. Engman similarly concludes (p. 131) that the carnival, although it does not lead to revolution and upheaval, causes values and norms to teeter, thus functioning as a mischievous catalyst.

At the same time, Jonas Engman's article is a good example of how useful it is to combine ethnology and cultural history. In this case it is done in a historically knowledgeable analysis of the history of May Day demonstrations. One of his important points is that, behind the apparent decline, whereby the myths of the ritual are slowly eroded and become empty, new symbolic universes develop, which constantly repoliticize and are repoliticized. The political sphere never becomes empty and abstract before it is once again pumped full of enthusiastic energy to become a concrete and palpable domain (p. 132). This is rich in perspectives, as regards both politics and cultural theory.

Christine Sestoft's article in particular calls for attention. It deals with the political user and usefully qualifies this almost mythological figure. Sestoft's strength here is that she relativizes the political scope of the concept and makes us realize both the barriers to the influence of the political user and its scope. She raises the delicate question: is the active political user in reality simply in the state's pocket? Is it really the case that the political user – for discursive reasons – is also subject to an enforced participation in a disciplining and subjectivization process, so that one can ask, using the title of another important Swedish anthology from 1999, whether is it a matter of "cage or liberation"?

That question will not be answered here. One can only note that, with the repoliticization of ethnology in this anthology, this discipline is still capable of clearing new ground. It is a pleasure as a reader to take part in this thought-provoking process. Ethnological research still maintains a high standard, while other branches of the humanities resort to aestheticizing esotericism or stuffy cultivation of traditions in the hunt for cultural studies. The collaboration between Danish and Swedish ethnology in this book shows that, if one wants to keep up with ethnological research, one has to run quickly. New times are on the way. Other humanistic subjects, which are as non-political as today's literary writers and other aesthetes, should make sure they catch up if they want to have any hope of achieving societal responsibility and influence. At least these young ethnologists have shown the way.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Embodiment and Experience

Åke Daun, Det allmänmänskliga och det kulturbundna. Prisma, Stockholm 2000. 271 pp. English summary. ISBN 91-578-3512-6.

■ It is always a pleasure to read books that run against the current, books that do not allow themselves to be affected by the commonplaces and accepted truths of the times. Nothing is easier – or more unoriginal – than to follow the crowd and be politically correct. In this respect, Åke Daun's book is original and unfashionable. It is brave, independent, extremely thought-provoking, and combines an easily accessible form with its deep content. The problems that Daun takes up are presented on the first page of the book, and they are then consistently subjected to a treatment that is both far-reaching and precise. Now that the chief goal of ethnology – and other cultural sciences – is to study cultural variation, Daun asks, what is it that varies? Or to put it another way: his purpose is to study what is common to humanity, what lies beneath all the cultural and historical variation in time and place. This does not mean that he concentrates exclusively on basic ontological conditions. On the contrary, his aim is far more refined: to capture the interaction

between the universal and the specific. It is thus not the general human need for food that interests him, but the function of this need as a motor, and the cultural and historical variations on the basic theme. He declares explicitly that no society takes its specific form from the basic needs, but they set culture in motion and drive people to action. These forms of action – what we call culture – are subject to other mechanisms, namely, the historically given possibilities and limitations.

This viewpoint has far-reaching consequences. One of them, which is political, is pointed out by Daun himself (p. 37): if personality were exclusively due to culture, then the differences between countries would be much greater than they are. This means that the book also comes to terms with other views that have long prevailed. Firstly, it problematizes cultural relativism and the unpleasant tendency to make culture the absolute referent; what people like Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Anne Knudsen, and others have called "cultural terrorism": the practice of explaining all injustices and abuses of power in terms of culture. Secondly, the book problematizes the attempt to kill sociology, e.g., by declaring that there are no patterns or regularities and that it is therefore impossible to pursue scientific research, since one cannot categorize or make comparisons. Finally, the book – naturally – has a violent attack on the whole constructivist idea that everything is possible. Daun convincingly argues the opposite: that not everything is possible, because there are natural limitations to cultural constructions. Conversely, culture can also lead to limitations. Aggression does not necessarily lead to acts of violence, because culture intervenes. The organism does not determine actions in an immediate manner. And so we are back at the basic idea: the interaction between the general and the specific.

This simultaneously indicates that the book follows on the rapidly increasing amount of research into the sociology of the body, understood not so much as society in the body as the body in society. It is not far from Daun's book to, say, Chris Shilling's book from 1993, *The Body and Social Theory*, or Anthony Synnott's book *The Body Social* from the same year, which were also concerned with the interaction between biology and culture. Daun may not know of these scholars, but his purpose is the same as theirs. With regard to his emphasis on the significance of the body, it is rather to Tim Ingold that he refers (p. 209): that the body is not just – as in Mary Douglas and others – a source of symbolic imagery, but a person's most fundamental way of being in the world.

With this basic idea it is also clear that Daun actually has gone a step further than the Anglo-Saxon sociologists of the body. If one were to compare his mission with other projects, the closest one would be Elias's in *What is Sociology?* For Elias was also concerned with the significance of basic human needs for affective social bonds between concrete individuals. Elias thus argues here that a basic need like gratification is a biological and psychological need, which functions as a source of energy behind the establishment of social bonds, which then vary in form through time and place. This idea is fully in line with Daun's. So the crucial thing is not to set up a polarity between biology and culture, as in the early sociology of the body, but to look more closely at the concrete interaction between biology and culture, or between essentialism and constructivism, that Elias was so concerned with.

Besides Elias, it is also relevant to compare Daun's book with the attempt by the English sociologist Nick Crossley to combine phenomenology and social sciences, Merleau-Ponty and Habermas. The problem with Merleau-Ponty, as with the other phenomenologists, is always to operationalize him in relation to societality; he himself was not particularly good at that. In other words, there remains a huge research task in both the social and the cultural sciences, to set up intermediary categories between, on the one hand, the basic body of desires, which is open to the outside world and meets it, as thematized in, e.g., Ernst Bloch's utopian ideas, in Heidegger, and not least in Gadamer, and on the other, the outside world's cultural address to the body in the form of possibilities and limitations.

While the first generation of English sociologists of the body deserve the credit for establishing the topos of biology versus culture, it is the task of the next generation to delete the word "versus". We have now heard the starting signal. This problem will become increasingly central in the cultural sciences in the coming years, but we

have as yet seen few signs of how this interaction will take place in practice. With Åke Daun's book, the Scandinavian research world has received a pioneering work in this field, one that deserves the greatest possible attention. But it requires us to put aside all prejudices and preconceived opinions about the sanctity of culture and the omnipotence of humans.

The book is, in addition, very well written in a pleasingly unaffected and unpretentious language, it is clear and distinct in its argumentation and disposition. This also makes it a work that one can read with respect and enjoyment.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

History as a Cultural Product

Anne Eriksen, Historie, minne og myte. Pax forlag, Oslo 1999. 172 pp. ISBN 82-530-2088-0.

■ It is virtually taken for granted today that concepts such as memories, cultural heritage, and tradition are constructions and products of culture. But what about history? Is it too created by someone, on the basis of specific values and attitudes, perhaps also as dream or ideology? Isn't history dependent on our memories, myths, and traditions if it is to interest us at all? These are questions to which Anne Eriksen seeks answers in ten easily accessible essays about how memory is produced in modern society.

At the beginning we meet Clio and Mnemosyne, and we learn that Eriksen's book is to be regarded as a family chronicle which wants to find out what happened to Mnemosyne, the muse of memory, when Clio, the muse of history, triumphed. To ascertain how history has changed in the period of nation-building modernity, she also goes back beyond modern to classical historiography, eventually arriving in our own late modern times, when historiography has changed into a more playful and exotic matter.

History is a cultural product which gives both individuals and groups a sense of identity and belonging. History has become so important that we not only have a right to our past, but even an obligation to belong in history. Being without history is almost synonymous with being asocial, Eriksen declares, and goes so far as to call the current interest in history a national sport. That we are extremely interested in history is a matter of fact. Why we are so dependent on history for our identity creation that it has come to be regarded as a natural part of us, however, is a question that has only started to attract attention. Eriksen joins the ranks of scholars who emphasize the importance of investigating what happens when history is created out of our own era's interest in the past, and she observes that history is a cultural product which is a part of the contemporary context of meaning. As such, she says, it should also be explored by scholars of culture who are able to see the researcher as a creator of reality, unlike historians who reinforce the tendency to make history "natural" and self-evident.

She lets David Lowenthal's reference to the past as a foreign country describe what has happened to history in modern society. It has been left to experts, and in a society where a linear perception of time prevails, development is always moving forwards, which is why the past is not only presented as different but also as being at a lower stage of evolution. A modern expert system has paved the way for periodization or historicization, with each step in development understood on the basis of its preconditions. Eriksen elegantly shows how the establishment of history as an expert system and a research topic may be viewed as a scientific thematization of some of the elements of modernity. In our culture, historians provide us with the explanatory narratives that other cultures embed in religious myths. When historians become stewards of our relics, rituals, and cult sites, we too must make sure that we become participants in history so that we can obtain an identity in social contexts.

In the classical view of history, conveyed here with the aid of Malling's patriotic *folkbok*, it is the similarities and the general characteristics that are of importance and value. Gradually, however, increasing importance was attached to the nation and the communal state in historiography, and in response to this, modern historical science was established. Eriksen claims that the national feature in historiography is still strong, in the sense that different events and circumstances are mentioned in connection with Norway as a nation. At the same time, the place to which the narratives

are attached has acquired increasing significance. Linking history to a place gives the narrative meaning, while the narrative simultaneously becomes an interpretation of the landscape, according to Eriksen. With the aid of de Certeau's statement that space is related to place as spoken language is related to the structure of the language, that is, that space is the speech of place, she stresses the social and relational character.

The nation needs not only a link to place and landscape, but also heroes and heroic tales. One such is about Anna Colbjørnsen. Yet this woman, who is perhaps the most popular of Norway's national heroes, could not be incorporated in the folk tradition, since the nation state functions in both an inclusive and an exclusive way. The role of hero simply could not be combined with the nineteenth-century view of woman. The narrative strength of her tale was that she was able to combine male and female without annulling either. This was not considered suitable in a society that strove to preserve the difference between male and female, so the history written about her emphasized the female aspect. In this way the historically correct also became a historical corrective: she should have known her place!

With this instructive account of what happened to the tale of Anna Colbjørnsen, Eriksen also shows the difference in research traditions between the subjects of folkloristics and history. Although folklorists took part in the creation of a national culture, they had a fundamentally different view of the relationship between history and memory, according to which the creation of local folk cultures also helped to shape the modernization process. Tradition was the *context* in which the modern was articulated as *text*.

History and memory also differ in that history is presented as official and reliable, while memory is perceived as private and personal. Eriksen, however, argues that memory and recollections are not just an individual phenomenon but also a basic social activity. As a part of society, memories may also be understood and studied as cultural expressions. With the sociologist Halbwachs, she notes that it is almost always a social situation that makes us remember, and that memories always have a social framework. She gives an unusually explicit example of how a child is frightened when it is suddenly left alone in the forest, not because of a change in the forest but because the social situation has changed; that is what creates the fear and generates the memory.

In a very interesting challenge to theorists of modernity such as Giddens and Bauman, Eriksen argues that they have all been caught in what she calls the romantic trap, which portrays premodernity as "a golden age of innocence, naturalness, organic affinity, close social relations, stable religious conditions, non-problematizing traditions, etc., etc." This alterity of the past has mainly been produced to confirm the modernity theorists' own theories about the present.

The only thing we can be sure of is that the past was different. In this book memories are depicted as more meaning-bearing testimony about this foreign country, since they are the subjective part of a dialogue with the more objectivizing history. They are based on something that is connected to identity and continuity, on life as lived, time as experienced, and a lasting subject. Memories are characterized by concepts such as experience, sensory impressions in which the link to a place is also important. It is possible to have several different historical interpretations side by side, just as one can demolish or destroy monuments that one no longer wants, whereas it is much more difficult to disagree with one's own experiences or to oppose one's own memories.

How then is history transformed into memory? It takes place by means of historical memory rites and through the magic power with which places are imbued. Eriksen uses Connerton's two aspects of rites – that they are performative expressions and a formalized language – to show how the rite creates an identification that excludes the disbelief that a narrative can arouse. Another characteristic of memory rites is that they recall events without necessarily recalling narratives. Rite as memory gives experience, not knowledge! With the aid of collective memory, rites and places can make people into participants even in things they did not experience personally. A person who comes to share a collective memory can thus remember events he or she never lived through, since they are part of the shared history. The collective memory becomes an interpretative framework for those who are part of the

"right" and good history. Those who are not part of the cultural community, on the other hand, cannot tell their history as a collective memory. Their history is instead maintained as "a category in the collective memory". If one tries to tell a story that is not found in the collective memory, one simply becomes culturally invisible. But how then can a counter-memory make itself heard? It is difficult to be part of the collective memory if one asserts an alternative or oppositional memory, according to Eriksen. The official, collective memory is very strong in its moral values and universal categories.

Under the heading "On the Pleasure of a Good Ruin" we learn the meaning of two terms: the honourable designation of ancient monument, or *kulturminne* (cultural memorial) as it is called, and the concept of "ruin value". As a recurrent theme in the book, Eriksen has emphasized the significance of the expertocracy that has grown up during modernity, and in relation to ancient monuments there is a conflict between the people and the experts, which proves to be highly complex when one looks at it more closely. A ruin is a relic from another time, but it is also a material residue which gives access to an immaterial reality, and with the example of the opposing views about the restoration and preservation of the cathedral in Hamar, we understand how, by giving the reinauguration a specific meaning, a symbolic framing, and a ritual function, the people of Hamar could have their local identity restored.

In the same way, the Trondheim jubilee shows how ritual and commemorations can bring about shared basic values and also give scope for new interpretations which everyone can adapt according to their own wishes. Summing up, Eriksen draws parallels between our late modern use of history and both the premodern and modern periods. History is a both storehouse of human virtues and vices, as premodern historians viewed it, and the foreign, enchanted country that it has become in modernity. The past thus still has its power in that it is authentic, but it has lost its authority. It is in the present that history is created and hence it is our time that has the power to control history.

This book should give many readers instructive insight into the power and difficulties of memory and historiography. It weaves together clear, concrete examples with theoretical deliberations and methodological reflection. One thing that is not problematized in this otherwise excellent book, however, is the concept of cultural history; on the contrary, it seems to be used as kind of synthesizing concept somewhere in between historiography and culture studies.

The author concludes by noting that historicism is a response to the modern experience of ineluctable and continuous change. In this way, she also believes that history acquires authority as an explanation without therefore gaining authority as a pattern. Historians, in their capacity as experts, can interpret and explain the past, but it is through ancient monuments, historic sites, museums, and historical celebrations that we others come into contact with places and situations that create patterns in our past. Eriksen rounds off her book with the words: "History can only fulfil its task in society if it concerns someone. It must be transformed into memories, into personal experience and reflection." This allows us to understand the words "Clio is the muse of history, but her mother, and the mother of all the muses, is Mnemosyne"!

Birgitta Svensson, Lund

Natural Birth and Parenthood

Naturlighetens positioner. Nordiska kulturforskare om födsel och föräldraskap. Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Charlotte Hagström, Lena Marander-Eklund, Susanne Nylund Skog (eds.). NNF Publications 1. Åbo 1998. 207 pp. ISBN 952-12-0225-4.

■ This anthology deals with the topics of midwives, childbirth, and parenthood in studies by nine female authors with a background in ethnology and folklore, one of them a midwife herself. The common denominator in the articles is the construction of naturalness. This discourse of naturalness, as it is also called, is studied in new mothers' personal narratives of childbirth, in books of advice, in the professional identity of midwives, in maternity wards, and in an interest organization. The best of the articles also analyse the political and societal consequences of the discourse, particularly the dimension of gender politics.

The ethnologist Helena Hörnfeldt studies the

discourse on naturalness in connection with childbirth in an alternative delivery ward at a hospital in Stockholm in the mid-1990s. She shows, among other things, that the notion of a natural birth rests on a distinction between body and consciousness: if only the body is allowed to decide, a woman can achieve the best and the true birth. This notion can lead to a stigmatization of women who cannot give birth in a natural way, that is, without medical intervention or assistance, as women who do not have access to their innermost femininity and their primeval powers. Many women thus suffer damage to their self-esteem as women and mothers.

Ingrid Berger, who is also an ethnologist, gives an account of changes in the ideological foundation of the association "Birth in Focus" from 1985 until the present day. Her conclusion is that the prerequisite for involvement in the movement, namely, the contrast between the parents' wishes for a natural birth and the bio-technological knowledge of the medical experts, has become less distinct. Naturalness is no longer an alternative position and there is therefore no need for a movement based on critique of civilization.

The cultural anthropologist Terhi Lindquist shows how first-time mothers in Helsinki construct "the good birth" in a kind of oral negotiation between viewpoints based on "plain common sense" and on "expert knowledge". Together they become the new explanatory systems. One such system is the psycho-myth, that is, the idea that culture blocks the way to the original, natural self. Birth is then a unique opportunity for the birthgiving woman (and man) to realize herself and find her instinctive, natural self. The author touches on other concepts with which birth is associated in modern society, such as work, individuality, and intimacy, which means that this article is one of the richest in perspectives in the book.

Narratives are also the subject of folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund's contribution, which considers women's accounts of childbirth as constructed narratives based on the two concepts of experience, which is central to the discourse of naturalness, and safety, which is the core of the medical discourse. Analyses of two childbirth stories show that they are built up as discursive and narrative conventions in an attempt to "negotiate" one's way to something positive, whereby the narratives also acquire a therapeutic function.

Susanne Nylund Skog, who is also a folklorist, is likewise concerned with narrative and how it is constructed with the aid of particular themes and clues. For the three Swedish city women whom she has interviewed the themes are also – not surprisingly – "natural" and "normal". The common feature of their construction of the ideal birth is the interaction between the rhetoric about hormones (the biomedical perspective) and experiences (the natural perspective).

The next two articles apply a more historical perspective on experiences of childbirth. Marja-Liisa Keinänen has a background in comparative religion, but here she has studied conflicts connected with the transition from traditional to modern obstetric care in a Russian-Karelian village at the start of the 20th century. The older women define themselves as natural because their reproductive capacity was innate and subordinate to their productive duties in the peasant household, in contrast to modern women, who require care and consideration when they give birth.

Gunnhild Blåka Sandvik is a midwife who has studied the work culture of the profession in relation to processes of modernization in society. To reveal long-term changes she operates with three ideal types: the historical type of midwife (1880–1920), the modern type (the 1970s) and the late modern type (1980–2000). Modern obstetric technology has evidently made today's midwives turn towards a more traditional work ethic and a self-awareness among midwives as practitioners of a craft. The ethnologist Tove Ingebjørg Fjell continues this theme by examining how the late-modern midwife cultivates a new professional identity based on contrasts between male and female and especially between nature and non-nature. It is in large measure a question of women's particular aptitude for care, sensitivity, and presence, which makes male midwives into an intractable problem.

The anthology is rounded off by yet another ethnologist, Charlotte Hagström, with her description of how ideas of "naturalness" are associated with biological notions of man and woman, even in recent books of advice. What is regarded as liberating in the movements fighting

for the right to natural birth has almost the opposite consequences from a general gender perspective. When this literature highlights women's intuitive abilities and the subordination of emotions and behaviour to hormones, and the innate aggressive protective instinct of the male, this means that biological models of explanation once again triumph when it comes to discussions of gender politics in other spheres of society.

Anthologies are often criticized for lacking a unifying theme. That is not the problem here; on the contrary. The articles repeat each other's points, and the same works are referred to by almost all the authors. The articles that apply a historical or political perspective are most interesting to read, but at times one gets the feeling that the authors do not have sufficient distance to their subjects. Several of the articles seem to have no greater ambition than to convey women's own experiences of childbirth, and here they resemble to a worrying extent the stories of childbirth in parents' magazines, which may be a pleasure to read when one is pregnant or has recently had a baby, but which are tiresome when one is in other phases of life.

Lene Otto, Copenhagen

The Estonian Folk Calendar

Mall Hiiemäe, Der estnische Volkskalender. FFC 268. Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki 1998. 325 pp. ISBN 951-41-0837-X.

■ For the comparative study of European folklore, the many different languages are a problem. For that reason alone we should welcome Mall Hiiemäe's publication. The author is a scholar of the Folklore Archive in Tartu, where the systematic collection of data on the Estonian festive calendar has been in progress since about 1890. The present work, as we are informed in the preface, is a summary of the Estonian-language scholarly anthology, "The Estonian Folk Calendar", begun by Selma Lätt with volume 1 (1970) and continued by the author (1981–1998) with the subsequent seven volumes. It is this large corpus of material that has been condensed in the German-language edition.

The introduction briefly outlines the history of the Estonian people under Danish, German, Swedish, Polish, and Russian rule, mostly divided between different powers, and several times on the verge of destruction – during the Thirty Years War the population fell below 100,000 – finally to emerge as an independent state in 1920.

As a consequence of the varied history of the people, the Estonian folk calendar contains Greek Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant feasts and red-letter days. The geographical distribution of individual feasts is shown in a score of excellent maps, but when there are no maps it can be difficult to orient oneself. Here the author should have followed her model, Kustaa Vilkuna's *Finnische Brauchtum im Jahreslauf* (Helsinki 1969, FFC 206), and chosen to number the parishes instead of using abbreviations for parishes and districts, which say nothing at all to foreign readers. At the end of the introduction the author describes the special Estonian chronology, which, instead of using months, counts the weeks from specific holy days, saying, for example, that from Candlemas (2 February) it is eleven weeks to St George's Day (23 April) and 26 weeks until one has bread from the new harvest. In this connection it is worth noticing that Estonia did not change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar until 1918, with the consequent gap of thirteen days between the "old" and the "new" calendar days (for example, the sixth of May is now called "Old St George's Day").

The main part of the book begins with Midwinter Day (14 January) and ends with St Canute's Day (commemorating the death of the Danish saint Knud Lavard, 7 January 1131). Between the calendar days there are long sections about Lent, "Butter Week" with the old women's feast (only in Orthodox regions), Easter, Whitsuntide, Midsummer, "soul time" (the weeks around All Souls' Day, 2 November, when the dead return, according to folk belief), and Christmas. The Estonian calendar is seen as part of European folk culture and interpreted against this background. The author bases her account on a combination of extensive fieldwork and wide reading (the bibliography includes works in eleven different languages). For each feast she gives the popular names for the day and their etymology, phrases and proverbs about the feast, customs and beliefs related

to it, their Estonian and international distribution, the earliest data about the feast, its possible origin, and historical changes in folk tradition. It can thus be demonstrated how beliefs and magical rituals were often transformed into pure entertainment or customs that had practical or social functions. Thanks to the author's great learning, we are acquainted with a couple of generations of folkloristic research, not just in Estonian, but also in Latvian, Lithuanian, Finnish, and Russian.

Like her model, she ends the book with no conclusion or attempt at a summary. One may wonder why there are no illustrations, which should be obligatory in a book about festive customs. The book has an index of topics which makes it easier to use the compendium of data which it after all is. When comparative folklore experiences a renaissance and scholars again try to make a synthesis of the festive cycle of European folk culture, then regional monographs like Hiiemäe's and Vilkuna's will be fundamental. I would therefore encourage Folklore Fellows' Communications to publish comparable surveys from other areas with inaccessible languages.

Gustav Henningsen, Copenhagen

"Rødderne" from Blågård's Square

Lulu Hjarnø, "Rødderne" fra Blågårds Plads. Sydjysk Universitetsforlag, Esbjerg 1998. 122 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7780-199-7.

■ The point of departure for this book lies in a clash that occurred between youths (called "rødderne") and police in an area of Copenhagen, around Blågård's square, in the summer of 1997. The actual incident took place over the course of the weekend spanning July 11–13, and involved young men whom Lulu Hjarnø describes as "second generation immigrants" – a classification which she briefly discusses in a note. By way of introduction the author refers to an on-going debate in the mass media surrounding the degree to which the situation in Denmark is degenerating into something akin to that found in the USA involving "organized violence and criminal bands of youths" (p. 11). Hjarnø goes on to explain that her objective with the study is not to answer this question, which she claims is much to large to address within the framework of her study, but instead to interrogate the question of whether the youths in question can be "characterized as an organized and violent and criminal band of youths" (p. 12). In order to do this she introduces a theoretical framework including Merton's (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Sjølund's (1965) discussion of processes of socialization, and Cohen's (1972) work on subcultures. She briefly discusses and presents definitions of such concepts as "youth", "group", and "band" (pp. 15–17), relying among other things upon *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* as a source of argumentation. Methodologically the study builds upon a limited number of qualitative interviews she has conducted with some of the youths from Blågård's Square (some were involved in the clash with police), project leaders, social workers, and police.

This being said, it should be noted that I am not terribly well acquainted with Copenhagen. I have been there on many occasions, in part to shop, in part to work. However, I have a very sketchy idea of what different areas of Copenhagen are called, and where they are located. As I read Hjarnø's book I continually tried to imagine where in Copenhagen Blågård's Square is located, and what it must look like. Based upon her descriptions a cultural landscape of poverty, violence, discrimination, and marginalization took form in my mind, and I wondered how I would feel in such an environment. Would I dare go there? Would I be attacked by youths who, through Hjarnø's pen, assert that, "We stick together" (p. 83), claim to idolize the Hell's Angels, and in relation to other groups of youths point out that, "If we are up there fighting, I just have to say that I'm from Blågård's Square. And they say 'Oh, we don't want to fight you, peace brother'" (p. 91)?

After having read Hjarnø's book, and pondered these types of questions, I was surprised when a Danish colleague informed me that I had been to the area around Blågård's Square on many occasions, attending different meetings. The imagery in Hjarnø's book and my own experiences were completely different. I had never felt threatened in the Blågård's Square area. I realized that this was an area with many "anti-establishment" groups, but it seemed like a fairly nice area in cen-

tral Copenhagen. The discrepancy between my own impressions and Hjarnø's descriptions brings into play the disturbing question of how processes of marginalization and discrimination can be so easily hidden under the surfaces of society, and so easy not to see. Hjarnø demands that we open our eyes. Her's is a project to which I am sympathetic. Unfortunately, the book misses the mark.

There are a number of problems at work here, and in general they are aggravated by two things, a lack of reflexivity and critical distance, and an antiquated theoretical framework with which to investigate the phenomenon at hand.

Time and time again she asks, are they a band? Are they organized? Are they criminal? Like a Foucauldian expert, she divides, she investigates, she turns and twists labels, she interviews and observes. Until at last we learn that yes, many of them are criminal to some extent, but she explains this through a reference to larger processes of discrimination and marginalization. However, as a reader I learn very little about these processes, other than the fact that some of the young men she has interviewed have applied and applied for jobs, but been systematically turned down. I believe them, but is this enough to explain the stone throwing, vandalism and rioting which occurred on July 11, 12, and 13, 1997? Obviously there is more at issue here.

What role does the media play in Denmark, e.g.? Hjarnø includes a short section on the role of the media, but it does little else than present her informant's interpretation of the media. A larger analysis of the media and its actual presentation would have been one way of developing some of the background to the July events. Another way of doing this would have been a larger presentation of the lives of the people living in the Blågård's Square area. The study focuses all too much upon the clash and its background. As a result, we meet a lot of angry people. Their anger may well be justified, but this focus works to underscore the radical alterity of the people she wants to help.

Following in this vein, I lack a deeper discussion of how this focus may have affected the content of the interviews she conducted. In an interview aimed at understanding why youths would *throw stones at police*, is it really all that strange to find that these people (with non-Danish background) *feel estranged from society*, and have a difficult time identifying themselves as Danish? A different point of departure would have undoubtedly produced a slightly different self-presentation – an issue in need of further discussion.

What does develop is an image of people betwixt and between. People who are Danish, but not Danish, Other but not Other. The last decade's production of cultural theory offers an amazing toolbox of concepts and analytical models, which could have been used to investigate the issues of identity and power. Hybridity or processes of creolization are never mentioned. Instead the book closes by explaining that what we see is the development of a "relatively permanent subculture" (p. 116), however there is absolutely no historic perspective in the book which would support such a conclusion. Here it is important to remember that the book focuses upon a small group of males in their teens and early twenties whose parents came, for the most part, to Denmark in the 60s and 70s. We are looking at a snapshot of history, and I would agree that the image is disturbing, but we are on shaky grounds if we use this as basis for talking about any form of permanence. Beyond this I am critical of the very term subculture. It is a term, which was developed in the social sciences to classify and investigate "deviant" and subordinate groups in society. I have a difficult time seeing these people as a "sub" "culture" of anything, and would argue that the term mystifies and stigmatizes the people in question more than it elucidates their lives.

To summarize, Hjarnø has put her finger on a very important issue which we need to understand better, and which we need to actively engage. Unfortunately, the book does not come with the theoretical tools necessary to do this in a satisfactory manner.

Tom O'Dell, Helsingborg/Lund

(De-)Constructing Gene Technology's Public

Gene Technology and the Public. An Interdisciplinary Perspective. Susanne Lundin, Malin Ideland (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 1997.166 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-89116-00-3.

■ It has become a truism that human genome research and its biotechnological spin-offs will have unprecedented and extraordinary impacts on societies, practices, subjectivity. However, what these impacts will be and what will qualify as 'benefits' or 'dangers' is highly contested. But there is some common ground: opponents as well as supporters of genetic research share the view that knowledge about human and non-human genomes has the potential to transform *medicine* by expanding the range of diseases that are treatable, and by refining diagnosis, *agriculture* by introducing new products, breeding practices or genetically modified organisms, *reproductive choices* by treatments of infertility or preimplantation diagnosis of fertilized eggs, notions of *ethnic identity* or *kinship* by establishing a genetic concept of descent, *workplace relations* by the option of susceptibility screenings, *insurance policies* by testing procedures for "late onset diseases" – the list is growing longer every day. There are some early casualties as well: the "century of the gene" (E.F. Keller) is proclaimed even by the mainstream press announcing "the discovery of the gene for X" (for X fill in everything from aging to xenophobia) which might not be intended as purposeful attempts in resuscitating sociobiologistic claims. But, intended or not, it is very likely that these articles are shifting public discourses from the nurture to the nature side of the well established distinction that was and still is crucial for defining the legacy of social scientific and socio-cultural anthropological thought.

While it is clear that the "genome revolution" will have implications that are uncharted by former technological developments, it is less obvious how different societies will respond to these challenges: while in the USA a consumerist approach seems to be dominant, European societies respond by efforts to reinvent regulation in the face of a highly dynamic (and internally highly heterogeneous) scientific/economic biotech cluster operating on a global scale. What seems to be certain, however, is that the ethical, scientific as well as social consequences of genetic research and biotechnological applications will be diverse – dependent on national policies, social institutions, economic structures, legal regulations, the availability of scientific resources and expertise, different cultures, patterns of everyday practices, value systems, gender, or social status – a diversity that is yet not completely acknowledged in the dominant discourses centered on ethics and values.

It is significant, for example, that in the foreword of the book under review, the coordinator of the Swedish "ELSA"-initiative, which is funding research into the ethical, legal, and social impacts of the different genome initiatives in Sweden, focuses mainly on the problem that the "implementation of gene technology challenges established social values and attitudes." According to this perspective – dominant also in the US ELSI-initiative inquiring into the ethical, legal, and social impacts of genetic research – the main concern is with values, attitudes, beliefs, and world views. While this research provided and still provides important insights, the focus on the "impact" on values and moral questions is often driven by concerns about low public acceptability of biotechnology and constructed mainly as an issue of poor "public understanding of science". Informed by models that construct "the public" as lacking in scientific literacy, this perspective tends to propagate the enhancement of scientific literacy of "the public" as a quick fix of acceptability problems. However, the situation is more complex (often better "understanding" means increased opposition to gene technology) and it is a major achievement of the collection of articles under review to help subvert simplistic notions of "the public", "scientific literacy" or "impact on values".

The present collection, edited by Susanne Lundin and Malin Ideland, accomplishes this goal of enriching the debates on gene technology by bringing together a broad spectrum of disciplinary perspectives: clinical genetics, sociology, psychology, theology, folklore, ethnology, and communication science. The book – outcome of an interdisciplinary workshop held in 1997 to review present research in different European countries on the issue of "public perceptions of gene technology" – is inspired by the conviction (reflecting the indicated complexity of "impacts") that the problems and open questions generated by recent developments in genetics and the expanding field of biomedicine can only be ap-

proached from an interdisciplinary perspective, "including scholars from ethnology and genetics." It is this interdisciplinary and international collaboration which characterizes the remarkable and innovative research agenda of the project "*Genethnology*: Genetics, Genetic Engineering, and Everyday Ethics" of the Lund Department of European Ethnology, aimed at developing "a creative and expansive research environment" and generating "unexpected and innovative knowledge" that provided the context for the workshop.

The project represents a collaboration of Lynn Åkesson, Malin Ideland, and Susanne Lundin (ethnology), Ingrid Frykman (genetics), and Ulf Kristofferson (clinical genetics) in Lund. This project is not only exemplary for the important contribution that ethnology and folklore has to offer to these debates but is shaping ethnological research practices as well: fieldwork and participant observation in the context of genetic engineering are combined with close attention to and empirical research into everyday practices of "lay" people in an attempt to analyze competing knowledge systems. The approach is unique in avoiding the shortcomings of many Science and Technology Studies, often focusing on the small and exotic worlds of laboratories alone, as well as in averting the flaws of many cultural studies approaches, which are more often than not short-circuiting the quite distinct domains of scientific knowledge, semi-scientific public discourses and everyday practices.

The edited volume manages to stake out the field of ethnological interest and to mark the borders to other disciplines where similar interests evolved in recent years. On the basis of interviews, Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm and Katarina Westerlund inquire from a theological perspective into the relation between broader worldviews and attitudes towards gene technology in an attempt to reconstruct the systematics of diverging views of nature and the human right to interfere with the natural order of things. Is it the concept "non-human nature" which defines the degree of acceptability of biotechnology in this case study, in another paper by Eleni Papagaroufali concepts of human nature and bodily integrity define what are acceptable practices in cases of the donation of body substances in Greece. She analyzes attitudes of younger, educated organ donors who are prepared to donate organs but are reluctant to give or receive egg cells or sperm. While organ donation for them covers a need and is not interfering with the identity of the recipient, gametes are potential creators of life and carry on the personality of the donors; in addition, because of this "spiritual" connection, respondents feel to some extent responsible for any "new life" created. It is the perceived autonomous power of genes which have the potential to create (life), that lead her respondents to the opinion that artificial protheses or organs, bearing a direct connection to human hands and mind, are more human than, e.g., transgenic organs. From a biological viewpoint these differentiations might seem senseless or flawed, but from a social and cultural perspective this understanding does make perfect sense – it reflects rules of responsibility and the desire for autonomy and independence from the 'brute' forces of nature.

However, it is likely that these attitudes will be superseded by a growing awareness of the social and cultural production of nature – the "Unverfügbarkeit" of nature, its 'not being at humanity's disposition', seems no longer be able to serve as an ultimate ethical touchstone; instead, it is becoming an increasingly nostalgic intellectual concept. Late modernity will have to live with the paradoxes created by natural artificiality and artificial nature. The sociologist and psychologist Alberto Melucci addresses some of the problems of this emerging "power of knowing": For him, the limit set for manipulations of nature will be fundamentally cultural, political, and social – humans have to decide on their own nature, choices and decisions that create new uncertainty and new conflicts.

While Melucci's paper is suggesting that a new era is emerging, the articles of Susanne Lundin and Malin Ideland are less era-tic in their claims. Lundin analyzes the ongoing establishment of a "biological gaze" by media and even children's books in modernity: according to her study, biologic functionalism, scientific visualizations and representations of the human body are shaping the self-understandings of lay people in an increasing manner. In establishing a biological awareness, these representations do not only

promise transparency of bodily functions but are at the same time demanding to take responsibility – creating the paradox "of feeling responsible for everything and powerless at the same time." In a similar approach, Ideland analyzes "today's and yesterday's folklore" (recent Hollywood productions and "traditional" folktales) as mirrors of cultural ideals and human self-understanding. According to her examination of narratives those fictional texts are establishing clear cut distinctions between, e.g., the normal and the unnatural, which serve as playful comments on society that are consumed on the backdrop of a dual consciousness, switching between playful metaphoric readings and serious realism.

Sociologist Torben Hviid Nielsen in his article inquires into the unique history of the Norwegian legal regulation of biotechnology. While the terminology of the act concerning non-human uses draws on a recent socio-political and scientific terminology and concepts, the law regulating human uses is formulated on the basis of 18th century natural law and human rights declarations. To Nielsen, these choices of the legislators reflect an anthropocentric hierarchy of nature. That is supported by Norwegian public opinion, as he demonstrates on the basis of survey material. But as the short but intriguing article of clinical geneticist Maria Anvret makes clear, 18th century ethics, focussing on the protection of personal rights against governmental powers, might not be ready to answer all the questions posed by the heightened availability of genetic information in clinical contexts: Should the clinician, for example, inform close relatives of a person that was diagnosed with a deadly late onset disorder, relatives who run the risk to be affected as well and to whom this information might be existential? Neither the new norm of "informed consent" nor the old principle of "do no harm" does easily guide decisions of practitioners in dealing with the power of genetic information.

Also largely based on survey material are two articles covering public attitudes towards biotechnology – in part in a comparative perspective on European countries. Björn Fjœstad reports on findings of the project Biotechnology and the European Public, inquiring into different factors shaping public opinion in European member states, while the psychologists Wim Heijs and Cees Midden present data of four studies inquiring into attitudes to biotechnology in the Dutch population. Also inquiring into the complex relationship between values, knowledge and emotions, the psychologists Frewer, Howard and Shepherd point to the highly differentiated perception of "biotechnology", dependent on the area of use and the dominant values of specific segments of the population. However, as sociologist Loek Halman argues in his article, what qualifies as "a value" might be difficult to define, resulting in grave "measurement problems" for surveys – not to speak of cross-national or -cultural comparative studies, as he demonstrates for the two European Value Studies.

As Halman argues: cross-cultural research demands cross-cultural concepts that in turn require culture-specific interpretations. This certainly is a truism for European Ethnology or Cultural Anthropology, however, it might be a necessary reminder for practitioners in other social sciences that to some extent seem to be "comparatively challenged". Ethnologists should take up the opportunity as well as the responsibility to demonstrate their "comparative consciousness" – to deepen the understanding of biotechnology, the understanding of public understanding as well as the construction of the public in a cross-cultural perspective. The collection of essays under review provides not only an accessible introduction to recent debates in the social sciences on biotechnology but also demonstrates that ethnology has an important role to play in interpreting its socio-cultural effects in a non-reductionistic and reflexive manner.

Stefan Beck, Berkeley/Berlin

The Changing Face of Ethnology

Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot. Johdatusta etnologiatieteisiin. Bo Lönnqvist, Elina Kiuru, Eeva Uusitalo (eds.). Tietolipas 155, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 1999. 287 pp. ISBN 951-746-065-1.

■ Ethnology is not an easy subject to teach and study. Not only because we have to amalgamate theory and praxis, switch between the role of

fieldworker and the academic, being one day deep in the jungle of everyday life and interpreting life from a scientific point of view on the next. Ethnology is so diverse and in the middle of continuous change that it is not easy to find a general guiding line, that is necessary to master to be authorised as researcher. Not easy, but not impossible. The beginners course-book, *Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot* (The changing face of culture), written by twelve scholars associated with the Department of Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, is a recent try. The book is edited by Professor Bo Lönnqvist, head of the department and researchers Elina Kiuru and Eeva Uusitalo.

According to the editors the book is written to help the future students of ethnology to prepare to their university studies. This compilation serves as a course book for the students at the beginning of their studies. That is why the authors tried to help the future users in better understanding. At the same time, *Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot* is suitable for those outsiders who are interested in ethnology. The book contains three main parts: Cultural analysis, Profiles and Research aspects. The first three papers written by the three professors of the department cover roughly the half of the book. In his starting article Lönnqvist analyses ethnology ("What is Ethnology?"). The author not only writes about ethnology, but he provides a useful framework for continental ethnology defining the science of ethnology (shortly ethnology) with its three different, but strongly related branches: European ethnology, folkloristics and cultural anthropology. After giving an overview of the development of research on culture in the continent, he shortly introduces the history of Finnish ethnology. He sharply points out the dual roots of continental ethnology. Shortly surveying the history of ethnology in the last two centuries, he provides a better understanding of the recent self-reflective, self-critical changes in ethnology. Concluding his part with analysing the definitions of culture, Lönnqvist is able to introduce ethnology as an interpretative and deeply human science, deconstructing the authoritative voice of our past and still providing an encouraging role model for future researchers.

Päivikki Suojanen in her article entitled "What is Folkloristics?" covers a vast range of questions. Fortunately, the author has an extended knowledge not only on the field of folkloristics, but also on communication anthropology and comparative religion. This guarantees that the oldest field of Finnish cultural research, folkloristics will appear and be analysed in a wide scientific context, ranging from mythology to text folkloristics, from symbolic anthropology to the ethnography of speaking. After a short historical summary, the author introduces the classical folklore genres in the life of a community, defining at the same time basic terms such as variation, reduction, community and tradition. Suojanen smoothly guides the reader further to the recent phenomena of popular culture, poplore, worldlore, world music, soapoperas ready for folkloristic research. The paper ends with a detailed overview of recent folklore methods and theories.

Ilmari Vesterinen guides the reader through the field of cultural anthropology, "What is Cultural Anthropology?". After describing the nature and branches of anthropology, he points out ethnographic fieldwork, holistic view and comparative approach as pillars of cultural anthropology. The author not only defines applied anthropology, but speaks about the role of the science in the wide field of cultural discourse as well. He is as well able to bring closer the academic science to the readers by meditating on the fallibility of the anthropologist. He uses the allegory of hedgehog and fox to introduces different types of scholars.

The second part of the book, Profiles is about some central concepts and methods of ethnology. In her starting essay "From folk culture to the meaning of everyday life" Nina Sääskilahti points out that in the present diverse ethnology the definition of culture used by a researcher casts light upon their general approach. Following her introduction about the boundness of ethnological discourse on folk, she draws attention to the topic of everyday life in future ethnological research. Pirjo Korkiakangas turns her attention to the relationship between "Memory, remembrance and tradition". She defines memory as a fundament of human culture, and analyses the collective and individual nature of memory and remembrance. Considering, that one of the most important source material of ethnology are the interviews reflecting personal interpretations of the past, it is no

doubt, that she touches an extremely important question speaking about memory, forgetting and nostalgia. As well as Laura Aro, who undertakes the analysis of "Identity and tradition". Following the introduction of the trends in the research of identity and tradition she speaks about roots and belonging. Through interviews of Karelians evacuated to Finland during World War II, she provides us the understanding of the problematic nature of authenticity of tradition and ethical problems raising from that. The concluding essay in this part is from Pekka Junkala, "Fieldwork as a profile of ethnology". In his paper he shortly introduces the nature of fieldwork, one of the most important characteristics of our science. Following a survey of the variety of fieldwork methods, Junkala extends ethnology to the future pointing out the borderless research field in which we are living.

In the third part, Research aspects, six papers are published to illustrate how ethnology chooses and analyses a question. The introductory article is from Eeva Uusitalo with the title "On the border of experience and theory: what is ethnology all about". The author after shortly introducing the logical peculiarities of ethnology points out the importance of continuous communication between practical experiences and theoretical considerations. Uusitalo deals with the ethnological analysis of unemployment presenting it through a personal diary. The next contribution is from Elina Kiuru, "Objects in ethnology". After pointing out the starting points of ethnological object analysis the author shortly introduces this branch of research in Finland. In her next short essay Kiuru speaks about the use of ethnological qualification, "Big man, small house - ethnology in theory and praxis". She presents a doll's house exhibition arranged by ethnology students in the Museum of Central Finland. In the next paper Tiina-Riitta Lappi takes "A look on the city". She provides information on the anthropological and Finnish ethnological urban research. Jan Löfström analyses the question of gender in European culture "'Male', 'female' and other 'sexes'". He speaks about sexes as performance and style, and about the definition of the different sexes in culture. The contribution continues with the most important fields of presentation of sexuality in everyday life. The compilation ends with Tom Selänniemi's article with the title "The modern tourist and classical rite theory". After summing up the anthropological research on tourism, he approaches to the Mediterranean trips of Finns from the point of view of rite theory.

The main idea to write course-books is to teach the students the core of a science. To define that core is probably the most important mental activity of a university professor. By analysing the content and structure of *Kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot* we can have some assumptions how ethnology is defined and taught in Jyväskylä. Hopefully that human, self-reflective, intellectual science, the investigation of *culture*, that of researchers' *cognition* and *interpretation* after critically reconsidering its own past can be engaging for the internet generation. At least, the authors of this book tried their best to achive the purpose, to provide a key to understand the *kulttuurin muuttuvat kasvot, the changing face of culture*.

Bertalan Pusztai, Szeged

A Museum Looks Back at 125 Years

Nordiska museet under 125 år. Hans Medelius, Bengt Nyström & Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark (eds.). Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 1998. 504 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 91-7108-442-8.

■ On 24 October 1873, Artur Hazelius was able to open the doors to his Scandinavian Ethnographic Collection (later known as Nordiska Museet or the Nordic Museum), which was to be a watershed in the history of museums. This applies in even greater measure to the open-air museum that was opened at Skansen in Stockholm, a new type of museum that has since been spread triumphantly over the globe. When the Nordiska Museet celebrated its centennial in 1973, for various reasons no commemorative book was published. In 1991, on the other hand, Skansen received its own major publication, and now the 125th anniversary has been used as an occasion to publish a large work on Hazelius's two innovations, which until 1963 were one museum unit.

This is a mammoth volume of some 500 pages, with a wealth of fascinating illustrations in black-and-white and colour. A total of 29 authors,

almost all current or former employees of the two museums, have contributed to the book. The result is a cornucopia of useful information and entertaining details, but also a book that is difficult to read as a whole. The latter problem has to do with way in which the book is arranged graphically. There are twenty main sections, arranged chronologically, thematically, and according to the most important museum functions: the collections, research, and exhibitions. These sections, however, are interrupted by insertions of varying length dealing with selected subsidiary themes and brief biographies of museum employees during the 125 years (incidentally, a roll of highly distinguished scholars!). In addition, the many illustrations often have long captions. All this gives a flickering picture as one's attention is constantly diverted from the main track. With the chosen form of arrangement it is also inevitable that there are some repetitions.

The picture of the Nordiska Museet is mainly painted from within. This is museum history in the narrow sense, written with a great many details. It is interesting for professional museum people who like to look behind the scenes of colleagues' museums, but it does not have so much to offer those who want to know more about the exotic cultural phenomenon that the Nordiska Museet is. In a few of the sections there is an attempt to view the museum in a broader perspective of cultural history. For instance, the important link between the great exhibitions of the nineteenth century and the new forms of museum is treated. The reverence for the brilliant founder, Artur Hazelius, however, still seems to be an obstacle to a recognition of the extent to which the innovations as regards themes and modes of exhibition had been anticipated by the artists (not least the Swedish artists) who created the "language" of the exhibitions.

I would also have liked to see an analysis of the contradiction between the broad Scandinavian aim, as expressed in the name of the museum, and the narrower Swedish nationalism that was to set its stamp on much of the museum staging. Indeed, this was not the only contradiction built into the museum from the start. Another was the clash between Hazelius's popular education by means of "three-dimensional genre pictures" and dioramas on the one hand, and the systematically built and scientifically ordered collections on the other hand. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the former was realized at Skansen, while the Nordiska Museet went in for systematic collections. The first half of the twentieth century was marked by calm development which created a fruitful research environment. The second half of the century can display interesting innovations, in particular the systematic recording of the present day (Samdok), but otherwise it seems to have been a turbulent period with constant restructuring and commissions of inquiry, with directors being replaced at short intervals. Unfortunately, this is something all too familiar from other major Nordic museums during the period.

Bjarne Stoklund, Copenhagen

Sámi Voices in French

Samigiel cealkagat – Paroles sâmes. Christian Mériot (ed.). Cahiers ethnologiques – Histoires et cultures no. 20. Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux 1998. 193 pp. ISBN 2-86781-195-3.

■ It is rare for us to receive anything new about the Nordic world from France. This volume in itself is therefore an event. It comes shortly after the publication in French in 1997, under the title *Récit de la vie des lapons*, of a Sámi classic from 1910, written by John Turi, translated and published in English in 1931 as *Turi's Book of Lappland*. These two publications will undoubtedly help to upgrade the limited knowledge among French speakers of the Sámi world and the struggle of the Sámi people. Christian Mériot, the editor of the journal, is one of the few French academics specializing in Sámi culture. He is an ethnologist whose research work has included Læstadianism in Finnmark, and he has collected the texts for this theme issue of *Cahiers ethnologiques* published at his university in Bordeaux. The bilingual title of the volume, *Samigiel cealkagat – Paroles sâmes*, means "Sámi Voices". It corresponds well with the editor's intention, which is primarily to give a voice to the Sámi themselves. Apart from a foreword and the final article, all the contributions (ten of them) are written by authors with a Sámi background, most of them from Norway,

the rest from Finland or Sweden. Some of the texts are distinctly academic, others are of a more journalistic or polemical character. This is new matter for French readers. But for Nordic readers with an interest in Sámi issues, several of these articles contain familiar material. The Sámi in these texts seize the opportunity to tell us how they perceive their culture, their rights, and their art in the strained relationship they have to the nation states in the three Nordic countries.

Some of the authors are academics, university teachers like Pekka Aikio, Elina Helander, Harald Gaski, and Alf Isak Keskitalo, and a lawyer in the case of Lars Nila Lasko. Others are artists, like Berit Marit Hætta, who illustrates children's books and is a specialist in Sámi costume, or journalists like John Gustavsen and Jorunn Eikjok. Several of them are deeply involved in the running of the Nordic Sámi Institute and participate in the Sámi political bodies established in the 1980s.

The use of the word *sâme* is highly unusual in French, where the Sámi are known by the name *lapons*, which has no degrading meaning. The term *sâme* is nevertheless deliberately used because *lapon*, the French equivalent of English *Lapp*, has a negative charge in the Nordic countries, at least for the Sámi. One can understand the use of the word *sâme* here as a step on the way to establishing the new word in French.

On the subject of language and culture, legal aspects of the recognition of Sámi culture are dealt with in the first three articles by Kjell Kemi, Pekka Aikio, and Lars Nila Lasko. All three discuss the question of how the Sámi are defined and how many of them there are. The use of the Sámi language is the most important criterion for counting the number of Sámi in Norway, and it is understandable that the language question is of such significance in the identification of the Sámi people. The struggle for the Sámi language – or languages, since there are nine of them – is still going on, despite the recognition of Sámi as an official language in Norway in 1990. Aikio is more pessimistic than Kemi in that he believes that Sámi cultural independence is still threatened, that acculturation is continuing, and that the laws on the Sámi language are insufficient to ensure the position of Sámi as a living language.

Aikio and Lasko also consider the issue of reindeer herding and natural resources. So does Elina Helander in her article. The legal situation differs from country to country. The concrete problems are also different; e.g., in Finland and Sweden, industrial-scale forestry represents a major problem, but not in Norway. Reindeer herding is recognized as a Sámi economic sector together with the right to hunt and fish in Norway and Sweden. Reindeer herding is threatened by conflicts with other economic sectors, whether forestry, tourism, military installations such as artillery ranges, road building, and other industries such as mining. Handicraft has lost its utility function in Sámi households but has acquired a new role as an ethnic marker, and as arts and crafts it is still of economic significance. The rights to hunting and fishing apply only to Sámi who live by herding reindeer, whereas other Sámi have to apply for licenses. Lasko, who is from Sweden, mentions the problem experienced by the majority of the Sámi who do not live from reindeer herding, that they are not included in the laws ensuring the rights of the Sámi to use natural resources. There is also a call for harmonization of the legislation in the three countries. Aikio mentions a case which has since become of immediate importance: the establishment of quotas for reindeer herding and the criteria that should be used to define them. He claims that winter grazing resources are the limiting factor and that they should be used to determine quotas.

Helander's article is one of the longest. It starts with a definition of tradition and knowledge, going on to discuss the traditional use of natural resources, reindeer herding and its changes. She briefly mentions the issue of over-grazing, which she describes as "the tragedy of the commons", referring to Hardin's classical model from 1968. Traditional use of natural resources, as in this case of grazing resources, is no longer respected by modern reindeer-herding Sámi. It is, after all, the reindeer-herding Sámi themselves who are mainly responsible for the degradation of the pastures. It looks as if the slightly optimistic description of the Sámi's relation to natural resources fails here. It would have been preferable if the authors had not always placed the blame on people other than the Sámi.

Jorunn Eikjok deals with the place of women

in Sámi society. She analyses three generations of women and shows how – although it took place later than in the other Nordic societies – women gradually lost much of their role in society when market forces took over the modernization process. The production of food and clothes has been taken over by the market, and women's role *vis-à-vis* children and old people has partly been taken over by public institutions. The barter system (*verde*) of which the women's economy was a part has vanished. All this clearly shows that the youngest generation of women, despite the new opportunities and the greater freedom to choose their own destiny, are still divided between their weak role as tradition-bearers and the demands that modern society makes of them.

Three articles deal with Sámi literature and art (Hirvonen, Gaski, Hætta). Hirvonen gives us a sampler to show how song lyrics can be difficult for non-Sámi to understand. He shows the collective character of the songs; they have no authors. He demonstrates how they can be interpreted in the context of the society, and describes the symbolism that is used. One may mention the wealth of connotations contained in the texts, especially those referring to animals.

Gaski presents a synthesis of Sámi literature, showing both the prolific character of modern literary production (fifty members in the association of Sámi authors, three publishers), but also their difficulties, their total dependence on state subsidies, a situation actually shared by a good deal of literature in Norway, and also the small degree of contact with the readers and the absence of a literary debate. He points out the role of literature as a tool for strengthening Sámi identity and combating inferiority complexes and despair. Among these I would mention Aagot Vinterbo-Hohr, who achieved national recognition for her book *Palimpsest*, and Nils Aslak Valkeapää, described as a kind of modern shaman, who is the most versatile Sámi artist: a musician, painter, poet, and *joik* singer. They of course assert themselves because they are able to express the Sámi in themselves and simultaneously something universally human. I think that this article could have been more critical as regards the quality of the individual writers. It is clear that a form of self-censorship prevails in the Sámi environment. These descriptions also fail to mention the modern Sámi singers, such as Mari Boine, who has achieved international success and who is also able to combine tradition and modernity, Sámi folk music, the *joik*, and modern pop music.

It is no secret that most of these texts have had to wait a long time to be published. Apart from the up-to-date bibliographies in the articles by Mériot and Gaski, none of the other contributions have any more recent bibliographical reference than 1991. I do not know why it has taken so long to publish these articles. It does not matter so much for any of the texts dealing with Sámi art, songs, and texts, but for the other articles it represents a real problem when they are about legal matters. It means that the development that has taken place in issues concerning the Sámi rights to ownership of land and water or the crisis of reindeer herding, two areas where quite a lot has happened in recent years, is not brought up to date here.

I obtained valuable insights into the situation of the Sámi by reading these texts. There are nevertheless some weaknesses, perhaps common weaknesses as regards the discourse carried on about the Sámi and by the Sámi themselves. In addition to the lack of self-criticism, there is far too great a focus on reindeer herding. This is understandable, since the reindeer herders are bearers of Sámi culture, but they represent only a minority among the Sámi, and one should focus more on the majority in Sámi society.

Some conflicts could have been examined more closely, such as the relationship to the nation states, which represent both an enemy and a source of economic resources. A somewhat worse conflict is that between the ideal picture painted of the Sámi as environment-friendly users of nature and the situation we have today, with over-grazing and mass death of reindeer. This would have been worth longer and more self-critical analysis. Altogether there are only 140 pages in the volume dealing with Sámi issues. I would have liked to see texts about individual matters such as the Alta affair, which has been a milestone in the conflict between the Norwegian energy lobby/the state and the Sámi, when a dam and a power station were built on Sámi land.

I should also mention that I was rather disappointed by the translation and the many misprints

in the volume, which made some of the texts difficult to read.

The two most important things that will continue to dominate the debate are not just the rights of the Sámi to the use of natural resources but the actual ownership of the Finnmark heights and fiord fishing and the still unresolved issue of the crisis in reindeer herding. I hope that French readers will not be forced to wait too long for an update on this and other matters.

Axel Baudouin, Trondheim

Family and Gender

Familj och kön. Etnologiska perspektiv. Birgitta Meurling, Britta Lundgren & Inger Lövkrona (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 207 pp. ISBN 91-44-00778-7.

■ For some time now, ethnologists have been successfully using the concept of gender as an analytical tool, as a way to get away from the idea of men's and women's given, "natural" properties. Perhaps the concept of family has not been used analytically in the same way in ethnological contexts; it has rather been viewed as, in some cases, an unproblematic starting point for studies of, say, everyday life. Nowadays the family is not an unambiguous concept; instead it is both an inclusive and an exclusive term. Studying the family from a gender perspective means focusing on the processes that create gender. This is also something that the editors of this anthology, "Family and Gender", seek to do: to study male and female representations in a family context. Gender is thus the central point, and the family is the forum in which gender is studied – a highly successful approach. The editors of the anthology have no ambition to give a definition of family, nor do they work on the basis of a shared or explicit question. Instead they want to present the research into gender and family that Swedish ethnologists are working with today. The anthology consists of three sections, each with a brief introduction. This is a successful way to make the anthology hold together even though the articles deal with varied topics. The introduction also means that the articles are put in relation to the discussion carried on today about gender.

The first section is entitled "Gender, Power, and Work". It consists of three articles and an introduction by Inger Lövkrona. The introduction brings us into the ongoing debate about gender and power and the issue of the relationship between gender and sex. The core of the discussion of the relationship between social and biological gender is presented with the aid of the theories of Judith Butler, Thomas Laqueur, Joan Scott, and Toril Moi. It is clear that there is no consensus among the authors of the anthology, or among researchers in general. This may add to the fascination, but for an uninitiated reader it could be confusing. At the same time, I feel that the discussion of the concepts of gender/sex to a certain extent has become a mantra. Lövkrona herself also questions whether different types of gender theory lead to different knowledge. This means that I do not see any value in problematizing gender; I think it would be more important to focus on experiences and processes.

Inger Lövkrona studies the premodern family as a gender relation, as a hierarchical gender order legitimized by Christian ideology. She analyses how male superiority is expressed and exemplifies this elegantly with the aid of contemporary folklore. Sören Jansson studies the relationship between men and women in the premodern Swedish agrarian family and compares with today's model for equality. He claims that this so-called equality has traces of continuity from the premodern family and that modernity in fact means screening off woman's position in society rather than freeing her from patriarchal repression. Lena Martinsson studies a discursive gender struggle which is made visible in housekeeping books from the 1920s. Her analysis, inspired by Judith Butler's view of gender construction, whereby gender acquires meaning only when we interpret it, shows how mobile and temporary our interpretations of masculinity and femininity are.

The second part of the anthology deals with questions of belief, gender, and sexuality. Central questions here are how belief or ideology are seen as important components in the creation of gender. The introduction to this section, by Birgitta Meurling, also looks at the concepts of gender/sex but she continues the discussion to ask whether we need such a division. She suggest using a

more open concept of gender, namely gender constitution, in order to capture the processual nature of gender creation. This section is very interesting but has less to do with the concept of family than the other sections. In her highly readable paper, Lena Gerholm presents religion as a gender-constituting factor in Muslim Egypt. She focuses on the body, sexuality, and intimacy, interpreting the Muslim women's sex drive as a threat against which the men have to protect themselves. The way Muslim women dress up for their men is interpreted by Gerholm as a means to dramatize the boundaries between the sexes, roles that are embodied in practices. Katarzyna Wolanik Boström's study of the family and the surrounding world in Polish life stories differs from the other articles by being close to the field she describes. She wants to show what life was like before and after the fall of the wall, and how this reflects gender representation. Here the family is seen in relation to the societal order in an interesting way. Birgitta Meurling's article about a clergyman's family as a gender relation from the angle of the clergyman's wife, on the other hand, has a more advanced theoretical structure. Her discussion is about how the Christian ideology shapes gender creation and everyday life in a clergyman's family in a normative way.

The third section is about whether children make a relationship into a "real" family, whether children are a central factor in the construction of body, identity, gender, sexuality, and family. This section is introduced by Britta Lundgren, who leads the reader into the different spheres of feminism. The authors of this section, according to Lundgren, represent a third wave of feminism which questions accepted explanations and asserts multiple and temporary positions. In her article Susanne Lundin presents a piece of her book *Guldägget* dealing with familyhood and reproduction technology, the interplay between medical technology and people's longing for parenthood. The yearning for a biological child has to do with the notion of a woman's "instinctive" desire to provide care and the man's way to confirm the bonds between reproduction and fatherhood. Helene Brembeck discusses how young mothers negotiate their position as mother in order to get their maternal role to fit their way of life. They question accepted ideas about how a mother should look and behave, and they do not see motherhood as their only identity. They wan to overturn the myth of the self-sacrificing mother. The final paper, by Bo Nilsson, deals with the meanings of gender and family that are created in a legal dispute about the custody of children.

In view of the fact that the book is supposed to serve as a textbook in ethnology, the editors have succeeded well in the art of bringing together important knowledge in a package that is not too hard to digest. In addition, they have managed to avoid overlapping discussions in the different papers. The empirical material and the discussions range over a broad field. It is also fortunate that the editors show the breadth as regards ideas of family and gender in diachronic perspective. Gender is perhaps problematized more than the concept of family. This is visible, for instance, in the brief introductions, where the papers are put in relation to ongoing discussion of gender, but it is not so often related to other family research. The anthology also gives good insight into a great deal of current Swedish ethnology. As an outsider I cannot avoid being amazed about why this Swedish ethnology is not related more to the discussions going on in the other Nordic countries. The anthology has a problematizing approach, which is good, but it does not problematize what the ethnological perspective really means. Is this so self-evident that it is not considered to need any discussion, or is it the other way around? What I am looking for is not consensus but a problematization of what is taken for granted, the relation of the scholars' own subject to neighbouring scholarly discussions.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

The Culturalization of Childhood

Barndomens kulturalisering. Ulf Palmenfelt (ed.). Barnkulturforskning i Norden 1. NNF Publications 2. Åbo 1999. 164 pp. ISBN 952-12-0391-9.

■ This collection of essays, with a title meaning "The Culturalization of Childhood", contains revised versions of papers presented to a seminar at Hanaholmen in 1997, arranged by the research network Child Culture in the Nordic Countries.

The eleven contributions cover a wide range of topics, from the application of the almost classical theorists of modernity such as Ziehe, Bateson, Beck, Giddens, and Bauman to children's culture, via more exploratory and innovative articles, as in Herdis Toft's investigation of the phenomenon of medialore – a combination of oral, verbal, and pictorial narrative – to empirical analyses of children's drawings and narratives, or of stories told by adults to children.

A theme running through all the papers is that research into children's culture is critique of civilization, with the interest focused not only on children but also on the society and the adults with whom children are forced to live, for better or worse. Research into children's culture subjects a scholar to a reflective test whereby one can observe, like Jonas Frykman, that the celebration of children's life that is a part of late modernity – from "old" feasts like Christmas and birthdays to new phenomena in c, such as Halloween – can be interpreted as an aspect of a general infantilization of culture. Inherent in this is a dram of a world of pure innocence and a short cut to citizenship, and a link to the social system in that it is in the staging of childhood that good parenthood can be measured. Where others see rituals as a bulwark against social dissolution, Frykman regards them as an expression of stability and continuity, and he praises the ability of festive culture to "persuade without words" and adapt itself to modernity, partly by making children the centre of events.

Another theme recurring in the papers is the definition of culture as a process – culture as jointly created in dialogue with adults and with the surrounding society, at the intersection between past, present, and future. This understanding of culture opens new horizons, where trust, curiosity, and lack of prejudice take precedence over panic and control. This has consequences for the understanding and interpretation of children's lives and culture, as well as for the analysis of the relationship between children and adults. In a thought-provoking Finnish contribution about Sagofärden, Monika Riihelä shows how administrative processes and rigid practices in day-care centres make it almost impossible to order everyday life in dialogue with the children, and how adults in their eagerness to ask children about their lives manage to close the children's mouths!

It is precisely this desire of the adults to know best, or their inability to see children as the human beings they are that is one of the greatest obstacles to researching children's culture with children as the informants. In one of the papers Marjatta Bardy calls for a more central place to be ascribed to art, film, and literature in the study of children's life as it is actually lived. In other papers the authors deliberately strive to avoid moralizing and taking things for granted so that the children themselves can be allowed to speak, for example, through narrative technique.

Textbooks are normally big and thick, but with this book we have a small volume of great depth which should be required reading for anyone studying children's culture.

Ning de Coninck-Smith, Odense

Reindeer-herding on the Kola Peninsula

Jukka Pennanen, Jos ei ole poronpaimenia, kansa häviää: Kuolan poronhoitajien sosiokulttuurinen adaptaatio 20. vuosisadalla. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2000. 102 pp. Ill., maps.

■ Jukka Pennanen's book (two chapters are written by Russian researchers), written for the general reader as much as for the academic, is about reindeer-herding peoples of the Kola Peninsula. The goal of the book is to show the changes that have taken place during the 20th century in socio-economic organisation and ethnic identity of the local arctic peoples: the Sami, Komi and Nenets.

The book is based on a five-year research project, launched by a Finnish-Russian team in 1991. The main aim of the research was to investigate how reindeer-herding communities had adapted to the economic and social changes that had taken place during the Soviet era. In the early stages of the research, the Soviet Union collapsed and the team had a unique opportunity to observe a rapid process of socio-cultural changes.

The information about Soviet economic and social organisation and the first-hand experience in changes in the Post-Soviet situation makes this book very valuable for readers and researchers

interested in the recent developments in the Russian Arctic. Unfortunately, there are very few good studies on socio-economic changes in reindeer-herding groups living in the arctic zone of Russia. First of all, for a long time Soviet ethnologists had to, for ideological reasons, limit their research projects to studies of history and material culture. Secondly, the arctic region was closed to foreign researchers for more than seventy years and was opened only in the early 1990s. That is why Pennanen's book is an important step towards better understanding the reindeer-herding peoples' adaptive strategies in the Soviet and Post-Soviet social environment.

The book begins with a chapter on theoretical approach used for collecting ethnographic data and its later analysis. Pennanen studies the local ethnic groups from the perspective of human ecology, which focuses on the relationship between human population and their natural and social environment, incorporating the notions of adaptive strategy and decision-making. His thesis is that the subsistence complex consisting of reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, and gathering has been of primary importance to the identity and survival of population groups.

The next four chapters, presented by Jukka Pennanen and his Russian colleagues Tatyana Lukyantsenko, Natalia Gutsol and Jevgenya Patsiya, give us an overview of economic and social changes in the ethnic subsistence systems. The natural occupations have undergone a complex process of change during the 20th century. The region's indigenous population, the Sami, had traditionally a way of life consisting of several sources of subsistence, the most important being fishing. The annual migration routes for small reindeer herds, kept mainly for transportation, were determined by the fishing periods. Collective farms were founded in the 1920s and 1930s and reindeer-herding became the main industry in the region. The Sami communities had to adopt a new mode of subsistence, which was based on large-scale nomadic reindeer herding, imported by the Komi and the Nenets, who had moved into the Kola Peninsula already in the 1880s. It corresponded much better to the requirements of monetary-economy than the Sami small-scale reindeer herding.

Another major change took place in the 1970s, when small collective farms were closed and the ethnic peoples started to work in the state controlled farms. Reindeer herding changed from "a diverse way of life into hard work" (p. 70). This centralisation process was accompanied by the destruction of about twenty small Sami villages; their inhabitants were transferred to four large settlements. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the state farm system became a corporate activity "suited" to a market economy; centrally controlled business structure changed into a vague system "where everything was determined by markets and one's salary was dependent on the sovkoz' production output" (p. 66). The economic chaos caused by the breakdown of the Soviet system resulted in a more domestic-oriented mode of subsistence: the number of privately-owned reindeer increased considerably and people started to fish again. Also the marked-oriented berry-picking and reciprocity between relatives and neighbors helped people to survive in the brutal economic environment, where reindeer-theft was becoming "a professional occupation for some people" (p. 66).

The next chapter deals with the question of how people have preserved their ethnic identity in this process of economic and social change. Pennanen argues that the Sami people had lost most of their traditional material culture. The dominant cultural elements of reindeer herding activities were those of the Komi, originally the Nenets. Also the material culture of Soviet Russia had been assimilated, especially summer clothes, cuisine, and motorised transport vehicles. Traditional peat huts and conic tents had been replaced by log houses of Russian or Komi type.

Pennanen goes on to demonstrate that a much more serious blow to Sami culture than the Komification or Russification of material culture was the centralisation of small villages in the 1960s. In large multi-ethnic settlements the common language was Russian: since the villages had different dialects, not even all the Sami could understand one another. The reindeer herding brigades of the state farms were also multinational. Since the Komi formed the majority in most brigades, the language spoken was usually Komi. The decision-making in the new villages and

brigades passed into the hands of inexpert officials, who were mostly Komi or Russian. All this led to a situation, were many reindeer herders, the Sami in particular, found themselves in a subordinate position. This in turn resulted in alcoholism, moral degeneration, and in the tendency for Sami women to marry men of other nationality. As a consequence of the multi-ethnic and multicultural social environment, a new arctic culture had begun to emerge.

In the final section of the chapter Pennanen succeeds to prove that despite of this cultural unification process arctic peoples have managed to preserve their ethnic identity. The Komi, who are, due to their enterprise and capitalist mentality, probably best adapted to new conditions, have a very strong sense of ethnicity. Also the Nenets, who have lost their language and have always been few in number compared with the Komi and the Sami, have a well developed ethnic awareness. It is based on their feeling that they are the true masters of reindeer breeding. The Sami, being the real indigenous population of the Kola Peninsula, have had the biggest problems continuing to function as a separate ethnic group. But even they, despite of the fact that they have lost most of their traditional material culture, have preserved their ethnic identity into the 21st century: there are clear signs that in the new social-economic situation their ethnic reawakening process has begun.

In the final chapter Pennanen examines the future perspectives for reindeer-herding peoples of the Kola Peninsula. He outlines four question marks hanging over the future. The most important is a threat of the mining industry to the physical environment necessary for reindeer herding: bauxite deposits have been found in many parts of herding grounds. The second is the question of ethnic identity: how much are the young people committed to their own culture and traditional occupations? This is tightly connected with the problem of indigenous peoples' moral standards: alcohol and crime can pose a very big threat to the future of arctic peoples. The fourth question concerns the decision-making system and how it affects inter-ethnic relationships. Pennanen argues that the decision-making should be decentralised to the level of village councils, on the condition that ethnic dispute can be resolved in the fashion acceptable for all reindeer-herding populations.

The book is handsomely produced and illustrated with black-and-white photos, area maps and village plans. It offers an important comparative perspective for anyone undertaking research on reindeer-herding peoples, and it will be useful for scholars interested in social and cultural developments in the Soviet Union and Russia. As I myself have done fieldwork among the reindeer-herding Nenets of the Yamal Peninsula, I can assure that the picture, presented by Jukka Pennanen and his colleagues, corresponds quite accurately to the situation one finds in many parts of the Russian Arctic. And I can only agree with the author of the book that the identity and survival of arctic peoples depends directly on their traditional subsistence systems: as long as there are reindeer herders, the nation will not vanish.

Liivo Niglas, Tartu

The Turn of the Century in Norway

Norge Anno 1900. Kulturhistoriske glimt fra et århundreskifte. Bjarne Rogan (ed.). Pax Forlag, Oslo 1999. 336 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-530-2081-3.

■ What is the magic about shifting centuries? Editor Bjarne Rogan, in the introduction to the anthology *Norge Anno 1900*, discusses this topic. Besides dividing epochs and inspiring magic numbers, the turn of a century often becomes the scene of a society's symbolic and ritual understanding of itself. It is a moment when people find it important to look back, evaluate the past and think about the future. Such phases create deepened consciousness and reflections on "earlier realities and new possibilities", in the editor's own words. Pictures and images of the past become perfect places for dreams and visions. As guidance for reading, the editor divides the articles into two groups according to the two different kinds of dreams and visions they concern.

The first part consists of articles focusing on obvious circumstances and problems during the period. People's material standard, the need for and quality of education and political representation are examples of matters usually related to the industrialization of society. In the anthology these areas are discussed in articles such as "The Chang-

ing Home" by Liv Hilde Boe. She gives several pictures of changes in domestic life. From a social point of view she shows, for example, how division of labour in the household, furnishing, ideas about privacy and standards of hygiene were developed and managed by different groups in the country when the new century began. Daily life in the domestic sphere strengthened its position as a symbolic sign of welfare and thus it also became an important arena for political ambitions striving for democracy and equality.

Other contemporary phenomena worked in a similar vein. We are introduced to a large number of them. Ellen Schrumpf shows how new ideas about bringing up children were one of the significant parts of the modern society. Under the heading "On the Threshold of the Century of the Child" she tells us the story of the modern individualized child as ideal and practice.

An article entitled "In Schoolhouse and Classroom" by Ørnulf Hodne deals with the issue of national education, its forms and contents at the turn of the century. A new society requires well-educated and disciplined citizens; here was a task of rapidly growing importance for the schools.

Transformed relations between religion and culture constituted another urgent question which Knut Aukrust analyses in detail in the article "Belief and Unbelief in Church and Culture".

The need for faith in future development and stronger national self-reliance triggered producers of decorative art to appear at world exhibitions, described by Ingeborg Glambek in "Applied Art at the World Fair", to mention just a few features considered in this collection.

The turn of the century was associated with the progression of modernity, which created optimistic expectations among the people. And according to this book, the intentions of the era obviously seem to be connected to and strengthened through the rapid industrialization which created opportunities and spaces for a more widespread cultural, as well as economic and political, self-esteem. It is in a framework like this that the authors are engaged, albeit without any explicit references to theories of modernity. That is perhaps due to the popular genre in which the anthology can be placed.

The second kind of dreams, making up the other theme of the book, concerns political freedom. More than anything else the turn of the century was associated with the growing political dissatisfaction with the union between Norway and Sweden. A growing number of Norwegians were, understandably, striving for national autonomy. Several articles deal with this subject in relation to the expanding nationalism around 1900. In this process different aspects of folk culture became ideological fuel primarily directed against the union with Sweden, and thus developed as efficient tools for national autonomy.

Trond Berg Eriksen, professor of history of ideas, has an interesting article showing how ideological texts work by their implications – they presume, insinuate and presuppose that, for instance, land and people are one and the same thing when these are "written together" in national chronicles. Well-established and famous scholars and artists turned out to be important parts in the formation of the national ideology. Even cultural history makes political sense. Biologists, engineers and art historians alike contributed a number of shifting national descriptions, narratives and interpretations about the relation between Norwegian nature, culture and people. These relations then appear intimate and natural, and when transferred to another arena they could serve as tools in the ideological legitimizing process that called for the dissolution of the union with Sweden. He concludes that nationalism can be of different kinds – either progressive and optimistic or aggressive and exclusive. In the early phase, Norwegian nationalism was to be placed in the first category, except in relation to Sweden.

Similar but more empirically detailed examples follow in two articles concerned with some of the actors in the nationalization process. Bjarne Rogan analyses the development of tourism and its role in the creation of myths and images of Norway and Norwegians. Thanks to the growing number of tourists Norway gained a place on the map of culturally interesting countries, and the inhabitants acquired a reputation as a free, open-minded and simple people, a characteristic based on topographical analogies. Øystein Sørensen gives a well-informed interpretation of how two current ideological trends, the ideas of national romanticism and the discussions about the writ-

ten language, contributed to the special image of Norwegian nationalism in a politicized manner. The struggle between the two forms of written Norwegian became an ideological tool because they could be linked to ideas about Norwegian authenticity. The genuine language and way of life was, not very surprisingly, placed in the countryside where the least change had occurred.

These relations and tensions between overarching ideological currents, political actions and the circumstances in which people lived their everyday lives constitute a very interesting cultural theme and a sphere that could have been given more analytical space. Taken together, however, these articles make an important contribution to our understanding of why and how Norwegian patriotism and nationalism have become so strong, consistent and vigorous.

After reading the book it is obvious that ideas and symbols evolving around the turn of a century act retrospectively as epoch signs and as a cognitive organization of a society's more apparent changes. But it is also important to notice that this function is mythical, as Arne Bugge Amundsen reminds us when he discusses national history: we use them to get ties to the past and to stimulate people to engagement in the future.

Norge Anno 1900 offers an almost encyclopaedic survey of themes in cultural history and research. It consists of a considerable amount of articles, twenty different chapters in all. The book would probably have gained a lot if these had been organized according to different themes, put in enriching dialogue with each other. Now they melt together into a national inventory – probably unintentionally – representing the grand narrative of what happened of importance in Norway during the period.

Yet this broad approach is at the same time what makes the book valuable. We learn a lot. We are offered knowledge about Norwegian cultural history, societal development and major occurrences, of ideological changes and of more or less prominent persons. I find all this highly useful for a Swede who previously had rudimentary knowledge of our neighbouring country.

Carina Kullgren, Gothenburg

A New Approach to Immigration with Multistrategic Methods

Päivikki Suojanen & Matti K. Suojanen, Retulaatsissa Miamissa. Kasvokkain amerikansuomalaisten kanssa. Migration Institute. Turku 2000. 205 pp. ISBN 951-9266-69-0.

■ Päivikki Suojanen has previously studied such topics as Finnish religion, folkloristics and African culture. Together with her husband Matti K. Suojanen they have researched the topic of Finnish immigrants in Florida. He has analysed language processes and she has studied the process of acculturation. The subject is a universal one and very inspiring.

Outi Tuomi-Nikula has previously studied Finnish people who have migrated to Germany. She has also used the concept of acculturation. In this book, however, Päivikki Suojanen has found many theories to explain the acculturation process. She makes many useful points, because it contains mental and physical transformations that the researcher can observe in a home environment, social events and communication. She has approached her informants in many ways. She has studied photographs and video tapes in which the informants represent their homes and sense of community. She has gone to Finnish association events to see and observe how the Finnish-American people in Florida behave. She has asked what kind of identity they have.

When people move to an unfamiliar country, they meet a language, a way of thinking and a lifestyle that differ from their own. The interaction and the encounter between two cultures is called an acculturation process. According to Päivikki Suojanen there are four different alternatives: some people reject American culture and always want to remain Finns; some have adopted American culture and speak American English; a few have become assimilated to American culture; and a few feel Finnish and American at the same time, having U.S. citizenship. Usually the informants have a double identity.

The language question is one of the determining factors in acculturation. It is also a very important factor reflecting how people think. The two researchers together have a very broad per-

spective on this research. They consider the interaction between Finnish and American culture as material and mental. They have documented artefacts and symbols in the homes of the informants by video and camera. From the video tapes and the photographs they have interpreted the messages of the symbols.

The Suojanens have a very large research population, since the material contains 84 interviews, video tapes and more than a thousand photographs. They observed the Finnish-Americans at dozens of events, because they wanted to examine their customs and how they used the language in various situations. The Finnish associations are the indicators of identity, but they also pass on the Finnish traditions.

Matti K. Suojanen has studied changes in the Finnish language in America. According to him "Finglish" has many variations. It is like a dialect into which many words have been borrowed. People in different occupations use their language in different ways.

It is a very interesting point that many immigrants still have their original dialect, though they also have borrowed expressions from English. Apparently the language is changing slowly, but the Finnish immigrants furnish their homes in American style. Immigrants have to seek a balance between their background and new effects.

The Finnish-American people in Florida thought that three of the most important values are good living, health and good relations with family and friends. Material values were the most important ones, with individualistic values in second place and mental values in third place. In my opinion it would be easier to read this book if there were tables of values.

It is inspiring that Päivikki Suojanen explains the influences of immigration with many theories. She thereby pays attention to the fact that there are many variations in the acculturation process and in the expectations of immigrants.

In Finland the encounter of cultures has been a popular topic in ethnology and general history, especially at the University of Turku. Nowadays people so often move abroad that the subject is highly topical. It is useful to know the phases of the process by which people adapt to a new environment.

As regards methodology, the researchers have relied primarily on interviews, observations and questionnaires. It is valuable that they have used the multistrategic methodology. They have conducted interviews divided into themes such as life story, relationships and friendships, forms of salutation and language. They also asked e.g. about ethnicity and identity. One questionnaire dealt with associations of Finnish-Americans. The majority of the informants thought that these associations were necessary to strengthen nationality ties and make contacts with other immigrants. The other questionnaire concerned values. The informants classified values according to how important they found them. There were also tests about ego image, and the last method was to draw and write about the native locality.

I think that it is very troublesome and demanding to use so many methods. Naturally the subject extends in many directions when the apparatus is so huge. If there had only been other sources of information such as newspapers and archives, the results might have been a little different. In Finnish newspapers there have been many articles about immigration. Some newspapers opposed the immigration, while the informants in this research were positive and voluntary.

We Finns are experiencing cultural effects from so many foreign countries that if we want to explain being Finnish, we must examine the processes of interaction. This research may give answers as to how being Finnish changes in another continent, and it has references to how we are also changing in Europe, where many people adore the Anglo-American lifestyle.

Kirsi Hänninen, Jyväskylä

Anti-Semitism in Swedish Films

Rochelle Wright, The Visible Wall. Jews and Other Ethnic Outsiders in Sweden. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala 1998. 453 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-544-4254-4.

■ Anti-Semitism in Swedish films is the subject of a detailed study by the American scholar Rochelle Wright, *The Visible Wall: Jews and Other Ethnic Outsiders in Sweden*. This is a title that should be committed to memory by film

scholars, historians, ethnologists, sociologists, historians of ideas, and Judaists, for it has a great deal to teach us about the mentality of Swedes. The author, for a change, is not Swedish. Wright is Professor of Scandinavian at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where she also teaches literature, film, and gender studies. I point this out because it is the very breadth of the problematization that strikes one when reading this book.

Wright focuses on portrayals of Jews from the breakthrough of talkies in the early 1930s until the 1990s. She presents relevant comparative material in the form of a large number of analyses of films with representations of other minorities such as Sami, Finns and tinkers, as well as later immigrant groups such as Italians, Turks, and Greeks. The plots of many films are retold in detail, because the book is intended as a kind of case study which can be read by many different nationalities. The anti-Semitic films of the 1930s will scarcely be shown in public, so Wright's lengthy synopses serve as historical documentation. This approach is of course quite right. Whereas the powers that be in Sweden have been anxious to emphasize Raoul Wallenberg, the white buses, and other heroic deeds on behalf of the Jewish people of which Sweden can boast, our anti-Semitic past has been repressed. The Swedish film researchers that Wright singles out as exceptions are P. O. Qvist and Leif Furhammar.

In her analysis Wright starts from the stereotyping of Jews at the start of the 20th century. Albert Engström, e.g., published cartoons in the magazine *Strix* that would render him liable to prosecution for racial agitation today. The racist stereotype, according to Wright, was adopted outright by the popular cinema at the start of the 1930s, when anti-Semitic sentiment was inflamed, e.g., by the state-financed inanities of the racial biologist Herman Lundborg.

In Gustaf Edgren's film *Tired Teodor* from 1931, a Shylock-like caricature was established as the stereotype of the Jew. The impoverished and henpecked hero, Teodor, pawns his wife's necklace to a Jew named Mosesson, played by Rune Carlsten. Teodor cannot pay the 1,500 kronor to redeem the pawn, and Mosesson and his wife Sara plot to swindle Teodor out of the necklace, which they reckon is worth 20,000 kronor. The necklace is stolen when Sara wears it to a restaurant. Mosesson announces a 3,000-kronor reward for the finder. Through melodramatic twists in the plot, the necklace comes to Teodor, who claims the reward and uses it to redeem the necklace, thus making a tidy profit at the expense of the Jew.

The anti-Semitism in the film did not frighten off audiences; far from it: in Stockholm alone the film was seen by 195,000 people. And the reviewer in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* praised Carlsten's makeup in the role of "huckster-Jew". After the film was shown on TV in 1985 it was reported to the Broadcasting Commission which ruled, by a narrow majority, that the film was "anti-Semitic". The incident did not arouse any sensation in the Swedish press. In Norway, on the other hand, where the film was shown the following year, it led to a national scandal which ended with an apology by the state TV corporation.

The particularly flagrant thing about the Swedish version of *Tired Teodor* was the inclusion of anti-Semitic propaganda; in the German version from 1939, *Der müde Teodor*, directed by Veit Harlan (who was tried in court after the war for his racist portrayal of a Jew in the film *Jüd Süss*), there was no anti-Semitic character role. Nor was there any in Anders Henrikson's Swedish version from 1945.

Wright analyses other popular films from the 1930s. As P. O. Qvist has shown, *Petterson & Bendel* (1933) contained crude anti-Semitic propaganda. It appealed to Hitler to such an extent that the film was proclaimed in Germany as being "Staatspolitisch wertvoll" (the Germans were far behind the Swedes in daring to attack Jews in film propaganda), and the premiere in 1935 led to serious persecutions of Jews. In Sweden, despite protests, the film continued to be distributed. What Wright brings out here in particular is the naïve, chauvinistic Swedish idealization of the establishment of the welfare state in the 1930s. When *Petterson & Bendel* was shown in Stockholm in 1974, Eva Bjärlund wrote about the marketing of the film in Germany: "It was an unpleasant surprise for many people during the 1930s that even 'apolitical films' can express values that agree with those of reactionary social systems."

"Apolitical" indeed! As both Qvist and Wright shows so convincingly, the values that Bjärlund ascribes to reactionary social systems had a solid foundation in the Swedish welfare state.

Why these anti-Semitic attitudes found expression is not directly explained by Wright, and in view of the number of Jews in Sweden – they numbered no more than 7,000 during the 1930s – it seems strange. Moreover, the image of the Jew in the films had very little similarity to the real circumstances of the Jewish minority. A wise historian whom I have asked about this told me that there is scarcely any simple explanation. Denmark at this time had a larger population of Jews but did not have any comparable ideological propaganda. The explanation should probably be sought somewhere in the Swedish Jews' combination of success and a certain degree of exclusion – a combination many Swedes found repugnant.

By far the worst attack on the Jews in Swedish film was represented by *Panic* (1939), directed by Gustaf Eriksson under the pseudonym George Willoughby. According to some sources, the film was financed by the Nazi sympathizer Torsten Kreuger, owner of the newspaper *Aftonbladet*. Wright describes the film as being carelessly made, and it never achieved any popularity in Sweden. It tells of how Kreuger's brother, the financier Ivar Kreuger, was entrapped, ruined, and murdered by an international conspiracy supported by America and communist Russia. At the very heart of the conspiracy is a shabby little firm of brokers in the Old Town of Stockholm: Nathan & Kohn, run by two Jews. At this time, however, Wright goes on, anti-Semitism no longer had any function to fill in hailing Swedishness as a contrast to Jewishness in Swedish popular film. (I would not dare to say that Wright is mistaken here, but in his dissertation *Ungdom i fara*, Bengt Bengtsson shows how the anti-Semitic stereotype does in fact return in the portrait of the pawnbroker in Lars-Erik Kjellgren's *While the City Sleeps* from 1950.) Jews had been utilized to make Swedish audiences feel racially superior and regard themselves as a pure, homogeneous group.

The Holocaust and the Second World War made this kind of anti-Jewish propaganda impossible. Yet the need for Swedes to define themselves ethnically against racially inferior peoples had not been satisfied, according to Wright. While Swedish films during the war years began to portray Jews with understanding and sympathy, popular culture singled out another group to attack: *tattare* ("tinkers" or "travellers"). With the same dexterity as shown in her analysis of anti-Semitism, Wright studies the stigmatization of tinkers in a great many Swedish films, from *In the Darkest Corner of Småland* (1943) to *Waltz of Sex*, based faithfully (unfortunately, says Wright) on the novel by Artur Lundkvist. Made as late as 1968, the film wallowed in racist clichés. Throughout this genre, the tinkers are portrayed as swarthy, armed with knives, sexually promiscuous, all in stark contrast to the idealization of noble, "Aryan" Swedes. The interesting thing about the portrayal of the tinkers, however, is that the 1950s saw the emergence of a type of revisionist tinker film which questioned the exclusion of this group.

Turning to modern film history, Wright analyses a multitude of films, everything from the role of the Jew in Ingmar Bergman to Suzanne Osten's *Talk!, It's So Dark* (1993). Although these analyses are conducted with exactly the same vigour, they do not really have the same relevance for the history of mentalities. Many of these works were "art films" consumed by only a small fraction of the population. Wright nevertheless claims to be able to detect a certain resistance among critics to modern portrayals of racism in Sweden; they simply felt offended instead of examining themselves.

Rochelle Wright's study represents film research at its best. She writes brilliant, correct English prose, perhaps occasionally too simplistic in the explanation of what are in fact complex processes in the sociology of film. There is not a single unnecessary reference to trendy philosophers, psychoanalytical processes, or fashionable concepts. A reasonable continuation of Wright's exceptional research would be a study of, e.g., how Swedish TV has handled the Palestinian question, above all in the 1970s and 1980s. It would not surprise me if the strong support for the PLO in Sweden – unique by European standards – could be linked to the anti-Semitism that, for some strange reason, has been so noticeably present among us.

Erik Hedling, Lund

Instructions for submission of manuscripts to *Ethnologia Scandinavica*

Articles should if possible be sent on diskette together with a printout. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; if necessary the language will be edited by a native speaker. Articles may be submitted in the Scandinavian languages for translation, but articles in Finnish should be translated in Finland before submission. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

Articles should not be longer than about 20 pages of typewritten text with 1.5 line spacing. Please aim for clear, concise language, remembering that you are writing for a non-Scandinavian audience. To make the translator's work easier and to avoid misunderstandings, authors are recommended to add technical terms and expressions in English in brackets or in the margin. Quotations should not be too numerous nor too long.

Legends to figures should be brief, not including anything that is not discussed in the text of the article. Legends should be written on a separate paper and clearly numbered. The illustrations – photographs, drawings, and tables – should be clearly numbered. Credits (archives, photographers, etc.) should be stated at the end of the legend. Figures should be referred to by their number, not "the table below" or "the photograph above". The placing of the figures in relation to the text should be clearly marked in the margin. Figures should be submitted along with the manuscript.

Notes should be avoided as far as possible. References to authors or book titles should be included in parentheses at the relevant point in the text. Notes should only be used for clarification or discussion.

The list of *References* should include only books referred to in the text. Details should be presented as follows:

Balle-Pedersen, Margaretha 1981: The Holy Danes. *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 11.

Frykman, Jonas 1988: *Dansbaneeländet. Ungdomen, populärkulturen och opinionen.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Löfgren, Orvar 1992: Landskapet. In *Den nordiske verden* I, ed. Kirsten Hastrup. København: Gyldendal.

Reviews of new dissertations and other books of broad general interest should be 4–5 A4 pages long with 1.5 line spacing. A review should consist of a brief presentation of the content and method of the work, followed by a comparison with similar significant works, and ending with a personal evaluation.

Reviews of other ethnological and closely related works should present the content and method and a personal appraisal. The length should be 1–2 A4 pages with 1.5 line spacing.

Reviews written in English or German should be submitted on diskette.

When in doubt, check the format of previous issues of *Ethnologia Scandinavica.*

The author will have an opportunity to check the translation and make any necessary changes. When the manuscript has been approved, no changes in proof will be tolerated unless there is an obvious risk of misunderstanding.

Translations and proofs should be returned to the editor as quickly as possible. The deadline for manuscripts, at present 1 September, must be observed so that publication is not delayed.

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This year's theme is far away and very near. With growing migration and Europeanization, domestic patterns must be regarded from a global perspective as much as a national or Nordic perspective. Local patterns are formed in intensive dialogue with processes outside the countries. This year's issue begins with three studies of transnationalism, illuminating the bonds that immigrants and refugees forge between their old and new homelands and how a new economic world order has a local impact.

Other articles focus on how local memory and nostalgia function as cultural cement in cities characterized by rapid material change; on how traditional forms of neighbourly cooperation in agrarian society now serve as national icons. As television has placed world events and stars in the lap of the viewer, it is possible to bring grand processes and personalities down to an everyday level; far away has thus become very close, and the potential of culture for transcendence is affected – for better or worse. The anthropomorphization of animals is discussed in an essay which looks at how dead dogs have been used in the past, especially for their skin.

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