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Editorial

By Jonas Frykman

This year the focus is on place, reflecting the attention that the discussion of place has attracted in the research community. Perhaps place is in the process of becoming the space where it will be possible to transcend the focus in recent years on culture as something mainly mental – as text, metaphors, and representations. The orientation to place opens the door to new perspectives on classical ethnological dimensions to do with action, with material culture, experience, and ritual. It goes without saying that there is also scope for texts to be downloaded and reshaped according to the conditions offered by place. Culture is created not only *in* but also *by* place, Connie Reksten Kapstad, says. These questions are tackled in a broad collection of essays.

The reader is given insight into how environmental demonstrators outside Bergen use place as a starting point for political mobilization; we are taken along to the rock festival in little Hultsfred, where it is the local that creates the conditions for the international, and we can follow how the rock texts of John Fogerty can lift a landscape, Bayou County, to poetic heights. Places are recreated in miniature form, where Sweden can be concretized in porcelain: “Christmas in Lindsborg” shows how something composite can be made manageable and culturally innovative.

The EU’s regional policy tends to transform the inhabitants of the Åboland archipelago in Swedish-speaking Finland into figures in a museum. In Jutland, along the west coast of Denmark, the regional self-esteem of the population is growing vigorously, while more and more of the landscape is simultaneously encompassed by the state’s cultural heritage policy, which seeks to highlight the distinctive character

of the place. What was once nature is now inscribed under the heading of culture. With examples from Oslo, finally, we are shown how the city planners of the 1950s consciously tried to raise themselves above, to transcend the place that the urban space constituted, and in the spirit of modernism sought to transform it into an abstract space.

The new discussion tries to give greater scope to place than it had not only in the paradigms of constructivism and text, but also in modernity theory, which presupposed that places are compressed or drained of meaning in the age of global culture. Connie Reksten Kapstad has her theoretical domicile in phenomenology. Her article shows the limitation of cultural analysis, since it generally seeks to show how places and things have become sites for projected interpretations. Are they not, on the contrary, filled with the everyday things that only rarely allow themselves to be described or narrated? Like any life-world, place is also pre-phenomenal, a starting point for our actions more often than a subject for our observations. Life acquires meaning through the insights that are aroused, the opportunities that are opened – things that are not easily narrated. This perspective does not conflict with globalization, as is evident from Jonas Bjälesjö’s study showing how young people use music and festival to try to inscribe the experience offered by the place. The Hultsfred where they camp becomes much more than what it is, a “social imaginary” that offers a space for both experience and action, both body and mind. This theme is further developed in Sven-Erik Klinkmann’s account of how John Fogerty uses a series of well-known clichés about the American South to make an outer frame around his own memories

and experiences. The place allows complex things to be represented in artistic form rather than described. And in Lizette Gradén's study of Lindsborg, artistic creation was the concrete starting point for a series of dreams about other, similar places – dreams of the future and the past, which can only vaguely be expressed in discourses.

In the desire of cultural policy to transform the past into a cultural heritage, there is a risk that functioning life-worlds will be forced into a museum straitjacket, that they will become interpretation instead of ongoing life. This discussion is tackled from different angles by Katriina Siivonen, Ellen Damgaard, and Mette Guldborg. The

local identity that is cultivated in West Jutland or in the Åboland archipelago tends to be regarded as a thing instead of a constantly changing adaptation to the conditions and stimuli that are communicated in the concrete place. Culture is created not only *in* but also *by* place, Connie Reksten Kapstad, says. Finally, Per-Øystein Lund brings us back to the question of how modern community planners deliberately tried to do what modernity theory has described – to replace place with space – and how citizens today, like the scholars in this issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, are becoming increasingly concerned with letting place stand out once again.

The Disappearance of Place

The Ethnological Dilemma

By Connie Reksten Kapstad

The place – open but enclosed, ready to receive a myriad of events and people. This is how many people view place, and this is how it has been viewed by ethnologists. In earlier ethnology, place was a given object of study. We are familiar with the Norwegian farm and neighbourhood communities depicted by Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen (1970), and town and country in Sweden as described by Mats Hellspong and Orvar Löfgren (1974). There are also various studies of rural settlements, little communities, and satellite towns. The fact is, place has been one of the central research topics in ethnology. However, ethnologists gradually lost interest in the local community, the neighbourhood, the district. Place disappeared from the ethnological map. The argument tended to be that culture was no longer produced in places, but within abstract, symbolic, and narrative structures, in other words, anywhere except in places.

But does this mean that the disappearing act of place, rather than being a conscious choice of new fields of interest among ethnologists, was due to a change of approach and perspective? When place disappeared as an object of study, it was not by chance that it happened at the same time as the appearance of cultural analysis in ethnology. To what extent did the gradual shift from essentialism to constructivism that took place with the introduction of cultural analysis cause place to vanish as an object of study – or rather, to take off, albeit not permanently?

In today's ethnology it seems as if place has once again become a popular research topic. In this article I want to argue that the rediscovery of place in ethnology, and other cultural sciences, should not be interpreted as either a post-modern or a late-modern

phenomenon. For if place today seems meaningful, there are alternative interpretations.

My own interest in place is due to a specific cultural phenomenon, one of the most striking political events in Norwegian culture and society in the latter half of the 1990s, namely, the *gas power issue*. At the end of the 1990s the gas power issue engaged not only the major part of the Norwegian environmental movement and also most Norwegian politicians and newspapers. And suddenly it happened: the gas power issue took place. In summer 1997 a camp was set up by the Norwegian environmentalists and the Joint Action Against Gas Power Stations, who pitched their tents on the site marked out for one of the two planned gas power stations in Vestlandet. "Let's go to Øygarden" can be read on a number of hand-written placards and banners held up for members of the Jagland government on their way to their first cabinet meeting with the king. They are equipped with rucksacks and sleeping bags, on their backs or in full view at their feet. The opponents of gas power are ready to head for Øygarden. But how are we to understand the place and the camp at Øygarden? How are we to understand the fact that the environmental action took place? Is it possible that the establishment of the camp had a meaning over and above the obvious fact that it was meant as a threat to environmental policy? So let us go to Øygarden.¹

"Let's Go to Øygarden" – and We Went

On the way to the camp, however, I feel a desire to tell of fjords and heathery moors, of well-tended gardens with pastel-coloured post-war houses in the midst of the heath. I feel a desire to tell of bridges, horizons, and light-blue seas. The encounter with the

tents at Øygarden was like meeting “a sudden green field”. For we were finally in Øygarden. This was the site of the camp. We had got there! It turned out that the camp was located in a little hollow, surrounded by green grass and fresh deciduous woods, but it was simultaneously filled with tents and journalists, and people who had lain down to take it easy, allowing themselves to be embraced by the greenery.

Some time into the autumn, after the camp had been broken up, I went to the written sources. The unique experience of the camp in Øygarden was what I wanted to substantiate. The result of my search at the university library was dispiriting. After leafing through most of the bulletins and members’ newsletters of the Norwegian environmental movement, all I found was one photomontage. It was composed of a series of polaroid pictures from the camp. They showed happily smiling faces in the tent openings late at night, conveying in many ways an atmosphere of campfires, smoke, and damp wool. The captions say things like: “Intimate morning fun in the white tent [...]”, “Tired faces in the red tent [...]”, “Three bitter men want to make life difficult for the entrepreneurs who are sympathetic to gas power [...]”, “Tent veterans Trude, Lisa, and Sigfrid from Bodø are ready for take-off” (*Natur og Samfunn* 4/1997). The photomontage was accompanied by a poem describing the young environmentalists’ (NUers’) camp. The poem consists of two verses. We see how the first of these verses in particular might seem to corroborate the immediate impression of the polaroid pictures, of the camp as a happy place:

It was the summer camp in Øygarden.
Plenty of people, gnats, and laughing
voices. The most important and most
unique summer camp ever.

The sun shone from a clear, blue
sky. The sea was cool.

The tarn was warm.

The swimming NUers among
waterlilies made a beautiful sight.

(*Natur og Samfunn* 4/1997)

In the quest for the camp as a spatial entity, photography and poetry were thus the closest I came. What I had been in search of was what could be read in black on white, that is, deliberate reflections on the place and the camp in Øygarden. Yet the cultural marking of the camp and the place seemed to occur in other categories of sources than explicit, well-formulated reflections, in categories on the margin of articulable language. For the sources I had found hitherto were not very explicit. Could the place only be communicated in lyrical and poetic images? Was this the only category of source capable of communicating it? How was I to understand the camp in Øygarden as “the most important and most unique summer camp ever”? Perhaps like a melting pot of culture?

The Genuine Place – the Melting Pot of Culture

When ethnologists have studied place, they have tended to do so in terms of “farmsteads”, “town and country, and later also as “local community”, and “cultural landscape”. In many ways, the term “cultural landscape” was to replace the 1970s’ idea of “local community”. Research on the cultural landscape in the 1980s thus appeared as the last in a series of interpretations of place in traditional ethnology. It simultaneously introduced new problems, partly by bringing in the complex and extensive problem of the relationship between nature and culture. In the Norwegian ethnological

journal *Dugnad* for 1981 the cultural landscape was the subject of a theme issue, obviously intended as a starting package for beginners in the field of cultural landscape. Several of the articles therefore discuss and explain the term itself. This was the case with Asbjørn Tyssen and his article about the changing agricultural district of Vikedal (1981). Tyssen wrote as follows about the cultural landscape:

For those who have the ability to “read” the cultural landscape, it provides a great deal of knowledge about human activity through the ages. Houses, fields, fences, roads, and clearance cairns – all this belongs together, giving accumulated knowledge of work and living conditions through time. Much of this multiplicity is missed when one takes things out of context, for example, when moving houses to museums. The surroundings cannot be moved easily (Tyssen 1981:21).

Tyssen’s interest in the cultural landscape is in many ways pragmatically motivated. He is talking about the ability of the cultural landscape to gather all that belongs together. But it is primarily time that interests Tyssen, or the fact that place makes it possible to “read” time by reading the landscape.

We thus see how landscape in ethnology, through the term “cultural landscape”, is in many ways understood as a physical form which can be studied by means of scientific observations. The knowledge potential of cultural landscape studies seems to lie in the art of acquiring landscape as an external, objective entity, with the analogies between object and landscape appearing as a striking feature. The landscape is interpreted primarily on the basis of physical interventions.

According to the professor of architecture Norberg-Schulz, a place has a *genius loci*, that is, a spirit that makes it a unique entity. People must take time to open themselves

to the distinctive character of the surrounding world in order to experience the *genius loci* – as it has grown out of the landscape and become the natural spatial structure.

In a small book which has gradually become a classic, entitled “Between Earth and Heaven: A Book about Places and Houses” (1992), Norberg-Schulz seeks to bring out the hidden properties of place, and argues for an architecture that aims to build in harmony with the “essence” of a place. He thus essentializes place against the background of the *genius loci* as associated with the ancient notions of the place as a living and working reality.

Whereas ethnological scholars of the cultural landscape primarily interpreted place as meaningful because of their desire to grasp historical facts and evidence of earlier conditions, Norberg-Schulz rather interprets the meaningful place as evidence of beauty and goodness. When the philosopher and educationist Jan Bengtsson describes the conditions for Norberg-Schulz and his phenomenology of place “not as a result of experience, but given a priori and universal” (Bengtsson 1998:240), we see the obvious link between ethnological cultural landscape studies and Norberg-Schulz’s outlook. Each approach seems to interpret place as universal and as a permanent super-historical matrix which an objectivist scholar will claim exists, according to the theorist of science Richard J. Bernstein, if only to be able to establish the nature of rationality, knowledge, truth, reality, goodness, or justice (Bernstein 1991:26). In an essentialist and objectivist interpretative framework like this it thus becomes possible to interpret place as the melting pot of culture, that is, culture created not *in* but *by* place. But ethnologists have studied place in other ways too.

Taking Off

Horse's hooves at a light trot, barely touching the ground. The rider whips the horse, which moves from a trot to a canter. The speed increases. We follow the horseman on his wild ride, across parishes, provinces, nations, and Europe. The landscape changes, from meadow to forest, from forest to open plain, from plain to small villages. A new tableau: hitched behind two big horses, a wagon travels through the cobbled streets of the town. This is how I remember the article on roads by Orvar Löfgren in the book *Den nordiske verden* (1992). I remember the article as hooves, wheels, and sleigh runners – in constant movement, without permanent grip on the surface, the place, or the landscape. Instead of clinging to a place, they raise themselves above landscape and place, floating over it in a manner that leaves no physical traces.

Unlike earlier understandings of place, place changes in Löfgren's article. Instead of place and landscape being stable, they are perceived as constantly changing, as shifting tableaux and backdrops to movement, speed, and time. As the rider whips the animal onwards, the place becomes changing scenes, becoming "landscape" in the original English meaning of the word, as a "scenery", something to look at (Olwig 1993).

We see how Löfgren breathes out! He lets fresh air into a discipline that has gone blind looking at the constancy and permanence of culture, lets the breeze blow through the place.

By thematizing travel, movement, and cultural encounters, Löfgren is able to free himself from the place as a clearing in a thick forest, cut off from cultural impulses from outside (Löfgren 1992:116). Löfgren in many ways makes place unclear. According

to him, a landscape is a piece of nature which has become impregnated with culture:

Through the centuries we can follow how one and the same piece of land can be revalued, given new meaning, conveying completely different experiences and emotions. The mountain, the flowery meadow, or the edge of the woods do not need to have changed noticeably, but the 15th-century peasant, the 18th-century landscape painter, and the 19th-century pioneering tourist do not see the same landscape. In this way, all nature is a cultural landscape. It is filtered through a consciousness, even if it was concretely shaped by cultivation or the need to exploit it. The history of the landscape is thus not just a description of agricultural techniques, railway construction, and plantation, but just as much a study of world-views, life-horizons, and patterns of thought, and a history of perception, perspective, and vision (Löfgren 1992:111).

For today's scholars of culture, Löfgren's reasoning is familiar. Yet it was a perspective that came as a radical change from the earlier ethnological view of how to study place. Whereas the adjective "cultural" had previously been necessary to distinguish the culturally created from the natural landscape, "cultural" was now unnecessary as a qualification. All nature is culture. With this approach, the "natural" landscape is an expression of a special world-view and figure of thought. The natural landscape represents an idea and has thus become a man-made entity.

We thus see how ethnology, like most other cultural sciences, took off, literally leaving the ground. The demand for concrete, palpable proof was gone, and the requirement of physical traces on the ground was less important than ever for scientific practice. Instead, place, landscape, and nature were interpreted as mental phenomena, as an idea. We thus see the meaning of

place and landscape, not as something implanted in the object or the place itself, as a working force in the form of a *genius loci*, but in the subject, that is, in us. It is above all we who project meaning into a place. We read meaning into the landscape, nature, the object. In the study of place, landscape, and nature, in other words, ethnology entered the world of ideas and thoughts. In the constructivist perspective, place became a cultural construction. But how was place constructed? There are many answers to this. This brings us to the 1990s, into the decade of cultural studies, when one of the more sophisticated contributions was the theory of modernity.

The Vacuum Left Behind

What is interesting for modernity theory is the way the disappearance of place has been made into an explicit theoretical point. The disappearance of place is seen as a characteristic of the modern world. Place in itself thereby seems to constitute modernity theory – by its absence. But how did this happen?

Anthony Giddens has given us perhaps the most interesting contribution to modernity theory. As it is presented in *The Consequences of Modernity* (Giddens 1990), it is a reaction to the heavy positivist orientation that formerly existed in the social sciences. According to Geir O. Rønning, Giddens's modernity theory, as he developed it through the theory of structuration, should therefore be understood as a response to the "cultural turn" in the social sciences and humanities. The modernity perspective was a turn away from social sciences to cultural studies. Yet it is also a critique of cultural science, which according to Giddens has never been able to "account for institutions and organi-

zations with a great extent in time and place, and hence for reproduction and change on a large scale" (Rønning 1994:6).

There is good reason to speak of an "international Giddens industry" in the 1990s (Rønning 1994:23). But how did modernity become an enticing perspective? How are we to understand Giddens's reasoning as it took shape in small disciplines like ethnology and folkloristics? Was it by virtue of being able to account for reproduction and change on a large scale? If we start from the article "'Old and New in Wider Senses': On Modernity and Ethnology" (1992), it is worth noting how Inger Johanne Lyngø chooses to see modernity primarily as a perspective which made it possible for ethnologists to emphasize mentality:

By calling this modernity, attention is directed to the *mentality* that is the foundation for modernization. The perspective of modernity thus means that attention is extended from modernization, the material side of modernity, to take in the non-material as well, the spiritual part of culture (Lyngø 1992:5).

Lyngø thus describes modernity theory as a take-off, but one which balances the focus of modernity theory with the material orientation in ethnology. Modernity theory made it possible for ethnology both to take off and to increase speed. For through the theory of modernity time became an important aspect. As Lyngø says: "The ethnological dimension of time has never been properly discussed, but the perspective of modernity opens the door for such a discussion" (Lyngø 1992). However, what she means by saying that time has never been properly discussed in ethnology is unclear.

It is in any case a fact that the dimension of time and the historical perspective have

been taken for granted in ethnology, especially in the approach of cultural history which had characterized ethnology until then. What has made Giddens's theory popular is perhaps the way he not merely presents reproduction and change on a large scale, but time and space as culturally constructed, that is, as a man-made entity. Giddens does so by looking back in time to pre-modern societies. What his aim seems to be is thus to explain the causes of the modern condition, instead of describing modernity. Despite the label "interpretative sociologist", he seems to be more concerned with explaining than understanding. For while people in pre-modern society oriented themselves to place, modern man orients himself to space. According to Giddens, a significant conceptual distinction for understanding the difference between the modern and the pre-modern world is therefore the difference between "place" and "space":

In pre-modern societies, space and place largely coincide, since the spatial dimensions of social life are, for most of the population, and in most respects, dominated by "presence" – by localised activities. The advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering relations between "absent" others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. In conditions of modernity, place becomes increasingly *phantasmagoric*: that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the "visible form" of the locale conceals the distanced relations which determine its nature (Giddens 1990:18–19).

The meaning of life in the pre-modern world is therefore primarily taken from local activities, such as barn chores and planting potatoes – from what was provided by animals and the soil. In the pre-modern

world, in other words, meaning was derived directly from place. By introducing the analytical concept of space, Giddens is thus able to remove place as a foundation for a meaningful existence in the modern world.

At the same time, it is worth noticing how this argument about the disappearance of place can only be put forward against the background of his special interpretation of place, as solely associated with the extraction of real values. When place produced meaning in pre-modernity, it was above all a place for production in a Marxist sense. On the other hand, this interpretation seems too facile a position. What most ethnologists and folklorists know, as, as experts in the study of old peasant culture, is that place in the pre-modern world had its "life politics", whether in the form of sickness, plague, love, and religion, or in the form of myths, narratives, magic, and witchcraft.

When Giddens builds his modernity theory on the absence of the meaning of place in modernity, it is in other words based on a very narrow concept and insufficient of place. It is most likely that place in the pre-modern world created meaning over and above being able to represent the extraction of real values, production, and function.

Emergency Landing

Even in such a place-oriented science as ethnology it may seem as if the abstract dimension "space" was studied at the cost of place (Kapstad 1998). When a collection of articles of modern landscapes was published in the late 1990s (Saltzman & Svensson 1997), it was interesting to notice how an express goal was to put back on the agenda a theme that had long been of low status in ethnology – landscape – but in a way that the authors characterize as a new perspective:

Our aim in compiling this book is twofold. First, we want to present our approach of cultural analysis and show how it can contribute to research on the landscape. Second, we want to show the new perspectives that the landscape as a research problem can add to cultural analysis. We thus want to take ethnology's perspective of cultural constructivism into landscape studies and simultaneously re-introduce the landscape as a research field in ethnology (Saltzman & Svensson 1997:19).

The aim of the anthology was thus to bring back the landscape as a field of ethnological study and simultaneously to update landscape and place as objects of study in relation to the approaches of constructivism and modernity theory. It was not to transcend constructivism that was the point, but to bring a subject neglected since the days of essentialism closer to an up-to-date approach, that of cultural constructivism.

When Birgitta Svensson, in her article in the anthology, starts from the modern agricultural and production landscape of the Scanian plain, it seems in many ways to be in an attempt to reinstate place and landscape as topics in ethnology. Svensson lets us follow one place from the latter part of the 19th century until the present day, showing how the medieval castle of Glimmingehus is not used for its original defensive purpose, nor as a grain store for the local farmers (the use which ensured its survival). Instead, Glimmingehus has been made into a historic monument from the Middle Ages. A meaning given to the place seems to derive from the global market of experience tourism:

An experience market achieves certain characteristics in which you can mirror yourself to feel security, to recognize yourself. Today this happens more at places like Glimmingehus than

in one's own neighbourhood. An experience market is an aestheticization and staging of the past. The German sociologist Gerhard Schulze goes so far as to say that we are living in an experience society. With increased rationalization of experiences, he also believes that the modernization process has turned inwards, but it seeks itself more than the surroundings. In the quest for stable and lasting experience markets, both buyers and sellers have oriented themselves towards increasingly stable and reliable markets. With 6,000 paying visitors on one day – the medieval festival – Glimmingehus must be regarded as a good market (Svensson 1997:35).

The place exists, even in the modern world, but it has been made meaningful primarily against the background of capitalist market forces. It thus seems as if Svensson, in line with Giddens, interprets the place in terms of production, but in relation to a monetary economy rather than for the extraction of real values, as in Giddens.

At the same time, the authors of the anthology seem to make themselves into spokesmen of a middle way – between constructivism and realism – while simultaneously underlining the taken-for-granted interpretation of the landscape as a cultural construction, precisely through the choice of landscape as a study object:

Our starting point is the physically palpable landscape. But is there landscape matter that exists independent of the interpretation of the times? Surely a landscape can only be understood against the background of the social and cognitive circumstances that give it its meaning? Here we touch on a theoretical dividing line which has crystallized with increasingly clarity in many different disciplines: the opposition between essentialism and constructivism. For us it is self-evident that landscapes are cultural constructions. We nevertheless find it justified to advocate a middle way, not just between modernity and post-modernity, but also between constructivism

and something else, which we could best call realism (Svensson & Saltzman 1997:10).

They thus seem to have taken a step backwards, to realism, instead of studying landscape and place in terms of constructivism as they have promised. For when Svensson, in an article full of critique of ideology and with unspoken loans from Marxism, seems to want to start from the concrete landscape and the physical reality, this position is in no way incompatible with Marxism. Both Marxism and realism look for physical experience and material culture as a starting point and an objective basis for interpretation: realism in its desire to achieve scientific truth, and Marxism based on a desire to establish the objective conditions of the economy, market, and production.

In many ways, Svensson has taken inspiration, not just from theorists of modernity such as Gerhard Schulze, but also from the geographer David Harvey, according to whom place has never been more present or more meaningful than it is today. In his *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (1996), Harvey declares that place exists, even in modernity, but that behind today's construction and production of place lie primarily market forces, commercialism, and capitalism. These were forces that not only made it possible to devalue and devastate place, but also to give it new meaning. Harvey puts it like this:

Old places have to be devalued, destroyed, and redeveloped while new places are created. The cathedral city becomes a heritage center, the mining community becomes a ghost town, the old industrial center is deindustrialized, speculative boom towns or gentrified, neighborhoods arise on the frontiers of capitalist development or out of the ashes of deindustrialized communities. The history of capitalism is, then,

punctuated by intense phases of spatial reorganization. There has been a powerful surge of such reorganization since around 1970, creating considerable insecurity within and between places. The effect has not been, as some theorists contend, to eliminate the significance of place altogether in the contemporary world (Harvey 1996:296 f.).

Unlike Giddens, Harvey therefore speaks of place as a meaningful entity in modernity. Yet he finds it necessary to underline his constructivist approach. For when places exist today, we should not interpret them as a *genius loci* or as physically palpable entities *an sich*: on the contrary, the meaning of place is dependent on human experiences. As Harvey writes (1996:293): "Place, in whatever guise, is like space and time, a social construct. This is the baseline from which I start". Place-like characteristics such as permanence and stability are therefore reinterpreted by Harvey primarily as social constructions and as socially constructed. They are thus not properties of the place in itself, as the result would be if we had interpreted place *an sich* or in terms of the theory of *genius loci*. Places are an expression of power and hegemonic values. Today's places are the result of prolonged struggles between classes and struggles about values. According to Harvey, they will thus always be expressions of class struggle.

Place: The Farmstead Cluster of Our Times?

Orvar Löfgren (1997) has warned of the danger of setting up "place" against "space", as happens in Giddens, and in Harvey. According to Löfgren, the place-space debate can easily lead to claims that, in the past, there were proper, true places whereas today we just have surfaces (1997:49). The danger Löfgren warns against is thus of the

nostalgic kind. In other words, there is a certain risk that place may only arise again as a pre-modern relic, like “farmstead clusters”. When Nils Rune Langeland wrote his column on “The New Oslo Tone” in the weekly magazine of the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, on the subject of Grünerløkka in Oslo as an expression of a new urban culture, he indeed compared this place with pre-modern culture:

[It] turns out that those who think they live an urban lifestyle have no car, preferring to walk, and that they rarely move outside their neighbourhood, out of walking distance from where they live. Their grandparents from the countryside would have recognized a life like this (*Dagbladet*, 31 October 1999).

When place reappears as a meaningful in the modern world as well, as is the case here in Grünerløkka, we see how the only solution is to interpret these places as “the farmstead clusters” of our times, and hence as a pre-modern relic. The reasoning on which the theory of modernity is based thereby seems to imply that it was in the past that true places existed. Today’s places thus seem like a shadow of a more original bygone value. Places today have been constructed with the primary aim of commercial success. The meaningful places that exist nowadays can only be regarded as anomalies, as irrational elements in modernity. This is a deficiency in the immune system of modernity theory. But there is another solution. Places like Grünerløkka and the Øygarden camp could be characterized as a late-modern phenomenon.

In *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (1991), Giddens takes inspiration from the philosopher Martin Heidegger, in order to mark the

analytical difference between the modern and late-modern forms of society.” Like Heidegger’s existential philosophy, the existential and life-political questions that concern “how we should live” and “the meaning of life” and self-identity. This description of late-modern societies as moral and existential has found agreement in a number of other theorists (Lash 1999; Bauman 1995, 2001). Scott Lash (1999) goes so far in this direction that, instead of calling this late-modern as Giddens does, he calls it “the other modernity”. When Giddens’s modernity theory forces us to interpret place as either empty or irrational, and as “the farmstead cluster” of our times, there is an alternative interpretative framework, namely, to interpret today’s meaningful places as late-modern. Giddens thus interprets late-modern society as a reaction and response – like a boomerang – to the modern forms of society. He sees the moral and existential – or ontological – dimension, as Lash would call it, as a result of repression. The issues are brought back to the public arena today simply because they have been repressed by modern society: “For life politics brings back to prominence precisely those moral and existential questions repressed by the core institutions of modernity” (Giddens 1991:223).² Things that modernity threw away have been thrown back. The modernity reasoning can thus seem to slip into a discourse of resistance, as a result of which, according to Jonas Frykman, analyses conducted within modernity theory easily acquire a touch of compensation, and also of explanations in terms of the stimulus/response of social psychology (Frykman 1998:54–55).

There is thus scope for place even in Giddens’s theory of modernity, but primarily

as a late-modern phenomenon and only as a reflected cultural phenomenon. For what characterizes late-modern society, according to Giddens, is how it is only able to put on the agenda values that have been neglected or repressed in modernity (Giddens 1991:224). In other words, the theory of modernity can only capture what has become part of the public debate, that is, values that are consciously and linguistically reflected on. If we go back to Øygarden, this was not the case, as only photography and poetry were able to capture the place. What this place lacked was precisely the conscious and linguistically communicated reflection on the camp as a place.

We thus see how we were forced to interpret the camp in Øygarden as “the farmstead cluster of our times” or as an “African straw-hut village”, rather than as a reaction and response to existential questions in modernity – in other words, as an anomalous irrationality. Based on this interpretative framework, it is perhaps time to ask whether there is a third way, leading beyond essentialism and constructivism, beyond the interpretation of place in terms of the theory of *genius loci* on the one hand and constructivist theory of modernity on the other. When constructivism therefore has primarily interested itself in social categories, it seems in many ways to be associated with the constructivist understanding of various cultural phenomena as basically meaningless and empty, the place as a locale that must be filled with projections either of phantasmagoria or of ideology taken from bourgeois values. It is therefore in laconic terms that Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt describe the knowledge potential of constructivism as follows:

Because they assumed that social context and social attributes gave much of modern Western life its decipherable meaning, historical sociologists and social historians spent much more time studying the effects of social position and social interrelationships than they did querying the meaning or operation of social categories themselves (Bonnell & Hunt 1999:7).

To what extent is there therefore a third way that makes it more possible to understand the place and the camp in Øygarden within the framework of the phenomenon itself? Could it be that we have to go beyond both constructivism and essentialism to find the place – to understand the Øygarden camp as a lush green hollow? But what is the fate of place?

The Place Is In Between

In the introduction to his book on the subject, Edward Casey (1997) is both doubtful and more philosophical about place than were Giddens, Svensson, or Harvey. It is even the case that a place has at times been empty, for surely it has happened that even “non-places” have functioned as places? Orvar Löfgren (1997) takes the motorway and the suburb – which many people perceive as meaningless places – and nevertheless describes them as expressions of concrete places. This is in line with Casey’s statement that we cannot possibly envisage a “non-place” or an “empty” place:

to exist in any way [...] is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be in some kind of place. Place is as requisite as the air we breathe, the ground on which we stand, the bodies we have. We are surrounded by places. We walk over and through them. We live in places, relate to others in them, die in them. Nothing we do is unplaced. How could it be otherwise? How could we fail to recognize this primal fact (Casey 1997:ix).

Casey – like Giddens, Harvey, and Svensson – is thus interested in the disappearance of place, but not as a *de facto* vanishment. For Casey seems to be explaining the disappearance of place on a different analytical level, arguing that place has been silenced. It has been hushed up in the scientific sphere and the Western epistemological tradition, because this tradition lacks analytical tools and theories of its own to comprehend place. On the other hand, it seems as if place as a phenomenon has become a threat to the Western scholarly tradition. According to Casey, this is because place as an empirical phenomenon has the ability to transcend most pairs of hegemonic binary opposites in Western epistemology and metaphysics:

Place is not only coadunative but also (as I have already hinted) deconstructive of oppositions that it brings and holds together within its own ambience. These oppositions include binary pairs of terms that have enjoyed hegemonic power in Western epistemology and metaphysics. I am thinking of such dichotomies as subject and object, self and other, formal and substantive, mind and body, inner and outer, perception and imagination (or memory), and nature and culture themselves (Casey 1996:36).

Given the ability to deconstruct dichotomies, it is not surprising that place is a threat. Yet this is based on the ability of place to assemble. It does not just collect abstract entities, it also gathers materialities; it collects things, as well as experience, thoughts, and language (Casey 1996:24). According to Casey, we need only think of what it is like to return to a place we know well and notice how it is filled with old and new things, memories, and expectations. But how is place able to assemble all this? And what else could collect it all except place? The

thing about place, Casey says, is that it can gather what already exists culturally.

When place assembles, it is not therefore just things that are similar but also conflicting and ambivalent things. With this approach, we see how it is possible to interpret place and the camp in Øygarden as already having meaning. The camp as the most unique summer camp ever, as a unique entity, does not need to be interpreted as an expression of a *genius loci*, deriving its meaning from the site itself. For what is assembled in a place will always stand in specific mutual relations. When different elements are gathered, they will form a style. Rather than having an essence, a place will have a style in the same way as our lives and the world that we all live in. The philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty puts it like this:

The world we live in does not consist of a multitude of heterogeneous elements which are absolutely separate from each other. Nature and culture, society and individual, physical and mental, for example, are not incompatible elements which can only exist in concrete configurations but never meet. On the contrary, these elements are constantly being united in concrete configuration and give a uniform style to the world in which we live (Merleau-Ponty in Bengtsson 1993:61).

The place “in between” – between essentialism on the one hand and constructivism on the other – then opens a new analytical space and a kind of third way in today’s culture studies. This is a space that makes it possible for today’s scholars of culture to retain place as an object of study and to interpret it in a new and different way, as experience. This is in line with Casey’s position (1996:16), for when he claims that place assembles, it is because we will always be placed in one way or another, however different these places may be,

how they have been used, created, and constructed.

In Øygarden the camp was thematized in special categories of sources, such as poetry and photography. Yet this by no means the same as being on the border of the cultural, and even less that the camp as a place was free from cultural and social loading. Regarding the camp in Øygarden as a non-cultural entity because it was not articulated would be too hasty a conclusion. When thematized through poetry and photography, was this simply because the place in the camp constituted an experience? Instead of empty and meaningless, there is another possibility, namely, to interpret place as an entrance to a world of experience.

But how are we to understand the experience? When the anthropologist Erling Krogh (1995) tries to understand the meaning of the place Jomfruland with a phenomenological approach, he ends up walking around the island, partly on his own: walking along the shore, feeling the wind in his hair, lifting a stone. In “pure form”, as in Krogh, the phenomenological approach, also professed by Casey, is able to reveal the meaning of place as experience. But this approach seems unable to understand place above the level of experience. For how are we to understand place beyond the feeling the wind in our hair? When Zygmunt Bauman seeks to understand the unarticulated and unspoken, he sees it as a rupture with authorities. By entering the place, finding the unspoken, breaking into a world of exercise, it becomes possible to go between established categories, commands, and collectively accepted authoritative acts. In unspokenness these are not even in demand:

The “unspokenness” means rather that the authority of command has not been sought, that the actor acts without a command and acts as if command was not needed. This in the parlance of Reason, as we remember, sentiment/emotion/feelings/passion. [...] When acting without command and without asking for one, the self accomplishes what Lévinas characterized as the “breaking through its form” – breaking through any socially drawn form, shedding any socially-sewn dress, facing the other as a face, not mask, and facing one’s bare face in the process (Bauman 1995:59).

Bauman thus seems to emphasize the unarticulated and unspoken precisely as associated with the ability to break through social conformity “and facing one’s bare face in the process” (ibid.). The ability of place to be a locale where it is possible to meet the other face to face makes it in many ways a power factor and an authority in itself. Place not only has the property of collecting and being able to hold partly contradictory and ambivalent things, as a locale for emotions and passion. Being a power factor is the other characteristic of place. For place is not just able to collect; it can hold in and also hold out at the same time, if we are to believe Casey:

the hold is a holding in and a holding out. It retains the occupants of a place within its boundaries: if they were utterly to vanish and the place to be permanently empty, it would be no place at all but a void. But, equally, a place holds out, beckoning to its inhabitants and, assembling them, making them manifest (though not necessarily manifest to each other, or to the same degree). It can move place-holders towards the margins of its presentation while, nevertheless, holding them within its own ambience (Casey 1996:25).

In the same way as Bauman, Casey thus interprets place as a locale for experience which goes beyond being a site for emotions.

The meaning of place is interpreted as being something more than feeling the wind in your hair and the smooth texture of the pebbles under your bare feet. By assembling a series of heterogeneous elements, conflicting objects, and ambivalent ideas, place is able to create a pressure outwards.

This has made place one of the most striking political instruments of the late 1990s, according to Jonas Frykman (2001). Yet it is also a natural wrapping paper for a number of contemporary political groupings. Place becomes an event. It can be interpreted not only as experience but also as something that happens, as action. This ability to make things happen gives place power. According to Casey (1996:26 ff.), however, this power must always exist on a number of levels. When place is able to act it is because it can assemble things that are similar and things that are contradictory and ambivalent, but also in the form of central dimensions such as “time” and “space”. Casey speaks of “space-time”:

To speak of space-time is to speak once more of event. For an event is at once spatial and temporal, indeed indissolubly both: its spatial qualities and relations happen at a particular time. But the happening itself occurs in a place that is equally particular. Thus “event” can be considered the spatiotemporalization of a place, and the way it happens as spatiotemporally specified. It is revealing that we speak of an event as having “a date and a place”, replacing “space” by “place”. This is in keeping with Heidegger’s observation that “spaces receive their essential being from particular localities and not from “space” itself. Even if we cannot replace “date” by “place”, we can observe that there is no such thing as a pure date, a sheer occurrence that occurs nowhere. Every date is an emplaced happening. And since every date, every time, is indissociably linked with space, it is ultimately, or rather first of all, situated in a “particular locality” (Casey 1996:37).

Yet this is not a very widespread interpretation. However, time in itself and as an object of study, isolated from place, has been an especially popular theme in the humanities in the last few decades (Berg Eriksen 1999; Johansen 1984). When Thomas Hylland Eriksen presents time (2001), it is therefore as a swift current, independent of any particular place. But neither “pure” time nor “pure” dates exist, according to Casey. Each date and each time will always be associated with place and a place-bound act. The feeling that “it is here” will thus always be the same as “it happens here”. As Merleau-Ponty puts it, “I am not in space and in time, I do not think space and time; I exist in space and time, my body attaches itself to them and embraces them” (Merleau-Ponty 1994:94). The camp in Øygarden could not only be interpreted as a phenomenon with a special style, but also as a locale with a special and different time.

The first encounter with the camp at Øygarden, after the drive out there, was therefore like a revelation. It stood out like “a sudden green field”. It was *here*! But does this mean that it was the camp in Øygarden that had given Norwegian environmentalists the ability to act? That the Øygarden camp had become a threat in itself, and made the gas power issue happen? Place as an action in itself? Most likely, for when the opponents of gas power, a year after the establishment of the camp, proclaimed that they had won the struggle, it was without direct confrontations with the police, but with the establishment of the camp as the most concrete and manifest environmental action, assembling the leading activists in the country in the summer of 1997, ready to move to action at any time.

Conclusion

Just below a farmstead with three or four houses, the site of the camp in Øygarden was under a cliff. It lay in a little depression, lined on one side by a thick deciduous forest, on the other side by mountain. The rest was encircled by an old, tumbledown stone wall. Outside the stone wall one could glimpse the dry heath stretching down to meet the sea. Inside, the grass was lush and green after years of haymaking and grazing livestock. It was “a sudden green field”. The gas power issue had taken place.

In this article I have discussed a number of alternative interpretations of how we should understand the place and the camp for the gas power issue. This discussion is foregrounded by the fact that place has been one of the most central objects of study in ethnology, constituting it as a discipline, as it probably still does, for place has become a popular research field among today’s cultural scholars and ethnologists.

But we do not need to interpret place in terms of constructivism and modernity theory, that is, as a meaningless, empty hole which post-modern people have to fill and project meaning into. This does not mean that we have to go to the other extreme, that is, to essentialism, an understanding of place as meaningful in itself, independent of human experience. For we have seen in this article how there is an alternative interpretation of place, namely, as an action and an event. Yet this interpretation made it possible to transcend both essentialism and constructivism. Between essentialism and constructivism there was, in other words, room to study place and the camp in Øygarden – but also to study culture. The culture which we take for granted, which already exists, and which can only be found

in places. In the study of the silent, in the study of the concrete and material – in the study of the culture that makes place happen. But that is a different story.

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Notes

- 1 This article is based on one of the chapters in my doctoral dissertation, *Når handling tar plass: Ein kulturstudie av Fellesaksjonen mot Gasskraftverk* (Kapstad 2001). Like the dissertation, the article seeks to discuss different ways in which place has been studied in ethnology. The places concerned are not discussed in relation to each other, but in relation to different theoretical schools. The starting point is nevertheless the empirical study of the Joint Action Against Gas Power Stations.
- 2 In his “Glossary of Concepts” Giddens gives the following definition: “*Life politics*: the politics of self actualisation, in the context of the dialectic of the local and global and the emergence of the internally referential system of modernity” (Giddens 1991:243).

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The Place in Music and Music in Place

By Jonas Bjälesjö

Social practices in the sphere of music include a merging of both local and global cultural patterns and social interactions. Young people accumulate, cultivate and incorporate outside influences with the specific conditions of the local place in which they live. This results in a fusion that varies from place to place because the combination takes place *in* a specific place. By looking at youth culture as a constant process of social interaction between different places, it becomes difficult to separate the local from the global, which means that the geographical constitution, configuration and formation of the culture or cultures in question are constantly re-forming and changing (cf. Massey 1998).

Young people, acting out their cultural patterns in an open spatiality consisting of a complexity of interacting and social relations, simultaneously demonstrate a concern to demarcate this space in relation to their surroundings and claim a place, or places, for their actions and expressions. For a lot of young people strategies for organising the space of existence are strongly related to the production of identity. Another element in the social process that constructs youth and their culture is also the need to shape, define and control their own space. The spatial construction becomes an important factor in the development of (social) identity, belonging and *thereby* the attachment to a specific place. Identity can therefore be understood as being an identification with place. Not only are people “festival goers”, “punks” or “hip-hopers”, but they also assume these roles somewhere, that is, in and at a particular place. Especially in connection to popular music, youth and their expression have a strong potential both for global bound-

lessness and specific local practice (cf. Bennett 2000). The more that a cultural community, such as a youth culture, seems to be open and interactive, the more it seems to need an attachment and definition in relation to place.

In the autumn of 1981, a group of music-loving young people met in Hultsfred, a small municipal community of about 5,000 inhabitants, situated in the north-eastern part of the county of Småland, Sweden. Fed up with the fact that nothing seemed to happen, they put up posters and on December 16 1981, a large group met at the local community youth centre and founded the rock association, *Rockparty*¹. The picture that these young people painted was that of an ordinary small industrial town with little activity, industries closing down and people, particularly young people, moving away from the area (cf. Hansen 1998). Needless to say, it was an area outside the mainstream of events, not least with regards to popular music.²

On January 31 1982, *Rockparty* arranged its first concert at the community youth centre with the local punk/new wave bands *Zwän Ruth*, *Destroid Future* and *Biffen Steks*. According to the local authorities, there were far too many people there and the sound was too loud. At least in the eyes of the local authorities, *Rockparty* wasn't welcome. In spite of, or maybe even due to this turbulent start, the organisation has since developed from being a small voluntary-based rock association to becoming Sweden's largest festival co-ordinator. Since 1982 there has been some form of annual festival in Hultsfred and today between 30,000 and 40,000 people visit the Hultsfred Festival during the few days in mid-June when it is staged. The Hultsfred Festival is situated in an area of great natural beauty



Moving between the camping ground and the festival site is an important part of the festival experience and feeling.

on the outskirts of the town, beside a small lake and surrounded by forest and arable fields. The festival area itself is divided into two main areas: the festival site where the music is performed, and the camping ground where most people live during the festival.

The Significance of Place

The myths, stories and history of rock music are full of references to specific events and

happenings, moments, people and most importantly, to *places*, where cultural and social processes merge with different lifestyles and music styles (cf. Escott & Hawkins 1991, Szatmary 1996). It seems as though the Hultsfred Festival is such a place, because it plays an important role for a lot of young people, especially those who define themselves in terms of alternative identities. The festival is thereby both a celebration of fellowship and an expression of “otherness” (cf. Hansen 2001). Young people’s different lifestyles, associated with music styles, both shape and are shaped by the social and cultural processes of the festival life. Something that points to this is the narratives surrounding the festival as a place and experience of significant meaning.

Festivals are like a totally separate part of my life. It feels almost like they don’t belong to my life. I have like two lives. No, not really, but it so totally different from my ordinary life. People that haven’t been to a festival cannot possibly understand what it means. In a few days you’ve got so many highlights. Maybe as many as the rest of the year.³

In some way, the Hultsfred Festival is both a global and a general phenomenon because the pop and rock oriented music presented at the festival can be seen as very global and general. Youth from all over the world can understand and relate to it. Yet despite this global and general character, *the specific place* down at the lake in Hultsfred, Sweden, plays an important role because the design, shape and setting are crucial factors in how the festival is conceived. Recent research in fields such as cultural geography, sociology, anthropology and ethnology has focused on “questions relating to connections between place and identification, space and cultural processes” (Saltzman & Svensson 1997: 15, Hansen & Salomonsson 2001). Research

into popular music has revealed an increasing interest in these connections and also the importance of place in relation to young people's self-expression and shaping of identity.⁴ A project common to the discussions on popular music and young people is to show how global processes force their way into local contexts and practices and transform them. But it is important to look at *how* this change is established when young people use and reshape the music, by drawing on local conditions and experiences (cf. Bennett 2000) and how identity is shaped in the interplay between place and young people (cf. Frykman 2001:111). By regarding the location as *part of* global tendencies and notions rather than seeing it in opposition to global processes, place becomes something more than a strictly local and specific concept. The local and specific interact with the global and the general which leads them both towards a local and a global sense of place (cf. Massey 1994 & 1998). *From my point of view it is interesting to see how youth and their action and behaviour intervene with the Hultsfred Festival as place, which results in a specific configuration of social and cultural patterns and interactions. How does the festival appear as a place? How do people create and become shaped by this place at the same time?*

In order to understand how people create and are shaped by place, the concept of *social imaginary* can be useful. The sense of place becomes stronger and more tangible when a social imaginary of the place appears in practice and in narratives. It is about unforeseen occurrences, feelings and emotions of total (social) presence (here and now), a place that is perceived by all the senses at the same time as it is imagined (Stewart

1996:137). The festival site appears or "occurs" in the same way. Visitors talk about a place that means a lot to them at present. But the meaning is also explicit in narratives structured around being absent from the place:

Hultsfred is an oasis for me. It contains everything I need that I can't get at home. The music, the timeless atmosphere, nice people, good food, the feeling of freedom, the singing and dancing etc. That is why I don't feel very well when I am back home again. Every year the same missing and longing [...]. The worst is the silence. Especially when you are going to sleep. And the emptiness that appears. Because when you get home the days and nights are not filled with things to see, hear and do in the same intense way anymore. [...] Then the "Festival anxiety" appears. The thoughts goes back to the festival *every* day, nothing feels, affects, is any fun. The "Festival anxiety" lasts for a whole year until it is time again to pack your rucksack or bag and go there.⁵

Emma, Jenny and I are in *Brunnsparken*. We talk about *Emmaboda* and all the people we liked there, that we can never forget. We hate Söderköping. Shit, shit, shit, hell, hell! We breathe *Emmaboda*.⁶

It seems that the meaning of the festival is created in terms of social imaginary as well as bodily presence in relation to place. In this sense, the place is being *made* rather than just being *there*. It appears to be something more than just a place. Through the festival spirit, a sense of identity and belonging is brought to the fore (cf. the concept of *genius loci*)⁷ and an ability to both create and gather memories and dreams (cf. Frykman 2001:99). The festival is something that takes hold of people when they are there. It is as if a feeling of belonging is generated and transformed into a condensed and physical experience (cf. Hansen 2001). Visitors to the festival often describe

how their thoughts return to Hultsfred and how they re-live all the feelings and the emotion of being together bodily *and* mentally. Social imaginary is based on how place engenders the creation of social interaction and relations, which in turn gives rise to notions about place (Stewart 1996). This form of translocal connection necessarily involves a transgression that reduces the limitation of the local to its vicinity (cf. Hannerz 1992). Thus, the local is open for a social interaction that emanates from and depends on place and places. Some of these relations are only active in that place, so to speak, whereas others go beyond the place, which tie them to more complex processes and relations where several different places interact. To view place in this way means that in order to understand a specific location such as place, one also has to understand its connection beyond all that limits and defines it in relation to the world around. The character of the place is a result of social networks and relations. The global forms part of the very process that shapes its character. Therefore, the unique aspect is not its distinctive features as compared to other places, but rather the particular circumstances and specific relationships to other places. In this way, they also become complex “events” and “developments”, since individuals and groups relate differently to the complex web of networks and relations that a place is involved in (Massey 1994).

Social imaginary is similar to the concept of *imagined communities* (Anderson 1996), but digs deeper into; “the micropoetics of the density, texture, and force of everyday modes of discourse and sociality” (Stewart 1996:164). The geographer, Doreen Massey, also argues that it is possible to think about

place; “as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed” (Massey 1994:120). Massey uses the concept of *geographical imagination*. That is to say, geographically rooted and overall imaginations and ideas, which function as a form of reflected images when we construct and act in the world.

In a way, it seems that this geographical imagination corresponds to Stewart’s social imaginary. Perhaps it is possible to regard these two concepts as being different sides of the same coin. While geographical imagination is about how people’s interactions and relations give rise to imaginations about places, social imaginary is a matter of how places cause the actual appearance of the interactions and relations that Massey talks about.

For example, most visitors expect a festival to have a specific appearance, which has consequences for how they actually construct the festival. *But* this imagination also reflects the embodiment of the imagination of what a festival should look like. There is a strong corresponding connection between the practices that are apparent at the festival and all the images that are created and mediated. For example, the media’s widespread coverage and description of the festival as an image and reflection of the 1960s festivals, especially Woodstock, seems to continue over time. *The Hultsfred Festival* is a place, just like Woodstock, where feelings of freedom and adventure can be expressed. The newspaper reports, stories and images mediated by friends, a television program from the *Hultsfred Festival* or historic pictures from the “state of emergency” that characterized

Woodstock are images and experiences that are embedded in memory and body, which creates both presumptions and conditions for the actual experiences of the festival in Hultsfred. These images and stories deal with things like being drunk, bodily movement and being in a state of ecstasy due to the music, drugs, exhaustion, mud, freedom, peace, love, understanding, etc. The visitors' descriptions and experiences attach a strong symbolic meaning to the festival which in turn explains why the *Hultsfred Festival* is considered to be a necessary place for young people to be at, in order to construct and/or confirm their identity in an alternative life-style. The festival promoters also try to present the festival as a unique "surface" where the present, the contemporary and the future can take place.

From the beginning until today a burning interest for the music and its ability to influence has been in the forefront in our struggle to be part of the present. To try to mirror and represent popular and subcultures of today and tomorrow. To take part in the making of the future.⁸

The Hultsfred Festival – How to be in Place

A significant feature for the festival visitors is that this place gives rise to, and brings to the fore, thoughts and narratives about the life situation, identity and social relationships. Most of these narratives are out of place both as the starting, and principal points for the narratives. For many people, the place seems to be the starting point in a way that the expressed experiences are being related and attached to places at the festival (site):

It is Thursday and I have been into the festival site for the first time this year. [...] I have been longing to get there and remember the atmosphere from last year. It is so nice and cosy with all the people and the music. Even if you don't listen with attention to a band, it is fun to have all this music surrounding you. Only a moment ago I saw my first band this year. It was really fun. To stand on (more or less) the same spot as last year and just have a wonderful time.⁹

One way of understanding the meaning of place is to look at it from a phenomenological perspective. That is, to understand human experiences through the meaning of place. To grasp and reach place we need to



It is hard to stand still when the music moves you. The bodily movements produce the festival feeling and the place itself.

use the one way in which we are always there – through our own body. (Casey 1996:21) The body is the essential starting-point where people integrate the body with the surroundings through “corporeal intentionality” (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962), which means with the place itself: “To be located, culture has to be *embodied*. Culture is carried into places by bodies” (Casey 1996:34) This integration is put into practice through different intentional bonds that bind the body and the place together in a mutual complex of relations: “The lived body – the body living (in) a place” – is thus “the natural subject of perception” (Merleau-Ponty 1962:208).

It is precisely through their bodies that visitors are experiencing the Hultsfred Festival. The festival has to be embodied to be experienced and it is carried into place by bodies. They talk about how the music washes over them and how their bodies begin to move with those of thousands of others. They talk about how alcohol brings about a nice, comfortable feeling inside the body and helps the same body loosen up and act in a liberated way. They talk about how they get butterflies in their stomachs with the excitement of hearing the music, or because of being with someone in a tent. They talk about how fatigue, hangover and aches and pains are felt throughout the whole body. It is about the experience of being drunk, happy, running around, jumping, staggering, bouncing about, making out, hugging, to name but a few. It is also about bodily re-actions like exhaustion, hunger, tiredness, love, disappointment, sexuality, sickness, taste, smell, tears etc. Through narratives and observations, place appears to be condensed and conditioned by a palpable “sociality” and “practica-

bility”. To *do* and *tell* the festival is coordinated in an evident way with place and places. In this process, body and bodily movements are crucial for the embodiment of place. Bodies belong to places at the same time as they constitute the places. The body is, so to speak, a (pre-)condition of place. Just as place is a (pre-)condition of the body (Casey 1996:23). Places *gather* and *produce* practices, memories, experiences, thoughts and narratives. Places are kept and stored in people’s memories and when there, these memories are released because they belong to the place as much as one’s body and soul. Some places actually seem to gather and release more memories than others. The festival site in Hultsfred seems to be such a place.

Thursday: Haven’t slept that much. Was awake most of the time wondering, tried to imagine how it would be this time. If that special festival feeling would appear this year – that wonderful feeling of freedom and spirit of community, the feeling that everybody is one big family.¹⁰

It can be a particular stage or spot at the camping ground that constitute the concrete position for solidarity, memories and narratives about the Hultsfred Festival. The special sounds, movements and action patterns of the festival are multiplied; the overwhelming feeling of a shared and total experience is intensified. The most important part in the construction of a festival feeling, behaviour and actions seems to be the music in itself. The festival as a temporal and spatial structure is based on a “soundscape”. It does not seem important to define or categorize the music, but to *experience* and *feel* the “soundscape” (cf. Frith 1996, Laing 1985). During the festival, music generates a feeling (bodily and mentally)

of a symbiosis between the individual, the collective and place in an obvious way.

Another conceptualised experience of a context where the fusion of place and music creates this symbiosis of the individual, the collective and place is the concept of *scene* or *scene formations*. Many descriptions and writings have defined scene as being cultural spaces where certain practices around music and lifestyles take place (cf. Straw 1991), often reduced to the *scenery* in front of which people participate in music for different reasons, as a mere backdrop for the important practices that occur. Or perhaps they are; “merely empty vessels within which certain practices interact, but these vessels themselves seemingly have no effect on those practices” (Olson 1998:271). Another perspective, however, is to regard scenes as productive places in their own right. Scenes like festivals are places that move people (both physically and mentally) and thereby mobilise their emotional investments and bodies. Like scenes, festivals are undergoing continual reconfigurations by the musical practices taking place there, especially when they have been established for some time. Despite this, both scenes and festivals can be characterised by a durability and logic that may; “transcend any particular musical content, thus allowing the scene to continue over time, even as music changes. This also means that very different music may exist in very similar scenes” (Grossberg 1994:46). This interpretation of scene is similar to the social imaginary of the Hultsfred Festival as a place to be embodied and experienced as well as how this place give rise to the actual appearance of the interactions and relations that sum up the festival itself. When people at the festival talk about being

there and being moved, about belonging and longing, these experiences are crucial to the understanding of festivals (or scenes) as productive places, not only as produced places. How the scene or festival appears as a place and how people both create and are shaped by these places is important. Scenes and festivals can also be said to transform events into places by transforming individual musical events into the identity of a place. Different music scenes and festivals are often described in terms of “Mecca’s”, with their fans or visitors going there to get away from ordinary, everyday life. But this also means that the feeling of belonging and identification is predicated by a *desire* to be there, a movement. So when visitors talk about a place that means a lot to them when they are absent from the place, being there is not made into a precondition of belonging. Thereby scenes and festivals are places where people don’t have to be, but rather belong to in terms of a trajectory of investments towards a particular place like the Hultsfred Festival. As noted earlier, it seems as though the meaning of the festival is created as both social imaginary and bodily presence in relation to place. The frequent use of the concept of scene (and thereby place) and the fact that a lot of people use it in the construction of history and mythological practices around popular music seems to further strengthen the importance of place as a (pre-)condition for thoughts and practices surrounding popular music.

At the Same Spot

A lot of festival life takes place at the campsite, where people are constantly partying and sitting around the tents, drinking, laughing, listening to music or just bumming

around, meeting and talking to other people. The visitors re-construct a kind of “festival home” on the campsite. These private spheres often consist of tents grouped into a circle. The tent, or tents, becomes the base for the duration of the festival visit. Sleeping bags, camping stools and mattresses, spirit stoves, liquor bottles and tape recorders are the most common objects found in the private sphere of the festival, together with a lot of other festival attributes such as clothes, flags, decorated tents, fences made of sticky tape, road signs etc. In other words, people build a festival home. These particular markers create the feeling of a symbolic space of community and collective shared experience. The feelings and experiences grow from the place.

We have promised to reserve tent pitches for all the others in our circle of friends that arrive in the afternoon. [...] As the afternoon disappears the more friends appear with their festival equipment and shortly we have constructed our own zone with the party tent in the middle.¹¹

For many visitors the position itself is an important part of the festival event. For some it has become very important to experience the festival from exactly the same spot, or place so that they arrive at the festival three days beforehand, to be sure that nobody else will occupy *their* particular place. This is often because they found it functional and enjoyed it so much in previous years. However, it is also important to meet old acquaintances again or, maybe even more vital, to relive the memories of previous festivals. A group of friends usually travels to the festival from the same locality. Those who arrive first mark out a place, which they then try to protect against “strangers” To emphasise their geographical belonging,

most visitors have a flag, banner or road sign with which to mark the position of the “festival home”. This symbolic marker distinguishes their own private sphere from other people *and* places at the festival and functions as a means of orientating oneself and finding the way home to the camping area. *But* it is also used as a geographical imagination (cf. Massey) for the place where they live when not staying at the festival (cf. Stewart 1996). Compared with everyday life the festival is something different and exotic, although it is also an ordinary occasion because people know how to act. The creation of a festival home resembles the “ritual staging of everyday life” (Hansen 2001:175). This practice seems to be filled with meaning showing how people’s interactions and relationships give rise to imaginations about places (geographical imagination) while places give rise to the actual appearance of the interactions and relationships (social imaginary).

To position oneself mostly seems to be about matching the past with the present – that is, to remember, re-tell and re-create the experiences from the festival. The position, or place, becomes the necessary starting point from which to put together the festival feeling and a common (social) history and identity as a part of a festival community (cf. Casey 1996). The same position also awakens the associations that are so important in reliving the festival and its social relationships.

The fact that such an amount of energy is devoted to creating a private sphere, or festival home, can be interpreted as being necessary to the sense of security and freedom and being with others experiencing the festival feeling. As the social imaginary of the place appears in practice and narrative,

the feeling for the place strengthens. That is, the creation of a private sphere engenders the creation of social interaction and relations, which in turn give rise to notions about place.

Mapping and Materiality

Some visitors that I spoke to a couple of years ago argued that because there weren't as *many* people visiting the festival in previous years it hadn't been so densely populated and as a result there hadn't been the same feeling of intensity and community. In other words, the bodily movements embodied the place in a different way as compared with today. According to their description, the place determined how festival visitors acted. Since the place wasn't filled with people in the same way, the movements become slower and they acted in a different way, which mattered in how place was/is constituted. Over the years, it is interesting to see how many visitors have created their own festival map for both the life and the site itself. It is specific for them since it is socially specified, shared and embodied through all the common memories, movements, events, narratives, feelings, experiences, and objects that have shaped their lives and experiences just here, in this specific place. This map of meaning consists of a specific configuration, which depends on specific bodily and mentally experiences and memories in co-operation with place and at place (cf. Povrzanovic Frykman 2001). When different visitors describe the Hultsfred Festival, the place seems to consist of social positions (or constellations of time, space and place) that are put together in different ways.¹² People, conversations, expressions, gestures, different sensations, routes, music scenes, tents,

fences, entrances, the lake, and so on, create the network of social relations that forms the experience of the Hultsfred Festival.

This map of meaning has, furthermore, been embodied in the creation and organising of what might be called a cultural map of places for the camping area. For example, here are places like the "punk- and vegetarian villages", the "greasy smear", and "the pisshill". The punk village is described as "the place on the other side of the stream where all the punks are camping and where anarchist flags are flying as *Radioaktiva Räker*¹³ roars out of the tape-recorders."¹⁴ The punks can be recognized by their hairstyle, their staggering walk and bottles of homemade wine. These "famous" and well-known places, together with the people that inhabit them, create a feeling of being at home, or a home-like atmosphere. But while a lot of visitors choose to live on the same camping spot year after year, they also expect to be surprised every year (cf. Hansen 2001). When the festival area opens at noon on the Thursday, the first thing that many people do is to examine what's new. The meaning of the festival as an exploring expedition is furthermore made concrete by the narratives about newly discovered rock bands, love affairs and overwhelming and unexpected feelings in connection to musical experiences etc.

Festival visitors devote a lot of their time and energy to remembering, re-telling and re-creating the Hultsfred Festival, both when they are there and at other times and places. Many of them describe, remember and re-create the festival feeling and experience in relation to the physical geography, such as the particular position of the tents. People also talk about and describe the trees, the lake, the smell of summer and the festival



The waterside is necessary for the festival experience.

itself; that is, the smell of grass (in the two different meanings of the word), different food, wine, sweat, excrement etc. Added to this are all the different and specific sounds: the music, the laughter, the screaming and shouting, the roaring, the singing and howling.

The Danish historian, Niels Kayser Nielsen, argues that the Nordic landscape, especially the Swedish one, is a landscape that we learn to understand by moving in it. It is a landscape to act in and upon. More than reflection and contemplation, experience and physical presence become meaningful in the experience of being someone, or being Swedish, in the Swedish landscape (Kayser Nielsen 1997). As a cognitive and emotional system, the landscape comes into existence when we move about in it (cf. Lash 1999). To Swedes, modernity and the Swedish landscape is intimately associated

with physical activity. As with the Mid-summer (Eve) celebration, camping in the summer holidays or festival life, there are expectations as to how a young Swede should act in community when celebrating outdoors with other young people. The basis of this form of community is embodied in the patterns that Kayser Nielsen has put forward, patterns that have been shaped in another time, place and context, but that can be applied to the form and content of Swedish music festivals. There are also implications as to how identity is shaped among young people in Sweden.

Furthermore, the official political policy surrounding leisure activities in Sweden promotes leisure and free time outdoors. Camping became characteristic to being and becoming Swedish. I think that the way of making camping, and a campsite more or less a must at many Swedish music festivals



The festival site in the 1950s, before the heyday of the Hultsfred Festival. The Swedish Folkpark has a long tradition of producing festivities, community and identity.

resembles this policy. Physical activity becomes meaningful in the experience of being someone in the Swedish landscape, for both past and present generations (of young people). The way of shaping a festival, with camping and tents, can be discussed from the perspective of this practice or habit of possessing and acting in and upon the outdoor landscape. Processes of identity are thus embodied through bodily experience in the Swedish landscape. The basis of this form of community is embodied in patterns of bodily experience in the landscape or in place. The geographical, material, social and cultural character of Swedish festivals, can to some extent, be due to the socialisation *into* the Swedish landscape. Due to its historically based structure and practice, the festival site seems to be a place that can contribute to the identity processes of young people in Sweden. The bodily movement and the embodiment of the festival contribute to

the social configuration, density and imaginary of relations and interactions that constitute the Hultsfred Festival as a place where identity processes can be acted out.

In order to create belonging and identification with the Hultsfred Festival as place, a lot of different kinds of materiality are needed. Creating one's little "festival cosmos" with the aid of certain things helps to conjure up the festival feeling through memories and experiences. The festival feeling seems to be reinforced by the practice of "making" the festival. To put up and "decorate" the tent, cook on a camping-gas stove, hang your washing up between the tents and drag sofas from flea markets in Hultsfred to create a "living room" in the festival village are examples of how concrete actions create certain patterns. At the same time, a lot of visitors are doing something unexpected with the materiality and things surrounding them, a practice that both breaks and re-creates the patterns of action. In this

way the materiality becomes socially and culturally generative in itself (cf. Kaufmann 1998). The materiality itself becomes the subject of both bodily and mental experiences. Certain sensuous experiences are incorporated through the materiality that the visitors literally drag along to Hultsfred (cf. Stewart 1996). Likewise, the materiality does something to social life and relationships. At the festival things and materiality are used to *understand* and *create* meaning rather than *symbolise* or *mediate* meaning – the things and materiality *are* understanding (Miller 1998). Many visitors talk about how some things are so strongly associated with the festival that they are exclusively reserved for that visit. They might include certain mixed tapes¹⁵ of favourite music, a mascot, flag or road sign, a small "Indian tent", specific clothing, a certain camping stool, red plastic mugs¹⁶, a specific tent with inscriptions etc. In this way, a material culture is incorporated into and with the festival space. Things are used as tools to activate the festival spirit and seem to do something to people, such as giving rise to fantasies, imaginations and dream worlds. In fact it is the complex, surprising and active that speaks to people so that *where* they are becomes more important than *what* they are (cf. Frykman 2001).

Many of the different relations and processes that people are involved in, both inside and outside the festival as time, space and place, become real and actual in and around these tents with the help of, and through, different forms of materiality. By giving the "festival community" a name and writing "Roskilde 96" and "Hultsfred 97" on the side of the tent, different social relations are being confirmed at the same time as they become anchored in time and space and are

positioned in different places. By using the tent as a "biographical diary", people create (mentally and materially) a biographical space to which they can attach their experiences and memories (cf. Reme 1999).

Due to the experiences that the place-bound festival life create in the form of things and happenings, at places like the camp site, an obvious biographical process takes place for many of the festival visitors. The Hultsfred Festival in general – and the campsite in particular – become central to the expression of life. Some people even seem to divide the year in two: before and after the Hultsfred Festival. Despite this, the festival as place is marginalized in different ways. For much of the time it appears as pictures in one's mind and is not only physically evident for a couple of days every year. However, it is also a place and a space whose form and content are often in sharp contrast to everyday life. *But* the Hultsfred Festival as place gives rise to imaginations and dream worlds that are shaped by condensed social interactions and relations through geographical imaginations, social imaginary and things that constitute the Hultsfred Festival as place in the sense of practice, experience and belonging. For a lot of young people in Sweden, this contributes to an important understanding of the (human) experience of identity (and being) through the meaning that is attached to and appears from place itself.

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Notes

- 1 From a leaflet about the *Föreningen Rockparty* (1992), published in conjunction with Rockparty's tenth anniversary. Since the late 1970s and the early 80s, young people's interest in music has been formed and formalised within local rock associations all over Sweden, not least in the countryside. These rock associations, both in Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia, each have their own prerequisites and conditions (cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1998). They have been determined partially by national and international impulse and practice in the form of punk and new wave music (cf. Arnold 1997, Home 1995, Laing 1985), and partially by historical traditions from the so called "progressive music movement" – a movement within Swedish rock music in the early 1970s with a political approach (cf. Eriksson 1976, Malmström 1996). Furthermore, it is a movement with connections to both national and local policies concerning local community youth centres. This social institution, governed through local municipal authorities, has functioned as a place and frame for a lot of the activities of different associations during the period from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Like a lot of other rock associations Rockparty included a lot of different cultural activities so it is better to use the broader term of music- and culture associations when speaking of this broad spectra of associations. The associations often deal with culture in all forms, e.g. concerts, festivals, rehearsal venues, theatre, poetry and magazines.
- 2 This description is common in texts and stories about rock music. See for example Niemi 2000, Gradvall 2000 and the BBC documentary series "Dancing in the streets".
- 3 Diary by Terese & Kristina *Hultsfreds-festivalen* 1997.
- 4 See for example *Popular Music* 2000, 19(1) and *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 1999 vol. 7(2), which are both theme issues dealing with popular music and place.
- 5 Diary by Anna *Hultsfredsfestivalen* 1998.
- 6 Diary by Johanna 1996-08-12.
- 7 The festival spirit as an evident feeling is something that most of the festival visitors speak about. The narrative surrounding this feeling resembles the concept of *genius loci*.
- 8 Kimler 1996:35. Interview with the festival promoter Gunnar Lagerman.
- 9 Diary by Terese & Kristina, *Hultsfreds-festivalen* 1997.
- 10 Diary by Eva, *Hultsfredsfestivalen* 1997.
- 11 Diary by Klara *Hultsfredsfestivalen* 1998.
- 12 Compare with the earlier discussion concerning Doreen Massey's theories about social relations and interactions as constituting place.
- 13 Radioaktiva Räker is a Swedish punk band.
- 14 Diary by Richard *Hultsfredsfestivalen* 1998.
- 15 These kinds of mixed tapes are important and are unique, composed tapes containing favourite tunes associated with the Hultsfred Festival or other festivals and/or occasions. They often mean a lot in the "festival circle". They strengthen the solidarity and delimitation from other people and groups that "don't have any taste in music" or that don't understand the importance and meaning of "great music". These tapes often give rise to lengthy discussions, with both disputes and total agreement. These conversations around music work as a cement that welds together the "festival circle" despite different tastes in music. These mixed tapes often contain bands and artists that have been important in the mutual music and festival history in the way that they are reminders of shared experiences, adventures and memories.
- 16 Some girls that I interviewed several times have a set of red plastic mugs they describe as "festival mugs" that are only permitted to be used at the Hultsfred and Emmaboda Festivals.

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John Fogerty's Bayou Country as an Imaginary Landscape

By Sven-Erik Klinkmann

Introduction

How is one to understand the metaphors and poetic images, the kind of topological imagination recurring in the lyrics of the American rock singer and songwriter, John Fogerty? What do all these pictures, representations and landscapes actually stand for? Do they have meanings that articulate how a modern white¹ American views the land, the culture and the people he is part of? Could it be that descriptions of landscapes – social, political and cultural representations in the form of landscapes and places – can help us to understand our cultural history through means of:

configurations and motifs – of representation of the social sphere – that give unconscious expression to the position and the interests of social agents as they interact, and that serve to describe society as those social agents thought it was or wished [it] to be (Chartier 1988:6).

In accordance with e.g. James Dunbar and David Ley (1993:12), I consider landscapes and places a) as sites where central cultural, economic and political processes are inscribed and b) as central sources of information for interpretations of our own time within the frames of interdisciplinary oriented humanities (Woolway 1996). Seen as text, landscape becomes the meeting place between nature and cultural form, of identity and understanding of oneself (personally, regionally, nationally etc.). Landscape, as a distinct form and figure, thus becomes a representation of ways of thinking, ethics, ideas, ideologies and utopias.

My attempt to understand the meanings of these topological pictures in the rock lyrics of John Fogerty – leader of the very successful American rock group Creedence Clearwater Revival (CCR) – has, as its

point of departure, the semantic theory of imagination as developed by Paul Ricoeur (1994:118–135). He says that the first prerequisite for the theory to function outside of the discursive domain (or the theoretical, my remark) that is semantic innovation, is that it has, within the borders of a metaphorical utterance, a referential dimension, i.e. it refers to something. Ricoeur goes on to state that in the metaphorical process, not only is the sense split but the reference as well. The new reference effect is nothing other than the power of fiction to re-describe reality. In accordance with this theory of imagination [as a power which through continuous new descriptions, new references can "recreate reality"] I will, through two hermeneutic moves, one archeological and one teleological (Fornäs 1995:202), try to uncover the web of meanings in which these landscapes and poetic pictures in John Fogerty's work have evolved. I will follow the scheme of the metaphoric process as laid out by Ricoeur. The landscape is socially and culturally constructed through an intervention of cognition, imagination and feeling (Ricoeur 1986:424).

What I want to examine is the way in which Fogerty's landscapes and poetic pictures are constructed, what kind of signification they contain giving the representation in question its realistic, mimetic or imaginary character and how these different significations can be conceptualized and contextualized within the genre of rock lyrics.

In his discussion of different types of rock lyrics in *Rockens text. Ord, musik och mening* (1995) Ulf Lindberg has classified CCR in the context of style or sub-genre of rock music as authenticity rock, a type of rock which he discusses at length by using

the song *The River* by Bruce Springsteen as an example of the genre. In his analysis of the concept of authenticity in rock, Lindberg underlines a) the fact that authenticity is a construction based on shared linguistic conventions which will appear as naturalized (Lindberg 1995:122); b) that the concept strongly indicates a directness in the communication between artist and audience²; c) that musically speaking the concept has most of all to do with affects, with a communication of feelings (123) and d) that the interpretation of the authenticity rock of Springsteen can be placed on a scale from mimesis in the form of a comprehensible reality in the song text to a web of meaning in the text which thickens to mythical proportions (125).

The question of how much that which we call reality is represented in art and in music has been discussed by Nelson Goodman, who says that the world and our cognition of it is completely mediated by different symbolical systems, different languages of art which do not have an ornamental function as to the epistemological question. Instead epistemology, or the cognitive base of our thinking, is constituted by the aesthetic, the semiotic and the symbolic (Mitchell 1994:350). The realistic representation is seen by Goodman as conventional or conventionalized in the sense that it consists of symbolic schemata, systems and rules of reference which are not nature given or natural (Goodman 1976:36f, 1978:130f). As Mitchell has noted, the symbol theory of Goodman is based on the notion that the differences in sign types has to do with practice, habit and convention. A history of practical differences as to the usage of different sign and symbol systems marks the differences between them, and

no metaphysical frontline (20, Mitchell 1986:69).

I would like to discuss Fogerty's landscape Bayou³ Country. In order to be able to analyze this representation I will link Fogerty's Bayou Country representation of 1969 with a) his descriptions of a childhood landscape on the LP *Green River*, also of 1969 vintage, and b) the romantic and nostalgic way in which he describes this landscape on the record which he put out almost thirty years after his first Bayou Country rock songs. At this point, the time span between the LP *Bayou Country* (1969) and the CD *Blue Moon Swamp* (1997) can already be seen as an indication of the strong allegorical tendency in Fogerty's Bayou Country depictions. To be able to describe the different meanings of Fogerty's Bayou Country, I will have to place it in a relevant context and describe the historical, ecological and cultural meanings of this landscape as well as some of the most important earlier representations of Bayou Country in the popular song format.

Bayou Country as a "Real" Landscape (history, ecology, culture)

Bayou Country refers to an area in southern Louisiana which both geographically and culturally can be described as being distinct on the North-American continent. Geographically, it is an example of a swamp-land or wetland, a water floated delta of the same type as the larger and perhaps better known Everglades of southern Florida. The landscape can be described as subtropical. Animal species living in this type of ecological surroundings include alligator, raccoon, opossum, armadillos, nutria, catfish, salmon, crawfish, shrimp and, oyster. Giant mangrove trees dominate our imagery

of this watery landscape, with their roots sunk deep below the waterline. Culturally the region is also highly distinctive, not least because it is the "homeland" to a cultural minority in the American melting pot, the Cajuns, French-speaking Americans with historical roots going back to the region in North-Eastern Canada called Nova Scotia, which for more than two hundred years was called Acadia. When the English exiled the French speaking population from Acadia in the period after the Peace of Utrecht 1713 – the active expulsion policy started in 1755 – more than 3,000 Acadians moved south to Louisiana and to the coastal areas of the Mexican Gulf, where they territorialized an area in southern Louisiana that now includes the cities of New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles and Lafayette. The French speaking Cajuns, who speak a dialect which is quite different from standard French and also from the French spoken in the Canadian province of Quebec, have created a music which like their linguistic culture and their cuisine is quite mixed – or creolized.

When considering the cultural distinctiveness of this region, an important point of departure is thus the establishment of a Creole or hybrid culture, with ambiguous meanings: 1. Creoles who speak a mixture of French and English and 2. Creoles who designate a racial mixture of whites and blacks in the area, a group of people who came to play a decisive role in the birth of jazz music⁴.

The anthropologists Deborah A. Kapchan and Pauline Turner Strong have noted (1999:241) that Creole phenomena emerge in the meeting place with the foreign, the other and between different power structures. The conceptual pair Creole/creoliza-

tion can be seen as the immediate interlocutors and precursors of the concept of hybridity in the discourse of social and humanistic sciences. Creole/creolization can, in this way be understood as the variations and transformations taking place when two or several cultures with unequal power structures meet. Creolization can be seen as a result of diaspora, colonialism and market economy. The historical motivation of both creolizations and hybridizations is the question of exchange of symbolical, aesthetic and/or economic capital. In my view, the meta-nature of creolization/hybridization involves a notable slippage concerning the "realistic" or "mimetic" character of the construction of the Bayou Country concept. It moves from implying something nature-given, external and essential towards something construed, metaphorized and fictive. The metaphors creolization and hybridity can thus be used as analytical tools in an attempt to understand different cultures and cultural meetings by pointing out the intricate and complex web comprising heterodox and heteroglossic societies (242).

In the sphere of music, one can note that the region around New Orleans and southern Louisiana, with its historical complexity and its geographical and cultural vicinity to other creolized cultures (such as Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, The Dominican Republic and other Caribbean societies), has developed an extremely rich musical heritage – comprising popular genres and styles such as Cajun⁵, zydeco⁶, blues, jazz, New Orleans rhythm & blues, gospel – but also different forms of hillbilly or country music, and somewhat later, rockabilly⁷, as a special variant in southern Louisiana called swamp pop⁸. The style which CCR and Fogerty developed has been called swamp

rock and is also stylistically represented by such Louisiana-based or born artists and groups as Tony Joe White, The Neville Brothers, Allen Toussaint, The Meters and Doctor John.

Bayou Country as an Imaginary Landscape – Some Earlier Representations

In order to understand the meaning of the imagery on CCR's *Bayou Country* record, it is necessary to contextualize both the music and the lyrics. The contexts into which these songs most appropriately can be put are the musical genres which are stylistically and chronologically closest to CCR. There are certain songs within the country, rockabilly and rock'n'roll genres which will function as a kind of reference and background for the imagery of Bayou Country as it is put across on this record. All these older songs deal with life in the southern Louisiana area. Significant records in this respect include Jambalaya (1951) by Hank Williams, Crawfish (1957) by Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, Blue Bayou (1961) by Roy Orbison and Joe Melson, Louisiana Man (1961) by Doug Kershaw and Polk Salad Annie (1968) by Tony Joe White.

A brief characterization of the imagery of these songs gives this overall picture:

1. The very title of the song Jambalaya, composed by the country singer Hank Williams, describes Cajun culture and Cajun country with a culinary vocabulary ("jambalaya and a crawfish pie and fillet gumbo"), fishing ("pole the pirogue", pirogue being a kind of canoe), Cajun-French patois ("ma cher a-mio", "be gay-o") and French-sounding names ("Yvonne", "Thibadaux", "Fountaineaux"). Musicologically speaking, the song uses waltz time, which is a traditional tempo in Cajun music.

Stylistically the song can be described as rural, idyllic and escapist.

2. Crawfish, written by rock'n'roll and rhythm & blues songwriters, Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, was featured in the film *King Creole* (1957) in which Elvis Presley played a tough guy from New Orleans. The film had several songs with motifs from New Orleans and southern Louisiana (e.g. Dixieland Rock, King Creole and T.R.O.U.B.L.E.). In the song Crawfish, Leiber and Stoller, who originate from the North-Atlantic coast (New York and Baltimore), have created a miniature around the crawfish or crayfish of the song's title, a crab species typical of southern Louisiana. Crawfish forms the basis of many Cajun dishes, such as étouffée, bisque and sauce piquante. The crawfish crab has evolved to become an unofficial icon of Cajun culture and it can be seen on everything from T-shirts to bumper stickers or advertisement-boards. The song Crawfish could be described as a miniature or an ekphrasis built around the crawfish crab as a cultural sign of southern Louisiana.

There are several common traits to these songs and song texts. A primary common strategy found in these songs is exoticism, which can take on several different guises. The exotic effect is constructed through sentimentality, humour or nostalgia in which a backwardness⁹ regarding industrial and urban development is turned into a positive antithesis of modern society. Through the use of specific culture signs – crawfish, gumbo, jambalaya, alligator, pirogue – a special cultural iconography is constructed, with the obvious intention of maximizing the idyllic and nostalgic effect of the songs. The 'culturally backward' can then represent a paradise lost, an Acadia¹⁰ which

the songs have managed to revive.

One should also note that the complex cultural roots of the Cajun region and its character as a creolized culture is hardly more than hinted at in the songs. This happens when the iconic signs are being used in the songs (crawfish, jambalaya, fillet gumbo). But since these signs are being placed in a setting which is so idyllic, the questions of ethnic roots, the construction of black and white and hybridity etc., are never actually raised in these song texts.

Bayou Country as an Imaginary Landscape in CCR

On the record with that same name, the most striking feature of the representation of Bayou Country is the lack of information and referents to this landscape which is being promoted in the title of the LP and also on the LP's first song, *Born On The Bayou*.

The introduction of the song, with the image of the main character as a young boy standing by his daddy's knee ("Now, when I was just a little boy, Standing to my Daddy's knee, My poppa said, 'Son, don't let the man get you do what he done to me'"), is slightly reminiscent of the textual strategy in Doug Kershaw's *Louisiana Man* ("Gotta make a livin'; he's a Louisiana Man"). But already at this point, it is obvious that the kind of idealization which permeates the older Bayou Country songs has been in a decisive way problematized in CCR. Something has happened to the father which shouldn't be allowed to happen to the son. "The man" can be thought of as being the external, repressive, oppressive society, the capitalistic society in which the song has been created, a society which in many ways is an anti-image to the idyllic

"acadian" Cajun landscape.

It can of course also be argued that *Born On The Bayou* portrays an idyllic existence. But this idyll turns out to be filled with complications:

And I can remember the fourth of July,
Runnnin' through the backwood bare.
And I can still hear my old hound dog barkin',
Chasin' down a hoodoo there.
Chasin' down a hoodoo there.

Even stronger than was shown in the introduction of the song, it is demonstrated here that we are dealing with a strong memory-picture, which like Hank Williams and Doug Kershaw's memory-pictures, is rich in nostalgic promises, of a world which was simpler, more beautiful than the world in which the song's main character lives at the moment.

The picture of the Southern reality could still be called a genre picture, a way of depicting people, artefacts and landscapes which has deep roots in American tradition. Such signs can, to use Sherry Ortner's vocabulary (Ortner 1973), be called summarizing symbols. In the literary and aesthetic conventions on how to describe life in the Southern states, Robert Cantwell has noted that a whole line of such culturally significant signs has developed: "The cabins, cotton-bales, wagons, steamboats, and rail-fences, the chickens, pigs, roosters, and mules, the 'hogs and hominy, punkins and red gravy,' the banjos, fiddles, guitars, and tambourines, the dandy, the rube, Sambo, Mammy, and Old Uncle, the 'shuffle and breakdown' – all the trappings of the minstrel stage, as well as the piquant genre images of corn and cotton-fields, the welcoming old plantation home, the harvest moons, the barefooted children, the mag-

nolia, honeysuckle, and wisteria vine, all the wistful longing songs addressed to them, and the very 'South' itself, magically invoked by mere names, Kentucky or Carolina or Alabama –" (Cantwell 1996:24–25).

As to the temporality of the song, we are told at the beginning that the action takes place on the fourth of July, US Independence Day. This means that we can assume that it is a very hot, humid day, a special day¹¹. On this day the song's young main character, presumably like many times before, is out in the backwoods, in the forest area, relatively close to home, in what anthropologist Mary Douglas has called a marginal place or an anomaly, an area on the borderlines between the homely and the wild and dangerous, a category which is not easy to pinpoint in an unequivocal way. In this marginal space the dog is chasing something called a hoodoo. What is a hoodoo? In an interview, John Fogerty explained the concept in the following way:

Hoodoo is a magical, mystical, spiritual, non-defined apparition, like a ghost or a shadow, not necessarily evil, but certainly other-worldly. I was getting some of that imagery from Howlin' Wolf and Muddy Waters. (Born on the Bayou, accessed on 15 October 1999.)

What is new in Fogerty's way of representing Bayou Country in a musical format, is the introduction of the hoodoo theme. By doing this he also connects Bayou Country with voodoo¹², hoodoo and black culture in quite a novel way. The result of this amalgamation leads to a musical and mental revolution: rock'n'roll, or more precisely, the rock genre swamp rock. The introduction of the voodoo/hoodoo theme in the song can be read as a way of bringing in new subjectivities and new emotional stanc-

es into the song, compared to the set of feelings and genre pictures which the earlier Bayou songs dealt with. As to the hoodoo and voodoo context, it should be noted that a) in this case Fogerty uses the theme quite sparingly and b) that already on an earlier record, the debut-LP of CCR from 1968, he has shown his acquaintance with these themes. On that record he makes a cover version of Screamin' Jay Hawkins classic hoodoo rock song *I Put A Spell On You*, originally recorded in 1956. The title of that song can be read as being an example of white or positive magic in a hoodoo setting.

By introducing the hoodoo/voodoo theme in his representation of the landscape, it can also be argued that Fogerty brings about an enchantment of the landscape. He gives it an aura of something dangerous, ominous, dark – something which can also be interpreted as a projection of repressed psychic energy. This is corroborated by the fact that Fogerty has created other representations of landscapes where aspects of the evil and the ominous have a prominent place, such as the bad weather metaphors in the songs *Bad Moon Rising*, *Who'll Stop The Rain* and *Rattlesnake Highway* and the apocalyptic epiphany of *Walking In A Hurricane*, *Run Through The Jungle* and *Premonition*. The bewitched voodoo landscape in *Born in the Bayou* cannot be characterized as being unanimously evil or negative. Hoodoo/voodoo can also be read as a symbol of freedom, an image of something continuously moving. Invisible, but still existing, chameleon-like and kaleidoscopic, it charges the whole landscape with extraordinary psychic power resources¹³. The enchantment of the landscape can be interpreted as an important strategy in Fogerty, designated

to give Bayou Country the status of a symbol or an allegory of the American dream of freedom and justice. By making the landscape bewitched or enchanted, Fogerty makes room for a fantasy play in which the identities existing in the Bayou Country landscape do not have to comply to the strong rules preventing racial intercourse between black and white, which are otherwise implemented in American society¹⁴. The nervous, mercurial energy of the hoodoo blurs the obvious, black and white contours of the American landscape.

Musically, what actually happens with this introduction of the hoodoo/voodoo element is that the geographical unity of Bayou Country runs the risk of breaking up with an increasing influx from the black blues tradition, especially the Delta blues with its geographical core area situated not far from Bayou Country. An emphasis on features which can be connected to the Delta blues would lead to an altogether different kind of setting of the landscape, which the music here tries to bring forth. With songs such as *Graveyard Train*, *Bootleg* and *Keep on Chooglin' on Bayou Country*, it can be argued that Fogerty implodes the cultural representation of Bayou Country by way of importing features of the neighbouring black blues tradition in Mississippi¹⁵. On the other hand it should be remembered that the cultural mixture which comprises Bayou Country and Cajun culture, including the "black" or Creole musical form zydeco, is already highly mixed or creolized.

Through a shamanistic, monotonous repetition of the phrase "Born on the Bayou" – words that also make up the chorus – an incantation is formed which forcefully tries to bring the picture of a rural, Cajun idyll to the fore, together with its dark undertones:

Wish I was back on the Bayou.
Rollin' with some Cajun Queen.
Wishin' I were a fast freight train,
Just a chooglin' on down to New Orleans.

Here, the illusory effect of these nostalgic pictures is much more visible than in e.g. Hank Williams' *Jambalaya*, something which has to do with the high degree of wishful thinking, far removed from the realistically plausible. The sexually loaded picture of "rollin' with some Cajun Queen" is transformed into a metaphor in which the main character is a "fast freight train / Just a chooglin' on down to New Orleans". The verb *chooglin'* has an interesting position here because while it is a word that is hard to define with any precision, rather like its semantic cousin "graveyard train", it has an indecisiveness, an evocative, almost magical ring to it, something which is also developed in another song on the same record, *Keep On Chooglin'*. The text of that song states that "Maybe you don't understand it / But if you're a natural man / You got to ball and have a good time / And that's what I call chooglin'".

Chooglin' seems to have a sexual meaning, like many other verbs in African-American English, such as *rock'n'roll*, *boogie-woogie*, *funk*, *jazz*. But *chooglin'* is also a verb which onomatopoetically connotes movement, like a train rolling down towards New Orleans, a city which has a special place in American popular iconography, associated as it is with sin, feasting and carnival (cf. the symbolically significant travel to the Mardi Gras festival in New Orleans conducted by the main characters of the rock film classic *Easy Rider*, 1969). Who is this person – he who was "born on the Bayou", the central character

of the song, the one that Fogerty has written into the song, and whom he, so to speak, lends his voice? In a strictly biographical sense, Fogerty is not singing about himself for the simple reason that, apart from a tourist trip, he had probably never set foot in Bayou Country prior to the recording of the *Bayou Country* record. Fogerty and his group come from northern California, from the small community of El Cerrito outside Berkeley, beside San Francisco Bay. Musically speaking CCR was part of the San Francisco scene of the Sixties, or more exactly of its third wave. Other groups that formed part of this scene included Country Joe & The Fish, Moby Grape, Jefferson Airplane and Santana. Some were even “emigrants” from Texas, such as Janis Joplin and Doug Sahm.

What Fogerty did in the song *Born On The Bayou* and the record *Bayou Country* was to invent a fictive persona and an imaginary landscape, Bayou Country, where this person could function. This was in fact a landscape situated on the other side of that vast continent. As far as Fogerty was concerned, Bayou Country was clearly a dream landscape, a musical fantasy. But the element of private fantasy in this representation is actively counterbalanced and undermined by the fact that a) the images of Bayou Country that Fogerty imparted to his listeners are very skimpy in detailing the nature of this landscape and b) the details he chose as being representative of Bayou Country – hoodoo, hound dog, Cajun Queen, backwoods – have an intimate and well established connection to southern Louisiana, but also in some degree to the neighbouring Mississippi delta. This makes these details, these symbols, completely credible as attributes of a pseudo-realistic

Bayou Country iconography. The barking hound dog in Fogerty's song (“I can still hear my old hound dog barkin’”), running around in the backwoods, can be seen as the most important link to the earlier genre pictures of Bayou Country. The picture of the barking dog connects Fogerty's Bayou Country to Hank Williams' touristic Bayou fantasy, with its genre pictures of hunting and fishing, with Doug Kershaw's autobiographical sketch of a life on and by the river, with Roy Orbison's nostalgic twilight landscape with its fishing boats and sails and with Tony Joe White's burlesque Annie-figure, who makes a living out of polk salad. The big difference is that Fogerty's hound dog does not chase any rabbits or squirrels or alligators but a hoodoo (“chasin' down a hoodoo there”), a strange, supernatural being which both exists and yet doesn't exist, a kind of spiritual being reminiscent of old subterranean figures in folklore, of brownies and trolls, creatures with strange abilities and insights in transformations and bewitchments.

In Fogerty's version, the scantily drawn picture of the swamp landscape becomes paradoxically strong and rich, something which can be seen as resulting from it being linked to and summarizing much of the earlier popular iconography of the swamp landscape, while at the same time introducing a new element into the overall picture, thereby drastically increasing the ambivalence of the Bayou landscape. The positive connotations of the landscape, which another song of the same year, *Delta Lady* by Leon Russell, also plays upon (“Woman in the country now I've found you / Longing in your soft and fertile Delta”) is balanced by more ominous moods. This latter kind of spirit is expanded further by a contempo-

rary female songwriter from the neighbouring rural Mississippi, Bobbie Gentry, in her macabre ballad *Ode To Billie Joe* (1969). In this case the song deals with suicide and problems of love in a poor, backward Mississippi-setting. The fact that death and violence is introduced at this particular time in such a marked way in popular song lyrics can be understood as an indication of the troublesome age, with the escalating Vietnam War functioning as a dominating life experience. At the same time death and decay connote something else, thereby implicating a possible allegorical reading.

As a cultural landscape the swamp – and in this development the contribution of Fogerty should perhaps not be underestimated – now begins to play an ever more important role in different representations in the popular media. Besides the world of music this also applies to several films such as *Deliverance* (1972), *Papillon* (1973), *Apocalypse Now* (1979) *Southern Comfort* (1981), *Fitzcarraldo* (1982), *The Mosquito Coast* (1986) and *Medicine Man* (1992). In more recent cultural contexts, the subtropical or tropical water landscape has an important role as an ambiguous environment in which birth and death, renewal and decay are played out against each other in quite a marked way. In contemporary popular culture, the swamp landscape seems to be almost infinitely recreated, due to the highly ambivalent character obtained by more or less closely interconnected representations of eros and thanatos. Modern explorations of this swamp theme can be seen in fantasy – e.g. the swamp landscape of *Return of The Jedi*, 1983, in the *Star Wars* trilogy, in science fiction – the slimy and unpleasant futuristic landscape of the *Al-*

ien-films, and in war movies – the tropical landscape in the Vietnam war movie *Apocalypse Now*, 1979, or the WW2 movie *Thin Red Line*, 1998. What seems to be a common denominator of these representations is the pronounced mutation propensity of these watery, steaming landscapes. In this context, the swamp landscape becomes the birthplace of new mutations, new and often dangerous identities, both biologically and culturally. Both metaphorically and symbolically, the swamp landscape takes the form of a pregnant woman, a mother.

The Bayou Country Representation on *Blue Moon Swamp*

After *Bayou Country*, which marked the commercial breakthrough of CCR, Fogerty and CCR continued to produce music in the same eclectic, but at the same time traditionalistic swamp rock style, with records such as *Green River*, *Willy And The Poor Boys* and *Cosmo's Factory*. The records were popular and contained several hit songs which became an important part of the CCR song repertoire – songs such as *Bad Moon Rising*, *Green River*, *Fortunate Son*, *Down On The Corner*, *Travellin' Band*, *Up Around The Bend* and *Looking Out My Back Door*. However, it is interesting to note that Fogerty did not make use of the imaginary landscape of Bayou Country in any of these records, a landscape in which he had created such a special and highly evocative mixture of something well known, established and something mystical, unknown, almost fantastic. When the group disbanded in the early Seventies, Fogerty experienced something which could be called his 'walking in the wilderness' period as a singer/songwriter, a time when he seems to have been fighting both with his

record company and with his own demons (Cocks and Wilwerth 1997). With the solo record *Blue Ridge Rangers* (1973), Fogerty attempted to reiterate the kind of condensed imagery of which *Born On The Bayou* was an example. With the bitter *Eye Of The Zombie* (1986), he was partly back to the themes of his *Bayou Country* representation, namely to hoodoo and voodoo. The record was obviously made in a completely different frame of mind than that guiding *Bayou Country* and other CCR records. It should also be noted that even before the *Born On The Bayou* song, Fogerty had got to know the hoodoo/voodoo theme. A record made after Fogerty's *Blue Ridge Rangers* project in 1973, but never released, was entitled *Hoodoo*.

The CD *Blue Moon Swamp* (1997) marks Fogerty's return to his old swamp landscape, this time with a record that in many different ways tries to recreate something of the spirit, the music and the feeling of the earlier swamp representation of Bayou Country. In a comparison of these two records, one is immediately struck by the considerable differences in the content of the representation.

The most eye-catching difference is immediately visible on the record sleeve. While *Bayou Country* was a record with a cover which in no way "gave out" or tried to inscribe the landscape representation contained in the songs, the connection between the song texts, landscape representation and cover art on the *Blue Moon Swamp* record is very explicit. The title of the record, with its three keywords, "blue", "moon¹⁶" and "swamp", corresponds at all levels to obvious stagings on the record sleeve: behind a photo of Fogerty a white moon shines brightly in a blue sky. The

colour blue is emphasised by Fogerty's coat of blue jeans material. Other pictures on the sleeve underline the compound iconography of these three words: the painting of a back-porch by the water shows lots of guitars and other string instruments half submerged in the water, with the necks of the guitars vanishing into the blue sky of the swamp landscape. Another sketch, also with blue as its prime colour, shows the smiling moon looking down on a solitary alligator in the swamp. The iconographically central colour of blue also resurfaces in a couple of song titles, *Blueboy* and *Blue Moon Nights*. As a summarizing symbol, the colour blue is especially useful in this context, through its musical connotations. It can lead the thoughts towards blue notes (blues, jazz), bluegrass (country) and even Bayou Country (as in Roy Orbison's *Blue Bayou*). The song most obviously connected to the metaphors and symbols of the Bayou from the earlier record is *Swamp River Days*, which can be seen as a reiteration of Fogerty's special Bayou Country iconography. There are several indications of a parallelism between this song and the song *Born On The Bayou* on the *Bayou Country* record:

Two-lane
Shinin' in the July dust
Heat risin' off the road
Out in front of my truck
Pulled my pick-up over the hill
Down the slide gravel through the Cat-tails
Give me those swamp river days again

Sat down in the shade of a cottonwood tree
Pretty soon the swamp critters callin' me
Skinny river kids swing in my mind
Hucklebums on cane-pole time
Give me those swamp river days again

Old memories out in the crick
 Playin' hooky with a hobo stick
 Old memories starting to fade
 Take me away

Cody River playin' on the radio
 Takes me back to a girl I used to know
 Sweet Susie do you think about me
 That was good as it's ever gonna be
 Give me those swamp river days again
 Give me those swamp river days again

The first structural resemblance between the two songs is that already indicated by the song titles. As *Born On The Bayou* relates to *Bayou Country*, *Swamp River Days* relates to *Blue Moon Swamp*. On the earlier record, the word 'bayou' is the catchword and on the latter, the word 'swamp' has the similar function of binding together both the song and the record.

The fact that the staging of both songs takes place in July is hardly accidental. The whole song *Swamp River Days* exudes an intensive nostalgisation and sentimentalisation of the swamp landscape, which grows even stronger by the emergence of this sentiment on at least two levels. The first point is the nostalgic yearning/fantasy brought forward in the older production. But the song that *Swamp River Days* is reaching for cannot be reawakened. This earlier song was in itself associated with nostalgia, since it was built around a memory ("And I can remember the fourth of July"). This chain of sentimentalisation and nostalgisation corresponds to the concept of pathos in Theresa M. Kelley's analysis of allegory, a concept she considers central to an evaluation of allegory within a modern context: "As allegory enters modernity, its relation to rhetoric shifts ground in two ways: its figures and visual imagery be-

come identified as the effective, because material, agents of allegorical meaning; and as its abstractions seem to become more material, they also become strategically linked to pathos, the rhetorical figure that accords human feeling to strong figures" (Kelley 1997:6–7).

In effect, this means that the nostalgic movement of *Swamp River Days* starts a chain of gliding references which creates an intensive feeling of something forever lost, a time and place which never again will be, those swamp river days when life was but a game: "playin' hooky¹⁷ with a hobo stick", days when poverty and play could be combined in a fantastic way: "skinny river kids swing in my mind / Hucklebums on cane-pole time / Give me those swamp river days again". But these days do not exist any more except as a memory which is fading: "old memories startin' to fade / Take me away".

The Paradise Lost motif is enhanced by the juxtaposition of the *Bayou Country* and the *Swamp River* representations with the more personally coloured fantasy, which the song *Green River* (from the LP of that name, released the same year as *Bayou Country*) signifies to the singer. The key phrase here is *Cody River*, which holds a special place as a Californian dream landscape of Fogerty's own childhood. (*Green River*, accessed on 15 October 1999.) Furthermore, the place is explicitly connected to a romantic and nostalgic dream ("Cody River playin' on the radio / Takes me back to a girl I used to know / Sweet Susie do you think about me"). The difference in the spirit of the two songs, *Born On The Bayou* and *Swamp River Days*, has something to do with the time factor. The imagery, which in 1969 was understood as something new

and fresh becomes far less exciting when it is repeated almost thirty years later. Instead it comes across as being worn out and "out of touch" with its time. The lack of reference to the swamp landscape in the earlier song was an important feature of its evocative, "magical" character. In *Swamp River Days*, the details that bind the record, the music and the lyrics together, (in comparison to the earlier song), are more explicit, more sentimentalizing and/or more humorous. At the same time, the fantasy value of the later song is drastically diminished. Instead of functioning as an evocative symbol, which the listener can fill with content and sentiment – which was how *Born On The Bayou* on *Bayou Country* worked – *Swamp River Days* can rather be seen as a humorous pastiche of this whole landscape concept.

Concluding Remarks

In the introduction, in accordance with James Dunbar and David Ley (1993:12), I viewed landscapes and places as a) sites where central cultural, economic and political processes are inscribed and b) as central sources of information for interpretations of our own time within the frames of interdisciplinary oriented humanities (Woolway 1996). The landscape as a form of cultural text can thus be decoded as a meeting place between nature and culture, outer form, identity and reflexive understanding.

The movement which John Fogerty performs in his music – one which leads to this strong representation of Bayou Country – can be described as an attempt at creolization and hybridization of the American musical streams, a movement affecting perhaps not only the musical streams but

the whole American cultural "mechanics", including the ambiguous identity constructions going on here. At the level of genre and style, creolization and hybridization can take place fairly easily, because the music is easier to "steal", to appropriate over the disputed borderline between cultures and races than is the case with a more totalized cultural engagement. The symbolically highly charged image of an America where the different cultural ingredients are multifaceted and complex – as in a fillet gumbo or a jambalaya –, must in the end be transformed, by the visual iconography, into a mimicry connoting cultural inauthenticity or a play with identities, as in the case of black face comedy where white artists imitate blacks or acknowledge the cultural ambivalence stemming from the discourse of American racism, or even try to apply both these strategies at once. On the textual level, the illusion or the dream of a colourblind America contains, as far as I can see, few references to the "real" southern Louisiana, since an intersection of this reality could also easily reveal the racism prevailing in the Southern discourse, including southern Louisiana. The connection between text and image must be kept separate otherwise the whole Bayou Country construction could be undermined.

The illustration on the cover of the LP *Willie And The Poor Boys* shows that this is indeed the case. The picture is taken outside the Duck Kee Market in Berkeley with the "jug band" Creedence in the foreground. Here the illusion, the "enchantment" of what a colourblind society would mean is broken, perhaps not least because of the inappreciative gazes of the black children shown in the picture. The kids seem to be saying, "What kind of circus is this that has

come to our neighbourhood, rich white people trying to play poor blacks?" Positioning a cultural Creole in the form of the jug band representation must, in the end, be rendered impossible. Black, seen not only as a mask (as in black face comedy) but also as a stigma, a collective curse and feeling of guilt, is too difficult to represent, even as an allegorical fantasy. The picture from the Duck Kee Market states that its white actors cannot, at a symbolical level, place themselves outside the racist society and at the same time function in practical terms as white rock musicians within this society. The paradox here is that this is exactly what John Fogerty and a string of other white rock musicians have done. For his part, Fogerty has solved this conflict in an elegant way through his fantasy landscape Bayou Country. But as the *Blue Moon Swamp* record shows, only time can hollow out the content of this beautiful dream. In the exchange between what can be called the real and the imaginary USA, the imaginary must either be reduced to pure fantasy and utopia, or made politically harmless through discursive movements such as humour, irony, nostalgia and sentimentalisation.

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Notes

- 1 I consider the concept white to be a social and cultural construction taking place in this case in a society with a very unequal, racist structure (for an overview of the extensive literature on whiteness and white studies see Whiteness Studies Library, <http://www.euroamerican.org/library/maindesk.htm> and White Studies books,

[http://www.euroamerican.org/library/DrwWA_WZ.htm# White studies](http://www.euroamerican.org/library/DrwWA_WZ.htm#White%20studies)).

- 2 In Lindberg's psychoanalytically oriented interpretation, this is seen as a momentary contraction of the *signifiant* and the *signifié* through a slide from the Lacanian category the Symbolic into the Real (Lindberg 1995:123).
- 3 Bayou is Louisiana French, derived from the Choctaw Indian word *bayuk*, which means a sluggish or stagnant creek, frequently flowing through swamp terrain, usually the offshoot of a river or lake in a lowland area. The term is used mainly when referring to areas in the delta region (the area near the mouth) of the Mississippi River. In comparison, a swamp is a marshy wetland, and it is usually forested and seasonally flooded.
- 4 The Creole population of New Orleans held a key position in the creation of jazz since the Creoles could combine a knowledge of European musical culture and tradition (including both folk music, opera and classical music) with insights in black traditions, including both minstrel music and different ragtime and blues forms (Schuller 1968).
- 5 Music which is indigenous to the white inhabitants of southern Louisiana, a musical hybrid form influenced by older French folk music and African-American music, in particular zydeco. Cajun music is nowadays often considered a variant of country music. Cajun is sung either in Creole or Louisiana French or, in more recent times, in English. Popular dance forms within Cajun are the contre-dance, cotillion, mazurka, valse à deux temps and two-step. The instrumentation is dominated by fiddle and diatonic accordion (*The Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music* 1989:191–193).
- 6 A musical form indigenous to the black inhabitants of southern Louisiana and east Texas, related to Cajun but with strong features of African-American and Caribbean musical idioms. It is distinguished by syncopated, driving rhythms. The piano accordion replaces Cajun's diatonic instrument and saxophone tends to oust the fiddle. Rub or washboard adds a percussive element. Amplification and a rhythm section of drums and electric bass have further coloured the music. (*The Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music* 1989:1280, also *Encyclopedia of Cajun Culture, Swamp pop*. URL: <http://www.cajunculture.com/Other/swamppop.htm>.)
- 7 Several well-known country, bluegrass and

- rockabilly artists hail from Louisiana: Harry Choates, Ted Daffan, Buzz Busby (aka. Bernarr Busbice), Jimmy C. Newman, Doug Kershaw, Jerry Lee Lewis – or from neighbouring areas: e.g. Moon Mullican from South-East Texas or Hank Williams from Alabama. With Jambalaya Hank Williams has written one of the most important of the Cajun-related country songs.
- 8 A sub-genre indigenous to southern Louisiana and southeast Texas, with elements of New Orleans rhythm & blues, rock'n'roll, Cajun and zydeco. The genre emerged in the 1950s as a confluence of Cajun music created by teenagers and zydeco or black Creole music. The sub-genre is distinguished by a strong emotionalism, often rather slow tempi and a marked rhythm & blues backbeat. It should not be confused with swamp rock. (Encyclopedia of Cajun Culture, Swamp pop. URL: <http://www.cajunculture.com/Other/swamppop.htm>.)
 - 9 In 1940 the percentage of illiterates within the white rural population in Louisiana (age 25 or older) was 14.8. The percentage that had attended school for only 1–4 years was at the same time 25.1. The illiteracy in Louisiana was thus by far the highest in the Southern states. The corresponding figures in Mississippi (among the white rural population, 25 years of age or older) were 3 percent illiterates and 13.3 percent with 1–4 years in school attendance. Source: Key Jr (1949:161).
 - 10 Strangely enough the designation Cajun derives from this word Acadia!
 - 11 The celebration of Independence Day in the Southern states has a more complex background than the reference of the song could possibly suggest. It is connected to such socio-cultural phenomena as The Lost Cause-movement in the South and the celebration of The Confederate Memorial Day (Wilson 1995:19–29).
 - 12 Finn has discussed the semantic differences between voodoo and hoodoo (Finn 1986:6–37, 107, 108). He seems to reserve the concept voodoo for the syncretized popular religion with roots both in West-African animism and Catholicism in Haiti and other Caribbean islands, while hoodoo is seen as an adaptation of voodoo on North-American soil.
 - 13 Cf. Finn's description of hoodoo culture: "Hoodoo took to the bayous. It survived, but only just; in place of the *grandes cérémonies* as practised in Haiti and Bahia it spread out over the Mississippi Delta – with its headquarters in New Orleans – in a freewheeling miasma of charms, spells and root cures. If it was rarely seen, it was always spoken of or whispered about" (Finn 1986:154).
 - 14 For an extensive discussion of the "passing" phenomenon, a feature of the American racial discourse, in which a black identity is changed into a white one through a passing of the internal "border police" within American cultural discourse, see Johnson 1995.
 - 15 The white country blues and gospel singer Jimmie Davis is a striking example of the fact that this cultural limit has been transgressed much earlier on by a Louisiana based musician (Malone 1985:107–108, 161–162). Davis, who is strongly associated with the "theme song" of Louisiana, *You Are My Sunshine* (which he both wrote and recorded), was musically active as early as in the 30s. His musical style was heavily based upon African-American musical idioms and in this respect was akin to Jimmie Rodgers' blue yodels. Ironically enough Davis functioned in two periods (1944–48 and 1960–64) as an ultra-conservative governor of Louisiana.
 - 16 Fogerty is not the first one to connect the Cajun and the moon motifs in a popular song. In 1974 the Oklahoma born singer and songwriter J.J. Cale used the Cajun moon motif in a song with that title, on his record *Okie* (1974).
 - 17 The Americanism 'hooky', meaning to skip school, probably derives from the Dutch *hoekje*, a name for the game of hide and seek. (Etymologies & Word Origins. <http://www.wordorigins.org/wordorh.htm>)

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Christmas in Lindsborg

About Miniatures, Time and Place

By Lizette Gradén

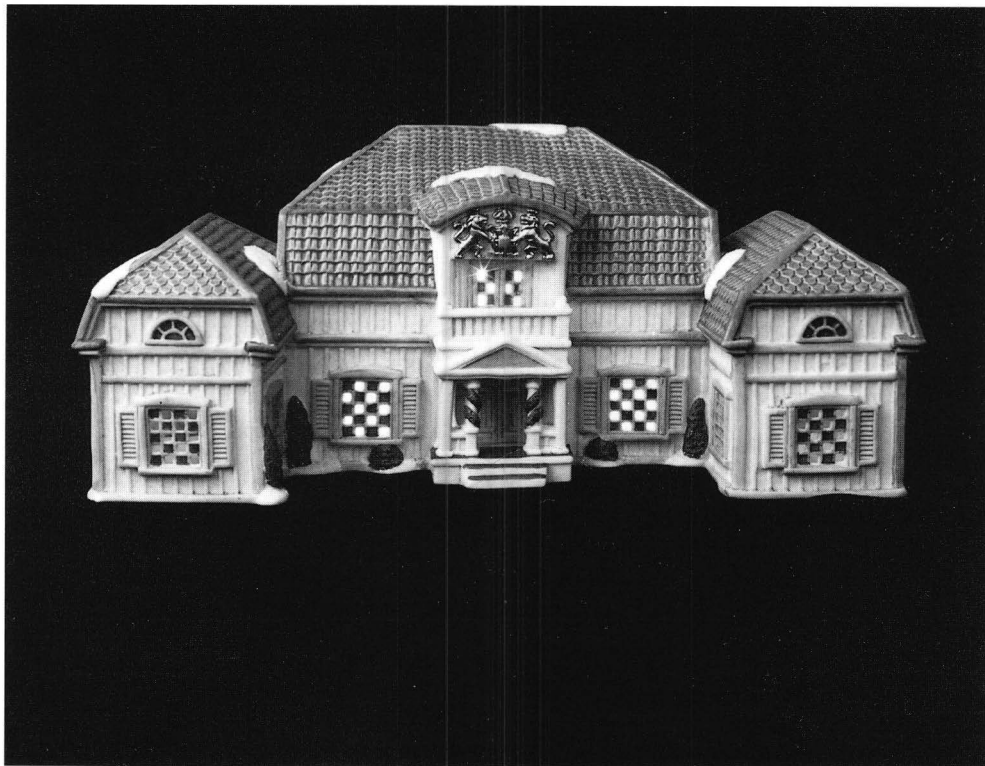
“Historic Swedish Pavilion – newest addition to Christmas in Lindsborg” proclaimed a colorful brochure included with the *Lindsborg News Record*, the local newspaper for the town of Lindsborg, Kansas, in the United States.¹ It was in the fall of 1997 and I did fieldwork for my dissertation on the *Svensk Hyllningsfest*, one of the largest Swedish festivals in the United States.² The pavilion, depicted in a photograph in the brochure, was 3 inches tall and 8 inches wide. It was stated to be a miniature replica of the centerpiece of the McPherson County Old Museum park complex, and Sweden’s contribution to the 1904 World’s Fair in St. Louis, USA. The façade was pale yellow in color with white trim. The veranda was decorated with green garlands and had a roof covered with tiles that were brushed with snow. Above the garlanded veranda hung a carefully chiseled version of the 1904 Swedish coat-of-arms. Two wings flanked the main building. The pavilion was described as the sixth miniature in a series, and the text emphasized that the miniatures depicted buildings that were considered to be especially important to Lindsborg. According to the colorful brochure, the Swedish pavilion could be purchased for \$65 dollars to “bring a sense of history into your home”.

Christmas in Lindsborg is a series of handmade porcelain miniatures. Each miniature is accompanied by a history of the building it represents. The first miniature was manufactured in 1996 and is a replica of Bethany Lutheran Church. The white plastered original was built by pioneers from Sweden. Other buildings included in the miniature series, the *Brunswick Hotel* and Lindsborg’s *Rådhus*, were erected by pioneers in 1887.³ Also included in the

series is *Presser Hall*, the auditorium at Bethany College. The explanatory text for that miniature emphasizes Bethany Oratorio Society’s annual performance of Handel’s *Messiah* at Easter, an event with traditions dating back to 1882. Also depicted in miniature format are the *Swedish Country Inn* and *Den svenska timmerstugan*, a building that was shipped from the province of Dalarna to Lindsborg in 1983. In addition, the *Christmas in Lindsborg* collection includes a 2+ inch tall royal blue sign with a red Dala horse situated in the middle. The sign reads, “Välkommen till Lindsborg – Little Sweden U.S.A.”

In this article, I would like to focus on the miniatures, rather than the actual buildings created by Swedish architects, the pioneers or their descendants. My purpose in doing so is to illustrate the significance of miniatures in communicating notions of Swedishness as cultural displays, but also as vehicles for commenting on such displays. On the basis of the idea that cultural heritage making is a matter of selection and thus a political act (Klein 1997:2), I investigate the role of miniatures when a place is created to be “Swedish” in an American context. The miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg* is an example of many cultural displays which can provide insight into how past events are used creatively to shape a place in the present. A cultural display can be understood both as a ritual and a thing whose planning, creation and enactment involve the enthusiasm of a group of people (Bendix 1989:131–146).

The miniature, as a cultural enactment, is an interesting entrance into the study of creative processes that typify a place. The miniature format is especially exciting since it intensifies and reinforces values (Stewart



1. This is a commercial image produced as a communicative tool between producers of the Christmas in Lindsborg collection and its prospective customers. It has appeared in brochures and newspaper advertisements. The arrangement of miniatures, portrayed against a black backdrop and foregrounded by snow from a can, breathe warmth and light in the midst of dark. In addition to the miniatures themselves, this image adds to the creative potential of fantastic miniature landscapes. Photo reprinted with permission by photographer Jim Turner.

1993:37–65, 1997:73–84). One of the best-known examples of miniature landscapes in the Nordic region is probably Skansen, the world's oldest open-air museum, established by Artur Hazelius in 1891. It is arranged so that visitors are given the illusion of moving through the country of Sweden. Similar ideas have subsequently been implemented in the United States. When Walt Disney's town Celebration was built in Florida in the mid-1990s, it was an image of the 1950s American small town and the fictional Duckburg that served as the model (Frantz & Collins 1999).

The fact that people concretize both their perceptions of reality and their ideals by making material objects has been emphasized by many researchers (Arvidsson *et al.* 1992; Bronner 1986; Hufford *et al.* 1987). When people freeze time in miniatures, the act seems to imply that all movements occur outside of them. The illusion created in the *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniature series is that the town of Lindsborg has been left intact, unaffected and stable through times of change. The collection of buildings therefore raises many questions. Why are turn-of-the-century

buildings selected and portrayed while trailer parks, new apartment complexes and simple single-family houses are lacking? Why is it that the church of the Swedish pioneers has been selected for inclusion in the miniatures series while the Catholic church, three other Protestant congregations' and the Indians' spiritual gathering places are left invisible? Why are the Midsummer and Christmas holidays given public recognition while celebrations such as Cinco de Mayo, Hanukkah and St. Patrick's Day are overlooked? What sort of values are in place when the multifaceted life of Lindsborg is obscured, perhaps to the advantage of a single perspective?

This article discusses one way in which symbols of Swedish America are shaped. The miniatures in Christmas in Lindsborg are but one example of many cultural displays that can give insight into how the past is used creatively in the present. If we understand cultural displays as forms for communicating values, they indeed raise many questions. Based on conversations with the manufacturers and several buyers, observations and review of printed materials, I wish to bring up three of them: What contexts do the miniatures highlight? Whose history is being shaped? Which Lindsborg comes to the forefront? The analysis will demonstrate that certain historical periods, seasons and celebrations rich in symbolism have been chosen and highlighted in these miniatures. It is these contexts that make it possible to interpret the miniatures.

Pioneers and the Town of Lindsborg

Lindsborg is a town in Kansas with three thousand inhabitants. The local newspaper, the local Chamber of Commerce and the international press often bill the town as

"Little Sweden U.S.A." In his comprehensive guide to Swedish-American landmarks, Alan Winquist (1995) describes Lindsborg as one of the most important places to visit. Ever since the 1940s, town residents have taken advantage of the origins of the pioneers in order to highlight their uniqueness and to develop tourism based on that. Such a thematization is frequently used by small towns to renegotiate their locality on the political and economic map. Steven Hoelscher demonstrates how New Glarus, Wisconsin, in the United States, has profiled itself as "America's Little Switzerland" by building on the founders' origins and displaying numerous symbols, museums, festivals and individual items that, taken together, contribute to the impression that something Swiss is going on (Hoelscher 1998). In a similar manner, the residents of Solvang, California have established their town as "The Danish Capital of the U.S.A." (Linde-Laursen 1997). And Lindsborg is, of course, presented as Swedish. In the late 1990s, the creation of symbolic "Swedishness" has intensified. *Christmas in Lindsborg* is one example of that effort.

However, the profiling of Lindsborg as Swedish in America is not a new phenomenon and is in fact linked to political processes within Sweden and the United States.⁴ Lindsborg was founded in 1869 by religious dissenters from Sweden. Under the leadership of pastor Olof Olsson, some 200 people moved to the Smoky Valley. Many residents, whose families have lived in Lindsborg for generations, enthusiastically describe how the pioneers from Sweden built a number of institutions in order to find an outlet for their values and dreams in America. They highlight the founding of Bethany Lutheran Church and its theological seminary in 1869.

The seminary eventually evolved into Bethany College, a private school that has been noted for its theology, art and music programs. In 1882, the inhabitants of Lindsborg performed Handel's *Messiah* for the first time, a tradition that has not been broken since then. By 1887, Lindsborg's first hotel and bank had been erected. They also cite how the town's social and cultural life at the turn of the twentieth century revolved around Bethany Lutheran Church and Bethany College. The ties to Sweden were strong. At the turn of the century, art and music teachers were recruited from Sweden. Many artists, musicians and writers from Sweden came to visit the town, and some stayed to make a living.

It has often been said that, as in many other communities, the Swedish language and Swedish traditions were downplayed in Lindsborg following the end of World War I. Many inhabitants tried to demonstrate that they were true Americans (Danielson 1972:88). Among other things, the Swedish language was abandoned in primary school, and by the mid-1930s sermons were no longer given in Swedish at the Bethany Lutheran Church. Interest in showcasing the town's Swedish background first regained momentum in Kansas in 1941, when all of the state's cities were encouraged to unite in a comprehensive celebration of "Founders Day". But instead of focusing on Spaniard Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's supposed arrival in the Smoky Valley in 1541, the citizens of Lindsborg decided to commemorate the town's founders from Sweden. Voluntary organizations and merchants organized Svensk Hyllningsfest, a colorful event displaying music, dance, food, folk costumes and handicrafts. Also included in the festivities was a big parade

that depicted the pioneers' construction of homes, churches, college, as well as artistic and mercantile endeavors. The emphasis on a specific culture in Lindsborg at this time has been interpreted as a reaction to an expanding American mass society (Wheeler 1986). The exodus to big cities following World War II resulted in Lindsborgians, like many inhabitants of other small towns in the Midwest, feeling as though their town was threatened. That perceived threat was manifested during the 1960s when Interstate highway 135 was built east of Lindsborg, bringing less traffic through town. As a result, several gas stations, mechanic workshops, cafés and stores were forced to close. At the same time, rumors had it that Bethany College, one of the town's cultural and social hubs, would move to another state. As Larry Danielson (1972, cf. Klein 1988) has noted, the residents responded to the perceived external threats by emphasizing Lindsborg's uniqueness – its artistic and religious profile and ties to Sweden. In addition to the Dala horse being made the official symbol of the town, a number of display events took on a prominent role.⁵ Svensk Hyllningsfest was expanded and marketed both regionally and nationally, and a group of entrepreneurs organized, among other display events, a spectacular Lucia celebration in the town center. This emphasis on "Swedishness" has persisted even though almost half the town's inhabitants have no ties to Sweden (Danielson 1972, 1991:187–203). Thus, certain aspects of the past were reclaimed for the purpose of creating stability or direction in a changing present.

The effort to create Lindsborg's Swedish profile, which began in the 1940s, intersected during the 1970s with changing

political ideals that emphasized ethnic pluralism. Both St. Lucia and Svensk Hyllningsfest expanded. In addition, the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers, a group of high-school students, initiated a Midsummer celebration with performances of dancing and music. Organizers of these events received a boost from the media. Material culture and holidays were the center of attention when journalist Lasse Holmquist reported on Swedish television that Lindsborg was “more Swedish than Sweden”. In *Svenska Journalen*, journalists Anders Runwall and Bertil Hagert provided their readers with a glimpse into “Little Sweden U.S.A.”. It was their contention that one could hardly experience anything more Swedish than the prairie town of Lindsborg in the state of Kansas (*Svenska Journalen*, No. 52, 1978). Even though the stream of people from rural areas into big cities started turning around in the 1980s (Danielson 1991:201), Lindsborg and other towns continued to highlight their ethnic backgrounds as a part of their marketing strategies. In 1987 over three thousand festivals were arranged across the United States and many of these were thematized as ethnic (Gillespie 1987:152–61). Lindsborg contributed to this standardization of difference by increasingly displaying itself as Swedish. According to the most recent census figures, Lindsborg has seen a net population gain. It is one of the fastest growing towns in the state of Kansas per capita. Many within the media have pondered over the reasons behind such a trend. Demographers at Kansas State University suggest that people are increasingly leaving behind big cities and seeking out smaller communities that offer a higher quality of life. Regional development

consultants indicate a correlation between Lindsborg’s growth and the selection of social services and cultural offerings that the town can provide. When consultants and demographers talk about people’s desire for increased quality of life as a contributing factor to the growth of smaller communities, Lindsborgians point out what they consider to be the cornerstones in such a community. These cornerstones were summarized in an editorial in the local newspaper.

Whatever the census-takers and demographers say, Lindsborg continues to roll along with civic pride, volunteerism, support of Swedish-American heritage, musical traditions, attention to the visual arts, nurturing of the original and developed religious values extending back to the founding in 1869, support of higher and all other educational institutions, preservation of historic sites and museums (*Lindsborg News Record*, July 22, 1999).

At the same time that Lindsborg is growing, the town’s leadership continues to find more ways of continually promoting the town’s image. The miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg* is one example of such an endeavor.

In conversations with the manufacturers and consumers of the *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniatures, they spontaneously pointed out the pavilion as being the most Swedish of them all. When I asked why that building in particular was considered to be so Swedish, they pointed out the building’s Swedish origins, its long history and current significance to the Christmas and Midsummer celebrations of Swedish-Americans. *Den svenska herrgården* (the Swedish manor house), which the miniature depicts, was Sweden’s contribution to the 1904 World Exposition in St. Louis.⁶ When the exhibition in St. Louis closed in December



2. The Swedish pavilion is set apart from the rest of the collection, also in commercial images like this one. Compared to the building itself, the edges of the miniature pavilion are polished, flaws caused by age and weather edited out, and the coat of arms added in a Disneyfied version. Photo reprinted with permission by photographer Jim Turner.

1904, the Swedish Pavilion was donated to Bethany College in Lindsborg, in memory of Carl Aaron Swensson, the school's founder.⁷ Carl Aaron Swensson was a member of the building committee which partially financed and planned Sweden's participation in the World's Fair 1904. Initially, it was used as an exhibition hall for the school's own art collections and as a classroom and studio for the school's art students. The local historical society purchased the building in 1969, using it as the foundation of the open-air museum "The Old Mill Museum Park". The museum was created as part of Lindsborg's "Little Sweden U.S.A." campaign. When I inter-

viewed one of the founders of the open-air museum in 1997, she enthusiastically explained that the model for the museum was Skansen in Stockholm, which she had visited in the 1960s. In other words, the meaning and significance of the pavilion has changed over time and as it has been moved from one place to another. In 1904, when it was in St. Louis, the pavilion served to convey the image of Sweden as a progressive nation. On site in Lindsborg, the pavilion serves as a sign of stability.

The local historical society renovated the pavilion in the 1970s and the façade was painted pale yellow. Once renovated, the pavilion was placed on the American register

of historic landmarks. In 1976, Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf reinaugurated the pavilion in conjunction with his month-long Royal Tour to the Swedish communities in the United States. By being pointed out as a Swedish building, renovated and reinaugurated, the pavilion was transformed from a local to a national interest and incorporated into the story of a multifaceted and multiethnic America.

The miniature pavilion combines events from these three different periods, collapsing the experience of linear time. Included in the display is the participation of Swedish-Americans at the World Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, the 1960s when Lindsborg became established as “Little Sweden U.S.A.”, and the Swedish King’s visit to Lindsborg in 1976. In the detailed recreation of the pavilion, a desire to recapture the past seems to be associated with the creation of “things Swedish”. The periods emphasized seem to highlight the important stages in Swedish-Americans’ institutional growth and recognition. If that is the case, how do these periods relate to the current emphasis on things Swedish by Lindsborgians?

Creation of Whose History?

The Smoky Valley Charities, Inc., a non-profit organization founded by local businessmen of the Smoky Valley, began producing *Christmas in Lindsborg* in 1996. Due to reduced federal funding for historic preservation, the organization felt there was an increased need for alternative sources. *Christmas in Lindsborg* aims to create the necessary means for preserving and enhancing Lindsborg’s Swedish identity. Taking its inspiration from a successful line of miniatures known as the *Department 56 Collection*, which includes depictions of a

New England Village and an American Christmas, a series of miniatures were developed for a Swedish-American audience, with buildings and motives that the target audience would recognize as Swedish. Profits from the sale of these miniatures are channeled into several areas including scholarships at Bethany College, local historic preservation efforts and the perpetuation of celebrations and traditions related to what is described as “the Swedish heritage”.⁸

The miniatures are marketed through brochures, in the local press, at festivals in Lindsborg and throughout Kansas, and at the organization’s store in downtown Lindsborg. Since the first miniature was launched in 1996, several thousand *Christmas in Lindsborg* miniatures have been sold. In conversation with me in 1998 the sales manager said that the single largest category of buyers consists of well-established Lindsborg residents, their relatives and friends and former Lindsborgians who now live elsewhere. Former students of Bethany College belong to the latter group. In other words, it is a fairly exclusive group of people who find the series both attractive and meaningful, and who can afford to buy it.

The manufacturer, Smoky Valley Charities, believes that the popularity of the miniature series, like the popularity of the city itself, is due to its uniqueness. According to the sales manager, buyers are attracted to the pieces because they are handmade and beautifully crafted, but also because they depict places that people are already familiar with and recollect. Buyers themselves seem to agree on that point. Those with whom I spoke emphasized the significance of the *Christmas in Lindsborg* series depicting existing buildings which they had experi-

enced. A retired pastor said that he would never buy just any decorative church model, but having his “own home church” served not only as a decoration, but also as a memory of the pioneers, his congregation, and his relatives and friends. One woman was fascinated at seeing her town depicted, said with delight, “you know that the sign ‘Välkommen till Lindsborg – Little Sweden U.S.A.’ actually exists, don’t you?” In other words, it is the historical and experiential relevance of *Christmas in Lindsborg* that legitimizes and differentiates the series from more generic miniature series. Some of the people who purchased the miniature series also stressed the ultimate goal behind the project. One middle-aged man said that he could never donate the same amount of money to Bethany College, historic preservation or to cultural events that the miniatures had the potential to generate revenue for.

In addition, however, to those who were positive about the miniature series, there were also those who were more skeptical. One young woman said ironically that she was both a Swedish-American and a Lindsborgian, but lacked the financial means to purchase *Christmas in Lindsborg* in order to “bring a sense of history into your home”. For her, the inability to make a purchase was a reminder that *Christmas in Lindsborg* is a utopia. Who those people are that manifest their cultural heritage in material form will, perhaps, in the long run also be a question of economics. When *Christmas in Lindsborg* actively supports the city’s historic preservation efforts, the miniatures become tools in a process of reinforcing and expanding Lindsborg’s already established profile and values. In that way, the ability of businessmen, media and historic preservation organizations to

capture and capitalize on established buildings and holidays are decisive for how the official picture of the town develops.

Midsummer at Christmas

What role do holidays play when a town is recreated in miniature? What distinguishes the miniature pavilion, which has been cited as being the most Swedish, is that it clearly blends together seasons and holidays. With specks of snow on the pavilion’s roof and pruned green bushes in front, the miniature pavilion encompasses both summer and winter, combining them into one. The pavilion is marketed as a Christmas decoration even as green garlands line the veranda, bearing witness to Midsummer celebrations in Lindsborg.

For many people, Christmas celebrations evoke memories from a lost era. When ethnographer Albin Widén conducted fieldwork in Lindsborg in the 1930s, the town appeared American, at least from his point of view. In his quest for phenomena that he recognized as Swedish, Widén noted that on December 25th, Lindsborgians gathered in Bethany Lutheran Church to celebrate “julotta” (Widén 1972). When I spoke with the pastor at Bethany Church in 1998, he emphasized that the celebration of *julotta* (“Christmas matins”) is an unbroken tradition observed since the arrival of the pioneers. Many of the Swedish descendants use the Christmas smorgasbord with *dopp i grytan*, *lutfisk* and rice pudding to convey to younger generations where their relatives came from. Even the official Christmas celebration in Lindsborg creates symbols for Swedishness. The city hangs up meter-high banners with texts that read *Guds Frid* (God’s Peace) and *God Jul* (Merry Christmas) and adorn every lamppost with a gi-



3. The significance of backdrops. The Swedish pavilion is used as backdrop for the Midsummer Day celebration on the third weekend in June. This picture is part of a set of visual field notes foregrounding the dance performance on Midsummer Day in Lindsborg in 1998. Photo by the author.

gantic Christmas oat sheaf. The hymn *Silent Night* is played regularly over the loudspeakers downtown. What I have mentioned here are only glimpses of the Christmas that the miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg* attempts to convey.

In comparison with Christmas celebrations in Lindsborg, Midsummer celebrations are comparatively recent and held at a different time. Lindsborgians celebrate Midsummer on the third Saturday in June. The celebration is not synchronized with the Midsummer holiday in Sweden. The event is organized by a special committee composed of merchants, the local Chamber of Commerce and the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers, the high-school youth folkdance group. The organizers in 1998 made a distinction between Midsummer and the

Svensk Hyllningsfest, which attracts thousands of visitors, describing Midsummer as “family oriented”, “for those of us who live here” and “for people with ties to the town”. Participants share a similar understanding. Many people said they preferred the Midsummer celebration to the Svensk Hyllningsfest, because it was “smaller”, “easier to get an overview” and “more Swedish”.

The highlight of the Midsummer celebration took place in front of the Swedish pavilion. Just before sunset, people of Swedish descent in Lindsborg, their families and friends, gathered in front of the pavilion at the Old Mill Museum Park. Perhaps the wooden fence, the sundial and the two carefully planted birch trees conveyed the notion that what was occurring was some-

thing Swedish. The park erased distances in geography and time, making it a concentrated area that one could grasp. Held at the open-air museum and staged in front of the pavilion, that which was billed as a celebration was also transformed into a controlled display. It was this display and museum-like installation that the miniature pavilion made reference to.

The garlands that graced the veranda on the miniature created a further delineation. It was here that a demarcation was made between what may be called Swedish and Swedish-American. At dawn before the 1998 Midsummer celebration, I accompanied the decoration committee when they went about to cut branches of trees. For Midsummer, the pavilion is decorated at least as lovingly as the maypole itself. While members of the Lindsborg Swedish Dancers and their parents worked to decorate the maypole, a discussion among those responsible for decorating the pavilion raged over whether it should be decorated “in the Swedish manner” or “in the Lindsborgian manner – as they have always done”. On this particular morning, a small portion of the group wanted to put branches in buckets and place them on either side of the veranda instead of wrapping garlands around the veranda’s pillars. Proponents of branches in buckets had either lived in Sweden or made summer visits there. For them, it was important to decorate the Swedish pavilion in accordance with their experiences of how to decorate houses at Midsummer in contemporary Sweden. A majority of the group was against the idea, however. In order to ensure that their understanding of what was authentic and aesthetically pleasing was correct, they had already driven 8-inch nails into the pillars to hang the garlands evenly. The work of

decorating the pavilion generated heated discussions about values and tasks that had to do with Midsummer celebrations in Sweden versus the traditions that they had grown up with as Swedish-Americans. The actual process of decorating the pavilion for Midsummer helped clarify that what was considered Swedish was separate from that which was Swedish-American. It also served to highlight the differences between different citizens’ ways of creating their history locally. There was strong opposition to celebrating in the manner that is commonplace in contemporary Sweden. These discussions marginalized the values asserted by recent immigrants from Sweden and people who identified with contemporary Sweden. This was similar to the manner in which expressive forms of Swedish America are sometimes marginalized in Sweden. The miniatures intensified certain experiences and values while others were discarded. Consequently, when the Midsummer celebration in Lindsborg is presented in miniature format, it of course includes the garlands.

The miniatures are an example of how the seasonal ritual system can be displayed and spread in material form. By combining symbols for them into a single entity, an internal consensus is developed. The miniature pavilion demonstrates that the individual holidays that occur six months apart provide order to the Swedish-American festival year. The miniature thus articulates the system of rituals that the annual festivities offer. At the same time, the miniatures also reinforce the contraction process of time and space that manifests rituals.

Creating Miniature Landscapes

While the miniatures may portray and reinforce the town of Lindsborg as intact, un-

affected and stable through times of continuous change, their fixed format also stimulates people to articulate their own experiences in concretized form (Bronner 1986). This becomes clear when we see what happens with the miniatures in peoples' homes.

A woman I visited just before Christmas 1997 had decorated her entire house. She had sprayed in window muntins and in-between them covered the panes with snowflakes made out of cut paper. The exterior contours of her house were decorated with blinking green and red lights, an arrangement that was reminiscent of a blinking stoplight. Inside the house, there was soft, white light with a sweet aroma of molasses, ginger, cloves and cinnamon hanging in the air. Tins of gingersnaps stood lined up on the kitchen table. The orange kitchen towels belonging to Thanksgiving had been replaced by Astrid Sampe's linen towels with Lucia buns printed on them. The Christmas tree was a mixture of glimmering white and silver, with packages under the tree. "Come and take a look. What difference does it make if there isn't any snow in Kansas – in my Lindsborg there are big piles", explained the woman, laughing loudly and delightedly, pulling me excitedly by the arm. She led me downstairs to the fairly dimly lit TV room. There, on a shelf above the television, a miniature landscape unfolded. Pieces of cotton lay tightly and thickly over a flannel blanket. Underneath the cotton and flannel she had stuffed newspaper and boxes, creating small hills. Then the woman said, "Let there be light!" and pushed a small button, beaming over the soft glow of light coming out of the windows of the miniature buildings. In the middle of the display, on a small cotton-covered hill, rose *Bethany*

Lutheran Church. Around it stood *Rådhuset* and the *Swedish Country Inn*. *Den svenska timmerstugan* and the *Swedish pavilion* were situated in the foreground and surrounded by plastic trees that had been trimmed with a scissors and sprayed with snowflakes from a can. Nearby, a lone sled had slid halfway down a cotton hill, on a path towards a mirror that created the illusion of a lake smooth enough to skate on. But not a single person could be seen. This woman's imaginary Lindsborg had hills, pine trees and lakes, just like the landscapes she had visited in Sweden. But it lacked roads and cars that the great distances of the prairie landscape require. A notion of a cold Nordic country with lots of snow has inspired these mounds of cotton snow. But it was not the hills, pine trees, lakes or lack of roads that left an impression on me, but rather the interaction on several different creative levels. In the same manner that this woman's home was meticulously arranged, these handmade miniatures and the landscape they fitted into were a time-consuming labor of love. They reflected the same kind of devotion that went into the planning of Midsummer and Christmas. Just as the rituals referenced activities outside their realm, the miniature landscape made reference to an existence that revolved around those rituals.

At Christmas 2000, the woman whose creative landscape is described above sent me a letter. She and her family had moved to another state. Included with the letter was a homemade Christmas card showing the entire family gathered in front of the fireplace. Lined up on the mantelpiece were the miniatures: *Bethany Lutheran Church*, *Den svenska timmerstugan*, the *Swedish pavilion* and the other buildings included in

Christmas in Lindsborg. A few lone trees surrounded them. In their letter, the family expressed a longing to be back in their hometown. This simple enactment of the miniatures took on special significance when I read that the woman was considering leaving her *Christmas in Lindsborg* set up all year around “in order to maintain a constant presence of her old hometown in the new place.” Sitting as an arrangement on top of her television in Lindsborg, her fantastic miniature landscape evoked experiences of places in Sweden. Staged in a different state, there were no longer any visible traces of Sweden. Instead, the official image of Lindsborg was portrayed. The woman used both of these arrangements to create a link to her past and places she had previously visited. The miniatures themselves formed that link. With the arranged miniatures in a home far away from Lindsborg, the town of Lindsborg was expanded spatially to also encompass those who have moved away from there.

Miniatures and Swedishnesses

Small towns around the United States often highlight the origins of their pioneers when they market themselves, a practice that often occurs at the expense of the experiences and expressions presented by other groups, primarily later immigrant arrivals (Klein 1997; Linde-Laursen 1997; Löfgren 1998). This is also true of Lindsborg, Kansas. Pioneers from Sweden were made the role models of how life should be lived. Selected elements of the town’s past were mobilized as a moral resource. Relating to the pioneers, people in Lindsborg emphasize the importance of church and the family for community wealth and expansion. Those occurrences that led Lindsborg to be labeled “Little

Sweden U.S.A.” rest on the same ideas of community that symbolically built up the United States as a nation. Through an intensive creation of symbols, the town of Lindsborg has attained a strong position in the United States.

In miniatures such as *Christmas in Lindsborg*, the image of a controlled and manageable existence is reinforced. Selected eras and events are combined into a suggestive image. While Lindsborg is a compilation of important symbols for “Swedishness” – made tangible through select buildings, events and ceremonial occasions – the purpose of *Christmas in Lindsborg* is to further concentrate them. The miniatures embody all of the previously separate settings simultaneously.

Even if ritualized events are comprised of time and space, they are far from unambiguous actions. Miniatures, however, attempt to reduce them to just that. By simplifying and amplifying the contraction process that is manifested in rituals, it also silences a multitude of voices that are expressed there. And the negotiation that occurs when, for example, the pavilion is to be decorated for Midsummer, does not occur. When Midsummer is articulated in miniature format, one perspective is chosen at the expense of the others. *Christmas in Lindsborg* showcases the perspective held by longtime Lindsborg residents, merchants, the Chamber of Commerce and cultural institutions. Thus the miniatures amplify and accentuate stereotypical perceptions of Lindsborg’s uniqueness in a multifaceted American society. The variety in national, regional and other differences that newcomers stand for is steeped in a homogeneous image of ethnicity, and recent immigrants from Sweden are excluded.

To emphasize uniqueness has been a successful tool when Lindsborg has been marketed as Swedish in America. By selecting symbols on the theme Swedishness and using them in various ways and contexts, Swedish Americans have created a place for themselves on the financial and political map. The miniature series concretizes the link between the past, the present and the future. The miniatures also mediate between reality and imagination. When manufacturers encourage consumption of readymade items in order to “bring a sense of history into your home”, people who purchase the miniatures focus on the creative aspect. In the individual homes, miniatures form the building blocks for articulating experiences as well as dreams. Thus, the miniature is a useful tool for profiling Lindsborg as a Swedish town in America, but also for individuals to relate to such a profile. Theirs simultaneously propel control and creativity.

Christmas in Lindsborg is an example of how a rural town has linked expansion and positive population growth to its shaping of uniqueness. The miniature series engenders not only images of quality of life, businesses and culture, but also the dream of a reachable inheritance. Through the miniature series *Christmas in Lindsborg*, a small, thematic town on the prairie is created, as well as glimpses of our industrial and information age society. Most of all, the miniature format articulates a dream of a graspable past and a future that is possible to foresee.

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Notes

- 1 This is a revised version of an article produced as part of the project “Traditionalization, folk constructions of the past”, led by Anne Eriksen, Jan Garnert and Torunn Selberg. I am grateful to participants at the working meetings in Oslo (2000) and Helsinki (2001) for their helpful comments on that article. Funding for the research upon which this article is based was generously provided by the American Scandinavian Foundation in New York, and the Swedish Institute in Stockholm. Special thanks go to the Raymer Society for the Arts in Lindsborg for their generous artist in residence program, and to Henrik Nordstrom for translation and linguistic advice on this article. I am grateful to Erik Nagel for his helpful comments and willingness to discuss the pictures with me.
- 2 In the last decade, the festive calendar in the United States has expanded to include a variety of special occasions, many highlighting ethnicity. Among them, the number of celebrations that are labeled Swedish is staggering. Many of them, like the Svensk Hyllningsfest, are quite old, but they have expanded in size and scope.
- 3 People use the Swedish words when they refer to the actual buildings.
- 4 Migration historians have calculated that approximately 1.2 million people emigrated from Sweden to the US between 1851 and 1930 (Barton 1994; Blanck 1997). In the 1990 US census, approximately five million Americans reported Swedish ancestry.
- 5 For a discussion of how the Dala horse has become both a tool and a weapon when residents negotiate Lindsborg’s image, see Gradén 2000.
- 6 Architect Ferdinand Boberg had previously designed pavilions for the 1900 World Exposition in Paris and the 1897 Stockholm Exposition held on Kungliga Djurgården in Stockholm (Ekström 1994:132–147) before being commissioned to design this one as well.
- 7 I would like to thank the people of Lindsborg for helping my research in countless ways, and of course, for their great hospitality. Special thanks in this article go to Lenora Lynam, curator at the Old Mill Museum, who provided me with archival material regarding the pavilion’s construction, early history and display at the 1904 World’s Fair.
- 8 Mission statement, the Christmas in Lindsborg’s member newsletter *Greetings* 1997.

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Does the European Union Leave Room for Local Identities?

Locality as a Cultural Semiotic

By Katriina Siivonen

A Changing Archipelago

The region of Southwest Finland includes a sea area of 10,000 km² where over 22,000 islands form an idyllic archipelago milieu. It includes, on the one hand, broad and fertile islands, suitable for agriculture. On the other hand 75% of the islands have less than one hectare of surface area, and many are also very barren (Granö *et al.* 1999:33, 38). The area is divided up into 18 municipalities, and its population is about 33,000. The majority of people living there have Swedish as their mother tongue, so the ratio of Finnish to Swedish there is the opposite of that in Finland as a whole, where the proportion of Swedish-speaking people is 5.6% (*Varsinais-Suomen saaristo-ohjelma* 2000:4–5; *Statistical Yearbook of Finland* 2000:60).

The living conditions of the archipelago have changed in the course of the modernization process. Former sources of livelihood, mainly agriculture and fishing, are not profitable any more. During the twentieth century, the population has been decreasing heavily. Although situated near Turku, one of the biggest towns in Finland, the area is peripheral because of inherent difficulties in transformation. Now, municipalities and the Regional Council of Southwest Finland have a challenge to develop new means by which this area, among others, can retain its vitality, and in this work they are using national and EU funds for local development (Andersson 1997:25–28, 62–66; Andersson 1998:5, 10–17).

What issues are important for people living in the archipelago and for their local identity in this situation? What does the area itself and the people's own culture mean to them? What kind of identities does the European and Finnish development work give scope for? And what is the

relationship is between everyday life and development work?

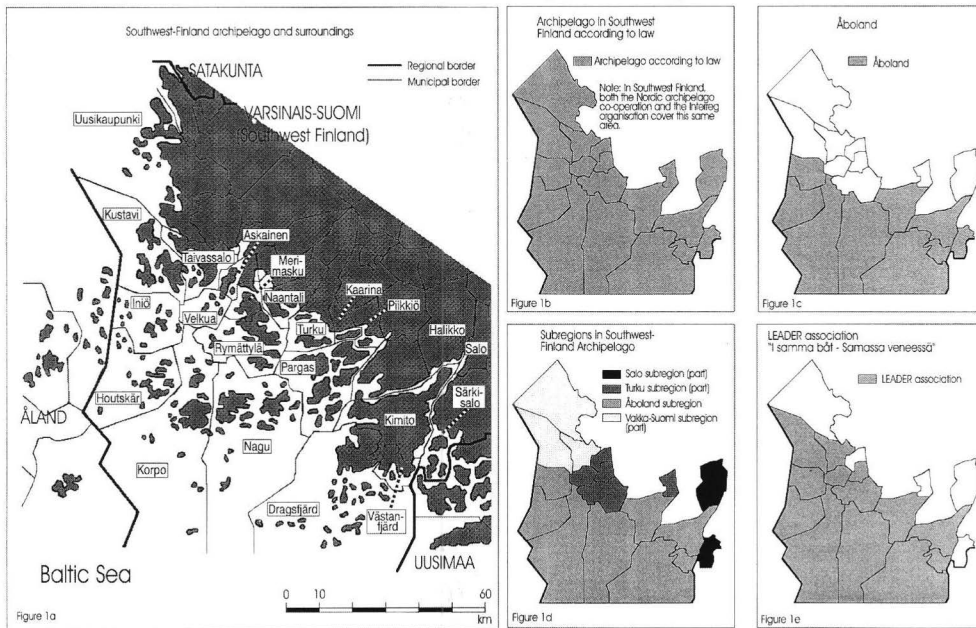
Unique Culture in the Focus of Development

When Finland became a member of the European Union, Finnish regional administration changed. Even before membership in 1995, laws, statutes and administrative structures had been harmonized to fit in with the structural policies of the Union. From the beginning of 1995, the renewed administration was finally united with the European one. Finland then had the right to apply for financial support from EU regional and structural funds for development work (Pirttimäki 1994:2; Autio 1997:8–9; Hautamäki 1999:25–26).

A new law took effect at the beginning of 1994, "Act on Regional Development" (*Laki alueiden kehittämisestä* 1993). The goal was to change development work from being centrally to regionally governed. In this connection, the regional councils were given the status of the responsible authority. Their duties included the creation of development programmes, worked out in collaboration with local municipalities, enterprises and organizations. On the basis of these programmes, Finland became entitled to EU support (Salminen 1993:21–24; Ekstam 1994; Andersson 1997:62–66; Hautamäki 1999:26).

Cultural distinctiveness was accordingly stressed more than before (Hautamäki 1999:27), fitting the development plans of the Union. The intention is to revive regional identities in the globalized world in the hope that the resulting pluralism will increase creativity, which in turn will serve the goals of general European development (*Syrjästä esiin* 1998:51–53). According to a survey of

Southwest-Finland archipelago and organisations



1. Southwest Finland archipelago and organizations.

authorities in Finland, it was felt that changing to programme-based policies brought with it increasing competition between regions when financial support for development is to be shared (Pirttimäki 1994:2).

In terms of identity, it seems relevant to direct attention to the above-mentioned issues, firstly decentralization of the planning and decision making from the central to the local level, secondly the acknowledgement of local distinctiveness as a merit, and thirdly putting the regions in reciprocal competition when resources for development work are being dispensed.

Law and Organizations Create Regions

In practice development work is managed by several organizations, which include regional councils. Some of these organizations were created decades ago, and others

when Finland became a member of the European Union.

At intervals of a couple of years, the Finnish government decides, on the basis of a special law, which municipalities are to be counted as archipelago municipalities. The purpose is to delineate an area entitled to governmental support to ensure its stability. The law considers certain kind of islands to be part of it and excludes others (*Laki saariston kehityksen edistämisestä* 1981, 1993). In Southwest Finland, some big islands near the mainland and included in the urban areas are not part of it (fig. 1a and 1b) (*Valtioneuvoston päätös saaristokunnista* 1996, 1999). This way of defining the area is concretized in the regional administration: the Council has designated both an ombudsman and a special board for archipelago affairs (*Saaristolautakunta* 2000).

Since 1978 the Nordic Council of Ministers has financed cooperation in archipelago areas in Sweden around Stockholm, and in Finland in Åland and Southwest Finland. The purpose is to strive to gain recognition for the benefit of the area in question. In the terms of this cooperation, the archipelago area in Southwest Finland is included in the larger Nordic context (fig. 1a and 1b) (Nyström & Wijkmark 1998).

Regions Defined by Language

So far, it seems that the archipelago concept is quite homogenous in the light of organizations and legislation. The question of bilingualism – there are both mainly Finnish- and mainly Swedish-speaking areas – brings more tones to the picture.

As the ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist demonstrated, the idea of Finland's Swedish speakers as an ethnic group emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century, side by side with the idea of a Finnish nation, carried along by the nationalist ideals that swept through Europe at the time (Lönnqvist 1983:178–190; on the emergence of the Finnish national ideal see e.g. Räsänen 1989). According to Lönnqvist, the aim of this work was to seek out the distinctive features of Swedish-speaking culture that had a long tradition behind them and were anchored in a particular region. The idea of a language border and a Finland-Swedish cultural area within it – an area known as *Svenskfinland* – became established in the early decades of the twentieth century (Lönnqvist 1983:180; Lönnqvist 1984:269–270). In reality, however, the language border has never been clearly defined. Finnish- and Swedish-speaking settlements have always overlapped, sometimes even in the same village. Nor does the material

culture, for example, heed any language border, as was pointed out by Ragna Ahlbäck in the ethnographic atlas of Finland-Swedish settlement that appeared in 1945 (Lönnqvist 1984:268, 273–274; Ahlbäck 1945; see also Lönnqvist 1981b). The focus of research has thus shifted from concrete to mental borders (see e.g. Kirveennummi *et al.* 1994; Lönnqvist 1981a:145–153; Virtanen 1993).

“*Svenskfinland*”, or “Swedish Finland”, nevertheless exists as a concept of a culture with geographical limits and a long, shared history. This is demonstrated in a booklet published by the Swedish Assembly of Finland (*Svenska Finlands folkting*)¹ in 1994, presenting the communal historical background of Finland's Swedish speakers and defining their areas of settlement. The booklet lists the areas inhabited by Swedish-speaking Finns. One of these is Åboland, which is given a clear geographical description: it includes the Swedish-speaking and bilingual municipalities and towns in the Southwest Finland archipelago and the Swedish-speaking population of the town of Turku, or Åbo as it is called in Swedish (fig. 1a and 1c) (*Svenskt i Finland* 1994:11).

Swedish Finland is also regarded not so much as a closely defined geographical area, but rather as a network of Swedish-speaking institutions, organizations and associations (see e.g. Beijar *et al.* 1997:38, 57²). Åboland has many organizations, including different business organizations, with strong reciprocal cooperation, compared to the surrounding areas (Bröckl 1996). Finnish-speaking archipelago municipalities also have some kind of cooperation with other nearby municipalities. However, it does not only include archipelago areas, and it is not as close as that in Åboland.

New Organizations for Renewed Development Work

New organizations were set up for development work after Finland became a member of the European Union. The programme-based politics are directed towards the new subregions according to the first division as ratified by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1993. These regions were based on employment centres and on the prevailing cooperation between municipalities. Southwest Finland was divided into five subregions, four of which included archipelago areas: Åboland, Salo, Turku and Vakka-Suomi. Of these, Åboland comprises only the archipelago municipalities which have Swedish as their main language. Similar municipalities with Finnish as the main language are divided into the subregions of Salo, Turku and Vakka-Suomi, which all include areas on the mainland as well (fig. 1a and 1d) (Ollikainen 1999; Sarja 1995:36; Uusitalo 1998:134).

There are also some separate organizations for the administration of certain funding from the European Union. These are the so-called collective initiatives, to which part of the development funding of the Union is directed. Two organizations of this kind function in the archipelago. One is the Interreg organization, which covers almost the same area as Nordic cooperation (fig. 1a and 1b). The other organization is the LEADER association, "In the Same Boat",³ which functions in several municipalities across the language border. Its area covers the whole of Åboland and some of the Finnish-speaking municipalities (fig. 1a and 1e) (*Interreg* 1999; *LEADER* 2000; Autio 1997:52–53).

The new administration, especially the strengthened status of the subregions, seems

to have created a more heterogeneous archipelago area. Although the division into subregions is based on earlier collaboration between the municipalities, disunity in development work is increasing because of it. At the same time, the status of the unifying organizations was strengthened when Interreg and LEADER were created.

All of the above-mentioned organizations are now geared to making use of their regional distinctiveness and culture, among other things, to improve economic and living conditions in their own area. They also strive to obtain economic support from the European Union and national funds. In this they engage in reciprocal competition for the same resources.

The Archipelago as Viewed by the Organizations

For my research I interviewed people living in the Southwest Finland archipelago. These include those involved in development work, such as the authorities and people from different organizations. I also collected research material through observations.⁴

As an example of phenomena which organizations use to characterize their areas, I take a project called TuMa, in which the Åboland subregion worked for the tourist industry in the whole archipelago. In one of the reports from the project, the unique nature, a living local culture with traits of traditional livelihoods, habits and customs, and a multifaceted landscape with villages and traditional small red houses are seen as resources. A weakness pointed out in the report is the impoverishment of archipelago culture, and a wish is expressed that the area should be populated by people who should, among other things, fish and keep some farm animals. It is argued that new influences

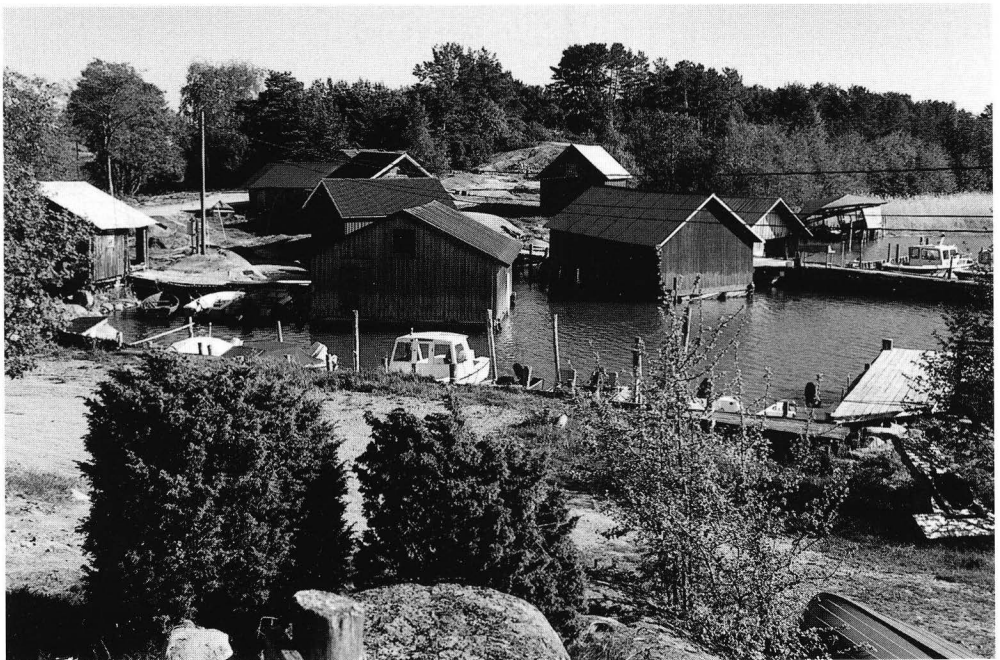
have always been received in the area, but now, however, the threat that the unique culture is vanishing under external economic pressure is seen as a realistic fear (*Saariston matkailustrategia* 1998:8, 10–11).

In the report of the project, culture is thus seen as cultural landscape and customs, habits and livelihoods, which are vanishing in the modernization process, and which one should now take care of for the purposes of tourism. It can also be considered that, for example village milieus, village harbours and windmills are renovated in different parts of the archipelago, and these renovations have received support from different organizations, such as the LEADER association “In the Same Boat”.

My other example is the Interreg project called *Skärgårdssmak* (Archipelago Taste). It has as a central goal to create a concept of

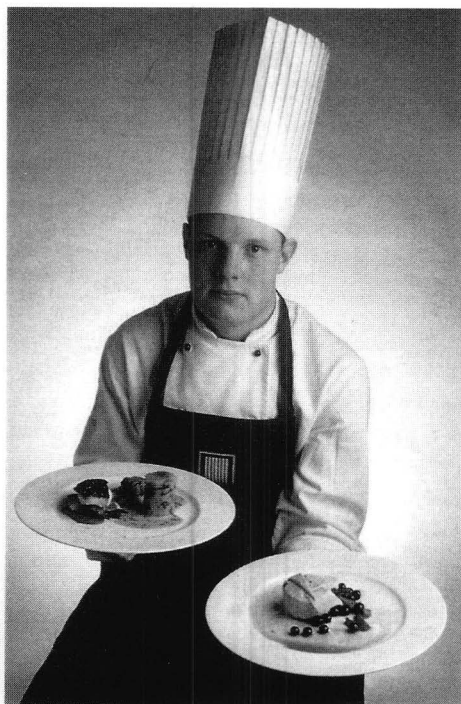
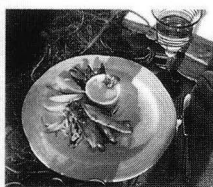
the archipelago, which will concern the whole area between Stockholm in Sweden and Turku in Finland, just as there exists a concept of the Alpine area in Central Europe. The purpose is that people all over the world should come to this archipelago and think of it as a unit regardless of which country they are travelling to. The aim is to create a new high-quality brand based on the concept. In practice the target is to establish a chain of restaurants which reach international standards and deserve a special Skärgårds-smak sign (fig. 3). The idea is that these restaurants will use local raw materials, so that the success of the restaurants will benefit agriculture and fishing in the area. Further, local high-quality handicraft products, made of local raw materials, are also linked to the project.

The image of the archipelago in the



2. Iniö, Jumo, village harbour. The harbour has received support for renovation from the LEADER association. Katriina Siivonen 1999.

Da wundert es niemanden, daß die Ehre "Finnischer Koch des Jahres 1997" soeben von einem waschechten Schärenkoch errungen wurde, dem erst 21-jährigen Michael Björklund, der sich nun ebenfalls stark bei "Skärgårdssmak" engagiert, um seine Kunst an andere weiterzugeben.



*Achten Sie auf dieses Zeichen:
Es garantiert die weitestgehende Verwendung genuiner Rohstoffe aus der Schärenregion, die Anwendung traditioneller Rezepte und eine qualitativ hohe Kochkultur, die sich dem Streben nach ständiger Verbesserung verpflichtet hat.*

Projekt Schären delikatessen

3. Page from German-language version of the *Skärgårdssmak* brochure.

Skärgårdssmak project is thus created on the basis of high-quality delicacies and handicrafts made of local raw materials, and it forms a brand which is clearly not based on traditional life in the area. It should be considered, however, that the Interreg organization is also supporting the development of traditional milieus.

These examples illustrate how different projects utilize their own crystallized images in order to tempt tourists to the area. The images made by these two projects are partly opposites. The archipelago is either a high-quality product environment for modern international tourists, as in *Skärgårdssmak*, or the traditional community with traditional livelihood and landscape, as in the Åboland subregion and TuMa project.

Tensions Show

When I carried out interviews and made observations, I was told about and noticed tensions inside the area. A person who has been working for a long time in the local development gave one example. He told me sadly that he had noticed that arguments between different areas have been increasing since the possibility was opened to apply for economic support from the European Union, which is much more substantial than the funding previously given to development projects. My other material also corroborates this observation. People from different areas have said that they feel that they have difficulties obtaining economic support for their particular areas and projects.

Tensions show also in the principles with which the representative areas of different organizations are defined. For example in the field of tourism, a tourist organization in Åboland, Åbolands Turistförening, has been working for a long time in the Swedish-speaking area on developing and marketing tourist services. In the Finnish-speaking area, Turku Touring and Naantalin Matkailu Oy are active tourist organizations, both in some parts of archipelago and on the mainland. People in the Finnish-speaking municipalities in particular have wanted one tourist organization for the whole archipelago for many years. With support from the European Union, a project was started that aimed at bringing together the whole area under the same tourist organization. At a meeting of the Åbolands Turistförening, however, its members decided not to enlarge its area of operation and it continues to work only in Åboland. This has aroused bitterness in the Finnish-speaking area, although people there have doubts that an organization directed from the Swedish-speaking region would promote their interests in any case. Nevertheless, the Åbolands Turistförening brochure now includes Finnish-speaking areas, as do some of its projects.

Different areas may also promote their entrepreneurial activities with the same cultural phenomena, presenting them as parts of their own regional culture. An old post road from the fifteenth century crosses the whole archipelago area from Turku in Finland to Stockholm in Sweden (Masonen *et al.* 1990:7–8). There is a plan to use this road in an Interreg project, for developing tourist products and for marketing the area for tourist purposes. The very same post road is also an essential element in a tourist

project in the Vakka-Suomi subregion. Cooperation between these two projects, in two different but partly overlapping areas, has been discussed. However, even shared marketing is initially uncertain.

If the purpose is to create a comprehensive archipelago image, different organizations may also form contradictory images. The above-mentioned TuMa and Skärgårdssmak projects are contradictory in this way. All in all, the modern and exclusive image of Skärgårdssmak is very different when compared with the traditional images of other projects in the area. It can be also considered that Skärgårdssmak has met strong criticism from different parts of the archipelago.

There have always been regional disagreements, and different groups have had a tendency to promote their own interests in many different ways. However, renewed local development seems to have strengthened activity in the Southwest Finland archipelago to the point at which relations between new and old groups have culminated. There is competition over resources, and the various area definitions – one of which is built on the predominance of Finnish or Swedish – come up in connection with that.

The Archipelago Area in the Light of Everyday Life

To ordinary people, their own intimate area means many kinds of things. A relationship to one's own surroundings grows up through personal contacts and may change over time. Different traits are taken as important in connection with one's own home area. The central ones can be familiar people and close interaction with them. Long family history on an ancestral farm can tie someone

to his/her home place. Many of my informants consider nature and environment as important matters, but their descriptions of them vary from individual to individual.

It could be said that the central and unifying factor is the individual and intimate relationship to one's own surroundings, the people and the nature. There are unifying traits in these relationships, but it is not possible to consider them as similar. In some cases the important matters highlighted by different individuals are even contradictory.

Phenomena which are essential for organizations are not common and important for so-called ordinary people. They may take part, for example, in the renovation of traditional village settings, but at the same time they criticize the musealizing of the archipelago and emphasize that the modern way of life must be possible there too.

Culture as a Semiotic and Dynamic Process

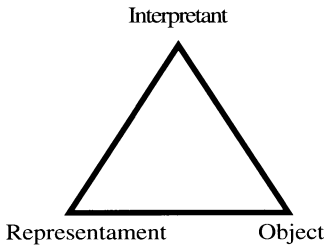
In early anthropological research culture was seen as a static and homogeneous entity with clear borders. In spite of recent discussions about cultural change, variation and difficulties in drawing cultural borders, as well as about the alternative view of culture as ambiguous in a post-modern way, culture is still quite often seen as a static and homogeneous entity with set borders (see e.g. Goody 1994; Keesing 1994; Vayda 1994). As Roger Keesing has remarked, it is almost impossible to release oneself from these elements of the concept of culture, both in everyday talk and in scientific discussions (Keesing 1994:303).

It is possible, however, to search for the grounds for the concept of culture from its other elements. I take as a starting point

empirical evidence on different cultural traits, which demonstrate change, heterogeneity, and difficulties in drawing clear boundaries between different cultures. Through these points of view it is possible to search for explanations for different empirical observations without any a priori concept of "a culture". These points of view are based on action and on interaction between human beings, which in turn are based on relations, sensations and perceptions (cf. Goody 1994; Vayda 1994).

Charles S. Peirce reflects in his philosophy on the questions: what and how can a human being know about the world? These are basic philosophical questions (Liszka 1996:1–3). They have their connections to scientific thinking, but at the same time they have their connections to all human everyday thinking. When considering the concept of culture, I will take as my starting point a human being and his possibilities to know anything about the world. I see this as a relevant basis for the concept of culture, because all human action and thinking are based on it. Then culture too, whatever it is, must be based on it.

According to Peircean semiotics our possibilities of knowing anything about the surrounding world are based on senses and perception. With signs we categorize our sensations and perceptions. So with signs human beings can have knowledge about the world. The Peircean sign is often defined as "something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (CP: 2.227–9;⁵ see also Merrell 1995:34). It is often expressed as a triangle, the points of which signify different dimensions of the sign (fig. 4). One of the points signifies the representament, that is, the material sign, whether it is the spoken word, the



4. Schematic presentation of the Peircean concept of a sign.

written word, some visual or material element or the like. The representament stands for its object, which is seen at the other corner of the triangle. But the sign is not a sign if nobody combines these two dimensions of the sign. This happens with the interpretant, which is seen in the apex of the triangle. The interpretant is another sign in the mind of the interpreter, with which he/she makes his/her interpretation. The sign is a whole in which all these three dimensions are combined (Tarasti 1990:29; CP: 2.243–2.252).

Floyd Merrell formulates the Peircean sign in this way: “a sign is *related to* something (its object), but it is also *related to* the someone processing it, and to whatever it is processed into (its interpretant), which in turn becomes another sign by way of its triadic relations with the sign, the object, and the interpreter” (Merrell 1995:34). In saying this, he points out relations between different dimensions of the sign. He also brings the feature of process into the definition of the sign, according to which the interpretant of one sign turns to the representament of another sign and becomes interpreted with a new interpretant.

When the interpretant becomes a new sign or representament, it is related to its object and comes into relation to its interpretant, which in its turn is already in the

process of becoming another new sign or representament. This is a process which is called semiosis. In semiosis a sign which follows a preceding sign is never exactly the same as this preceding sign, which I consider as essential when thinking the concept of culture. According to Merrell, “*semiosis* is never static, but an effervescent, ebullient flow, always bordering on the hyperactive. Solely in this manner can all the relations in question compose an interrelated, self-organising whole – a rhizome, interconnected by way of its multiple ‘nodes’” (Merrell 1995:43–44).

John Deely speaks about the same rhizome as a network, as a semiotic net or web, which covers the whole universe. A part of this network is the semiotic net, which includes human beings and their surroundings. This net Deely calls anthroposemiosis. I consider Deely’s anthroposemiosis synonymous with Merrell’s rhizome (Deely 1994:6; Merrell 1995:44). I understand this anthroposemiotic network or rhizome to be the continuously changing relation or interaction between human beings and their surroundings. In the network both material and non-material phenomena intertwine to be a chain of signs. These chains intertwine in mutual interaction to produce a multidimensional network or semiotic net, in which one dimension is time. In the network the contact between human beings and their surroundings is based on senses and perceptions, which is the basis for signs (cf. Gerholm & Gerholm 1989:12–13).

In this network the surroundings of human beings occupy a central place. I consider that the surroundings consist firstly of the physical world, which comprises both nature, that is, plants, animals, other

human beings, landscapes etc., and the material world produced by human beings, that is, buildings, cultural landscapes, and material artefacts. Secondly, the surroundings of human beings consist of ideas and concepts which human beings exchange with each other in mutual interaction. So, in this network both material and non-material phenomena are in equal relation to each other. When I define the concept of culture, this is in accordance with the justified argument of Jack Goody (1994:251) that material and non-material phenomena should be taken as equal in this matter.

In semiosis, in the chain of interpretants, one sign following another sign is never the same as the preceding sign and the network of chains is a continuously changing process where change is a basic phenomenon. All parts of this network are changing. That is, both human beings, their ideas about themselves and about their surroundings, and their material and non-material surroundings are continuously changing. This view fits with the idea of culture as a dynamic, heterogeneous and boundless process, in which both material and non-material elements intertwine with each other.

There can also be seen customary, homogeneous and resisting phenomena in culture (Goody 1994:251; Borofsky 1994:313, ref. Sanjek 1991:622). When we meet people from surroundings that are unfamiliar to us, we inevitably notice that they act and maybe also conceptualize things differently from the way we are familiar with. So, are there separate cultures after all, which have their own essential traits and their own reifications (cf. Keesing 1994:303)?

In my view anthroposemiosis is the basic process in culture. According to it, boundlessness, heterogeneity and change are

inevitable basic qualities of culture. Culture therefore is in this sense one global unity. However, automated habits are also a part of Peircean semiotics (Merrell 1995:43–44), which, as I understand it, has tendency to stability. And generally speaking, in semiosis every sign is connected not only to future and present time, but also to past time and to its preceding signs. Anthroposemiosis thus contains both changing and resisting elements, which create slower or faster change in its different parts.

The physical and conceptual surroundings of every human being are the basis of his/her part of the global culture. He/she is in interaction with his/her own surroundings and with other human beings. Every human being develops a relatively solid knowledge of the qualities of his/her own surroundings during his/her life. When a group of human beings is a part of relatively similar, familiar physical and ideal surroundings, relatively separate units of cultural phenomena are possible. It is then possible that relatively homogenous and separate units arise in the basically boundless and heterogeneous culture. In my view, however, it is not possible to draw clear boundaries between separate cultures. Nor is it possible to find really homogeneous cultural units.

In this connection the important models for analysis are those which help us to recognize homogenizing, essentializing and static phenomena in the basically global and boundless cultural process (cf. Keesing 1994:309–310). The research material of ethnology and anthropology consists of features which help us to understand the mechanisms that tend to create boundaries, homogeneity and stability for anthroposemiosis. Different institutions, in connection with power, economy, religion and ideolo-



5. Dragsfjärd, Högsåra. Katriina Siivonen 1999.

gies, are central objects of study in this question. Also opportunities for human communication and possibilities of interaction with the physical surroundings, that is, technological resources, are central phenomena when this question is studied.

Organizations Create Structures in a Dynamic Process

I compare local economic development with the promotion of the welfare of different ethnic groups using the model that the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth has developed in analysing ethnicity. With this model it is possible to analyse the relationship between the function of organizations and everyday life in the dynamic process of culture (Barth 1994:183–184).

Barth divides activities and phenomena in ethnic processes into three levels. On the

macro level, actors are national organizations, and they create the framework for local activities with legislation and administration. Local organizations function on the middle level. According to Barth, their intention is to create a feeling of community and to motivate people to strive towards some goal – be it ethnic or economic. In doing this, organizations create exaggerated and simplified images of groups – and this may apply equally to both ethnic and local groups. The micro level concerns the everyday life of single individuals. On this level there are no homogeneous cultural entities; on the contrary, individuals are different and also one individual can have different identifications in different situations and in different times. On the micro level life is changing and heterogeneous. These levels cannot be mechanically

separated, and one individual may function on different levels in his or her different roles. Interaction between the levels also takes place (Barth 1994:183–184).

In the Southwest Finland archipelago the middle level includes all the local organizations, some of which were discussed above. In terms of the development of economic and local welfare, the intention is to create slogans and concrete products from a unique culture on the one hand, and to strengthen identities in the search for cooperation and enterprise on the other. Many territorially defined organizations with partly overlapping areas are active in the area, and they are partly competing for the same resources. In the integration into the EU they were given power and responsibility to take advantage of their own cultural characteristics in development work. The cultural traits that they use in their work are not specifically characteristic of any limited archipelago area; rather, the very same phenomena appear and are used for development in different areas, which are represented by their own organizations. Finnish and Swedish languages are one part of crystalized local images in spite of the vagueness of the language border and its meaning. In some cases organizations stress different traits when they create the overall image of the archipelago. Dividing into partly overlapping areas with their own organizations for development work also brings conflicting goals to the area. In this situation conflicts easily arise between different archipelago areas and their organizations, as my material shows.

The Dynamic Anthropeiosis of Everyday Life

Culture and identity, however, cannot be

packaged in narrow and static phenomena. According to Barth, on the micro level, people formulate their own local identities and culture – or their ethnicity – in constant interaction with their neighbourhood (Barth 1994:184). In everyday life the dynamic process of semiosis has a chance to live more freely than on the middle and macro levels. Culture and identity are not piles of fixed features, but rather processes, which are constantly changing in the interaction between people and their life surroundings. Defined in too narrow and inflexible a way on middle and macro levels, they get into conflict with the dynamic complexity of everyday life (cf. Anttonen 1999:198–212, 253–357).

Indications of this kind of conflicts are visible in my material. On the level of individual everyday life locality is defined through different phenomena than in the activities of organizations. In some cases images which are created by organizations are even opposite to the everyday life, as is seen, for example, in the criticism against the musealizing of the archipelago. On the other hand, very narrow images, as in the Skärgårdssmak project, have provoked criticism. The explanation may be that many locals feel a conflict between this image and their own identity; it is not comfortable to live in a brand.

Some, but not all, of the locals work in organizations. Defining locality and using it in the development and marketing of regions is strongly directed by activists in these organizations. However, because locality includes elements of culture, in other words everyday life and the normal surroundings of all people living in the area, they will reflect locality in this process whether they wish to or not. In this case they become

objects who reflect locality rather than influential subjects. When this kind of situation is concretized in interaction between individuals – for instance, when local people and tourists meet – and is combined with a narrow and static idea of locality, the probability of conflict is obvious.

All in all, according to Barth's model, on the middle and macro levels there are homogenizing and essentializing traits. In the present-day archipelago they are maintained by organizations which are active in local development and which work in cooperation with the European Union and national administration. The activities of organizations and administration are by their very nature in opposition to the dynamic everyday life, that is, in opposition to the dynamic process of anthroposemiosis itself.

This is a problematic situation. If administration and development work is not able to take into consideration the dynamic and heterogeneous basic nature of culture, it will cause conflicts, and the aim of improving living conditions is partly going to fail. With help of cultural understanding, it would be possible to alleviate these negative phenomena.

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Notes

- 1 The Assembly is a representative body watching over and promoting the interests of Finland's Swedish speakers.
- 2 This popular publication is intended for Europeans and describes the peaceful coexistence of the Finnish and Swedish languages in Finland as a positive example of amicable working relations between two

ethnic groups whose languages enjoy equal status by law.

- 3 This is called "Isamma båt – Samassa veneessä" in Swedish and Finnish respectively.
- 4 In this article I do not make specific reference to my research material
- 5 CP means the Collected Papers of Charles S. Peirce. Following the accepted practice, I refer to the Collected Papers by volume and paragraph numbers, separated by a period.

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Sailing Against the Wind

A Study of Regional Identity in West Jutland

By Ellen Damgaard

“A Real West Jute” – What Is That?

Every day when I come home from work, I read the local newspaper. It is called *Lemvig Folkeblad*, a local edition of a regional newspaper, *Ringkøbing Amts Dagblad*. The paper covers an area extending from Limfjorden in the north to just south of Skjern Å in a zone reaching 35–45 kilometres inland from the west coast of Jutland. This is the area that most people probably think of when West Jutland is mentioned.

One does not have to read far to find something about what it is like to be a West Jute. On the sports page a newly appointed young football referee is asked what he thinks about angry spectators throwing beer at him after his first match in the premier division in Denmark's major stadium, Parken in Copenhagen. He answers: “I’m a West Jute, I don’t let a thing like that get me down.” During a conflict between SiD, the Danish Federation of Semi-skilled Workers, and the Christian Trade Union Movement at a machine pool in the Lemvig district, the mayor of Lemvig says: “This isn’t a very West Jutish way to solve problems.” And during the county council elections in autumn 2001 there was a letter to the paper urging people to vote for: “Harry – a real West Jute”. Since 1999 I have kept cuttings of this kind, and they have grown into a considerable pile. The newspaper’s journalists cover events in the area, and they know that their readers follow closely and get angry if something is wrongly reported. It is thus people’s own statements and opinions that are expressed in the paper, rather than the journalist’s views. The local and regional newspaper is thus a fair reflection of today’s West Jutish reality. Reading it, one cannot help wondering about “the distinctive West Jutish character”. Can it be described and explained?

Lemvig Museum already had descriptions of West Jutland and the West Jutes: the clergymen’s reports from the 1760s, agricultural reports from the 1790s and 1830s, topographical accounts from around 1900. They all ascribe a strikingly similar repertoire of characteristics to West Jutes, and nothing indicates that they copied from each other. Moreover, they have very different aims for their descriptions. Some were rectors with the duty of giving a sober record of the topography and economic life of their parish, others were agronomists reporting on the state of farming and other trades, and others included a doctor who wanted to show that there was a link between people’s living conditions and their health. Describing the character of the West Jutish population was a secondary factor for these writers. Yet according to their concordant accounts, West Jutes in the 18th and 19th centuries were strapping, tough, hard-working, commercially minded, keen on setting off to make money, hospitable, friendly to strangers, and rather unwilling to be ruled by authorities.

It might be thought that stereotypes like this are a thing of the past. One may also be inclined to believe that regional distinctiveness was something that disappeared with the development of society in the 20th century. None the less, the concepts of “West Jutish character” and “West Jutish values” appeared in modern layout in a brochure in which the Ringkøbing County Council described its cultural policy in spring 1999: the politicians wanted to base their regional cultural policy on West Jutish character and West Jutish values. We phoned to ask what they meant by that. The head of the cultural department replied that, in his opinion, it was typically West Jutish to show initiative,

to be at once robustly reserved and very brave. His perception was based on his daily experience of leading a county department, where he noticed that new initiatives had often developed unexpectedly out of the seemingly quiet work of clubs and societies.

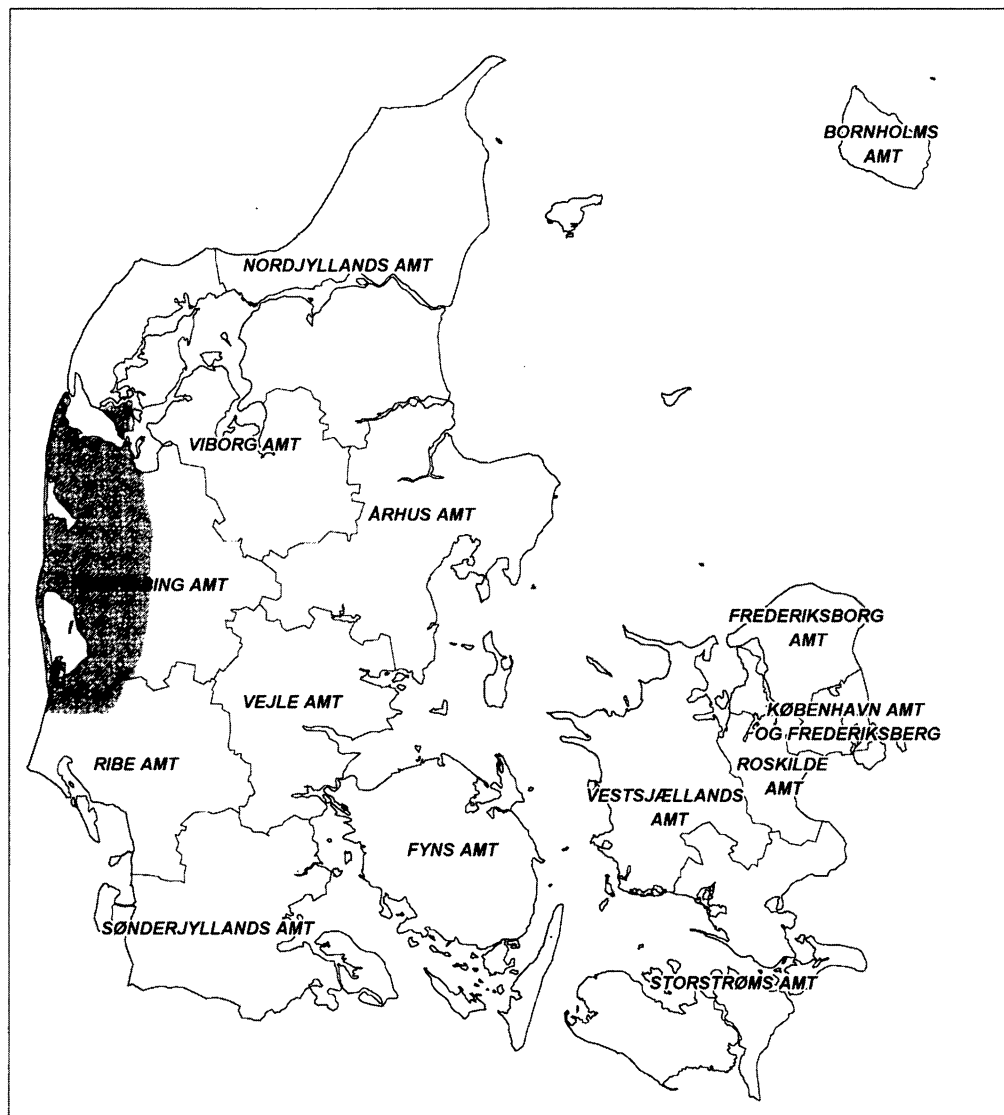
After this answer we phoned all the county cultural departments in Denmark to ask whether they would base their cultural policy on distinctive regional character and values – if such existed in their region. The pattern revealed by this quick journalistic survey was thought-provoking. Whether or not there was a political will to use this as a foundation for cultural policy, it was admitted that there were some distinctive regional traits in the counties of North, West and South Jutland, on Fyn, in the western and southern counties of Sjælland, and on Bornholm. Several said that the present-day county boundaries – the result of a reform in 1970 – in many cases do not follow “mental borders”, as one manager put it, and that this gives rise to conflicts. Old counties which were amalgamated in 1970 retained their distinctiveness, and it was also stated that ancient geographical boundaries are still important: the Åmosen bog in West Sjælland, the forest Rold Skov and the bog Vildmosen in North Jutland, or the ridge running through central Jutland. One would have thought that such obstacles had long since been surmounted by good roads, cars, telephone and IT connections. In the counties of East Jutland people did not acknowledge any regional character, but the officials in the cultural departments had a clear idea that it was different in the case of West Jutes, South Jutes, and the people of Vendel in North Jutland, and they were also able to point out features that

outsiders felt to be characteristic: for example, that the West Jutes do not observe speed limits. And wasn't there something about trailers and black economy? Only in Copenhagen County was there a clear idea of Denmark being a small country with a well-developed infrastructure and high mobility, and hence homogeneous. When I reported this statement in a lecture in West Jutland, it provoked general amusement: the people of the capital are so stupid!

This survey thus indicated that the concept of regional identity is something that has a meaning in some parts of the country but not in others. It raises questions about the relationship between the capital and the provinces, between town and country, the proportions of people in a region with high or low education, etc. Themes such as the division of power, geography, population composition, social structures must therefore be considered alongside cultural expressions if one wants to study this topic.

A Voyage of Discovery

Inspired by the thought-provoking statements from many different sources, Lemvig Museum decided to conduct an ethnological study entitled “West Jutish Character and West Jutish Values”, borrowing the words of the county council's brochure on cultural policy. We already had historical source material and previous studies which could be used, so we placed the emphasis on studying the present day. For practical and financial reasons we were forced to concentrate on the Lemvig district, the north-west corner of Ringkøbing County. A number of probes in the rest of West Jutland, using both historical and contemporary sources, gives us good reason to believe that the



Map of Denmark showing county boundaries. The hatching in western part of Ringkøbing County marks the area that is perceived as West Jutland.

results of the study are valid for the whole region.

The aim of the study is to find out whether there is a “West Jutish identity” today, how and where it is expressed, how it arose and developed over the years, and what keeps it

alive. We have plans for deeper studies, for instance of the relationship between “natives” and newcomers, and we aim to put the study in a nationwide perspective by comparing different regions in Denmark with and without a distinctive regional character.

The present article is thus a mid-point report with a look at selected themes which have been studied hitherto.

The basic assumption is that regional identity does not exist as a phenomenon in itself, but as something that people express in various contexts: in formulating the opposition between “us” and “the others”, in the establishment of a West Jutish “ideal type”, and in the “grand narratives” retold from the past or created at the moment when a special event occurs.

We began in summer 1999 with a questionnaire study entitled “West Jutish Character and West Jutish Values”. It included a long series of questions to elicit qualitative answers. We received about 250 responses, many of them with detailed, considered answers and descriptions.

Based on the questionnaire, the museum studied a number of themes. A series of general interviews have been conducted with key persons in order to learn more about topics in the questionnaire. In 2000 there were studies of local song and music, both the spiritual singing that is practised at meetings in the mission hall and the church, and secular song and music, including the local rock festival, Haze over Haarum, in Harboøre. In winter 2000–2001 the main emphasis was on local revues and amateurs. In 2001 the main theme was the relation of the local people to nature. A broad spectrum of written material has been continuously collected as well.

In a study like this it is important to be aware that West Jutland is not an area with well-defined borders. A formulated West Jutish identity nevertheless exists as a noticeable element in an area that cannot be rigidly demarcated, except to the west. The core area is the municipalities beside the

sea, Thyborøn-Harboøre, Lemvig, Ulfborg-Vemb, Ringkøbing, Holmsland, Skjern, and Egvad. Running north–south through this area 5–10 kilometres inland, parallel to the west coast, is a classical boundary between the fishing and the farming population, which is also important today. Outside the core area, the transition from West Jutland to Central Jutland is fluid. The West Jutland region is thus not identical to the administrative unit of Ringkøbing County; in this context it comprises only the western part of an area some 35–45 kilometres wide along the coast.

The perception of a West Jutish character emerges when people move to or from the region. In West Jutland proper, newcomers are often told that they have to live there for three generations before they can be regarded as true West Jutes. One cannot just adopt a West Jutish identity by moving to the region and having personal qualities and behaviour that suit the perception of what is distinctively West Jutish. At best this will lead the locals to regard you as a decent person, but not as a West Jute. Young people on their way to higher education outside the area often claim that the concept of West-Jutishness is not important for their self-perception, even though they were born and raised in West Jutland. Yet many of them will use the West Jutish identity when they look for a room or a flat in Århus or Copenhagen: advertisements such as “West Jutish couple seek flat” show that their identity can be deliberately used as a marker of reliability, diligence, and an ordered economy. They will also find that their fellow students have a clear idea of what kind of people West Jutes are.

At the beginning of the study, an ethnological background was sought in studies of

Sweden and Danish identity, but the great inspiration came in December 2000 when I learned of the Swedish ethnologist Carina Kullgren's dissertation on regionality in Värmland. Her study is based on a concrete province with a distinct regional identity. It was exactly the type of study that I was engaged in, using roughly the same wide range of sources and a conceptual apparatus that I also had at the back of my mind. She points out that neither the region nor regional identity exists beside or independently of the people who live there; it exists in the "narratives" in which we formulate, understand, and communicate experiences and knowledge about ourselves and others, about our relations and the world in which we live. Narrative is thus a central term. It was precisely this interpretive framework that made the museum look at its familiar geographical area in a new way. What is it that is constantly expressed in everyday speech and in newspaper reports on meetings? What kind of events give everyone a sense of community? What is the subject of the songs that they are always singing? What do they struggle for or against? All these narratives have a message which helps people to understand themselves and their place in relation to the surroundings.

Like West Jutland, Värmland is a marginal region with many of the same conflicts about the infrastructure, the struggle about nature, and the marginalization in relation to the capital; as Kullgren points out, however, this alone is not enough for a regional identity. In both areas, a distinctive regional character was described early on and is still seen, from both the in-side and the outside, as something that really exists. However, the basic social structure has been very different and has bred two

essentially different regional characters. The "ironworks community" of Värmland was at once a strong power structure with a hierarchical order and a collective system with great solidarity – and hence diametrically opposed to conditions in West Jutland, as we shall see. The prominent regional identities in Värmland and West Jutland are thus at opposite ends of the spectrum. The Värmland identity is described as a dual nature, as "being prepared for evacuation", with a capacity for readjustment and imagination and an untroubled alternation between different positions: Värmlanders are hard-working but irresponsibly devoted to parties, dancing, and music, reliable but so imaginative that the distinction between true and false is not important to them, slightly gullible and therefore often game for something new, but with little patience when whole-hearted, lasting effort is required. There is no doubt that "a real Värmlander" would not go down well among West Jutes, and vice versa.

"The Noble Savages" – A Historical Retrospect

When Jutes in old descriptions – and West Jutes in particular – are compared with the people of other parts of Denmark, such as Fyn, Sjælland, or Lolland-Falster, they are always the best. *Danske Atlas*, published in the 1760s, states that the Jutes were healthy and tough, big and impressive, well fed and able to endure hard work. They were predisposed to trade and willing to set off to earn money and learn something, travelling to Copenhagen, to Holstein, and to Holland. They were loyal and honest and very friendly to strangers. In the same work we read that the peasants of Sjælland were inhospitable, despondent, disinclined to work, sticking

to old ways and not nearly as inventive and ingenious as people elsewhere, and they felt no urge at all to move anywhere else to change their status and way of life. The people of Fyn are said to be industrious, loyal and deferential to their superiors, and work with zest if they are encouraged and treated well; if not, they soon let their hands fall. On Lolland the peasants lived well, holding many parties and drinking huge quantities of spirits. The author concluded that the Jutish peasants were in a better state and of a more industrious and capable nature than the peasants of certain other provinces. For example, Jutish peasants did not visit the town as often as the peasants of Sjælland and did not get so drunk; they left the town quickly when they had sold their wares and made their purchases. The author's explanation is that the peasants of Jutland had an ancient tradition of living in freedom.

The description in *Danske Atlas* was based on reports from the Danish clergy as summarized by the prefect Hans de Hoffmand of Kolding. He was influenced by the Gothic movement and viewed Jutland as the true origin of the heroic tribes of bygone times. In the 18th century the Jute was increasingly perceived as "the noble savage", whose freedom and energy could serve as a model in the century-long process of transforming Danish society, from the first decades of agrarian reform in the mid-18th century until the great reforms of trade law in the 1850s.

This description of the Jutes can be followed through time. In 1833 the agronomist J. C. Hald wrote that the peasants of West Jutland were a good-natured, contented, hard-working, and tough breed, and in this they excelled not only the other Jutes but the whole nation. They had a particular

disposition for cattle dealing, which could lead to prosperity when done with the necessary energy and knowledge. And here the West Jutes had an admirable ability to estimate profit and loss in advance, so that they could avoid the latter and achieve the former. Because of their commercial spirit they were also far better than peasants elsewhere at mental arithmetic, as well as reading and writing.

In 1908 the physician A. N. Andersen wrote about the people of the Lemvig district that they must as a whole be regarded as competent, diligent, and fairly prosperous. He also mentions the West Jutish hospitality as a characteristic, perhaps as a legacy of the past when strangers were a welcome way to hear news. Another significant feature was a cautious, thoughtful, and suspicious character, which the author associated with the West Jutes' talent for trade; the fear of being cheated had honed their capacity for reflection and acuity. This caution or suspicion is expressed in a way that any present-day Jute will recognize, for it is still a striking feature of political, commercial, social, and cultural life:

The people have not been unreceptive to new ideas; on the contrary, they have listened to them, but their caution, combined with a slight suspiciousness, has made them reluctant to engage in experiments. Only after careful consideration, and following a fixed plan, have they tried to realize the new ideas. Development has therefore proceeded smoothly, without the many disappointments that are otherwise never avoided, even with the very best plans and ideas, when they are implemented immediately, before being adapted to local conditions.

These positive ideas among writers in the 18th and 19th centuries were scarcely known to the people of West Jutland, most of

whom were peasants. They cannot have affected their self-perception. Yet many West Jutes lived in a world that demanded and encouraged independence and energetic action. In much of West Jutland there were no villages; even before the agrarian reforms of the 18th century, the farms were already dispersed, surrounded by their own fields and meadows. Collective cultivation as known in Eastern Denmark existed only sporadically in the Lemvig district, for example, when two or three farms had land lying between them. This atypical phenomenon, in national terms, has often been explained by historians as a residual feature or an adaptation to the poor sandy soil with dispersed resources. The West Jutish single farms, however, are most characteristic of the Lemvig district, where the soil, especially along Limfjorden and the North Sea, is very good. Here the peasants in the 18th and 19th centuries raised horses and bullocks for sale, and the system of single farms with their lands assembled around them was a functional framework for this. Most peasants in West Jutland in the 18th century were tenant farmers like the peasants in the rest of the country, but the manors were far from each other, and many peasants did no *corvée*, paying their rents in cash or transport duties. These West Jutes thus lived in a decentralized structure without a powerful hierarchy and without enforced community, and here it was both possible and profitable to work for oneself. Trade gave opportunities for profit and loss, and those who were sober enough could work their way up the economic and social ladder. The West Jutish social structure thus encouraged qualities such as self-awareness and independence. The typical West Jute was an individualist, as the self-ironic proverb says: “First myself,

then myself, and then my neighbour, and then myself again.”

This characteristic was further reinforced in the 19th century as the nation state was being built up. Jutish politicians, first through the assembly of the States General in Viborg (1834–1849) and then through the two chambers of parliament, worked persistently to assert Jutland’s right to a share in the development of the infrastructure and the economy. This was a struggle that arose from a regional self-awareness and a desire for autonomy. It was no easy struggle. In the regional political forum – the assembly of the States General in Viborg – there was a majority in 1846 for an extension of the railway along the Jutland Ridge, from Limfjorden via Viborg and on to Rendsborg and Hamburg. The main aim was to have a direct link between the Jutish stockbreeders and the German market. From the Copenhagen point of view, this was in conflict with “national interests”, in the words of the historian Steen Bo Frandsen (1995) in his dissertation on “The Discovery of Jutland”, and the railway was laid as close as possible to the towns of East Jutland. It is food for thought that the issue repeated itself in 1991, when the Ringkøbing County Council and all the eighteen municipalities in the county agreed on a proposal for a motorway from Holstebro via Herning, joining the E45 at Kolding, so that the big lorries with fish and meat could reach the European market quickly. This too was seemingly against “national interests”; at any rate, the matter was settled for the time being with the expansion of a couple of stretches of road running east–west in the direction of Århus and Vejle – the closest road to Copenhagen.

In the entire intervening period, especi-

ally in the latter half of the 19th century, West Jutish politicians expended almost all their energy on constructing and improving harbours, protecting seaward approaches, safeguarding the coast, and building railways. This struggle between outer Jutish regions and the state – represented by Copenhagen – has given an extra dimension to the Jutish self-esteem, namely, the sense of being constantly bypassed when state funds are allocated. This is a feeling that West Jutland shares with North Jutland, Thy, South-west Jutland, and South Jutland. Whether or not it is true, if calculated in monetary terms, is of minor importance; the feeling is there all the time, and it does not take much to provoke people to write to the papers and debate issues with representatives of state authorities.

Portrait of a Present-Day West Jute

In the hope of being able to pin down the concept of “a real West Jute” today, we included in the 1999 questionnaire a series of characteristics which respondents could mark on a scale as being anything from highly typical to not at all typical. People obviously completed the questionnaire after careful thought, with significant results.

An unequivocal finding of the survey is that a real West Jute is friendly, hospitable, and helpful, industrious and enterprising, has a talent for commerce, is honest and thrifty, and has a sense of humour. These traits are either highly typical or applicable, and only a few people felt that they did not fit at all. Independent, at once self-aware and modest, patient, inquisitive, cooperative, goal-directed, inventive, full of initiative, and teasing are other features marked as typically West Jutish.

The properties of *self-awareness* and

modesty can indeed be combined. It is not necessary to draw attention to yourself if you are convinced that you are something special. I once overheard an exchange that illustrates this. It concerns the cattle tycoon of the Lemvig district, a big breeder and dealer, who was also manager of the district export firm, Samlestalden. He had exhibited some of his famously fine stock at the Lemvig Show and won numerous prizes. One of the other competitors said to him, “You get lots of prizes, Jens”. And Jens Peter Siedelmann answered modestly, “I exhibit a lot too.”

Under the heading “partly applicable”, a striking number of informants put a cross at “open to new things” and “suspicious of strangers”. These seemingly contradictory characteristics can in fact go hand in hand, as is shown by a statement by a newcomer: “As a newcomer you are greeted with reserved obligingness.” That the property “silent” can also be described as “partly applicable” – just as often as it is felt to be “highly typical” and “not at all typical” – is a down-to-earth observation of the special form of West Jutish taciturnity. West Jutes are capable of being silent for a long time, if it is not necessary to say anything, or if it is expedient not to say anything too rashly; on the other hand, there is no shortage of talk when there is a party in a West Jutish parish hall. In Andersen’s description from 1908 we read that “the people are of a slightly reticent nature and not very communicative”.

A little slow to react, thrifty to the point of stinginess, inquisitive in a way that can be perceived as gossiping, slightly calculating – these are also features of the West Jutish temperament, according to the replies to the questionnaire. But hardly anyone would say that West Jutes are lazy.

Diligence and a Talent for Commerce

The old descriptions mention the West Jutes' diligence and enterprise as a recurrent feature. It was now also shown to be a contemporary self-perception. The West Jutish diligence and enterprise is evident from an analysis of the emergence of a number of businesses in the area. The draper's shop known as "Damernes Magasin" in Lemvig is a good example of this. It was started in 1959 by two sisters, Elly and Ingrid Bache Lauridsen, who came from a modest home in the little station town of Klinkby, west of Lemvig. They both worked every day in the shop until they were in their eighties; they were well-dressed and authoritative and very professional. When they went late in life to the big fashion exhibition at Bella-centeret in Copenhagen, they created a stir with their age and elegance – and all the producers knew that they always paid cash. Their hard work, their gift for commerce, their sense of economy, and their life-long faith in God were legendary. In the winter of 2001–2002 they donated an expensive set of bells to Lemvig Church as a concrete expression of their piety. Everyone in the district was delighted when a television documentary was made in 1988 about the shop in the square in Lemvig. There cannot have been many people in the Lemvig district who did not watch it, and the general opinion was that it was a true West Jutish story of assiduousness, energy, and independence – a story that the "Copenhageners" would do well to hear. The two sisters were interviewed by the regional division of Radio Denmark, and when they were asked how they felt when they saw the broadcast, one of them replied, "I felt humble." There was a moment's silence; the journalist obviously did not understand what she meant.

The story of a business started by people with nothing but talent and hard work and their bare hands is a classic in the West Jutish self-perception. It is an expression of the toughness mentioned by Doctor Andersen in his observations from 1908. It applies to a number of small engineering firms that still exist in the Lemvig district, and also the world-famous wind turbine industry of Vestas in Lem near Ringkøbing, all of which are the result of one local man's efforts, a smith who literally started at home in his shed or the garage, or in a modest little forge. The most flattering thing a newspaper can write in the birthday profile of a director of a firm of this type is that he can still put on his clogs and give a hand on the workshop floor.

Today's enterprise is also reflected in the use of the indispensable trailer. A frequently heard prejudice about the Jutes is that they are people who drive around with trailers and work black. A nationwide survey conducted by the Road Directorate in 2001 showed that the greatest concentration of trailers was in South-west, West and South Jutland – over 30 trailers per 100 cars, as against 10 in the Greater Copenhagen area.

In the museum's questionnaire we asked whether people owned a trailer or could borrow one, and what they used it for. The answers showed that a trailer is almost indispensable in an area like West Jutland, with scattered settlement, where most people live in the countryside. People separate their waste and take it on Saturdays to a recycling centre; they drive to builder's merchants to buy timber and tiles and paint; they collect firewood in the forest, take hay to the sheep, pick up the Christmas tree from a boy scouts' hut; they take tables and chairs to parties and get-togethers – in

short, they have an active leisure life in an area where distances are large. One member of the audience at a lecture reported what a newcomer from Sjælland had said, that it had struck him that there was an extra public holiday at Easter in West Jutland: besides Maundy Thursday and Good Friday there was “Trailer Saturday”, a day when everyone was busy driving round with all kinds of things. A response to the questionnaire captures this well:

You come to ask if you can borrow the neighbour’s trailer, but it’s not at home. They don’t know exactly where it is, but it could be A who has borrowed it, because he was going to collect some firewood. It could also be B, because he wanted to go to the recycling centre. You just take the trailer if you need it – it’s a kind of collective ownership.

The quotation also shows that there are many users for each trailer, and that the nationwide survey thus fails to capture the actual use of trailers.

The trailer thus has a practical function; it can be lent or borrowed, it is part of a network in which people help each other in a sparsely populated area. There are also many favours that people do for each other, jobs which the authorities would like to tax, but it is difficult to elicit information about this in a questionnaire which people have to answer with their names. With its wide range of uses, the trailer is thus not an expression of Jutish enterprise, but rather a solution to a number of practical problems in areas where distances are large. But it is characteristic that the results of the Road Directorate’s survey are used in the media as an expression of a generally accepted perception of the distinctive Jutish character, and this is how it is interpreted by many West Jutes themselves.

The West Jutish Self-Esteem

It is characteristic that many of the features which West Jutes perceive as “West Jutish” are also found in other communities of the same character – both in Denmark and elsewhere in the world. These features are typical of small communities with a fine-meshed social network, with a decentralized settlement structure, a special business structure with many small, independent units, and at some distance from big towns. In any community like this one will not just find special things like the trailer, but also traits such as friendliness, curiosity, intimacy and concern, hospitality, suspicion about strange things and people, and a capacity for taciturnity. The specific character of West Jutland thus seems to disappear.

Yet there is something left, and it is encapsulated in what the young football referee said above: “I’m a West Jute, I don’t let a thing like that get me down.” He said this in a situation where he was very far from West Jutland, where he could have said that he was a professional, or that he was big and strong. But what he did say spontaneously when under pressure was an expression of the West Jutish self-esteem. To pinpoint this characteristic one can ask: Is a similar self-esteem found elsewhere in Denmark? To answer that would require a nationwide survey, which has not been possible yet, but as an attempt to discover the West Jutes’ perception of the matter, I have asked the audience at a number of lectures if it is possible, in their opinion, to say “I’m a *South Jute*, I don’t let a thing like that get me down”, or to substitute inhabitants of North Jutland, Sjælland, Fyn, or Lolland. The indisputable result of these questions is that the listeners nod thoughtfully at the first two statements, but the others just

make them laugh. The thought of people from Sjælland, Fyn, or Lolland saying the like about themselves sounds quite improbable in the ears of a West Jute. Unfortunately, we have not yet studied how these other regional groups would perceive the matter themselves.

Knowing one's own value is a highly esteemed property among West Jutes. This has nothing to do with one's economic or social status; it is an inner calm and strength that comes from the correlation between what one thinks, says, and does. It arises from a sense of standing on one's own ground, to use a metaphor from agrarian society. I heard the following characteristic story in the 1980s, about a hundred years after the event described. It is one of the many anecdotes that helps to maintain and pass on a shared perception of what is typically West Jutish:

There was a proprietor of one of the big farms west of Lemvig who was out driving his team of horses. The railway had just been built, and when the big farmer approached the level crossing, he drove right out in front of the train. The train managed to brake, so no harm was done. But when he was reproved for not stopping for the train, he replied, "They could see I was coming!"

Here the story is about a big proprietor, but there are comparable stories about ordinary people.

Today's many local revues also help to establish a shared perception of West Jutishness. In Fjaltring Parish Hall a "Song of Unbearable Self-Praise" was sung in March 2000. It began with the lines: "Here in Fjaltring and Trans we're successful as hell, we are famed far and wide and I think that is swell", and continued with a description of how they had achieved things on their own

initiative, partly by providing the finance themselves. As the song said, "If a project can't start for the want of some dough, we set up a fund – that's called get up and go." The people of this thinly populated area, with only about 300 people, actually succeeded in having a fine, modern youth hostel built using funds from a jointly owned windmill electricity generator. The chorus ran: "When they won't give us money for something we need, we do it ourselves and we do it with speed. 'Don't think you're special' – that law's out of date. We believe in ourselves and it's bloody well great." The song went down very well with the audience, who were confirmed in a sense of their own worth. At the same time, the message was put forward in such an exaggeratedly immodest form that the West Jutish modesty was not offended.

Self-Determination

The audience in Fjaltring Parish Hall was also confirmed in something else, namely, that self-determination is good. This trait was pointed out long ago in the *Danske Atlas*: "It is easy to steer the Jutish peasants without being too strict or too lenient, but if they think that they are affronted, they are vindictive and precipitate, although it does not last long." The Jutes thus vented their anger if they felt that they were being deprived of their traditional rights, in contrast to the peasant of Sjælland, who "seems less open-hearted, is hollow and withholds his opinion". J. C. Hald likewise remarked on the West Jutes' desire for self-determination: "Because of their good nature, it is easy for their superiors to make them amenable; only when their interests are at stake, when it is a matter of getting them to observe existing laws, can exceptions some-

times occur.” There are examples from the end of the 18th century of the tenant peasants in the Lemvig district not only refusing to do work which they were not usually obliged to do, but also writing to the prefect to complain that the estate administration did not follow the latest ordinances. In this way they took the battle to the enemy camp and staved off the discussion of what they themselves were actually supposed to do according to the terms of their leases. The word *procesbonde* is a familiar term in West Jutland for a litigious peasant, referring to someone who stands up for his rights, no matter how small the cause. At a lecture I heard a comment from a man whose father had always said, “If you are in the right, you should never give it up.” We only need to open today’s newspaper to see examples showing that the West Jutes are peaceable people, as long as they are allowed to do what suits them, but they can stubbornly insist on their rights *vis-à-vis* authorities and vested interests who try to obstruct them. This led the museum to undertake a series of reconnaissance expeditions along the front between the West Jutish people and their various “enemies”, who often come “from the east”, that is, represent the state or some national interest.

The Battle over the Bales of Straw

In autumn 1998 a conflict flared between SiD – the Danish Federation of Semi-skilled Workers – and the Christian Trade Union Movement at the Brørup machine pool in Bøvling, south of Lemvig. The owner of the pool, Hans Chr. Jeppesen, was a member of the Christian Employers’ Association Movement, and the workers were thereby covered by the agreement with the Christian Trade Union. SiD had started a blockade

against the firm to force the owner to reach an agreement whereby the employees could become members of that union. When the union tightened its grip with threats of further blockades, the mayor of Lemvig declared that was not a very West Jutish way to act. H. Chr. Jeppesen replied to the SiD threats: “I employ people who can think for themselves and decide how they want to be organized, and we have staff who have been here for 15–25 years, so that’s not what the conflict is about.” The blockade meant, among other things, that in spring 2000 the machine pool could not deliver its normal large quantities of straw to the Måbjerg heat and power plant outside Holstebro. The scene was set for an escalation of the conflict, but how could the machine pool act in “a West Jutish way”?

A number of farmers urged H. Chr. Jeppesen to sell off his straw, which he did. The day came, a Saturday in March, and anyone who drove past might not have noticed anything to suggest that this fairly ordinary looking machine pool had been hit by one of the longest conflicts in which SiD had ever been involved. A couple of bales of straw had been placed beside the road with a sign saying: “Straw Day at Brørup Machine Pool.” In the yard and in the cleared-out machine house, there were 400–500 men who walked around and talked peacefully, occasionally going over to the office to pay for a bale of straw, which they then collected from one of the stores. There were no inflammatory speeches, no banners, no shouts. Yet there were many signs of the seriousness of the matter. The day began with a cortège of 18–20 big red tractors with flashing lights; they had driven the forty or so kilometres from Skave Machine Pool, east of Holstebro, to help to load

straw. They drove calmly, with a good distance between them, and they filled the main road. It was a powerful demonstration that one of the biggest machine pools in the region was giving its support. It was also clear from the logos on the back of many of the jackets worn by those present that a great many machine pools from all over Central and West Jutland were represented, thus marking their solidarity, discreetly but unmistakably.

In the course of the day, the bales of straw were sold off despite the blockade, individually or a few at a time. It seemed clear that some might reach the controversial power station by a roundabout way. The regional television news that evening said that the president of the Agricultural Council of Denmark had also bought a bale – a subtle but unequivocal signal that the agricultural industry backed the machine pool. The chairman of the Christian Trade Union was present and said to the museum: “If SiD wants to fight a cause, they’ve chosen the wrong cause, the wrong district, and the wrong man.”

What was so typically West Jutish about the way the machine pool escalated the conflict? The primary thing is that they maintained their stand up to the very end. As H. Chr. Jeppesen himself says, “I believe that many of us West Jutes are fairly sober-minded people. It may also be the case that we, or some of us at least, think a second time before we do anything crazy. And if there’s something we believe is right, then we stand up for our rights as long as we think it’s possible.” In the actual struggle, the capacity for silence is a good tool. It gives time to consider strategies and delay the matter, in the hope that the other side will do something stupid in haste. Together

with humour, this is an effective weapon. The issue ended with a settlement, but the machine pool still has an agreement with the Christian Employers’ Association. SiD’s attempt to gain a foothold in the traditionally very liberal agricultural industry was regarded locally with great repugnance. The matter was not so much a struggle about belonging to one union or the other as a struggle for the right to self-determination. There were actually local SiD members who sided with Brørup Machine Pool. A letter from an SiD member to *Lemvig Folkeblad* says that a closed meeting was held by SiD in Lemvig in March 2000 about the Brørup issue, where there had been several protests against the blockade but the chairman had chosen to ignore them.

The Struggle for Nature

Another front zone can be found in “the struggle for nature”, a concept that covers the conflicting interests of the different users of the countryside, the authorities, and the interest groups. This is a nationwide struggle, but it is a striking feature of life along the west coast of Jutland, primarily in the marshes of South Jutland and around the fjords of West Jutland. It is a struggle that takes up a lot of space in the local newspaper; there are constant reports on meetings, letters from readers, and interviews, all clearly showing that this is a struggle that many people in West Jutland perceive as specifically West Jutish. Here too it is a struggle for self-determination; in local matters “we should be able to decide for ourselves”, as they say, and not interest groups like the Danish Society for the Conservation of Nature or the Danish Ornithological Association. The office under the Ministry of the Environment which is called the

Forestry and Nature Agency adopts an intermediate position. People from the office in Copenhagen are generally suspect, but the Commission's local representatives – the forest supervisor and his people in the forest districts of West Jutland – are trusted; they are ambassadors of a kind, who have been able to mediate contacts between “east” and “west” for many years.

In recent years the museum has followed some special issues: the establishment of two dinghy harbours and of the Association for Coast, Land and Fjord, the fight against cormorants, and the battle about a windmill park which the state wants to establish at Høvsøre in the north of Nissum Fjord. In spring 2001 a little harbour was opened at Harpøth Bæk in Nissum Fjord, with room for about 45 flat-bottomed dinghies. It was championed by a man called Aksel Hedevang, an inseminator by profession, a spare-time fisherman and hunter. He described the struggle while it was still in progress thus: It began with the extension of the nature reserve in Nissum Fjord, so that fishermen and hunters had to leave the area. “We West Jutes, we think that some privileges have been taken away from us. Now we’re simply not allowed to do things, and we’re a bit upset about that.” Some people anchored their dinghies around the mouth of Harpøth Bæk, and they began to speak about how nice it would be to have a little harbour. Aksel Hedevang turned to the local state forest district, Klosterheden, which after some consideration decided to support the issue. But this was the start of the great bureaucratic battle, chiefly with the enemies in the east: “Then we started it and we had to send in the applications. We sent them to the Forestry and Nature Agency, and the answer we got was that if all the

official bodies said yes, then they would say yes. Then we got the papers from them on 25 May last year [1999]. They were lying there for a year and a half, and we pestered them about it, but so many offices had to see them.”

Hedevang pursued his case energetically through the county and the municipality, the Navigation Directorate, the Fisheries Directorate, and the Coastal Inspectorate.

That was the first round. Then we had to go through the Danish Outdoor Council and through the Danish Society for the Conservation of Nature both here and over in Copenhagen. And then we had to go through the Danish Ornithological Association. And on the last day, the deadline for complaints, the ornithologists lodged an appeal. That was the 2nd of April. So we talked with these ornithologists. Why are you complaining? “Well, we’ve got nothing against the harbour. It’s just a principle we have.” So I say, “You can’t just complain out of principle. You must have a reason.” But they had none. They just thought that there shouldn’t be a harbour there. ... Then we had the television and the mayor of Lemvig down here. He wrote a letter to them and bawled them out. Then we got a letter from the Nature Appeals Board – we got that last Saturday – that they had dismissed the appeal. So we seem to have made it. ... That thing about the harbour. That’s also a piece of West Jutish culture that we wouldn’t like to be without.

The dinghy harbour in Harpøth was opened on Saturday 2 June 2001 with a small party in which the forest supervisor Thomas Borup Svendsen of Klosterheden State Forest District cut a red ribbon, sitting in Aksel Hedevang’s dinghy. Both he and Hedevang held speeches which mentioned the true West Jutish character for which it had been worth fighting. It was thus not just a matter of creating a place and a framework for people to go fishing and hunting. The years-

long work of establishing a little harbour or preserving the right to walk through the meadows with a shotgun on one's shoulder are inscribed by the people themselves into a special West Jutish tradition – a way of life without which West Jutland would be less West Jutish.

In his struggle for Harpøth Dinghy Harbour, against the windmills on Høvsøre, and most recently against the cormorants in Nissum Fjord, Aksel Hedevang has learned how to use the enemy's tactics: to hold meetings, to argue his cause, to find weak points in the opponent's case, to draw on a network and use the media. This is not the strategic West Jutish silence that delays the matter while the opponent does something hasty and makes himself look ridiculous. It is more an example of the litigious West Jutish peasant, like Niels Christensen Stausholm from Harboøre, who studied the laws and ordinance in the 1790s so that he could hit the estate administration on a weak point and have his appeal to the county sustained. Both strategies require self-respect and can be used to achieve what is very important for many West Jutes: self-determination.

Several hundred people have been involved in the struggle against the windmill experiment on Høvsøre. Very few West Jutes have anything against windmills in general; it is nice, for a change, to make money when the wind blows. But they cannot understand when the state authority that imposes restrictions on the West Jutish fjords out of consideration for birdlife forces through the construction of huge experimental windmills along these otherwise untouchable bird sanctuaries. This is an issue that draws clear lines between central administration and local culture.

The struggle for nature is fought primarily in the extensive coastal meadows and shallow fjords where people would like to carry on traditional West Jutish pursuits such as fishing and hunting, from which they feel increasingly excluded by an alien outlook on nature which places the emphasis on other things. As Aksel Hedevang puts it, "We West Jutes have always looked after our countryside. We have never overexploited it or anything like that. But then a lot of people suddenly come and say that you just can't do that any more. We had a terrible fuss about that." His statement testifies to a love of nature and to the reaction when the local view of nature is attacked.

The importance of this side of nature has to do with the fact that many West Jutish fishermen and hunters are old enough to remember that, as recently as the 1950s, hunting and fishing were essential for having enough to eat. Boys of five or six learned this by accompanying their grandfathers. This is what adult men spend much of their time doing: a trip on the fjord on a late summer evening to lay out nets, and in the early morning to tend them. An autumn day spent in a reed hut on the meadows of Høvsøre – still free of giant windmills – with all the senses alert to the smallest sound, the slightest movement among the birds in the air or on the surface of the meadows and waters. Hunters and fishermen feel they have a right to nature inherited from their forefathers, feeling the joy of intense presence in nature combined with excitement. Behind the struggle for the dinghy harbours and the free hunting grounds lies a clearly expressed desire to hand on these traditions to today's children in the communities along the coast.

Artists and West Jutish Nature

In the 1999 questionnaire we asked a number of questions about people's relations to local art and literature. The responses showed a widespread interest in local painting and poetry, and it was therefore natural to include this in an analysis of the West Jutish character. The main emphasis so far has been on the poet Thøger Larsen and the painters Niels Bjerre and Jens Søndergaard, who have all lived and worked in the Lemvig district from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. All three – like many living artists – reflect in their work the significance of nature in West Jutland.

Thøger Larsen's poems are sensations of nature in a cosmic context, but grounded in a familiar landscape, the green slopes in the western part of Limfjorden. Titles characteristic of his production from his debut in 1904 until his death in 1928 include: "Spring Morning", "By the Fjord", "Winter Night", "Summer Evening", "A Day of Falling Leaves", "Stormy Winter Night", "Grey Weather", "The Thunder Shower", "The North Wind", "Starry Night", "Night of Storm", "Harvest Night", "May Song", and "September Night". Thøger Larsen has probably evoked the strongest sensation of storms ever found in Danish poetry, poems that could not have been written by anyone without personal experience of a storm that "whistles through the night and sharpens all the stars", as he writes in "Autumn Storm" from 1914. When there are people in his poems, they are subordinate to nature, part of its cycle.

Niels Bjerre painted landscapes, often without people. He frequently painted the weather, preferably bad weather. Rain, slush, thunderclouds, storms, winds. He

was a contemporary and good friend of Thøger Larsen. In 1889 he looked at Bovbjerg for the first time with the eye of an artist, and it soon became one of his favourite motifs. Bovbjerg is one of the most distinctive landscapes on the west coast of Jutland, which is otherwise mostly low dunes. Here the green hills reach heights of up to 40 metres above sea level and fall steeply in ochre-yellow cliffs down to a narrow beach and the sea. The violent colours and shapes are a theme with many variations in Niels Bjerre's paintings, and he also wrote about this landscape. In these descriptions we see proud, dramatic scenery, and also the human living conditions: a group of blacksmiths pulling the old hull of a stranded ship out of the sand with the aid of weights and large steel bars, or a team of fishermen trying in vain to put their boat out, as their gear and clothes float around in the water on the beach. "Of two fishermen who were thrown overboard, one almost lost his life by coming under the boat," writes Niels Bjerre soberly about the daily struggle against the forces of nature.

In 1928, when Niels Bjerre met the slightly younger painter Jens Søndergaard, he brought him to Bovbjerg, where Søndergaard immediately settled and later set up his own museum. His paintings often depict just the sea and the weather, and tiny human silhouettes at the mercy of the violent landscape and the stormy sky. Inspired by the view from Bovbjerg, he wrote the following little poem:

Sun in sea, red and yellow.
Sea at peace, green and blue.
Sea in storm, grey and white.
Storm at night, black in black
and a diabolical noise.

The image of nature one meets in these West Jutish artists is very far from ideas about “waving beeches by a sea so blue”, as the Danish national anthem puts it. This impression is reinforced when one brings the local song repertoire into the study.

“The Local National Anthem”

The expression “the local national anthem” was coined in a response to the questionnaire of 1999. It referred to Erik Bertelsen’s “The Wind Blows Fresh over Limfjorden’s Waters” from 1939. As a newcomer remarked, “It evidently has to be sung on every occasion.” “The wind blows fresh,” another person replies, “because it does.” Erik Bertelsen was born on Harboøre, and his song is full of wind, waves, seagulls, air, unruliness, the call of the open spaces, speed, restlessness, and gales – from Hals to Harboøre, against the prevailing wind. The majority of the songs that people hold up as specifically West Jutish in the survey are songs about the landscape, a landscape that you can feel and see within you as you sing. Others serve to underline what people perceive as a particularly West Jutish temperament, for example, the self-esteem and self-determination in “The Jute is Strong and Tough”. This was written in 1846 by the Jutish poet St. St. Blicher, to be sung in dialect. It is about never giving up, about being slow to change, about stubbornness and family heritage.

People in West Jutland enjoy singing. Many have a large selection of song books and use them at meetings and lectures at home and in school, and they know the words of many songs by heart. Singing is something shared with others, whether at home or away, and it serves to maintain and pass on the values of the local community, for example,

delight in the landscape or agreement about the distinctive West Jutish values.

Young people too have a number of local favourites, songs by the country group Tørfisk, by the folk-rock singer Johnny Madsen and the group West for Wrist, all from Thyborøn and Harboøre. The leader of the latter band has also written a song with words inspired by “The Jute is Strong and Tough”; it is about his father, who “was a fisherman, he was a Jute, he was strong and he was tough”. These modern rock and country singers appear at local events, such as street parties and the rock festival “Haze over Haarum”, which has been held on Harboøre since 1980. Many of their lyrics are about local phenomena such as the sea, the weather, fishing, eating dried fish, or riding on the local railway, VLTJ.

Religious songs make up a special group. They are sung at meetings in the mission hall and in the home, at the annual tent meeting held by the Home Mission on Harboøre, and at the big Gospel Festival every other year in Lemvig. The singing tradition has roots in the Moravian and Pietist revival in West Jutland in the 18th and 19th centuries. This was where the Home Mission at the end of the 19th century derived its personal relationship to Jesus and the “joyful song” of conversion and redemption. From the end of the 19th century there were special song books as a supplement to the hymn book, first the “Harboøre Song Book” and then the “Homeland Tones” still in use today. The title should be understood in a metaphorical sense, at home with God.

A characteristic song is “Light in the Darkness, Seaman”, which is in the Harboøre song book from 1890, and which was used in the 1980s as the regular morning hymn by the Fishery College in Thyborøn.

It includes a realistic description of a small crew of seamen in a lifeboat surrounded by foaming waves, the horror of the storm on the open sea at night. But day comes and the storm abates, and land is sighted. In the last verse the men go home to salvation, with Jesus himself at the rudder. One can be saved even if “the world, sin, and Satan storm against me”.

A strikingly large share of the local song repertoire thus has a local stamp, being about the West Jutish landscape, the sea, pictures rooted in the concrete reality of harbours, ships, storms and waves, light-houses and lifeboats. These images can be used as expressions of real life in West Jutland or as metaphors for Christian life. They are powerful images, easily read by people who live on and beside the sea, or so close to it that they cannot avoid being influenced by it, whether they are farmers or mechanics.

The West Jutish View of Nature

Nature thus plays a crucial part in the distinctive West Jutish identity, so it is important to try to pin down the West Jutish view of nature. For many West Jutes, nature is the foundation for everyday life and work. This applies to farmers and fishermen, dockers in the harbour, entrepreneurs, people in machine pools or engineers in the main office of the Coastal Directorate in Lemvig. For many of them, nature is something to be used, not a pretty frame for a picnic or an excursion to admire the sunset or a dramatic storm. As an informant in Bøvlingbjerg said during an interview: “It’s characteristic that we don’t do that, we West Jutes. We don’t go out to sea to experience a storm. We know what it’s like.” After some thought, however, the informant

added that people who live close to the sea are in the habit of going out every day – “They just go down to look.” And what do they want to look for? Whether the sea has taken a bit of the coast, or if anything interesting has drifted ashore.

It is the same utilitarian outlook that steers the fisherman’s and hunter’s perception of nature: is there anything to catch or shoot? And it makes the farmer take a walk along the field boundary to see how the crop is coming on.

Many West Jutes have an everyday outlook on nature, although this does not prevent them from enjoying a stroll in the forest, along the shore, or just at home in the fields. At the same time, many feel that they own the West Jutish countryside: It is “ours”, and we want to decide for ourselves how to use it. This is well expressed in the letter to the paper quoted above, with the heading “Harry – a real West Jute”. It was written by the mayor of Skjern in support of the liberal politician Harry Jensen, chairman of the technology and environment committee in Ringkøbing County Council. The letter ran:

It is refreshing to follow a county council politician who – despite various rules and ordinances – dares to think his own thoughts and say that no one knows better than ourselves where and how we West Jutes should move in the West Jutish countryside. Harry Jensen does not always have his way, but he always fights bravely for his West Jutish views. A struggle that is to the benefit of West Jutland, of Ringkøbing County, and of Skjern Municipality. That is why he will get my vote on 20 November.

In all its brevity, this is an expressive portrait of a West Jute, summing up the self-esteem and the desire for self-determination, stressing the significance of “the battle for nature” and describing the West Jutish strategies

and the reluctance “to observe existing laws”.

This down-to-earth, unromantic view of nature is supplemented by a very realistic perception of the forces and supremacy of nature. To exaggerate somewhat, one can say that it is not nature in general that is important for the West Jutish identity, but the harsh and violent side of nature – and the weather.

The importance of the weather for the self-perception is seen in the use of the word as a metaphor on the spiritual level: the revivals in West Jutland in the 19th century were described as “the weather of the spirit”. The grand narratives in West Jutland have been shaped by the sea and the weather. “The great disaster” on Harboøre in 1893, when 26 fishermen drowned on one night, the loss of the Lilleøre lifeboat in 1897, and the sinking of the Hvide Sande lifeboat in 1951, when the crews were killed, the great storm of 1981, when the sea broke through cliffs and dykes, and the most recent accident on the life-saving vessel *Vestkysten* in 2000, when one crewman lost his life in an attempt to save the crew of a ship in distress. These events were marked with memorial ceremonies shortly after they happened, but the 50th and 100th anniversaries are also commemorated. The lifeboat disaster at Hvide Sande was remembered 50 years later in December 2001 with a ceremony at Nørre Lyngvig cemetery, when wreaths were laid at the memorial stone which was erected in the harbour after the disaster, and a commemorative assembly in Fishery House at Hvide Sande. The event was given full-page coverage for several days in *Ringkøbing Amts Dagblad*. These events are not just tragic happenings; they have an ethical message, about being prepared to sacrifice one’s life for one’s

neighbour, even if one has to fight to the last against the superior forces of nature. If one should forget these events in everyday life, one will be reminded of them by a number of monuments along the coast.

West Jutish Values

Values may be regarded as a kind of ballast which one must have to be able to hold one’s course, even when the wind is strong. It is an inner knowledge of what is good for man, for oneself and the people in one’s community, a shared ethic which is constantly expressed in words. It can be values that are especially common in small communities, which West Jutes share with people in societies with the same structure. But the values can be linked and balanced differently to become a specific regional value system.

What is the specific West Jutish “model for existence” which allows people to understand themselves and find the right way in life? As we have seen, it is good to know one’s own worth, to decide for oneself, to be industrious. Yet this has to be balanced with a fundamental humility – a humility that should not be confused with submissiveness, which is a negative property in West Jutish eyes, or modesty, which is a virtue. This particular humility is never shown in any encounter with authorities of any kind, whether the lords of the past or today’s governing bodies, trade unions, or interest groups. Here the West Jutes stubbornly stand up for their own rights.

The people of Bøvling parish still cherish the myth of how an independent congregation (*valgmenighed*) was formed in 1875. In 1874 the parish was to receive a new incumbent, and the overwhelming majority of the parishioners wanted a Grundtvigian. They knew that this would cause trouble, as

the local member of parliament wanted to advance the cause of the Conservative Party and the Home Mission, and he was known to exert his influence. A petition was therefore circulated, and two reputable farmers from the parish went to Copenhagen to pre-sent it personally to the king. The story of how the two West Jutish peasants appeared before the king is preserved in a later account:

The king met them in his general's uniform with the sabre trailing behind him. Mads Agger read out the address and asked the king to respond to it. "Is this clergyman a liberal?" asked the king. "Yes, I believe he is," Mads Agger replied. "Does he belong to the so-called Grundtvigians?" asked the king. Mads Agger replied, "Yes, that is why we want him as our rector." The king then started to talk about the Grundtvigians and Grundtvig's person, in a way that clearly showed that he knew very little about what he was talking about; when the king fell silent, Mads Agger spoke up. "May I ask Your Majesty, does Your Majesty actually know who Grundtvig was or what he wanted to accomplish in the Danish people? Your Majesty's words do not indicate this." Thus the bomb exploded. The king reacted immediately to the bold West Jutish peasant's words. He waved his hand to signal that the audience was over. "Refer to my minister." When they came to him, the answer was "No".

As expected, a Home Mission clergyman was appointed to the parish, but in the following year the Grundtvigian farmers of Bøvling formed a separate congregation and built a church with money they had collected themselves, and they appointed their own candidate as rector. The Bøvling farmer Mads Agger thus spoke up against the king, and the story is still told in the parish 125 years later. In the face of an authority like the king, there was no West Jutish humility; here it was a matter of something as important as local self-determination.

In contrast, the humility is expressed on

the inner level in religion – in the encounter with God. West Jutland has been and still is a place with powerful religious currents. In the Lemvig district the Home Mission and the Grundtvigian congregations have been a natural part of everyday life for a very large proportion of the population over the last century or more. This is something on which every individual has to take a stance – for or against? For the Grundtvigians it may be a question of obtaining a release from the obligation to use the services of the parish incumbent in favour of a kindred-spirited clergyman or joining one of the independent congregations. The Home Mission has its roots in Pietism and especially in the Moravian revival which made its mark on West Jutland from the 1730s–40s onwards. These spiritual movements involve a personal and often public conversion; true faith lies in the heart and in the relationship to Jesus. It was this fundamental humility that the Bache Lauridsen sisters expressed when they had seen the broadcast about their shop "Damernes Magasin". They knew that what they had achieved in their life was given to them by the hand of God, so they had to feel humble rather than proud when their life's work was publicized.

Humility is also shown on *the outer level* in the encounter with nature and the weather. The stormy sea can bring people down, and every West Jute knows that the sea has taken many lives. One can speak against the king, as Mads Agger did, but one cannot speak against the sea. That power is stronger even than a self-aware West Jute.

That is why Bovbjerg is such a strong focal point in the Lemvig district. Bovbjerg offers stubborn resistance to the sea. It is protected by breakwaters, but every winter one can see how it has had to yield to superior

forces. Large sections hang half-way down the cliff, threatening to give way, as the sea has eaten away at the foot of the slope and tossed the breakwater blocks around.

On the top of Bovbjerg is the lighthouse, flanked by the churches of Trans and Ferring, strong metaphors for great powers – those of nature and faith. There is also a memorial to the great politician of the district, the liberal C. Berg, who represented the farmers in the violent political struggle in the 1880s. The stone bears his motto: “Never enter a pact with injustice” – an exhortation that still speaks to the West Jutish temperament. Another memorial stone has been erected to the lighthouse engineer Grove, who took the initiative to build the breakwaters in the 1870s. This stone is surrounded by a series of smaller stones bearing the dates of floods from the Middle Ages to the present day; they tell the observer about the superior power of the sea.

Bovbjerg hits all the senses at once; one hears, feels, smells and tastes the wind and the sea. For many people this place sums up the forces of nature, the weather, history, art, and the characteristics that are most essential in the perception of regional identity. The landscape contains an important narrative about West Jutland – a mental image woven of relations and values which cannot immediately be seen. It is not surprising that this is the place that people in the Lemvig district choose to show visitors first. It is also the place to which the king is brought. This first happened in 1826, and the event is marked by a memorial stone just west of the lighthouse. And it has happened at every royal visit to the district since then. One has a distinct sense that a real West Jute would think, “Let’s show the king something stronger than himself.”

Conclusion

“A real West Jute” has his roots in West Jutland. The identity can be brought along in one’s baggage if one moves away, but one cannot become a West Jute if one was born and brought up elsewhere. West Jutes have a clear perception of “us” and “them”. This applies to the difference between West and East Denmark. It applies to the difference between West Jutes on the one hand and the people of Thy to the north, the Central Jutes to the east, and the South Jutes. And it applies within the West Jutish region, where the distinctive West Jutish features become more striking the closer one comes to the coast. People themselves operate with notions such as “a real West Jute”, which means a person who thinks his own thoughts, fights for his viewpoints, is hard-working, works for his own and the region’s self-determination, and knows that one has to yield to a real superior power now and then. A true West Jute is noticed; he – or she – has an opinion and shows what’s what with a telling and humorous reply.

Ideas about what is right and wrong are adjusted all the time, through anecdotes, revue songs, debates at meetings about nature, in the local and regional media, in the “grand narratives” about the shared destiny of the region. These ideas are also affected by the encounter with the surrounding world. The West Jutes are no longer perceived as noble savages. When viewed from the metropolitan areas of East Denmark, West Jutland is far away, boring, inhabited by “country bumpkins”. This is reflected in the fact that most young people get rid of their West Jutish dialect when they begin their further education in the university towns – although the inherent reliability, industry, and orderliness of the

West Jutish identity can well be used to acquire a flat at the expense of other students.

The regional identity has its background in the distinctive settlement pattern and the economic structure that have set their stamp on the area for centuries. It has been reinforced in the struggle in the 19th and 20th centuries between the central government and the region, especially concerning the infrastructure, and the large nature reserves and bird sanctuaries established on the West Jutish fjords in the 1980s and 1990s have further heightened the conflict between “east” and “west”. The struggle for nature has therefore become a significant theme in the study of the phenomenon of present-day West Jutish identity.

West Jutish identity should thus be perceived in many respects within an interpretative framework of nature, the weather, and the great forces. This is where people earn their living and spend their leisure time, this is where they derive their self-esteem and their understanding – or lack of it – of other people who are not West Jutes. This is what they sing about, talk about, follow intensively, perceive as a condition of life. West Jutish character and West Jutish values are inscribed in a grand narrative about people and their daily bread, about mankind and superior forces, and about the ever-present boundary between life and death.

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Note

This article is based on material mainly assembled since 1999. It comprises about 250 responses to a questionnaire from 1999, interviews, observation reports, newspaper cuttings, archival material from various associations and issues. The study has frequently been presented in lectures which have given rise to rewarding discussions with the audience.

The studies of song and music in West Jutland and of the Haze over Haarum festival were conducted by Mette Lund Andersen and Britt Lehrmann, students at the Department of Ethnology, Copenhagen University. In 2001 and 2002 Mette Lund Andersen continued with the study of “the struggle for nature”, to which Poul Høst Moustgaard, M.A. had previously contributed.

The museum keepers Marian Ploug, Varde Museum, and Anneken Appel, Vejle Museum, have carried out questionnaire studies of regional identity following the same model as Lemvig Museum, presented in the museum annual *Mark og Montre* (Varde 2000) and on a theme day (Vejle 2001).

Finally, an interdisciplinary network of Danish museum and archive staff have held a number of meetings to discuss regional identity in 2000 and 2001. The network is led by Ellen Damgaard, Lemvig Museum.

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The Cultural Environment

The Danish Case

By Mette Guldberg

In 1994 the concept of *kulturmiljø*, literally “cultural environment”, was introduced in the Danish public sphere as the third dimension of environmental policy. The concept reflected a generally increased interest – not just in Denmark and the other Nordic countries, but also on the European level – in the protection of features of historic interest in the landscape. In Denmark the term evoked a response and received broad political backing in the Danish parliament. Among other things, it was decided that all the counties should list sites of cultural value in their regional plans.

The increased focus on the cultural environment led to a greater demand for knowledge in the field, and it seemed obvious that this was the kind of knowledge that ethnology could contribute. However, ethnological outlooks in this field were not always in harmony with those of the administrative bodies, which wanted to map, delimit, and evaluate cultural environments so that they could be subject to concrete administration. This led to a discussion of whether and how ethnology can make a constructive contribution to this field, and this article is an attempt to sum up some of the viewpoints on the role of ethnology in work with the cultural environment.

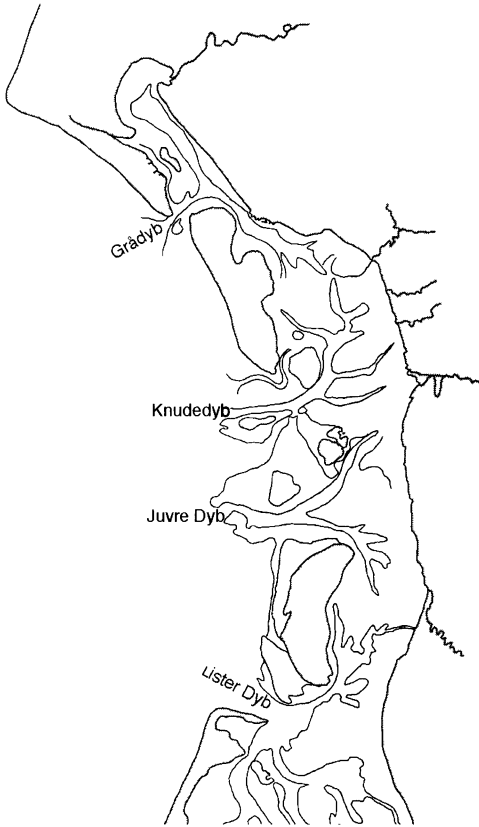
Ethnology and the Cultural Landscape

The landscape, as it has affected humans and been affected by them through the ages, is a classic field of study for ethnology and the predecessors of the discipline. The tradition has its roots in the topographical descriptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and at the end of the nineteenth century the newly aroused interest in pre-industrial peasant culture led to detailed

studies of farms, investigating the architectural tradition against the background of economic, social, and geographical conditions. Ethnological research in the 1920s and 1930s was characterized by the historical-geographical method, which involved charting the spatial distribution of cultural elements in order to clarify historical courses of development and to define cultural areas. In Sweden this work resulted in the *Atlas över svensk folkkultur* in 1957, edited by Sigurd Erixon, whereas in Denmark it never got beyond the preparatory stages before the view of culture as consisting of individual elements was abandoned in favour of a view of culture as a whole. This whole could best be studied through fieldwork, and this led to a long series of studies of small, well-defined communities such as islands, villages, and fishing hamlets. In relation to this there developed an interest in the ecology of the landscape, one result of which was the ethnologist Bjarne Stoklund's works on ecotypes and ecological succession, pointing out that the interaction between landscape and man at one point in time may determine the subsequent development of the locality (Stoklund 1976). The spatial dimension and the interaction between culture and landscape have thus played an important part throughout the history of ethnology, but this dimension is traditionally perceived as just one of the three dimensions of ethnology: time, place, and social setting (Svensson 1974:9).

Museum Preservation

Ethnological studies of problems with spatial dimensions have been primarily steered by an intellectual interest in cultural processes. Whether the studied areas and landscapes should be preserved or not was



1. The deeps in the Wadden Sea, which ensure contact between the mainland and the North Sea.

rarely an important part of the problem. The interest in preserving the cultural landscape or elements of it chiefly found expression in the collection of objects for display in open-air museums, established on the model of Skansen in Stockholm. The Danish counterpart, *Frilandsmuseet*, which was opened in 1897, is today part of the National Museum, showing over 40 building complexes from all of Denmark and adjacent areas. The principles for acquisition and rebuilding have varied through time, in that there has been a shift from an interest in individual buildings to a desire to recreate

the surroundings of the buildings, leading to today's work on reconstructing an entire village. In all these cases, however, it is a matter of preservation which does not place any obstacles in the way of contemporary wishes to use areas for other purposes than obsolete buildings. On the contrary, letting the museums take the buildings allows the landowner to clear the land for more up-to-date uses. Since the 1970s, however, there have also been efforts to preserve *in situ*, partly inspired by the idea of the eco-museum, which arose in France in the early 1970s, and many museums today have moved part of their work outside the museums in order to help preserve and present cultural history out in the landscape.

From Protection to Cultural Environment

The shift of focus from individual elements to wholes that is found in the history of ethnology is also found in the administration of objects of historic interest by public authorities. In 1918 Denmark acquired legislation on the protection of buildings which aimed to preserve individual buildings and, to a lesser extent, complexes of buildings and their surroundings. At first the scheduling of buildings for protection was done mainly on the basis of architectural and aesthetic values, and the listed buildings were primarily manor houses, medieval town houses, monasteries, and palaces. Later on, more modest buildings were also put under protection.

In the 1970s cultural history in a broader sense began to gain a foothold in physical planning, and in the mid-1980s the regional authorities, in collaboration with the museums, produced a series of surveys of cultural and historical interests which were to be

taken into consideration in future planning (Dragsbo & Fabricius 1987).

In 1994 the concept of cultural environment was then introduced by the Social Democratic Minister for the Environment, Svend Auken, in a feature in the newspaper *Politiken*, where he pointed out the importance of remembering the “softer dimensions” in environmental policy, namely, the cultural environment: ancient monuments, historic buildings, urban settings, and the cultural landscape (Auken 1994). These elements, he wrote, make up a significant part of our cultural heritage and should be incorporated as the third dimension of environmental policy alongside combating pollution and preserving and restoring nature. The official definition of the term was: “A cultural environment is a geographically defined area with an appearance reflecting significant features of societal development” (Etting & Grau Møller 1997:11).

Whereas preservation interests were not primary in ethnological research, this was the most important factor in the new concept of cultural environment, expressing a general contemporary trend to integrate cultural policy in the administration of other sectors (Kristiansen 2002). In Sweden and Norway, for instance, the cultural environment has been included in the criteria for the allocation of agricultural subsidies (Zinn 2000). The concept of cultural environment directed attention towards preserving cultural-heritage features in the landscape, not just as elements but as wholes, and the counties were obliged to list cultural environments worthy of preservation in their regional plans. There was talk of a transition from “narrow protection to broad preservation”.

Simultaneously with the shift of interest from protected cultural elements to entire

cultural environments worthy of preservation, the state reduced its involvement, and the work of preservation was imposed on the regional authorities. However, this has not been accompanied by financial means, and since very few counties have employed cultural historians, the field is often looked after by the officials already on the staff, typically people with a background in architecture, biology, or the like. To support regional work with the cultural environment, a cultural environment council was set up in each country in 1998, consisting of people with a professional knowledge of local cultural history. These councils have solely advisory duties, with neither the economy nor the instruments to follow up their advice.

The Third Dimension

With the launching of the cultural environment concept, space – the cultural landscape – was no longer just an ethnological dimension, it had also become a dimension in the state environmental policy. With the choice of the word *kulturmiljø* and the metaphor of the cultural environment as the third dimension of environmental policy, the concept was presented in the best possible light. The very word “environment”, as has been pointed out (Fouchard 2000), has a positive charge which signals something valuable and something we should take care of, and the value is only reinforced by being compounded with the equally positively charged word “culture”. As the third dimension in environmental policy, the concept was furthermore associated with dimensions which signal concern about nature and the battle against pollution. The metaphor gave the cultural environment an automatic and natural place in environmental policy and hence under the Ministry

of the Environment with its administrative base in the Danish Forest and Nature Agency, and not in the Ministry of Culture, as one might have expected. At the same time, it signalled that environmental policy before the introduction of the cultural environment policy had been flat and two-dimensional, not achieving depth and completeness until the inclusion of the cultural environment.

Because the concept of cultural environment was introduced as an element of administration, it was also an administrative tool that became the primary instrument in work with cultural environments, namely, mapping, which has the advantage that it can delimit areas in concrete terms and thus make them a suitable object for administration. Moreover, the introduction of electronic geographical information systems (GIS) provided a technology which allowed many more opportunities in the use of maps.

In cultural history in Denmark there are various traditions in the use of mapping as a tool. Archaeologists have a very long tradition of recording their finds on maps. The fundamental material in Denmark is the Parish Descriptions that were compiled by a nationwide survey 1873–1930; they consist of topographical-archaeological descriptions of places simultaneously marked on maps. This central register is continuously updated, so that the National Archaeological Record today has a nationwide survey of archaeological finds with an electronic database.

The situation is different as regards ethnologists and other cultural historians working with modern times. As we have seen, there were large atlas projects in the 1930s, with the aim of charting cultural elements, but the method and the underlying

theory were abandoned in favour of more holistic research. The atlas projects were closely associated with diffusionism and thus considered an expression of a specific way of viewing cultural processes. In the studies that followed, mapping was not an important tool. The approach to the material was rather thematic, and when one spoke of places, areas, or fields, this did not necessarily refer to a defined geographical area that could be marked on a map. For example, the ethnologist Börje Hanssen, in his dissertation about Österlen, worked with different activity fields for different population groups instead of defined geographical areas.

However, when it comes to cultural environments, ethnology faces concrete demands for mapping these sites, and with sidelong glances at the work of the archaeologists, it seems natural for officials to ask ethnologists to chart cultural elements – in the same way as archaeologists do – when these elements lie within the periods covered by ethnology. Whereas environmental policy tried to make itself complete with a third dimension, the requirement to produce maps was felt by ethnologists to be in many ways a step backwards, a regression to one-dimensional work.

Mapping Projects

The desire to record cultural environments on maps has generated a series of projects and discussions of the way to do it. In 1997 the Forest and Nature Agency started a pilot project entitled “Cultural Heritage in Planning”, which consists of several parts: first, a survey of features of cultural-heritage interest in the landscape, in which a number of scholars describe important elements and structures in the open landscape; second, a classification of the landscape on cultural-

historical grounds; third, two pilot projects to test the principles for singling out historical environments worthy of preservation, to study means to protect them and develop ways to arrange this in practice. The final report from the pilot project (Schou & Handberg 1999) sketches the procedure for mapping cultural-heritage interests, beginning by compiling a description of the main features in the area, followed by an outline plan describing the area from three different angles: time, theme, and landscape. Against this background, some mapping themes are established, and then the actual mapping begins, with recording and surveying, and subsequently historical environments are singled out for delimitation and setting priorities. The report gives a long list of criteria which can be used to decide the priority of historical environments worthy of preservation: unique/rare, rare in the region, specific to the district, representativeness, state of preservation, function, authenticity, value as a historical source, value for identity, value as an experience, narrative value, diversity, homogeneity, and relation to the natural surroundings. In the preface to the report the authors express the hope that the methods described will be able to serve as inspiration in the coming work of securing the cultural environment values in the landscape through planning, because "it will never be possible to draw up a ready key for carrying out this work", and when finally singling out valuable cultural environments the choice should be based on "technical criteria ... and on a certain pragmatism" (Schou & Handberg 1999:5, 37). The latest publication from the pilot project, which contains an evaluation of the cultural environments already designated in the counties (Jensen & Olsen 2001),

likewise makes no attempt to stake out common guidelines. One of the conclusions of the project seems to be that uniform guidelines cannot be drawn up immediately for mapping and designating cultural environments, and despite attempts to develop objective criteria, in the end they were not used. Despite that, this recognition did not lead to any more fundamental consideration of the management of the field of cultural environments.

Whereas working with cultural history in the landscape was relatively new for some counties, others had a long tradition of it. This applies in particular to the County of Funen, which has collaborated for many years with historians in museums and with the Cartographical Documentation Centre at the University of Odense. As part of this collaboration, a pilot project has been carried out, involving a "total registration" of cultural environments from the period 1000–2000 in a single area, in order to arrive at a proposal for a uniform nationwide registration method which will be operational and labour-saving. A method of this kind, in the evaluation of the pilot project, would take about 15 annual work units at the national level (Schrøder Christensen *et al.* 1999:68). This registration would provide answers to questions such as "how many cultural environments there are of each individual type, where they are, and which of them can be said to contain such superior values that it is the duty of society to ensure that they survive intact for coming generations" (Porsmose 2002). These views are followed up by Per Grau Møller, who suggests undertaking "a thorough registration and analysis of cultural-historical wholes" with the aid of sources that can be found for all the districts in the country, so that the registra-

tion will be uniform in every way at the national level (Grau Møller 2001:18, 9).

The mapping trials in Funen have met with criticism from ethnologists, partly because they involve working with cultural environments as given, concrete, spatially defined phenomena which are possible to register exhaustively, and partly because they have a bias in their choice of theme, typically with an over-representation of pre-industrial peasant culture, whereas more recent phenomena attract little attention (Wohlfahrt 2002). It is also pointed out that many important structures and contexts cut across traditional divisions, and that the cultural environment is not just a purely physical, value-neutral entity (Dragso 2001).

Yet another mapping project which has taken place in recent years is the Lancewad Project, the aim of which was a uniform charting of the cultural heritage in the Wadden Sea, the tidal regions of Denmark-Germany-Holland (Volmer *et al.* 2001). The project arose from the many years of cooperation between the authorities in these countries concerning natural values in the Wadden Sea, in which there was also a desire in the 1990s to bring in the cultural environment. The project was to be based on existing information and databases, and was to cover both historic and prehistoric times. Despite the desire and ambition for a holistic view, the result was that the project chose to register isolated elements rather than wholes. The reason for this was that the different academic and administrative traditions in the three countries would have necessitated a long process of clarification before agreement could be reached about the definition of such wholes, and the already available information concerned individual elements rather than wholes. As

expected, the archaeological data could be imported into the system directly, whereas data of this character from more recent times generally had to be extracted from other sources before they fitted the system. The result was a database charting individual elements from both prehistoric and historic times, but as the relation between the elements is not obvious from such a mapping in this way, further analysis is necessary before the elements can be linked into wholes.

Delimiting Cultural Environments

None of these attempts to map important cultural environments from modern times developed methods which were generally accepted, but the experience of the different forms of mapping gave rise to discussions about the actual concept of cultural environment. The director of Copenhagen City Museum, Jørgen Selmer, wrote an article in 1999 in which he proceeded from the official definition of cultural environment as “a geographically defined area with an appearance reflecting significant features of societal development”. With the aid of photographs taken on a drive through Copenhagen he was able to illustrate that, according to this definition, there are cultural environments everywhere (Selmer 1999).

Of course, this was not the way it was envisaged that the concept would be used. In talking of cultural environments it was understood that it referred to cultural environments *worthy of preservation*, ones which were found for one reason or another to deserve to be kept for posterity. Since this is not immediately obvious from the definition, it has been suggested that a distinction should be made between two different concepts: *cultural environment*

for the political-administrative concept, which is primarily concerned with environments that are worth preserving, and *cultural landscape* as the analytical concept which has a more academic purpose (Grau Møller 2001:4).

Even if the concept of cultural environment is thus restricted to areas worth preserving, these areas and their definition are not automatically given. The “Cultural Heritage in Planning” project worked in some cases with different definitions “depending on whether the emphasis is on the historical development of the area and the economic/functional relations ... or the resource base of the individual property owners and the more individual preservation values of the buildings” (Schou & Handberg 1999:44).

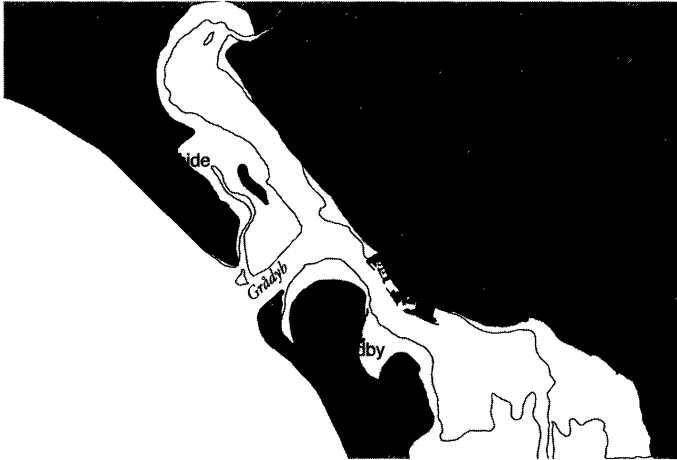
In the Lancewad Project the area was divided into subregions, to enable a detailed description of the differences in the area. The discussions of the delimitation of subregions and of cultural environments contained many of the same elements, so the example can also serve as an illustration when it comes to the delimitation of cultural environments.

The steering group of the Danish part of the project divided its area into three subregions: One comprised the northern salt meadows on the mainland, one comprised the southern salt marshes, and one comprised the islands—a division essentially based on a geographical approach to the landscape. However, this view conflicted with the perception that I had of the landscape, a perception influenced by my work on the maritime economic activities in the area. To illustrate this approach and provide a basis for other discussions concerning the delimitation and mapping, an alternative division is sketched in the following. This

division centres on Grådyb, a navigation channel in the south-west Jutland part of the Wadden Sea region (Guldberg 2001).

The Grådyb Subregion

Around Grådyb and Ho Bugt there was extensive fishing in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, providing the basis for the emergence of large fishing hamlets. One of the biggest was *Sønderside*, which was located between Ho and Oksby. Although *Sønderside* was no rival to the largest market town in the area, Ribe, further to the south, it was big enough to deserve a place on the map, and on foreign maps as well. A Dutch map from 1585 says that *Sønderside* “is de grootste Visserye op gheheel Jutlandt” (is the biggest fishery in all of Jutland). During the fishing season *Sønderside* had as many as 1,000 inhabitants, and in 1581 there were 60 boats engaged in the fishery. *Sønderside* was primarily a fishing station, but it attracted other economic activities. From archival sources we know of a prosperous shipowner in *Sønderside* with several ships and properties. Archaeological excavations have uncovered a house plot from the sixteenth century where objects such as thimbles, hooks and eyes, and a seam presser indicate that trade in cloth or the tailor’s craft was pursued in the house. In the house there was also one of the cloth weights that served as a guarantee on rolls of cloth imported from the south. In addition, some imported pottery from the sixteenth and seventeenth century has been found in the area. The inhabitants of *Sønderside* also got around in the world, and in the city archives of the biggest economic centre of the day, Amsterdam, we find several individuals who told the authorities in the seventeenth century that



2. Places in the area around Grådyb.

they came from Sønderside. In 1634 the buildings in Sønderside were partly destroyed by flooding as a result of high winds, and although there were attempts to rebuild the fishing hamlet, it never regained its former size. The settlement gradually disappeared entirely, and its location was forgotten.

The decline of Sønderside roughly coincided with Ribe's loss of ground in shipping, as Varde's harbour, *Hjerting*, grew in importance; by around 1700 it had become the most important export harbour in south-west Jutland. Shipping was probably not on a very large scale, because south-west Jutland in the eighteenth century was in a period of economic decline after a heavy drop in exports first of fish and then of cattle. What was left was modest exports of agricultural produce and crude semimanufactured mass goods such as leather, woven cloth, and the Jutish pots that were typical of the region. When viewed in relation to the economic power centre of Holland, western Jutland was a poor marginal area which delivered agricultural goods and provided labour to the large East-Indiamen

and whalers. Seventeenth-century shipping in Hjerting was dominated by skippers from the mainland, but this changed in the subsequent decades. In the 1680s charters were issued which made it easier to pursue shipping outside the market towns, and this allowed the growth of a multitude of small skippers at the customs house in Hjerting, most of whom came from Nordby on Fanø and mainly sailed to and from the Elbe with Jutish pots and fish. Their tonnage did not amount to much, because the boats were very small, but in numerical terms they far outnumbered the mainland skippers.

The many small skippers on Fanø helped to lay the foundation for vigorous growth in the island's shipping, and at the end of the eighteenth century the Fanø shipping took over completely. Traditionally the people of Fanø had earned their living by farming and fishing, but shipping gradually grew in importance. From the 1770s bigger vessels came into use, and the number of ships rose. In 1789 the Fanø fleet had become the fourth largest in provincial Denmark. In addition, shipbuilding got under way, and

in the period 1776–1896 over 1,100 ships were built on Fanø. The war with England 1807–14 interrupted the growth in shipping, but from the 1840s development in shipping gained momentum in earnest, with freight transport between the Baltic and the North Sea. The ships became bigger, the destinations more remote, and the risks greater. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Fanø ships sailed all over the world, and in the 1890s the growth reached its zenith. This was the heyday of the sailing ship. Fanø's towns, Sønderho and Nordby, took shape. Sønderho used the deeps south of Fanø, while Nordby used the Grådyb deep. Of the two towns on Fanø, it was Sønderho that managed best in the first period of the sailing ships, whereas Nordby did not really begin to flourish until after the war with England. Around 1770 Nordby consisted of four neighbourhoods: Renderne, Byen, Nordby, and Odden. When the upswing in shipping and shipbuilding came, it was Odden that expanded, becoming the centre of the present-day town of Nordby. Nordby is thus a relatively new town from the end of the eighteenth century, just as shipping on a large scale was a new occupation for the people of Fanø. In the 1890s the growth reached its peak, but the Fanø sailing ships could not withstand the competition from the steamships, and the era of sailing ships in Fanø came to a sudden end around 1900. By 1905 Fanø's fleet was already halved, and in 1919 the last of Fanø's big sailing ships was sold.

Several decades before the collapse of Fanø's shipping, the seeds were sown for a new focal point for shipping by Grådyb, when *Esbjerg* Harbour was established following a decision by parliament in 1868. In the previous years there had been many

suggestions as to the location of a port in west Jutland with a railway connection. As the old export harbour in the area, Hjerting had been one possibility. The actual harbour, however, was placed at Esbjerg Kleve, but even though Hjerting failed to retain its function as an export harbour for the area, it was still Grådyb, with its good connections between the coast and the North Sea, that served as a foundation for shipping in the area. The background to the construction of Esbjerg Harbour was the need for a harbour in western Jutland for the big ships that exported agricultural produce – grain and cattle – to England. In connection with the rise of the cooperative movement and the switch in farming to livestock production in the 1880s, Esbjerg, with its railway connections, consolidated its central position in the export of Danish pork, butter, and eggs, and in the course of a few decades the harbour became one of the biggest in Denmark. It was built as a transport harbour and as such it was a success right from the start. It had not been envisaged that it could also function as a fishing harbour, but fishermen, especially from the west coast of Jutland, soon came to Esbjerg, which became the home of a growing fishing fleet. Fishery based on Grådyb thus underwent a renaissance, in the first half of the twentieth century with the emphasis on plaice fishing with seine nets, and in the second half with a growing industrial fishery for the fishmeal factories of Esbjerg. Since it was established, the harbour has been expanded several times, and today the harbour front extends almost five kilometres.

Grådyb is thus still a precondition today for shipping and fishing in the area, and even though it may be difficult to see the similarity between Sønderside, Hjerting,

Fanø, and Esbjerg, it is in principle the same activities that are carried on in the area now as in the past 500 years. They have just taken on the form appropriate to each particular period, nowadays primarily as container traffic and industrial fishery.

Today Sønder side can scarcely be discerned in the landscape. At Hjerting the ships were loaded and unloaded by driving out wagons to the ships lying on the flats at ebb tide; the loading place can be discerned only thanks to the course of the road leading down to the coast. Hjerting today has become a suburb of Esbjerg. On Fanø the picturesque skippers' town of Nordby, with its narrow streets and dainty houses, has long been regarded as worth preserving, and the town – along with Sønderho – is considered to typify the traditional Fanø, although it represents a period of less than 200 years. Esbjerg functions today as the focal point for the activities around Grådyb. The earliest history of the harbour is best seen around the first harbour, the dock, which is thus of interest for preservation. This is the scene of the frequently recurring struggle over what should be preserved: life as it is lived there or the physical framework, whether the buildings that are worth preserving should be used for housing, or whether the harbour activities should have priority. Esbjerg today is the fourth largest port, with a coaling harbour, an offshore base harbour, a ferry terminal, a container harbour, a traffic harbour, a shipyard dock, a cooperative fishery harbour, and an industrial fishery harbour, and it has ambitions to cope in the tough elimination race between ports that is taking place at the moment. In this competition, preservation interests are at best bothersome and at worst can contribute to the closure of the maritime activities.

When one stands in the pleasant little skippers' town of Nordby today and looks out over the skyline of Esbjerg, dominated by silos, fishmeal factories, and thermal power stations, the two places are like diametrical opposites, a clash of irreconcilable values. Yet they can also be regarded as the last link in a very long line of continuous use of the natural opportunities for fishing and shipping, and from that angle one can see, not a landscape full of contrasts, but instead a cultural landscape that tells a century-long story.

Place or Construction

Using the deeps in the Wadden Sea as the starting point for a division of the landscape, as illustrated here with Grådyb, is just one way to tackle the division of the Wadden Sea region. Another is the focus of the Lance-wad Project on the landscape and the geography as characterizing and localizing factors. Each of the divisions focuses on different aspects and simultaneously conceals other connections. Both divisions arise from an outlook, a problem, and each can be defended on its own premises, just as other divisions could be defended.

Different disciplines with their different perception of the cultural environment often confront each other. It is necessary to recognize that cultural environments are not objectively existing phenomena; they are constructed in each individual case on the basis of the problem one wants to illuminate, the angle one chooses to approach it from, and the purpose of the undertaking. In an ethnological research project, a precise geographical definition of an area will often be irrelevant, whereas a strict demarcation is crucial when an area is to be mapped for administrative purposes. If one accepts the

idea of what may be called a functional concept of cultural environment, then each time one begins a task involving cultural environments, one should begin by clarifying how one wishes to define one's field. Only when agreement has been reached about the premises for the concrete definition of a cultural environment can one achieve constructive collaboration.

In work with the cultural environment one often comes across the view that an area gives the population its identity and that this identity should be strengthened. When one talks of local or regional identity as a reality – something that one can go out and identify and then reinforce – one must be aware that identity – like a cultural environment – does not have a fixed definition. People from the Grådyb area who came to Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries identified themselves as coming from Grådyb; this applies to 140 of the 175 people from the area who got married in Amsterdam in the period 1646–1811. This testifies that they lived in an environment where people were accustomed to orient themselves from the sea towards land. On the other hand, a peasant who made his living by farming in the Grådyb area in the eighteenth century but never went to sea would probably have said that he came from the parish of Guldager, rather than that he came from Grådyb. Others might name the manor they were subject to, the vicar might think of the diocese to which his parish belonged, and the prefect would think of the county he was in charge of. Nowadays people are more likely to mention the town or the municipality they come from, and if they said they came from Grådyb one would think that they came from the street of that name.

There can thus be great differences in the way people from the same district define their home, depending on the time and the social background. Yet a number of other factors are also involved. One can have an identity in relation to one's age, sex, job, nationality, family status, ethnic origin, place of birth, and so on, and the different identities can be activated depending on the context. Just as one must work with a functional concept of cultural environment, one must also work with a functional or contextual concept of identity.

The Preservation of Cultural Environments

When the concept of cultural environment is only about environments that are worth preserving, this raises the following questions: what does "preservation value" mean, and who is it worth preserving for? A cultural environment, a landscape, or a town may contain many layers of narrative, and which story is told depends on the eyes that see. It is often what is well preserved that stands out as worth preserving, whereas places bearing the stamp of use in many periods are often regarded as "spoiled" and hence less worthy of preservation. Furthermore, some periods and some cultures are traditionally more worth preserving than others; pre-industrial peasant culture is more interesting than the industrial agriculture of the twentieth century, the skippers' town is more interesting than an area of modern single-family houses, and a building designed by a great architect is more interesting than today's typical block of flats. In addition, there is the controversy over whether lived life or the physical framework should be preserved, as we saw in the example of Esbjerg: is it the centuries-long



3. The oldest harbour dock in Esbjerg, where the old fishery warehouse in the foreground is now used for offices, a restaurant, and a gallery, while there are calls to demolish some of the other oldest brick buildings.

maritime tradition that should be preserved or the buildings which can no longer serve their original purpose? In every delimitation of a cultural environment, one history is chosen at the expense of another.

Besides this, there are completely different factors that need to be considered as worth preserving. A classical example is the problem of watercourses. Out of concern for the free passage of fish and other fauna along watercourses, there are efforts to remove whatever barriers there may be in the form of weirs and the like, and the quality of the water is measured according to which fish can live in it. Many of the weirs, however, are structures of great historical interest, for example, early

industrial water power plants or medieval mills which have been there for centuries. In these cases, arguments for the preservation of features of cultural history in the landscape are opposed to arguments for the preservation of certain species of fish. In other cases there may be aesthetic considerations clashing with cultural-heritage interests.

It is a widespread view that when a cultural environment is designated as worth preserving, it should not be allowed to lie there like an empty shell, a “museum landscape”, but should continue to be used, although in a different way. It is therefore important to find functions that can use the designated framework, for example, when an old warehouse is converted into a

restaurant or an old customs building becomes a shop. This strategy for preservation is expressed in the slogan “protection through use” (*beskyttelse gennem benyttelse*).

However, both designation as a cultural environment and a change in use can be significant for the character of the cultural environment one wishes to preserve. The ethnographer Søren Byskov describes how the designation of an area ascribes it a value that is part of the local political game about how the area is to be administered and used. Apart from starting an administrative process, the designation also creates a narrative about “the local”, which cannot be erased even if the designation is later officially rescinded. One of his example studies shows how the narrative about the maritime history of an area has been used as a lever with which to apply for EU funding for a large project to build a harbour mainly for pleasure yachts. The narrative about the past is thus used as an argument for the allocation of public resources to an activity that did not exist in the time that is invoked as an argument. Another example shows how an agricultural area that was protected in the 1970s, today is physically very well preserved but has lost all forms of occupational activity (Byskov 2002). Both areas are frozen in the history that has been chosen for narration, one in the narrative about the maritime tradition, the other in the narrative of the village structure in the days of open-field farming.

It is not uncommon that a designation or a preservation provokes resistance in parts of the population in the affected area. The Lancelwade project concerning the registration of cultural elements in the Wadden Sea area was started with the ultimate aim of including cultural history in the ongoing

application for inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List on the grounds of its value as a natural site. However local resistance to the nomination of the area as a World Heritage site was so strong that the politicians chose to postpone the decision. The population did not trust the politicians' assurances that inscription on the World Heritage List would not mean any restrictions for the population.

There are thus many questions concerning the designation of cultural environments worthy of preservation. Many of them are more political than academic in character, and the actual designation has complex and at times far-reaching consequences.

Conclusion

The main aim of the introduction of the cultural environment concept was the desire to preserve areas with important cultural and historical features, and the means was mapping and demarcation. However, neither the end nor the means fitted ethnological practice well, where the question of physical preservation has rarely been a central concern. On the other hand, an intellectual interest in cultural processes has been a central concern, and ethnology has rather been inclined to give greater precedence to lived life and cultural diversity than to survivals of physical structures from bygone times.

It was thus with some interest and a healthy portion of scepticism that ethnologists received the concept. The interest was naturally due to the fact that the cultural environment is essentially an old field for ethnologists, who therefore felt that they could help to qualify the subject by a discussion of the premises of the concept. The scepticism was felt because the agenda

was already fixed. There was no scholarly interest behind the concept, and there was no opportunity for discussions about the principles of preservation. In addition, it always requires attention when a familiar phenomenon such as traces of cultural history in the landscape is suddenly introduced as the newly invented “cultural environment” and is on everyone’s lips as the buzzword of the day (cf. e.g. Guldberg 1990). What are the underlying intentions? Why was it so important to have it presented in a good light as a natural part of environmental policy? Why choose now to talk about broadly based preservation?

The train started, however, and many ethnologists who jumped on it are already working in the field of the cultural environment, their closest partners being, on the one hand, administrative bodies and the professional groups typically found there, and on the other hand the representatives of other disciplines concerned with cultural history, such as archaeologists and historians. When included in such interdisciplinary contexts it is crucial to have a solid disciplinary foundation to stand on, and this calls for strong and constructive collaboration between ethnologists working “in the field” with the various administrative bodies and those sitting in the universities, who can contribute research-based viewpoints on the concepts and problems and who can help to analyse the political agendas behind the questions asked.

The concept of cultural environment created a greater demand for traditional ethnological skills. The question now is whether ethnology is able and willing to deliver the goods. The current challenges of ethnology in work with the cultural environment concern whether the questions asked can be

answered in a way that is acceptable to the discipline, and how ethnological research can be used to qualify the discussion of the cultural environment. In the longer term the aim must be that ethnologists should be more involved in setting the agenda.

Postscript

In autumn 2001 general elections were held in Denmark. The result was that the Social Democrats, who had been in government for many years, had to hand over to the liberal party Venstre. One of the first acts of the new government was to move three of the offices of the Forest and Nature Agency from the Ministry of the Environment and Energy to the Ministry of Culture, namely, the Cultural Heritage Office, the Building Preservation Office, and the Town Preservation Office. Together with the cultural environment councils, from 1 January 2002 they are under a newly established Cultural Heritage Agency, in charge of museums and cultural preservation. Time will show whether the cultural environment after this will still be a dimension of environmental policy.

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Place and Urban Development

By Per-Øystein Lund

Introduction

What is the relationship between urban development and places in a town or city? Can urban development be defined as the planned development of places in a city? In this article I want to compare two periods in the history of Oslo in order to see to what extent urban development at different times has been discussed and planned on the basis of the places in the city.

What is a *place*? “Place” can be defined as a spatial locale associated with a set of cultural ideas. These ideas may concern history, aesthetics, myths, social, functional, or cultural characteristics, and so on. Talking about place thus means designating the physical space by focusing on what is distinctive, what makes one place differ from another. Our understanding of place is thus seen as a cultural construction.

“Urban development” is defined here as culturally conditioned physical transformations that occur through time in the urban landscape. These transformations take place in a societal context where a number of agents have opinions about what development should involve. This means that the understanding of what urban development ought to include, with regard to which qualities of the city are valued as being particularly significant, varies as society changes. Urban development and places in the city are thus not necessarily valued in relation to the same qualities. What one person believes to be successful urban development does not need to be synonymous with what one understands as successful development of the city’s places.

Based on this introductory reasoning, I want to compare the discussions about and the plans for urban development in Oslo in two ten-year periods in the second half of

the 20th century, the 1950s and the 1990s. Urban development in Oslo was subject to very different conditions in the two periods. I want to examine the meaning this may have had for how the city’s places were treated and understood in this debate about and planning of urban development in different times.¹

Urban Development in Oslo in the 1950s

When the Labour Party formed a government in 1945, it had already – in the 1930s – confronted the most radical forces in the party. The traditional vision of the labour movement, the project of socialism, had been replaced by the welfare state project (Slagstad 1998:212). The welfare state was about achieving social justice through the state-organized redistribution of wealth based on capitalistically run production. The same idea also applied at municipal level. There was broad political agreement about an ambitious municipal welfare policy. In this way, urban development also became a matter of improving people’s standard of living. In the first post-war years the primary concern was getting the towns to function again, and it was not until around 1950 that the municipal authorities could tackle the problems of the towns in earnest. The greatest challenge was the housing problem. In 1946 the municipal authorities estimated that the existing number of homes covered only 77 per cent of the current need (Benum 1994:33). The local government involvement in urban development was thus chiefly about building homes. As a consequence of the acute shortage of land to build on, Oslo was amalgamated with the municipality of Aker in 1948, whereby the area of the city was multiplied. Whereas the built-up area

of Oslo had previously grown gradually, as successive layers around the old city centre, in the 1950s the capital grew with the establishment of new, partly independent, satellite towns over a large area. However, this led to serious transport problems in the city. When the developed area spread over larger distances, it presupposed a large-scale expansion of the city traffic network and it made new requirements of the roads. Increasing traffic meant that the road network had to be differentiated to separate local from long-distance traffic. The urban planning therefore reinvested large resources in planning a rational road network which considered the role of the city as a regional junction, while simultaneously shielding housing areas from through traffic.

A third problem area that was to affect urban development in the 1950s concerned the clearance and modernization of the old city centre. Back in the 1920s the city development authority had singled out a large number of districts which were to be demolished in order to free spaces for modern urban development. Although the shortage of building lots was no longer acute after the expansion of the city, there was still a strong desire to demolish some of the old built-up areas. The old neighbourhoods were associated with poverty and social destitution, and the buildings themselves did not meet contemporary technical and hygienic standards. Instead the planners wanted to build a modern and rational city centre, where different functions were located in different zones.

Urban development was thus a matter of solving society's problems, and the most acute problems in the 1950s concerned housing construction, traffic development, and slum clearance. Who was to solve the

city's problems? The municipal council was forced to assume the role of house builder after the housing crash in 1899, because private investors stayed away from the housing market for such a long time.² In the inter-war years, however, municipal involvement augmented financial support to private and cooperative housing construction, essentially in the form of mortgage guarantees (Oslo kommune 1962:43). The municipal council especially wanted to prioritize cooperative building societies, in which the tenants were joint owners of the buildings. They wanted to avoid seeing the housing market dominated by speculators and rented flats, as the situation had been at the end of the 19th century. In 1935 the municipal council therefore set up Oslo Bolig- og Sparelag (Oslo Building and Savings Association, OBOS), which became an important post-war agent in housing construction.

The city development authority also acquired an increasingly active role in the 20th century. The Building Acts of 1899 and 1924 contained a requirement for a development plan applying to the entire area of the city. It was not until Harald Hals was employed as director of development in 1926 that the work really started. A general plan for the Oslo area was proposed in 1929, and incorporated in a new general plan regarding both Oslo and Aker from 1934. These plans represented a new level of ambition for municipal city planning in Oslo. Attempts had been made before to compile plans applying to the whole area of the city, but these were largely confined to the road network. The plans of 1929 and 1934 emphasized the necessity of understanding the city as a complete whole. Moreover, they stated the guidelines for most aspects

of the city's future physical development. They dealt with the road network, the city squares, different types of neighbourhoods, and the relation of the hinterland to the city. Inspired by new functionalist ideas, urban development thereby became a matter of social planning on a large scale.

Three groups thus particularly influenced urban development after the war. The politicians defined which problems were to be solved. The city planners decided how the problems could best be solved. The last group consisted of private builders who were to implement the huge construction projects facing the city. In the 1950s there were close links between these groups. Urban development thus became a field that was left to professionals, leaving the population as merely the group for whom the planning was done, without any great degree of codetermination. The politicians' legitimacy, however, was dependent on the support of the people. This support presupposed the existence of broad agreement about the aims of urban development, and the ability of the political sphere to achieve these aims. The politicians were thus dependent on close cooperation with the expert groups in urban development to be able to solve the city's problems, as a result of which the municipal planning authorities acquired a key role in defining what urban development would concern in Oslo in the 1950s.

The planners regarded urban development as a theoretical problem with a spatial dimension. For the planners, the ideal city was a functional whole in which all the parts functioned in relation to each other. The urban planning office drew up schematic plans showing how the city's problems could best be solved, with functional

differentiation as a guiding principle. The housing problem was to be solved by the expansion of satellite towns, in which the individual homes were incorporated in functional units on several levels. The individual block of flats, together with the nearest blocks, constituted a neighbourhood group. Four to six neighbourhood groups made up a school district, and the area was envisaged as having several school districts to achieve the ideal size. Each satellite town would have a centre containing the necessary shops and services, and serve as a junction for public transport. The traffic problem would be solved by a differentiation of the road network, with different types of roads for different types of traffic. Large motorways would lead long-distance traffic around the centre and to and from it in different directions, while smaller roads would handle local traffic. In housing estates it was an important point that they should be shielded from through traffic. The cleared areas in the city centre, according to the plans, were to be rebuilt following similar differentiation principles. Through zonal division it would be possible to achieve an effective city structure by having shopping zones, housing zones, and industrial zones separated. In this way the infrastructure could be adjusted to the functions that each zone was intended to serve.

The concrete plans for the development of the individual areas are thus seen as answers to theoretical problems. The way of thinking represented by the planners involved an understanding of the urban space as an abstract entity divorced from the physical city. The ideal aim for city planners of the 1950s was to build a new city on unoccupied land. It is illustrative that the head of city planning in Oslo

throughout the period, Erik Rolfsen, had his background in the reconstruction of Northern Norway after the war. The establishment of the new satellite towns in the former municipality of Aker made it possible to plan freely, without having to take existing buildings into consideration. There was a corresponding desire to clear entire areas in the city centre in order to redevelop them. With such an understanding of space, the genuine qualities of the *place* were regarded as impediments to the realization of the ideal city. Attempts were often made to overcome the distinctive historical or natural features of a place, for example, by demolishing old buildings, channelling rivers and streams underground, or levelling undulating land. With the planners' spatial understanding, the qualities of an individual area were thus assessed primarily in relation to its connection to, and coexistence with, the functional whole that the total urban organism constituted.

Urban Development in Oslo in the 1990s

Modern urban development exists in a societal context where different agents struggle to define the content of urban development. If we compare the 1950s and the 1990s, it is clear that the societal context dictated very different premises for urban development in the two periods. Great changes had taken place towards the end of the 20th century. The most obvious difference from the 1950s was that the planners now were not facing just a few clearly defined problems. Neither the population nor the political sphere could agree on any overall goals for urban development, and no single agent had the authority to define any such goals alone. Nor was it considered self-

evident any more that urban development should be regarded as a purely technical and economic problem. This meant the loss of one fundamental precondition for the dominance of the city planners. The politicians could no longer exclusively turn to the planners to obtain the ideal solutions to the city's problems.

Instead, the public debate took on a much more important role than before, as this was where the most important discussions about urban development were carried on. The public debate became an arena where agents both with and without professional ties to urban development could meet and fight to gain recognition for their definition of what urban development should concern. In this struggle it was not formal positions that gave the agents strength. In the public debate the different agents acquired influence only to the extent that they were able to gain support for their arguments. Exploring the debate about urban development in the 1990s unveils a number of colliding values that could be held up as resources in the struggle to be proved right. Values such as history, aesthetics, culture, and the environment could be used as arguments in the debate. These values had a high degree of legitimacy, because they were values that most agents could agree were important. On the other hand, there was not always consensus about what these values implied. For instance, most agents wanted to give priority to the aesthetic aspects of urban development. Nevertheless, opinions differed regarding what was of aesthetic value. The debate about Tullinløkka showed how a discussion about the design of a public space in the centre of Oslo could become an intense struggle to define what was aesthetically

valuable.³ Despite serious disagreement about the choice of solutions for the area, the actors accepted the underlying premise that aesthetic qualities should be decisive for the final appearance of the place. Similarly, the debate about the railway track in the harbour at Akershus fortress revealed differing perceptions of what was of historical value.⁴ Here the city's director of historic monuments argued that this track should be kept as an important memorial to the age of industrialism. On the other side, the national director of historic monuments wanted to remove the track in order to emphasize the historical association of the fortress with the sea. There were thus two different assessments of historical value opposed to each other, in a conflict where one side had the role of managing the cultural heritage of the city and the other that of the nation.

One explanation for this great agreement about the importance of historical, aesthetic, cultural, and environmental values is that they are all highly complex, containing a wide spectrum of different meanings and interpretations. The debate was therefore not so much about the relevance of these values, but more of a discussion of what exactly it was that had historical, aesthetic, cultural, and environmental value.

The rules that structure the public debate thus guided which aspects of urban development were actually discussed. Whereas in the 1950s the individual parts of the city were discussed and evaluated in terms of their affinity with the city as a whole, in the 1990s an area of Oslo could be described as successful because it was intrinsically so. The crucial factor was no longer whether urban development strengthened the city as a functional unit, but whether it was possible

through urban development to create good *places*. In the public debate of the 1990s, the city planners' bird's-eye perspective was replaced by a perspective that viewed the city from below, from the aspect of the city user. This perspective represented a different spatial understanding in which the physical space could no longer be regarded as detached from the concrete city. The city space in the public debate was now mainly discussed on the basis of the city's places.

The fact that urban development in the public debate was discussed on the basis of a set of values can be explained by the fact that these values functioned as a kind of common meeting place for a number of different actors. The values show how the interest in urban development was focused on places in the city. The discussion was about what the distinctive qualities of the places were. The term "place" took on a new meaning in relation to how the planners of the 1950s thought about the city. It may therefore be interesting to put the periods in a broader historical context in order to understand how this new concern with place can be interpreted as a reaction to post-war urban development and the problems faced by the late-modern city.

Place in the Late-Modern City

In the latter half of the 20th century, modern Western society saw a series of far-reaching changes. The optimistic faith in progress that had characterized modernity had developed serious cracks as a result of events earlier in the century. Political systems had developed into repressive totalitarian regimes, and wars of hitherto unknown dimensions had been fought. Technological development had produced

weapons with the potential to threaten all of humankind, and industrialization had turned out to have huge negative ecological consequences. The oil crisis in the 1970s had also shown how vulnerable modern society had become because of its dependence on non-renewable resources. These experiences led people away from a state characterized by a faith in linear progress and absolute truths, rational planning of ideal social orders, and standardization of knowledge and production, to a new situation characterized by fragmentation, unpredictability, and intense scepticism about all universal or totalizing discourses (Harvey 1994:8).

These changes affecting modernity in the 20th century have aroused the interest of a number of theorists. An extensive debate arose between those who believed that the changes represented a rupture, which had brought us into a qualitatively new post-modern state, and those who believed that, despite the changes, we are still in modernity. A great deal of the debate was on a philosophical level, concerning the possibility of establishing systematic knowledge. That part of the discussion will not be pursued here. Regardless of whether one chooses to describe the changes as a transition to a post-modern, late-modern, or high-modern society, it is clear that what happened has had consequences for virtually all levels of society. How can these changes be understood when considering that urban development in late-modern society has to such an extent concerned emphasizing and re-establishing the city's places? In what follows I will take two examples in which late-modern processes are associated with this development. One concerns identity formation, the other globalization.

Anthony Giddens has pointed out a feature of human existence that seemingly occurs in all cultures, whether pre-modern or modern, which he calls "ontological security" (Giddens 1990:92). The expression refers to the trust that most people have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments in which they act. The individual's attempt to understand himself and his place in the world is dependent on the kind of entities both the self and the surroundings represent. The understanding of a self through an individual identity is closely associated with the understanding of a "we" through various collective identities. This understanding is threatened in late modernity. The social landscape has changed in a way that has consequences for the individual's identity perceptions. In the first half of the 20th century, individuals had their social position determined in large measure by categories such as occupation and class. Towards the end of the century the class concept had lost much of its relevance as a consequence of de-industrialization and a growing middle class. Collective identities associated with class-determined communities had been dissolved. It was difficult to divide the population into different classes characterized by distinctive social and cultural practices. In the late-modern social landscape the individual is instead part of a series of communities as regards communication, interpretation, and values, cutting across traditional class differences (Meyer 1999:26). These communities are much looser associations than the earlier stable classes. Identity formation in late modernity has become a reflexive project in which the individual to a greater extent has to *choose*

his collective belonging. In a society characterized by increasingly rapid change and the dissolution of established communities, the lack of stability is a central social experience for late-modern man. As a response to this, there are various attempts to establish more stable understandings of the relation between the individual and his surroundings, by creating new belongings and new foundations for identity formation. These attempts have also had an effect on urban development in Oslo towards the end of the 20th century.

In Oslo in the 1990s there were a number of local residents' associations and history societies. Many of them were formed in the 1980s and 1990s, testifying to a growing interest in history and the local environment. John Pløger has studied three areas of Oslo – Gamlebyen, Kampen, and Vålerenga – and shown how these associations are established as a new form of local environment (Pløger 1995). He calls it "the reflexive local environment". It is a matter of creating geographically determined community. Pløger points out that these communities are produced discursively by defining qualities of the place that can give the inhabitants a sense of belonging. Historical reconstructions and local activities play an important role in this attempt to assert the distinctive character of a place, to serve as a basis for belonging to it. People also attached importance to establishing good housing environments by emphasizing the aesthetic and environmental values of the surroundings. The creation of parks and the planting of trees were an important strategy for achieving a successful urban space. Aesthetic, historical, cultural, and environmental values are thus all ascribed more importance in the debate about urban

development, since they serve as a starting point for the establishment of different place-based identities and belongings.

Identity is also an important factor in relation to cultural heritage management. As a reaction to ever more rapid change in modernity, historical knowledge has acquired a central role in the endeavour to give a sense of continuity and permanence. This led to a vigorously growing interest in the cultural heritage in the latter half of the 20th century. Physical remains of bygone ages have been assigned value because they are capable of illustrating a link between the present and the past. People seek compensation for the lack of belonging that characterizes life in late-modern society by establishing forms of historical community. Awareness of history can then make it possible to put present-day people in relation to people long dead by entering into the shared history of the city, of the nation, and so on. The cultural heritage has thereby acquired the role of provider of various collective identities associated with historical communities. In urban development in Oslo in the 1990s this led to old parts of the city being ascribed a value they had not enjoyed earlier in the century.

A phenomenon that recurs in many analyses of late modernity is globalization. This concerns the way new communication technology has made it possible to reduce the significance of physical distance. Economic, cultural, and social processes can go faster and over greater distances than before. Globalization of the economy refers to the expansion of traditional markets, the spread of production to places where labour is cheap, and multinational ownership, whereby large units control companies in a number of countries all over

the globe. Processes like these have tremendous cultural, social, and political consequences. The effects of a globalized economy are also visible in urban development. Western metropolises are no longer industrial cities. It is thus important for politicians to make it easier for other economic activities to establish themselves in cities in order to ensure jobs and economic growth. In this way, Oslo in the 1990s became part of an international market of cities fighting to attract investors and competence. In this situation it was essential for both municipal and state authorities to try to give the city a positive image. Strategies for image making have included how to assert the qualities that a modern city is expected to have. In the proposed municipal plan drawn up by the city council in 1998 it was stated that the city would “strengthen its profile as an international environmental city and capital” (Oslo kommune 1998:44). The emphasis was on presenting the city both as a modern metropolis and as an old city with a unique history. In this way, both historical and aesthetic qualities were ascribed great value in the attempt to make Oslo attractive. Cultural institutions such as theatres, opera houses, and museums were also necessary factors in the presentation of Oslo as a modern city, and also the emphasis on the environmental merits of Oslo by virtue of the nearness to the fjord and the surrounding countryside. These efforts to strengthen the image of the city thus led to a greater focus by the public authorities on the place-like qualities of the city, associated with culture, history, aesthetics, and environment. Attempts were made to generate positively charged cultural notions of Oslo in order to make it attractive for investors and tourists.

These two examples show how late-

modern processes associated with identity formation and globalization make new demands of the city. It also suggests a new understanding of what a city is and should be. Whereas the city had in large measure been treated as an abstract entity in urban development in the 1950s, we see today that urban development is rarely discussed without a basis in the physical places of the city.

Late-Modern Urban Development

While modernity promoted a belief in absolute truths, rational planning, and standardization of knowledge and production, late modernity has been identified with fragmentation, diversity, unpredictability, and intense scepticism about all universal or totalizing discourses. These features, which are supposed to describe general societal conditions, are also crucial features of urban development in Oslo in the 1950s and 1990s.

Urban development in the 1950s was characterized by uniform perceptions of problems and solutions alike. The authority of experts was rarely questioned. As a result, the city was regarded as a theoretical problem, and the solutions to the city's problems were given the impression of being of a universal character. Standards were worked out for the design of the ideal city that was valid independently of the concrete problems that Oslo faced. Through rational planning, Oslo could be rebuilt, virtually from the ground up, as a modern and functional ideal city.

Urban development in the 1990s was much more complex. Both the problems it faced and the suggested solutions make up a much more fragmented picture. It was no longer just a few problems that had absolute

priority. A vast range of demands and wishes, which planners and politicians had to take into consideration, characterized urban development. This diversity reflected the fact that many different people were taking part in the debate about urban development with great intensity. It was no longer just the expert groups in urban development that had occasion and authority to have opinions about how best to solve the city's problems. New agents and new problems meant that the city could no longer be regarded exclusively as an abstract entity. The technocratic understanding of the city, which had been championed by the planners of the 1950s, thus lost its foothold in favour of a concept of the city based on places in the city.

The urban development of the 1990s is a response to the problems faced by the late modern city, which are a consequence of the processes characterizing late modernity. A particularly prominent feature is the diversity of problems associated with urban development. Both the demands resulting from globalization and the relations to the surrounding world on the one hand and identity processes and consideration for the city's own population on the other hand, mean that urban development has to take place in a state of tension between a number of different forces. It can no longer be taken for granted that a single group can plan the ideal city. The new groups of agents who took part in the debate on urban development in the 1990s, and who had no professional association with urban development, represented a reaction to the abstract concept of city advocated by the planners of the 1950s. Whereas monotony, standardization, and uniformity characterized urban development in the first decades after the Second

World War, we see today that urban development is in greater measure a matter of creating good places based on the physical city.

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Notes

- 1 The article is based on my M.A. thesis in ethnology at the University of Oslo, "Kampen om byen – en komparativ analyse av diskursen om byutviklingen i Oslo på 1950-tallet og 1990-tallet". The main sources are debates and opinions expressed in newspapers and magazines, along with various plans and proposals.
- 2 In the latter half of the 19th century Oslo underwent vigorous growth. The population rose from 31,750 in 1855 to 227,626 at the turn of the century. The city also extended its boundary twice in the course of the period. There was therefore a constant shortage of housing which led to extensive private housing construction. Housing and property were subject to economic speculation, resulting in a crash in 1899 which put a temporary stop to private construction and speculation.
- 3 Tullinløkka is an unoccupied site in the centre of Oslo, between the Historical Museum and the National Gallery. For over 30 years there has been constant debate about what should be done with the site. Until the 1980s there was a filling station there, and today it is used as a car park. In 1997 the debate culminated after an architectural competition about the area. A proposal for a modern building with large glass facades won the competition. An alternative proposal was then launched for a historically inspired building. The debate was thus in large measure about modern versus traditionalist architecture.
- 4 The harbour line was a railway track linking the East Line and the West Line. The line operated between 1907 and 1980, used solely for goods transport. The track ran over Rådhusplassen and on the sea front along Akershus fortress. When the track was defined as a historic monument by the city's director of historic monuments, it led to a conflict

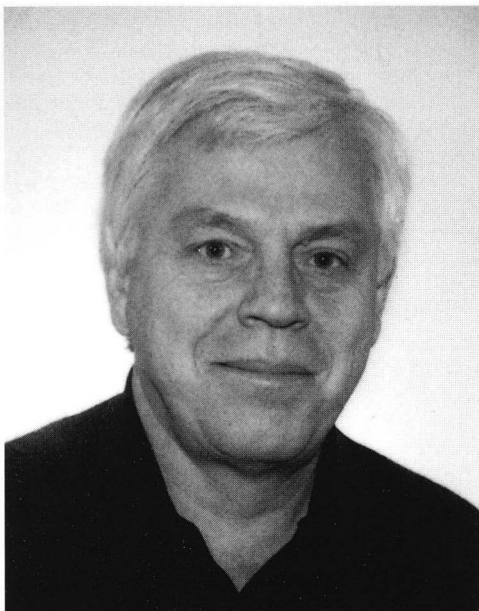
because it was in physical contact with another important historic monument, the fortress of Akershus, whose history goes back to the 14th century.

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Biographical Notes

Nils Gilje, Professor of Ethnology at the University of Bergen



In 2001 Nils Gilje became professor of ethnology at the University of Bergen. He was born in 1947 and became professor of philosophy and philosophy of science there in 1991. For this well-oriented philosopher it was not a great step across the disciplinary boundary. For many years he had studied forms of knowledge, intellectual traditions, and everyday life in both popular and learned culture. The change of chair was a sign of the interdisciplinary position of the subject and the orientation to culture theory in the humanities. The fascination of ethnology for a philosopher like him is the emphasis on how culture is created in concrete, situated practice. He combines a profound humanistic education with an admirable lightness in his use of theory.

Gilje is perhaps best known for his works on philosophy of science. In 1993, along with Harald Grimen, he published *Samfunnsvetenskapens forutsetninger*, which became a textbook in social science at several Nordic universities, and with Gunnar Skirbekk he has written a history of philosophy which is constantly reprinted and translated into seven languages. He recently completed, along with Tarald Rasmussen, *Tankeliv i den lutherske stat: Norsk idéhistorie 1537–1814* (2002), a history of ideas in Lutheran Norway. He

has also written about rationalism in Weber (1988), on “disenchantment” (2001), on hermeneutics and phenomenology (1987). Besides this, he has produced a pioneering work on Hauge and the spirit of capitalism, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og Kapitalismens ånd* (1993). He has recently taken an interest in belief in the devil and folk magic in the 16th century and how it can be understood on the basis of everyday social relations (2001). He is currently working to bridge the gap between the philosophical/phenomenological tradition and ethnological cultural analysis.

When he left the chair of philosophy of science, he had done a great deal for higher education, organizing postgraduate education in philosophy of science, coordinating research, and serving as dean of the faculty for four years. That is the background of the man now in charge of the Department of Cultural Studies and Art History in Bergen.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

**Birgitta Svensson, Professor of
Ethnology in Stockholm**



When Birgitta Svensson took up the Hallwyl Professorship in Stockholm in 2002, the Nordiska Museet acquired a scholar with an unusual breadth in her research and with great competence in historically oriented ethnology.

When she took her doctorate in Lund in 1993 with a dissertation about "the tinkers' encounter with justice", she had a long career as a museum officer behind her. Born in Lund in 1948, she first chose to work with questions concerning landscape and cultural heritage management. As with many of the radical generation born in the 1940s, however, it was really social problems that she had at heart – the conditions of exclusion and defects in equality – so she returned to ethnology. Society as a potential and a limitation is thus a recurrent theme in her studies in a variety of empirical fields. The study of the Swedish travellers was a committed and simultaneously sophisticated study of the potential of life on the margin.

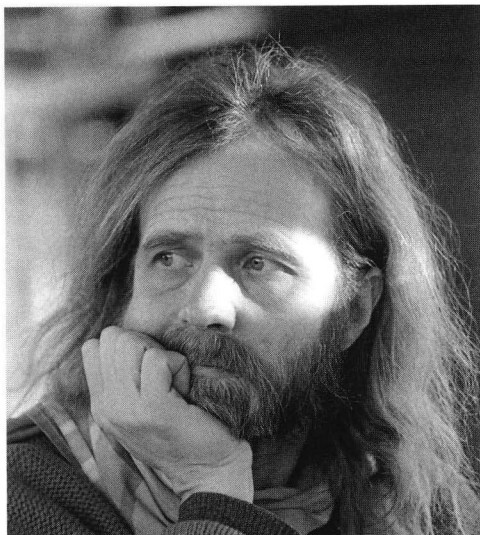
Her next field, logically enough, was about prison as a training ground both for crime and for citizenship. And how has the welfare state's education system paved the way for formerly disadvantaged groups – women – to pursue a career and success? The study of identity formation in the Swedish school was to focus on both gender and class. As a good Foucauldian, she

often sees in her work how unreason and alterity contain both alternatives and challenges, while the centre makes power both invisible and unreachable. Alongside such combustible topics she also shows a strong involvement in matters concerning the cultural heritage and the cultural landscape. The use of space and the use of history are part of a rather taken-for-granted and unquestioned social sorting process.

Birgitta Svensson's list of publications is extensive. As editor of *Rig*, she has taken pains to make room for new researchers with an orientation towards the field of cultural history. She has also done extensive work in teaching and in supervising doctoral candidates. Since the 1980s, fortunately, her teaching and research have been done in Lund. It is not without some envy that we see her move away from us here on the margin.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

**Alf Arvidsson, Professor of Ethnology
at Umeå University**

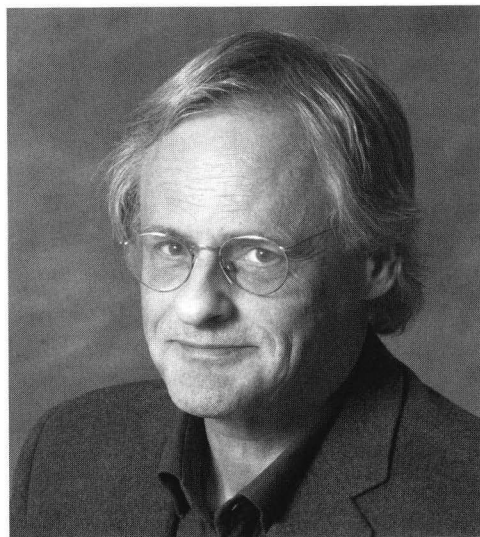


In January 2002 Alf Arvidsson (born 1954) was promoted to professor of ethnology at Umeå University. He took his doctorate in 1991 with a thesis on the folk music of sawmill workers in Norrland (*Sågarnas sång: Folkligt musicerande i sågverkssamhället Holmsund 1850–1980*) and in 1997 he was awarded the title *docent* at Umeå University. His research has chiefly concerned music in various forms, but also life-history narratives. Since 1983 he has taught ethnology, especially folkloristics and ethnomusicology, and in 1995 he was appointed lecturer. He has served as director of studies for ten years.

One of Arvidsson's lasting achievements is to have developed ethnomusicology into a separate subject at Umeå University. He has also written three widely used textbooks, partly based on his own research: one on life-history narratives (*Livet som berättelse*, 1998), one on the forms of folklore (*Folklorens former*, 1999), and an introduction to ethnology (*Etnologi: en översikt och introduktion*, 2001). In his research and teaching activities, Arvidsson is one of the bridge-builders in the efforts to integrate ethnology and folkloristics. Today he is head of the Department of Culture and Media at Umeå University, which includes ethnology and museology together with media and communication studies.

Billy Ehn, Umeå

**Sören Jansson, Professor at
Södertörn College**



Sören Jansson, born in 1950, took his first degree in Uppsala. He did his postgraduate research at the Department of Ethnology in Stockholm, where he joined the project studying popular movements, supervised by Mats Hellspong. His dissertation *Förening och gemenskap* (1981) is a case study of club activities in Enköping, 1880–1970, asking what really makes people join organizations.

A commission from the Post Office resulted in the book *Nya grannar* (1984), a study of two communities and the influence of commuting on everyday habits and social relations. He was then part of my research programme “Man–Environment Research” at the Royal Institute of Technology. A later project was presented in the book *Den moderna bonden* (1987), a study of modern farmers who survived the structural transformation and technologization of agriculture. His research now focuses on modern people's relations to food. In multidisciplinary collaboration with scientists in Sweden and other EU countries he has considered issues such as health awareness, the significance of lifestyle for diet, and gender versus food habits.

Sören Jansson is an empiricist who combines quantitative and qualitative methods. He aims to produce results, identifying in every study the questions that demand answers.

In 1996 he became lecturer at the new Södertörn College, subsequently also becoming dean.

Åke Daun, Stockholm

Inger Lövkrona, Professor of Ethnology at Lund University

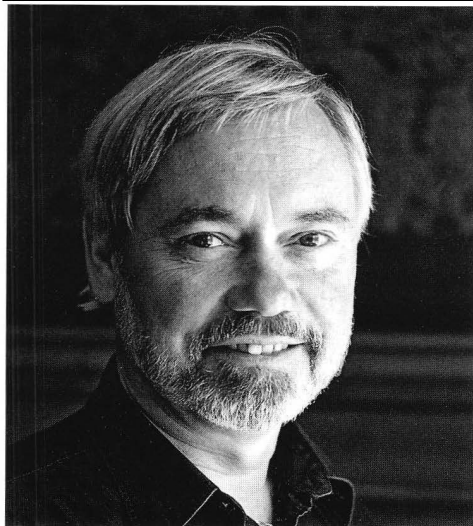


In 2001 Inger Lövkrona was promoted to Professor of Ethnology at Lund University. She has long been a well-known personality in Nordic folkloristics.

Her 1982 dissertation was a study of legend with the focus on classic concepts such as origin and distribution; she herself calls it “normal science”. Competition was tough among the baby-boom generation – Lövkrona was born in 1943 – for the few academic posts, so she concentrated on an administrative career, beginning as graduate representative. Via posts in Umeå and Växjö she returned to Lund, first as lecturer in 1992, and in 1998 she was given one of the faculty’s research lectureships, in a field that she developed into her *tour de force*, namely, “Gender and Sexuality”. In a series of works from the 1990s she examined the patriarchal structures and hierarchical gender order of peasant society, both alone and in collaboration with a network of Nordic colleagues. Her book *Annika Larsdotter, barnamöderska* (1999), about an 18th-century infanticide trial, attracted great attention inside and outside the discipline. With other scholars in the field of gender she has edited anthologies and directed major research projects on gender, sexuality, and power. Her professorship is a confirmation of her purposeful efforts in this field, which has – thanks to her – become a central sphere of ethnological research. Since January 2001 she has been Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Lund.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

Anders Salomonsson, Professor of Ethnology at Lund University



Anders Salomonsson, born in 1946, began his studies at Lund University in 1971. He is one of the few university-employed ethnologists with solid experience of material culture and museum work. He was antiquarian at Gotland Historical Museum 1972–79 and head of Ystad Museum 1979–81. In 1979 he took his doctorate in Lund with a dissertation about traditional culture as a regional identity symbol: Gotlandic home-brewed beer. In 1991 he became head of the Folklife Archives, where he had worked since 1983. He is on the Council for Museological Research and the Scientific Council of the Institute for Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research.

Swedish folk culture has been a major theme in his later research. He edited *Mera än mat* (1987), a volume with new angles on ethnological food research. In 1985–94 he was president of the International Commission for Ethnological Food Research, organizing conferences in Norway, USA, Ireland, and Germany. Since its foundation in 1992 he has been secretary of an academy that seeks to preserve the food culture of southern Sweden.

In the 1990s he led a research project on “Farming Life in Sweden”. Another of his research fields is regionality. In 1998 he took the initiative for a large collaborative project about expectations and fears aroused by the planned Öresund Bridge.

Salomonsson was appointed professor of ethnology at Lund University on 28 February 2002.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

New Dissertations

Cognizance of One's Native Land

Maria Adolfsson, Fäderneslandets Kännedom. Om svenska ordsbeskrivningsprojekt och ämbetsmäns folklivsskildringar under 1700- och 1800-talet. Etnologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, Stockholm 2000. 292 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7265-071-0.

■ Parish descriptions and other kinds of topographical literature from the latter half of the 18th century onwards often contain more or less detailed descriptions of the life of the common rural people. There is therefore good reason for counting them as a relevant and important part of the history of ethnology. Yet few ethnologists have dealt with this topic in any major publications, let alone dissertations. Most of them have touched on the parish descriptions in surveys of the history of the discipline or conducted detailed studies of one or two selected examples of this genre. With Maria Adolfsson's dissertation we now have a thorough examination of a large selection of local descriptions from Sweden from the period 1720–1900.

Adolfsson's aim is to present the Swedish topographical literature in the 18th and 19th centuries. The local descriptions were an important part of political literature in a number of European countries and in the efforts of the states to achieve population growth, a bigger taxation base, and prosperity. In Sweden a number of initiatives were taken for a proper survey of the Swedish territory with special regard to the country's resources and the way they were used in the population's economic activities. The descriptions were simultaneously part of the general optimism about the future during the Enlightenment, when it was believed that a rational society could be achieved for the benefit of its inhabitants. Swedish officials, especially the local clergy, therefore contributed in large numbers – but with varying enthusiasm – to this major description project.

Adolfsson's work is primarily an account of the local descriptions as such but also a study of the motives and the ideology behind the descriptions, when placed in their context in the history

of ideas. Her focus is on the authors, their culture and collective figures of thought, and the image of folklife they created in their writings. In the very first chapter, after a brief presentation of the aim of the dissertation, Adolfsson gives an introduction to the ideas of the Enlightenment, especially in Sweden and among the Swedish clergy, before describing the character of the local descriptions, whereas contemporary travel accounts and other ethnographic literature which could also be relevant for our understanding, are only sporadically treated.

Adolfsson's analyses are based on a quantitative and statistical computer processing of 800 local descriptions and a closer qualitative analysis of 58 descriptions, published either when they were written or in the 20th century. The 58 have been chosen according to the criterion that the author's own reflections and subjective judgments are prominent in the text; they are thus not necessarily representative of the local descriptions as a whole. The actual category of "local description" studied by Adolfsson is also subjectively defined, in that the descriptions are categorized according to their content. Adolfsson has thus considered only the economic-topographical descriptions of a local and rural object, while historical-ethnographic descriptions from a more or less national romantic perspective are not included in the study. It is questionable whether a clear dividing line can be drawn without problems between these two types. The studied material was written in the period 1720–1900, but the focus is on the period 1750–1850, especially the years around 1800, when most of the descriptions were published.

After a brief survey of research into local descriptions and definitions of central concepts, Adolfsson devotes the second chapter to a closer examination of the background to the descriptions. We hear about the economic ideas of the 18th century and how they were formed in several description projects, among other things, in the form of a survey of the various initiatives and questionnaires from private persons and institutions. It is characteristic that the improvement of agriculture was crucial, as were initiatives to reform the population into useful, hard-working, God-fearing, patriotic citizens. Adolfsson then

characterizes the descriptions with regard to their authors, readers, and genre, looking closely at how the authors wrote about selected topics and especially problems. We thus learn how the selected writers viewed the peasants' management of arable and meadow, animal husbandry, use of forest resources, gardening and fruit growing, fencing, swidden, etc. – in short, the usual topics in the agricultural literature of the Enlightenment. Adolfsson then looks at the Enlightenment ideas in the writings as regards the peasants' fidelity to tradition, their rationality, enlightenment, and patriotism. She concludes that the authors shared the same ideals of educated, rational, freeholding peasants with their own enclosed lands, and they had great faith in agrarian reforms and enlightenment as means to achieve this goal.

After this thematic analysis, chapter 3 gives a good survey of the material on the basis of institutions, authors, time, and place. Here Adolfsson classifies the descriptions from the main description projects in four groups, each one illustrated with an analysis of one parish description. The first group was a result of the instructions issued by the Academy of Science in 1741; it is illustrated by the description of Kräcklinge parish from 1754. The second group is university and dissertation literature, illustrated by the description of Dunker and Lilla Malma from 1769. The next group proceeded from the Academy of Agriculture and the questionnaires of the regional agricultural societies; it is illustrated by the description of the parishes of Malexander and Åhus from 1816. The fourth group is the ordnance survey descriptions, illustrated by one from Kristianopol from 1854–55. Adolfsson also lists a number of other collections and places of publication.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to a quantitative analysis of the more than 800 local descriptions collected in a database at the Royal Academy of Agriculture and Forestry, as regards the time of publication and the distribution by province (agricultural areas are most strongly represented). For a reader not thoroughly familiar with the provinces of Sweden, a map showing frequencies would have been useful. Finally, the occupations of the authors are enumerated.

In chapter 4 Adolfsson unfolds her analysis of how the images of the folk and their way of life

are constructed in the local descriptions. First, however, she discusses her preferred analytical concept: "figures of thought", with reference to the history of mentalities, Å. Daun, O. Löfgren, J. Asplund, and in particular A. Jarrick. Adolfsson sets the scene for a structural analysis of figures of thought as the "deep dimensions" of discourses and as more or less permanent, collective, and unreflected, but her presentation of the local descriptions is a thematization of explicit ideology by topic rather than a true analysis of profound and unconscious explanatory models and dualisms. She gives an account of the different terms used for the common people (*allmoge*, *folk*, *bönder*) but this is not problematized, studied in terms of chronology, or put in relation to other central figures of thought. She mainly remains on a descriptive level with her many interesting quotations from the descriptions. This also applies to her analysis of the authors' ideas about the people's homogeneity, the individual and the collective, gender differences, costume, multiple occupations, generation relations, property, vertical control, boundaries and movements in the physical landscape, outsiders, materialism, urban and rural.

Chapter 5 looks closely at one clergyman, Jöran Johan Öller, and his description of the parish of Jämshög from 1800. After a brief account of his parish description we learn about Öller's life, his library, and his use of literature. This account is impressive in its thoroughness, as is the study of his parish description. In the sixth and last chapter, which fills only eight pages, Adolfsson sums up the conclusions of the study, but unfortunately she only briefly sets it in relation to subsequent studies of folklife.

Adolfsson treats an impressive body of material with great thoroughness, and her dissertation is an important contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the economic-topographical literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. For anyone who has not worked with such writings it is a good survey, giving insight into the mentality of the period and providing much useful information and many concrete examples. Anyone who has worked with similar analyses will, however, detect a tendency for Adolfsson's studies to corroborate the results of previous research – which

is of course good and important – rather than to achieve any real new insights. This is confirmed by the frequent references to the conclusions of other scholars, whereas Adolfsson's own conclusions are relatively brief.

The probable reason for this is that her aim is simply a presentation and description rather than a study on the basis of problems going beyond the local descriptions themselves. A positive feature is that she includes Nordic ethnological research on local descriptions, which means that her large and solid investigation confirms studies from other Nordic countries and also indicates the cultural community between the countries even in the 18th century.

However, I would have liked to see more discussion of changes and differences, given that Adolfsson operates with an almost 200-year perspective. Having dealt with the period around 1800, and especially the transformation of the view of the people and the nation that took place then, I find it almost suspicious that she does not examine whether the differences in outlooks and ideas revealed in the authors of the analysed material are due to the different periods in which they lived. An answer to this question would be extremely interesting, even though Adolfsson chose not to study the historical-ethnographic descriptions which reflect the national romantic interest most explicitly. It is difficult to accept that the ideas of the Enlightenment remained totally unchanged until the mid-19th century.

The sometimes vague problematization of the material in the analyses is, as I see it, also connected with the fact that the problems Adolfsson considers are not put in relation to many of the questions with which cultural research is generally concerned. The local descriptions are not discussed, e.g., in relation to the question of how knowledge is produced (as in Latour and Foucault) or as sources enabling us to get under the skin of people in those days – in this case a number of clergyman and officials – in the tradition of the new cultural history (as in Ginzburg, Chartier, and Darnton), and she does not discuss the priests' descriptions of the peasants as a question of "othering", as the systematic creation of an exotic and incomprehensible "Other" (as in Said).

To sum up, it could be said that Adolfsson's

dissertation shares the strengths and weaknesses of the local descriptions she is studying. It is extremely thorough in its descriptions of a large body of material, much of which is studied here for the first time; for this it deserves respect. On the other hand, it is short-sighted in the same way that the local descriptions are, in that it fails to consider problems going beyond the concrete material.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Ethnopolitics

Marjut Anttonen, Ethnopolitics in Northern Norway. The Politicization of Identities of Finnish Origin in the 1990s. (SKS Toimituksia 764. Vammala 1999. 521 pp. English summary. Diss.

■ This work, the theme of which the author has been exploring for about ten years in her field and research work, is a very extensive description of the ethnic awareness of the peoples living in Northern Norway. Its main object of study is the population groups of Finnish origin.

The main issue of the study concerns the problems connected with the ethics of ethnic mobilisation: this is treated both as an epistemological and a pragmatic question. What prompts certain language and population groups to start to demand a specific social position and rights? Why do such ethnopolitical movements emerge at certain points in time? What kinds of images are generated to support these movements? How may the researcher document, analyse and interpret these processes, and what are her operative concepts for describing and understanding them? What, in this case, is the role of the science of ethnology in producing an academic statement – and how might it contribute to the wider social debate of the issue? The study is divided into four parts, each of which could have formed the basis for a separate doctoral thesis.

In the first part, the author widely contemplates the *role of the researcher in the field*, on one hand as an external observer, on the other as an "involuntary" participant in the debate. This kind of *reflexive* approach was adapted in the 1980s, when the focus in ethnology had since the 1970s moved from a positivistic paradigm of explana-

tion to a hermeneutic paradigm of interpretation and from a quantitative research profile to an increasingly qualitative direction. However, too little has so far been written on the reflexive approach and the problems associated with it in Finnish research. This may be because of a wariness of producing the kinds of confessional epistles that have been fashionable in Swedish research documents in the field. In this thesis, however, reflections on the role of, and the opportunities available to, the researcher are very skilfully introduced in such a way that the reader is at the same time acquainted with the central concepts of the study, which is to say, *culture, ethnicity and identity*, as well as other issues such as questions on “multiculturalism, ethnic monopoly and ethnopolitics” which are also related to the theme.

The introductory section also includes a presentation of the history of the populations of Northern Norway and documentation of the organisation and cultural activities of the Saami, Finns and Kvens. The second part of the study is the most important one from a scientific perspective. It analyses the use and meaning of the three key concepts – *culture, ethnicity, and identity* – in ethnology. The author here mainly uses the groundbreaking work of cultural and social anthropologists that began in the 1960s. As the author evaluates the use of the concepts as operative tools in science, she also examines their significance for the rhetoric of ethnic groups, as creators of images and eventually truths. The exploration of this discursive process at *two* different levels makes the book a compelling read, although at times it is not evident to the reader at which level the author is moving at a given point. The declared aim of achieving *polyphony*, which the author states at the beginning of her work, is thus successfully realised and hopefully the reader is aware of this.

The third section is an extensive *empirical* argument written on the basis of the fieldwork. It introduces the reader to the following questions: Who were the Kvens? What is the position of the Finnish language in Northern Norway? Is the Kven culture dead? What is the origin and position of the Kvens? The discussion is innovative in that it uses as a metaphor the image of the death of culture. Here, too, the author's analytical work

runs parallel with the actions of the ethnopolitical activists, but she has, apart from a few emotional expressions, succeeded in remaining a surprisingly detached observer. The fourth part of the book creatively combines the key concepts and the empirical material in order to offer a basis for the understanding and general critical examinations of ethnopolitics and ethnic cultural movements, as well as for the discovery of new, advanced perspectives on the issues operating in the field which will then be subject to further scientific work. This puts the author's control of the extensive research and theoretical knowledge to the test.

For ultimately, this study is about two sides of one and the same issue. By describing, discussing and analysing the various people she has encountered in Northern Norway, the author has also assessed the role of the ethnologist, both as researcher and partaker in human affairs. In few ethnological theses is the Janus-face of ethnology profiled as strongly and, at times, as sharply, as in *Ethnopolitics in Northern Norway*.

Anttonen has chosen the theme of her research from a field of ethnology that is very difficult to study. Ethnic movements appear at several different levels and in several different forms, as in language, institutions and organisations, power and minority politics, as well as at a symbolic level. In addition, the phenomenon exists at the personal level of individuals and at the collective level of communities, and in the communication between these. The study is located in the intersection between the different areas of geography, history, sociology, political history, linguistics, ethnology and anthropology. The author has been able to use the perspectives offered by these various scientific fields, while maintaining the ethnological-anthropological profile of her study throughout the book.

In the section contemplating reflexivity (placing the fieldwork experience in a larger framework and context of meaning), the meaning of language – that is, the traditional and basic requirement of anthropology that the researcher should master the language of the culture he or she is studying – could perhaps have been given more emphasis. That this tradition has been observed has however been made self-evident by

the author, since she has written the Norwegian summary of her work (pp. 487–503). The issue of the significance of the author's own field experiences is well illuminated by numerous examples (e.g. diary extracts). The problem arising when anthropologists increasingly also study "their own community" is very well perceived. The discussion of what style may be used when writing ethnological research is also praiseworthy. A further merit of the text is the fact that the reader is allowed to share in the details of the long research process with all its phases and problems, which has culminated in the book. At the same time, the concepts that shape both the approach and the structure of the work are beginning to emerge. New questions arise continuously as the work progresses and the author skilfully gathers these in the descriptions of the process (pp. 55–70 "The ring dance of theories, methods and material"). This way of writing is typical for ethnology.

The other two chapters of the first section can be regarded mainly as an introduction to the history in terms of population and politics and ethnic movements of the area itself, which is Northern Norway or Finnmark.

The central and most important discussion of the thesis concerns the *concepts of culture, ethnicity and identity* (part II, chapters 4–6, pp. 196–257). The author has thoroughly studied the various meanings of these concepts at an epistemological level and refers quite frequently to various authorities. The reader might have wished for a slightly more critical approach and a bolder individual selection in the "jungle" of choice offered by the concepts. It is also worth saying that the history of the concepts is much older than the placing of them in 1980s and 1990s here suggest. On the other hand, the diverse nature of these concepts is also reflected in the actual ethnopolitical discussion, so a style of reference is appropriate here. The problematic term "multiculturalism", which the author uses frequently, would have been worth a separate discussion. However, the author does have a supreme mastery of her theoretical frame of reference.

The third part of the study, the empirical section (pp. 260–374), deals with the "The Finnish and Kven debate in Northern Norway in the 1990s". This is the actual object of the study and

the question arises: why is this treated only when the work has progressed half way through? However, an understanding of the material presented in this chapter, as well as of the actual phenomenon itself, is dependent upon the earlier discussion which demonstrates that ethnopolitics is a continuous *cultural process*. The descriptions of the progress of the process and of its scientific analysis are intertwined in the text, which as such is a demanding methodology, seldom ventured into in Nordic ethnology. The empirical part largely moves at a micro level, which is necessary from the viewpoint of the aim at achieving a polyphony in the work. The forms of meta-language, which is to say the rhetoric and metaphors associated with the phenomenon, are revealed. The metaphors of "the death of culture" and "extended family" could have been the subject of a wider analysis; hopefully the author will study this subject in more depth at a later point. The chapter flexibly forms a bridge between the concept analysis and the final analysis.

"Analysis of the Finnish and Kven debate in Northern Norway", is a dense analysis aiming to identify which are the factors that actually function as stimuli and triggers for ethnopolitics. The exploration of the phenomena at three different levels clarifies the summary contemplation of the extensive material. What emerges is, on one hand, the pattern of the economic and political power of the nation state, and on the other, the expression of individual feelings of identity and minority. These two seem incompatible, since, as the author observes, a person's identity cannot be defined imperatively by the state or activist organisations. The concept of identity contains an in-built continuous debate and negotiation of ethnicity and minority status. Therefore demands for protection, status as indigenous population, retroactive granting of compensation for oppression etc., will be put forward, since an ethnic incentive functions as a part of identity.

Over the last pages of the book, the author summarises the debate of the whole study in relation to the issue of the ideologies of *universalism* and *particularism* as one of the key questions in the globalisation and modernisation processes. The author refers to the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor and his ideas on the realisation of

politics of recognition and politics of difference, and the emerging processes of new regionalism, ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism. What are the chances for upholding peace in these conditions in a multi-ethnic society?

The profile of ethnological research in Finland has been raised considerably thanks to the work of Anttonen. Her thesis brings a very much desired, new perspective to the phenomenon of ethnopolitics, where the key concept of our field of science – culture – has held a central role for more than a hundred years already. Anttonen's work also demonstrates how the concepts used by ethnology: people, language, history and culture, take on a life of their own and how these words are used in the rhetoric of ethnic mobilisation, while the researcher is unable to control their "running wild". This approach shows, for the first time in Nordic ethnology, the dimensions of danger in our scientific field, and this aspect could have been given even more emphasis. The influence of research in humanities also includes potential for conflicts as the research – innocently – creates myths, offers ideals for collectivism, talks about the protection and survival of culture, uses metaphors such as fate, death or kinship or family and symbols of material culture (national costumes, flags, museums) as well as other images referring to genuineness and authenticity. The author concentrates on these images in the last part of her book. The text of a researcher lives its own life and he or she cannot run after it explaining reservations about ways of reading it. This is the case also with this thesis, and perhaps the cautious sub-heading should be read with this in mind.

When the author in the last paragraph of her study takes her discussion up to a level where the meaning of "universalism and particularism", or strategies of globalisation and localisation such as nationalism are contemplated, the study of ethnopolitics in Northern Norway obtains a wider significance as an ethnological statement on the analysis of the phenomena of conflicts, power and marginality. The heading "Between universalism and particularism" raises the question as to whether it is, in fact, at all possible to remain anywhere "between", as both the substance and the stimulus of identity are explicitly constituted in a socio-biological instinct for, on the one hand,

separation, and on the other, uniting. The author does not provide an answer to this question, but in her analysis discussing culture, ethnicity and identity, the paradox of the constellation can be perceived at many different levels, including that of scientific work. An activist cannot stand in the borderland between two separate phenomena; however, the researcher's ethical responsibility and the ideal of aiming for truth (objectivity) place her in this very margin, in a no man's land. *Bo Lönnqvist, Jyväskylä*

A Peasant Painter and His World

Elisabeth Berglin, En bonadsmålare och hans värld. Johannes Nilsson i Breared. Apostrof, Lund 2000. 286 pp. Ill. Catalogue. English summary and captions. Diss. ISBN 91-628-3830-X.

■ Elisabeth Berglin has defended a major dissertation on pictorial folk art at Lund University. Her topic was Johannes Nilsson (1757–1827) from Gyltige in the parish of Breared in Halland, who has been considered one of the most talented and special painters of wall hangings in south Sweden. Berglin has applied new perspectives and new methods in her study, adopting interdisciplinary ideas in her interpretation of the material.

Painted wall hangings are long, narrow, horizontally composed pictorial renditions with motifs in delimited fields. Berglin's main objective has been to establish the relationship between the painter, his work and the factors in the contemporary peasant community that may have influenced his designs and the development of his hangings. Her intention is to study folk art in the light of the original context, in the environment of the peasant artist where his wall hangings originated. The overarching aim is to establish the relationship between the sphere of the wall hangings and the mental and physical world they originated in. One of the main goals is to study the painter and person Johannes Nilsson, his personal life, the skill of his craft and his religiosity.

Painted wall hangings cannot be understood without considering them in the context of function and use. Every Christmas Eve series of hangings with biblical motifs would be placed by the high seat of the traditional "ridge-beam house", which

was open to the rafters with large areas of ceiling at oblique angles, and which was still in use in the 18th century in Småland. "The Christmas wall hanging" is what Berglin calls the painting that was hung on the gable wall, and which depicted the journey of the three Magi and their adoration of the new-born Christ, and the story of the five wise and the five foolish virgins. On the long wall by the high seat "the wedding wall hanging" would be placed, usually with the wedding in Cana as its motif. The corner by the high seat was from days of old the "holy corner" in the Nordic countries, the centre of the farm's family worship. The custom of decorating the hall or living-room area, and particularly the high seat, with painted wall hangings belongs to an ancient decorative tradition: covering walls and ceilings with various textiles, some for decoration but also some depicting scenes. This custom originated in pre-Christian times, and during the Middle Ages it was used in both religious and secular contexts. The painted wall hangings of south Sweden, initially painted on textiles and in the 19th century on paper, are considered to be a late offshoot of this tradition. In Sweden this was particularly associated with the old building customs in Halland and the southern districts of Småland. Berglin focuses particularly on the innovative aspects represented by this late painted wall hanging tradition, where an old tradition is given new content adapted to a changing society.

The book has eight chapters. Questions Addressed to a Painting gives an outline of the issues she has examined in her work. What was the painter's intention with his pictures? How can they be interpreted? She reviews the geographical occurrence, the research history and the function of the wall hangings in the traditional community. She discusses various perspectives on changes in the wall hangings based on the work of earlier researchers. The difference between the eastern, more conservative wall hanging tradition in south Sweden and the western one to which Johannes Nilsson belonged became clearer towards the end of the 18th century. From around 1750 to 1850 approximately 100 wall hanging painters were active in southern Sweden. A growing number of wall hangings were produced, and eventually they were placed not only in the high seat but also

along the long wall and on the slanting ceiling. Berglin believes that structural causes and general culture patterns are inadequate explanations for the differences between the eastern and the western wall hangings and the modifications that made Johannes's paintings so special. She maintains that social processes and the mutual influences among the painter, his customers and world-views of the time are more important explanations. Encounters with new influences, random events and processes have more impact on the changes in the development of Johannes Nilsson. The function of wall hangings was formerly considered to be primarily ornamentation and status display. In Berglin's opinion, however, the figurative and narrative features of the wall hangings must be explained in other ways. The narratives constitute the essential factor, she finds, and this is one of the most important analytical approaches of her thesis, with respect both to Nilsson's paintings and to those of his predecessors. How is the narrative created? How is the narrative different from the biblical account? What changes can be observed in the narrative over time, and what do they mean?

Berglin believes that the selection of motifs for painters of wall hangings was not only directed by the access to ideals or models. Rather the choice of models appears to be decided by the framework of agrarian society, where biblical stories were familiar as well as the secular world and its views. Models were adapted and modified to fit into the tradition of the wall hanging. Where did Johannes get his ideas for the design of his motifs? What impulses led to the development of his special style? Do his pious wall hangings reflect his own religiosity, or also movements in the community surrounding him? In spite of his personal form, his wall hangings corresponded to the traditional pattern, which was constrained by the ritual context in which they belonged. Berglin examines the problems regarding the interpretation of the underlying meaning that the motifs were given, the message they carried, whether this changed in the course of time, and how this was evidenced. She primarily wishes to study the narrative and the creation of meaning in the wall hangings. The decorative aspects are only dealt with on the basis of meaning; the aspect of ornamentation in itself lies outside the scope of the thesis.

Traces of a Wall Hanging Painter, presents the material the researcher has based her work on. Primarily this includes the preserved wall hangings of Johannes Nilsson, more than 200 in all. An invaluable aid for the study of his wall hangings and for comparative analyses is the more than 3,000 wall hangings that have been registered and documented in the archive of wall hangings at the Folklife Archives in Lund. These have been entered into a large database which allows excellent search opportunities. A study of Johannes and his predecessors and successors has been necessary to see his wall hangings in a larger context and relate him to tradition. Furthermore, all the material on file that may indicate something about the painter has been studied and examined, as has all the archival material and other information that might draw a picture of life in the Breared parish, and the painter's home village, Gyltige.

Berglin's theoretical approach is hermeneutics, and in her interpretation of the material she seeks to find the contemporary sphere of beliefs and ideas. Her theoretical framework is interdisciplinary and comprises researchers from a number of disciplines. She uses genre theory from literary science and narrative models for storytelling. Paul Ricoeur has inspired her through text and language theory and with his ideas about the materials left by the past. He considers these as "tracks" representing the past. The track appears instead of the past but the past itself – the historical discourse – is absent. The wall hangings and the information from Breared at the time Johannes lived there – the tracks – are regarded as a representation of this past, and it is the task of the researcher to fill it with meaning and construct the past as a narrative. As an aid in this construction she applies the "paradigm of the clue" concept attributed to Carlo Ginzburg. Through detailed analysis of both the painted wall hangings and the archival sources, Berglin believes it to be possible to capture some of the past, trace changes and pin down some of the painter's thoughts and ideas and the impact of the context on his wall hangings. Berglin applies a biographical approach which is not very common in studies with a historical perspective. She compares the fairly divergent archive data with Johannes's own wall hangings, as these are tracks representing the painter himself,

thus establishing the basis for interpretation. Berglin wishes to draw a picture of both the individual and the painter Johannes Nilsson. She is working with a revised folk art concept that does not focus on the artefacts of folk art but rather relates these to the individuals who made and applied their in their original environment. Her idea is that the creative individual of the wall hanging includes the painter, the spectator and the user of the wall hanging in social interaction. She nevertheless sees the painter as an autonomous creative individual producing his wall hangings in interaction with his environment, and in this context the wall hangings are used as an integral element of a meaningful cultural and ritual context.

The two next chapters are the empirical focal point of the thesis. Chapter 3 presents the life story of Johannes Nilsson chronologically. It is composed of a variety of small details from all available sources that Berglin has interpreted and placed in a context and which she uses to construct a new and plausible narrative about the painter's difficult and creative existence. There have been many stages of research history before it was proved that the "Gyltige painters" actually were Johannes Nilsson and his father Nils Svensson. The father and his son must have collaborated closely, and a number of the wall hangings have signs that indicate they must have worked on them together. The son must have had a particular need for support and a companion on his many trips to satisfy his orders from outside his local community. On the basis of many observations in the sources Berglin makes it highly probable that Johannes was an epileptic all his life. In spite of his illness, he was able to create his own special form to exploit his own talents and to create a large number of paintings, in particular considering how much must have been lost. Berglin asserts that together with his great talent the epilepsy had much to do with his outstanding skills as a painter of wall hangings. He may have been the only painter of wall hangings who made a living exclusively from his painting. Most were also farmers. Johannes is an illustrative example of a farmer's son who was unable to marry and take over the farm because of a handicap, but instead became a major artisan. The wall hangings have long, narrow fields with inscriptions in exquisitely shaped script

copied from bibles, hymn books and religious books. The fact that records state that he was unable to read and did not know his Catechism is thus hard to fathom. The detailed examinations that vicars would subject their parishioners to have yielded records special to Sweden, as far as I can see, and the content probably depends on the assessments of the various clergymen involved. Irrespective of this, the wall hangings show Johannes's great store of biblical knowledge, as the Bible had a prominent place in his parents' house during his formative years. Berglin concludes that he must have acquired the necessary reading and writing skills by performing his vocation. Calling him illiterate would appear somewhat drastic, as there are many levels of knowledge.

Berglin outlines the development of and changes in Johannes Nilsson's wall hangings from the first dated ones from the 1780s to his last dated one from 1826. In the 1790s there is a clear increase of new motifs and a consolidation of his form and style. He also introduces new ideas in his ornamentation, coats and costumes which he elaborates on and varies according to the motif he is painting. The similarities between the wall hangings of father and son are clear, but the son was a more confident painter of figures, drawing his pictures with greater accuracy, tighter compositions, more inventive and varied ornamentation details and more beautiful scripts. However, their selection of motifs is quite similar. It is obvious that *Figurbibeln* (The Illustrated Bible) from 1739 was the most important source for their new choice of motifs. This Bible was partly illustrated using the wood-block prints from Gustav II Adolf's Church Bible from 1618. A number of New Testament motifs, particularly used by Johannes, were taken from other sources.

He Thought so Deeply, connects his life history with his wall hangings. Berglin has arranged them in a chronology of five-year periods based on the dated wall hangings and undated ones which, judging by their form and style, belong together, and also based on the gradual changes that may be discerned in the wall hangings. She reviews his wall hangings and possible interpretations based on his personal life, contacts with other painters and encounters with new ideas and

forms. She also proves that in all probability father and son must have travelled south some time after 1791, visiting fairs where "chest-prints", religious books and perhaps also illustrated bibles may have been purchased. From the beginning of the 1790s, Johannes started to paint using a new exquisite brush technique with thin, fine lines both in contours and decorative details, as well as in texts. This suggests new technical skills and new tools. His wall hangings from this period show that he acquired new features that eventually were formed in a completely personal way until he arrived at the stylistic form he retained. Berglin finds that his illness with the visions he might have during his attacks of epilepsy may have influenced his style and the details filling his spaces. A total of 102 motifs have been registered in the works of Johannes Nilsson. Most are biblical with only a few allegorical and secular motifs. The feasting and dining scenes were gradually ornamented in every detail, an almost exaggerated practice, suggesting that these motifs may have functioned as compensation for things he never experienced himself. After 1800 his choice of motifs changes from being narrative and dramatic to motifs with a preaching and educational character, generally from the New Testament. His religious motifs eventually had a graver tone, his inscriptions grew more pious, and some of the wall hangings, in Berglin's opinion, express missionary attitudes, which must be an expression of Johannes's own religious ideas. His father died in 1802, and a number of his motifs, including the prodigal son, may in the final instance be considered as returning to his father's house, actually the final reunion with the divine father. Berglin sees the design of the pious motifs as a longing for life hereafter from a hard and difficult world. This clearly relates to his own conditions in life, but is also a general trait in individuals in pre-industrial society going all the way back to the Middle Ages. The ornamentation of decorative details filling his pictures may also be interpreted as aestheticizing motifs to make the religious world as beautiful as in his imagination. He uses composition elements that carry meaning such as diagonals and perspectival lines to create movement ascending towards heaven. A detail that is interpreted as carrying meaning in his work and

which testifies to his strong religious longing is the shape of the halo and the mandorlas. Johannes appears to have been bothered more by his illness after 1812. He nevertheless produced some of his finest pious paintings in this period, including motifs that he must have created based on his own ideas, without models. His latest dated wall hanging from 1826, the year before he died, depicts a group of people on their way to a wedding in church on foot. In contrast to the carefree texts of other wall hanging painters in such contexts, Johannes has used a deeply religious text. It now appears that his religious views have changed from the popular religion earlier expressed in these wall hangings, probably after he came into contact with pietistic and revivalist ideas that had gained ground in the 1700s in the areas of Halland bordering on Skåne. Many of his wall hangings may be understood as pictorial sermons.

Breared the Meeting-place, examines Johannes Nilsson's local neighbourhood. Berglin outlines the main features of this hardscrabble forest district 200 years ago, looking at business and industry, economic conditions, history and social and cultural activities. Processes of change and the interacting relationship between the wall hangings and their context are emphasized. During the 18th century the conditions for farmers improved, they gained increasing awareness of their own value, and towards the end of the century financial conditions were much better. This appears to be reflected in the wall hanging motifs that seem to have been generally favoured in the community. Only a few of his religious motifs are associated with Breared. Berglin attempts to link changes in the wall hangings to changes in the Breared community. Estate records show that there has been no clear connection between being well-off and owning wall hangings. She believes that an important aspect was to mark status; Breared farmers needed to distinguish themselves from lower social classes as well as from other groups of farmers because more and more of them were buying their land and becoming landowners. The aesthetic design of Johannes's wedding and feasting motifs and wagon-travelling motifs as class series occurs in parallel with this development, and precisely these motifs were represented among the Breared inhabitants. In these motifs

Johannes indicates a clear hierarchy reflecting the social changes in society. However, Berglin has not found any connection between piety and owning painted wall hangings.

In the next chapters Berglin analyses the wall hangings based on religious/cultural aspects and a linguistic/textual and narrative method for image analysis. "Pious and Popular" examines general aspects of the cultural life of the 18th century and places the wall hangings in three different interpretation frameworks, one pious, one popular-religious and one popular-secular. She analyses one aspect at a time to determine whether a biblical painting may at all be fitted into a popular-religious concept of the world with its mixture of popular beliefs with roots to pre-Christian times, remnants of Catholicism and the Lutheran, post-Reformation faith. Religious life was an integral part of everyday life. Berglin finds that the earliest wall hangings from the 1700s express this popular faith. Johannes Nilsson's pious wall hangings are different from these. While his first wall hangings conformed to the traditional wall hanging genre, he develops away from this tradition and moves towards a Lutheran/pious religion that is expressed in his pious wall hangings. Berglin sees the distinction between pious and secular aspects in the wall hangings as a reflection of the same trends in society, which was being secularized. The religious aspects of life were separated from everyday life into a special sphere, becoming a personal matter and no longer an integral part of everyone's day-to-day life; everyday life became a secular matter. The high seat, the seat of the owner of the farm, also represented secular power, as he was the head of the family and the agrarian farm community. In step with the increasing influence of farmers in general society, this is reflected through the use of wall hangings in the high seat, thus also reflecting social structures. The conclusion is nevertheless that in the end, all facets of the interpretations of the meaning and the community's perception of the wall hangings, as asserted by Berglin, are relevant. With respect to function, the wall hangings are symbolic/ritual, popular-religious, pious-religious, status markers and festive ornaments. They are among the most ambiguous artefacts in the world of popular art.

In *A Linguistic World* Berglin for the first time

applies the approach of seeing the wall hangings as language, as texts, and as pictorial narratives. She examines the meaning they might impart and the composition techniques the painter uses to pinpoint his essential narrative motifs to make the underlying meaning clear. Berglin's approach to pictures as language has never previously been applied to wall hanging research, but it has previously been used in various ways in other art research and as the basis for picture interpretation and art education. It is interesting to observe the parallelism between a narrative linguistic structure and the structure of the narrative pictures. Berglin applies the ideas of Paul Ricoeur about texts that have been developed into models for picture interpretation by Kenneth Karlsson. The applied text, the external language, the language system or syntax corresponds to the "how" of the picture or its structure. Morphology corresponds to the "what" of the picture, the design of individual elements, the style of the picture. In the wall hangings as a genre the similarity has been a consequence of traditional rites that were linked to Christmas. How does Johannes Nilsson proceed to adapt the traditional wall hanging genre to his wish to preach religion? Berglin shows that he uses composition elements such as grouping and linking elements to clarify the narrative for the illiterate village inhabitants in a community that was poor in pictorial experiences. He plans a number of his pious compositions according to a conceived idea without using models. The structure of the wall hanging picture series is traditional and can only be changed slowly. The style, however, can be changed rapidly and create new meanings. Johannes availed himself of this opportunity to change styles, creating with his new, more elaborate details a stronger religious emphasis in his wall hangings. In one sense he created new texts. Berglin, moreover, considers the narrative element of the wall hanging genre as folklore, and attempts to interpret what it may have been possible to express in pictures. She considers the painting as a whole, wishing to analyse and interpret the form, motifs, structures and styles of the wall hangings from other aspects than previous researchers. She applies the genre analysis of literary science and has found a model in an analysis of historical literary genres to

describe the common traits of the wall hanging genre. She also illuminates the pictures of the wall hangings based on the narrative aspect, whether they should be considered as icons, frozen moments or sequences of events. The narrative is also a discourse where the narrator expresses common values and morals. In Johannes's work the pious discourse has been particularly central in the rendition of the celestial light, in the dominating mandorla that designates Christ as a divine character. Berglin also compares the narrative technique of the wall hangings with ideas of the structure of oral narratives as asserted by Walter J. Ong, finding striking similarities. Johannes continues to develop away from the mythical and orally based visual presentation towards a new way of thinking. His wall hangings are designed according to preconceived ideas to impart a religious message, thus suggesting a society where the written word has greater importance. The last chapter, *The Poor Man's Bible*, sums up the findings that have appeared in the various sections of the study and that have been discussed in the preceding chapters.

Elisabeth Berglin's thesis joins a number of studies of Swedish painted wall hangings that have been undertaken throughout the 20th century. The works of Maj Nodermann, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Svante Svärdröm and earlier researchers give important contributions to the knowledge that makes the basis for Berglin's work. She delves deeper in her analysis than her predecessors, applying new perspectives and methods. She considers these pictures to be full of ambiguous content depending on the concepts and ideas of the viewer and the painter. She has produced a multifaceted analysis and a detailed close-up portrait of an artist and his work that is captivating and interesting. The many perspectives and approaches that are applied in separate chapters lead to some unavoidable repetition when the same hangings and motifs are analysed again. At times this may make reading heavy going, but on the other hand can probably not be avoided.

The thesis is beautifully designed, with a good format, good pictorial material with supplementary captions and a layout that facilitates reading. It is laudable that a doctoral thesis is presented in such a way. It stems from an enviably generous

and inspiring academic environment. Valuable additions to the book include a summary and captions in English, appendixes with a wall hanging catalogue, a motif catalogue and motif overview arranged chronologically and according to frequency. The only thing I really would have liked to have had is better maps. Anyone not familiar with the geography of Sweden would find it very useful to have district names and clearer borders on the maps of the areas where the south Swedish wall hanging painters worked. Also, however interesting the old maps are, their reproduction is so blurred that it is very hard to read what is there.

It has been an exciting process to follow how Elisabeth Berglin step by step in her penetrating analysis draws out the story of the sick and talented village painter and his artistic activities, which must have required enormous mental and physical concentration on his part, as evidenced by the handed-down saying "He thought so deeply". Berglin makes it clear that the ability to combine elements and to associate them, and the qualities of intuition and empathy are vital ingredients in an interpretation process. Her thesis is an important contribution to a rejuvenated study and interpretation of popular pictorial art with new aspects and new methods. She breaks new ground in her exploration of popular visual forms of expression and brings us closer to the painter and his environment, putting man in focus. This pleases and inspires a reviewer who also believes in this approach.

Inger Lise Christie, Oslo

A Museological Study of Local Preservation Movements

Maria Björkroth, Hembygd i samtid och framtid 1890–1930. En museologisk studie av att bevara och förnya. Museology 5. Umeå 2000. 307 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7191-918-8.

■ In today's world of constant mobility, we are increasingly seeing the word *hembygd* being used in the Nordic debate about society and culture. It means literally "home district", and it symbolizes a collective counter to geographical and spiritual rootlessness. As with all other words, however, the meaning of *hembygd* has changed over the

years, as have the activities associated with it. At the end of the 19th century, working for *hembygd* meant dynamic social planning rather than retrospection and museumization. Today the term is associated with rural nostalgia.

How did this change of meaning take place? How can we come closer to an understanding of the concept? By studying the growth of the Swedish *hembygd* movement in the late 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century, Maria Björkroth seeks to shed light on various starting points and aims of the movement, and hence to increase our knowledge of the different meanings that have been given to *hembygd*. The discussion is presented in the form of the first Swedish doctoral dissertation in museology. – It is Björkroth's research theme, the movement and the museum ambitions associated with it, that means that the dissertation can be classed as museological. Museology is based on ideas and methods from the cultural and social sciences, so Björkroth's choice of method – combining fieldwork with the use of historical sources, cannot be said to be specific for museology.

As a theoretical frame of reference, however, Björkroth emphasizes Per-Uno Ågren and his three main museological perspectives: historical, sociological, and communicative. Firstly, Björkroth wants to describe the organizational development of the movement through time. Secondly, she seeks to chart the *hembygd* associations synchronically, in their local regional, and national context in the period 1890–1930. Thirdly, she wants to find out the values reflected in the associations' choice of name, the goals they set up, and the fields in which they worked. Ågren's three perspectives clearly permeate Björkroth's study, but unfortunately she makes no express links back to them.

She likewise makes little reference, after the first chapters, to the Dutch museologist Peter van Mensch, whose theory has influenced much of European museology in recent decades. Björkroth draws attention to van Mensch's museological terms: field of activity, form of activity, pattern of activity, and object. The field of activity for Björkroth consists of the local association's cultural and societal context, which creates the actual organization, the form of activity. By pattern

of activity is understood the activities performed within the framework of the *hembygd* organization. The object stands for the material surroundings, and also for the selection that the preservation organizations constantly make when they give the epithet “heritage” to sites and artefacts.

Björkroth says that these terms of van Mensch’s are key words in the dissertation, and indeed the whole study revolves around his categorization of the conditions in which the preservation organizations exist and function, in the same way as Ågren’s perspectives also set their stamp on the dissertation. Since Björkroth, regrettably, does not conduct any discussion of her own about these terms and concepts associated with them, and does not structure her study on their basis, I feel that her theoretical ambitions remain at the level of rhetoric. Perhaps she perceives her theoretical perspectives as axiomatic, not needing further inquiry? In making that assumption I am not trying to defend the lack of theoretical substance in the thesis. Björkroth’s research could have resulted in a much deeper analysis than is now the case. On the other hand, I wonder if the superficiality is a direct reflection of museology’s general problem of finding a distinctive theoretical profile, beyond the facade of the terms.

If van Mensch’s terms do not function as key words in the true sense, there are instead two other words with which Björkroth achieves structure and dynamism in her text: *preservation* and *renewal*. These words pervade every chapter. The tension between preservation and renewal, as the author herself notes, is “a museological intersection”, and she also formulates her aim in the words: “to study the interaction between preservation and renewal as it appeared in the use of the concept of *hembygd* and *hembygdsvård* [care of the local heritage] in the first decades of the 20th century”. The word *hembygd* is thus an object of study and not an analytical tool.

The majority of Björkroth’s source material comes from Dalarna, the province that has become the symbol of Swedishness and *hembygd* (which Björkroth also touches on, referring to Göran Rosander and others). On the regional level the author has used the archives of Dalarnas Hembygdsförbund from its foundation in 1915 and material from the folklore association Dalarnas

Formminnesförening, founded in 1862. In shedding light on the development of the movement in Dalarna, Björkroth has benefited greatly from the collection of cuttings in these organizations, much of which can now be searched via a database in Dalarnas Museum. By browsing in the nationwide archive of the Samfundet för Hembygdsvård (founded 1916), the author has also studied material from local associations in other regions, thus providing the national framework for the study.

The major part of the material nevertheless comes from local historical surveys, archives, and correspondence concerned with local history societies and museum associations, mostly from Dalarna, from the 1890s to the 1930s. The correspondence forges a link from the local level to the individual level – for Björkroth also underlines the significance of individual enthusiasts for the Swedish movement. The author has taken particular trouble to allow room for “the silent voices of history”, such as the champion of folk high schools, Uno Stadius, as well as more famous figures in the movement such as Karl-Erik Forsslund and Gustaf Ankarcrona. Björkroth’s reason for using the individual perspective is that the contacts of local preservation work with other social movements are made particularly clear at the individual level. The enthusiasts worked in parallel for their goals in different organizations: antiquarian associations, local history societies, and youth clubs.

Björkroth’s attitude to archival material is steered by her own involvement in national and regional *hembygd* federations. It is also this involvement that has inspired her to study the many roots of the movement. By taking part in *hembygd* events all over Sweden – participant observation as she calls it – and by talking to people active in the movement, Björkroth has established a platform for her retrospection. She has a brief discussion of her role as researcher and the problem of reflexivity, but unfortunately she does not say anything about how the participant observation has shaped the concepts of *hembygd* that she applies to the historical material. I would also have appreciated a more careful methodological account of the choice of informants and of the conversations – interviews? – that she had with them.

Björkroth builds up her study in nine chapters, the first of which includes the theoretical and methodological viewpoints discussed above.

Hembygd in Theory and Practice, is a discussion of the origin of the Swedish movement in the folklore associations with their fondness for Old Norse culture. The author shows how the concept of *hembygd* in the late 19th century grew out of nationalistic ideas that culminated with the breakup of the union with Norway in 1905. She also points out how the revived interest in "the old peasant culture" in Sweden set its stamp on the concept of *hembygd*. As a counterweight Björkroth holds up the equivalent movement in Finland and its leading figure Robert Boldt, whose work was more oriented to natural history and society. As already said, however, the early movement in Sweden chose a broad field of work, of which the museum endeavours were only one part.

In Nationalistic Romanticism and National Romanticism, Björkroth describes the "monument movement" of the late 19th century, likewise a result of the nationalistic Swedish currents that preceded the separation from Norway. The monument movement hailed the Swedish nation, especially the traditions concerning King Gustav Vasa, by erecting memorials at places of significance for Swedish nation-building. The movement thereby raised memorials that created their own narrative of history. Björkroth contrasts this nationalistic romanticism, focusing on a centuries-old past, with the more familiar national romantic trend which was mainly interested in the peasant culture of the recent past and also comprised active involvement in contemporary and future issues. Björkroth takes as an example the great exhibition in Stockholm of 1897, where Hazelius's ideas for an open-air museum went hand in hand with innovations in agricultural technology.

The National and the Modern, discusses the youth movement and its place in the tension between orientation to the future and homage to history. Björkroth proceeds from the youth movements founded in Dalarna and Jämtland around 1900. As elsewhere, these youth movements revived local traditions in dress and music, which were thus saved for posterity. At the same time, the youth movement, more than other organizations, helped to reshape and renew these traditions.

The youth movement was also closely linked to the monument movement: the first youth meeting in Dalarna in 1903 was concluded beside the Vasa Stone at Rättvik church. After describing the early activities of the youth movement, the author turns at the end of the chapter to the individual level, presenting the crucial part played by Uno Stadius and Karl-Erik Forsslund in the first youth movements in Dalarna.

These men also have a prominent role in *To Acquire or Inherit Hembygd*. There is particular consideration of Uno Stadius and his involvement in the peripatetic courses arranged at folk high schools in Sweden starting in 1905. These courses took on a stronger profile in the mid-1910s, when Forsslund's book *Hembygdsvård* appeared. The study of *hembygd* developed in two directions: One emphasized the search for knowledge in the local community and may therefore be regarded chiefly as a pedagogical model. The other was to become synonymous with the writing of local history. The arrangement of the courses naturally varied depending on the teachers' outlook on history. Stadius represented a more Hazelian national romanticism, whereas Ankarcrona, another figurehead in these courses, supported a focus on the future, with the development of handicraft culture and cottage industry. A special section in the chapter is devoted to Stadius and his remarkable position as a man without a native district; he was originally from Finland but spent most of his life at different places in Sweden. He thus had no deep roots in the places, including Dalarna, where he worked. Nor was he offered any framework for his national identification: he was a Finland Swede, formally a Russian subject, who was denied Swedish citizenship. Despite his Hazelian influences, however, Stadius saw *hembygd* as something that could be acquired. He thus did not regard himself as being without a home district, even though he was refused domiciliary rights.

Internationally National, Björkroth outlines the international framework of the Swedish movement. Above all the chapter deals with contacts between Germany and Sweden and the influence of the German *Heimatschutz* movement on its Swedish counterpart. Ernst Rudorff's ideas about comprehensive protection for the cultural

and natural monuments of the local district may be compared with Robert Boldt's natural-history approach to work with the *hembygd*.

The People Exhibited and the People Reflecting, follows up the discussion of the monument movement and peasant romanticism. If chapter 3 was about ideologies, this chapter is more about the monument movement and the folklore associations as sociological arenas, emphasizing the people. As they began an active dialogue with the past, they simultaneously became "artefacts" in the new open-air museums at the big exhibitions. These exhibitions became new public meeting places in themselves, new "museumological spaces" where history was shaped and reshaped.

Hembygd as a New Swedish Arena, may be seen as a summary of the discussion in all the previous chapters. Björkroth recapitulates the German and Finnish influences on Swedish thinking, the roots of the *hembygd* movement in the antiquarian societies and their contacts with the handicraft and youth movements. This brings us to chapter 9, a short conclusion entitled *Hembygdsvård* as Elaboration and Preservation. The author again sums up her earlier discussion and rounds off by stressing how the construction of the welfare state in the 1930s separated museum endeavours from work oriented to the present day. From that decade onwards, the heterogeneous character of the *hembygd* movement changed as it took on a more historical and museum-oriented profile.

The dissertation deals with a very important topic, and the problems presented by Björkroth are highly topical. She has carried out a comprehensive study of documents from the Swedish *hembygd* movement from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The bibliography is also impressive: Björkroth has gone through a large amount of literature from this period on the topic, but she has also read recent research in ethnology and history of ideas. The notes are extensive: Björkroth provides a great deal of extra information connected to her discussion of the local associations and their actors. This shows that she has studied her sources with care. Unfortunately, this accuracy is not the same as analytical acuity. The dissertation is too prolix in many places; besides repetition of facts, the text often has outright tautologies. The

discussion could also have been structured differently; in my opinion, chapters 6 and 7 would have benefited from being placed before chapters 3 and 4. Now the examples come first and the framework second.

I have already mentioned the theoretical shortcomings. The material could have been worked up better to make a more satisfying whole. Perhaps the disparate form of the dissertation can be partly explained by the fact that museology has not yet found its definitive shape.

Heidi Hummelstedt, *Vasa*

Missionary Stories

Anna Maria Claesson, *Kinesernas vänner*. En analys av missionens berättelse som ideologi och utopi. Jönköpings läns museum, Jönköping 2001. 352 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85692-43-3.

■ The Christian mission has been the subject of several studies. However, these have normally been conducted by theologians and, thus, they have been a voice in favour of the wish to spread the Gospel. Critical voices have also been heard, above all from anthropologists, who see missionary work as a form of Western imperialism. The work of the missionaries has seldom been studied by ethnologists. It is therefore pleasant, coming from that sector of cultural studies, to read what Anna Maria Claesson has to say about the Swedish missionaries in China at the end of the 19th century. Her study, however, is not a strictly ethnological investigation asking about the cultural environments of the missionaries in China, their impact on culture there or the milieu from which they took off in Sweden. This book is rather based on questions that could have emanated from the point of view of folklore studies or studies of oral tradition. Claesson's main question is how people formulated themselves on issues of missionary work, and, more precisely, the narratives that were told in order to maintain a relationship filled with confidence between the missionaries and their supporters at home. The friends of missionary work back home in Jönköping were extremely important, because they collected money to be sent away to the missions. This contact was built

on expectations on each side and it was upheld through stories, written in private letters, minutes, published in magazines and pamphlets, and reported in lectures delivered by the missionaries at home on vacation.

Claesson focuses on Jönköping, beside Lake Vättern in Sweden. This place was mentioned in the Middle Ages, but gained significance as an industrial town in the middle of the 19th century. The production of matches was especially important. Moreover, Jönköping is known as a centre for revivalist movements, being one of the most important towns in Småland, the region in which many of the religious ideas of the time were debated. Jönköping has even been called "Småland's Jerusalem". The end of the 19th century was an economically difficult time with a shortage of work and housing. For some reason the hard times led to a growing interest in missionary work, and this happened within the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Consequently, when Claesson asks herself how the mission narratives were formulated, she is able to start with theoretical viewpoints taken over from studies of ideological groups and their ways of thinking.

This is what makes me delighted with the book. Reading it is surprising because many of the theories brought to the fore are not the ones a reader of cultural studies within Swedish ethnology generally encounters. Claesson tries to understand how a group such as the young men in the Jönköping YMCA think by introducing ideas formulated by Ludwik Fleck in 1935. Fleck has influenced Western philosophy of science by inspiring Thomas Kuhn's thinking. With the aid of Fleck, the author regards the YMCA of Jönköping as a group that cherishes collective thoughts expressed in a special "style of thought" to justify why missionary work in China should be conducted and supported. Fleck's theory is supplemented by Johan Asplund's concept of figures of thought from the 1970s, a concept that is very fruitful when studying people's different ways of thinking, one of the central themes in folklore studies. In Jönköping, as well as in China, among the missionaries in the field, there were at least four figures of thought that sustained the zeal for mission. Claesson enumerates, firstly, "the Christian standard", i.e., Christian values

were regarded the starting point for every venture within missionary work. The author also mentions the universalistic view of man, according to which humans in the entire world were part of God's project and it was man's duty to rescue them all into Christianity. The third figure of thought is the idea of the possible metamorphosis, which means that it was regarded as perfectly possible to change the Chinese "heathen" mind into a Christian mind. A fourth figure of thought is presented later on in the book, namely, the idea of time running out. The missionary work had to be completed before the end of time.

However, to Claesson the ideas of Fleck and Asplund are not enough to understand what happens in a group's way of thinking. Fleck maintains that a closed style of thought does not allow for new thoughts to take root. The concept of time running out proved not to be valid; there was no apocalypse, but still the work of the missionaries and their supporters continued. In order to explain why it did not fade away, Claesson introduces one of the recent extremely popular theoreticians in studies of culture, namely, Paul Ricoeur and his ideas about fantasy and utopia. In these two words lie the explanations for the ongoing eager work both "out there" and at home. Missionary work was lifted into another dimension of time and space and could continue although the end of time did not really appear. Finally, Claesson, inspired by Edward Said, asks whether missionaries must be regarded tools of Western imperialism when they persisted in trying to change the Chinese. Behind this perseverance lies, certainly, not only the idea that it is possible to change the Chinese, but rather the idea that it is necessary to do so. Claesson's answer to Said's question is negative, because she can see how the texts describe the Chinese as human beings similar and equal to the missionaries themselves.

This book is pleasing to read, the Swedish language is rich in nuances and it is genuinely Swedish without any scholarly jargon. The theoretical perspectives are clearly explained and formulated in the text exactly where they are needed, instead of being put together in one separate chapter and thereafter seldom mentioned. This certainly means that Claesson has been able to internalize the theories used, and she is good at

demonstrating how they are relevant in her investigation. The book is impressive, because it is extremely clear, and to those who have become acquainted with other closed religious groups, it is quite clear that her model of analysis will also work on a more general level. Besides, it is a beautiful book, with an almost impeccable scholarly apparatus, no misprints, and illustrative pictures filled with meaning in connection with the aim of the author, because pictures are just as communicative as pure text to those who once read magazines or pamphlets from the exotic fields of missionary work.

However, the book has a peculiar structure, and I am not quite sure whether I like it or not. Each chapter starts with a section that is pure fiction. This means that Claesson has made use of the sources and put the contents of them together into small fictional essays that more or less illustrate what she is going to explain in the following analytical text. In this way she probably wants to resemble the analysed genres of religious press and thus create some of the sentiment that was relevant to both writers and readers a hundred years ago. In her footnotes, Claesson is honest enough to mention the sources she has used, but the essays as such stem from her own impression of what the sources contain. Fortunately, she omits these essays from her analysis, but they nevertheless influence the reader and might make it difficult for him to judge her scholarly work. On the other hand, these texts are clearly marked as essays by the Chinese text of the Lord's Prayer along the margins, and they augment the entertainment value of the book. Moreover, scholarly components are not lacking. There is an enormous amount of footnotes, an extensive list of references, a catalogue of biographies of Nordic missionaries who went to China and Mongolia, and long captions describing all the pictures in the book. Last but not least, there is an index of persons mentioned. This is absolutely necessary, because very often the headings of the chapters are exciting and picturesque rather than informative, such as "A Warming Fire", "Ravenous Wolf and Gentle as a Lamb" or "Time to Get Up". This circumstance makes it extremely difficult to find particular facts again once they have been left behind in the process of reading the book. It

has nevertheless been a pleasure to follow Claesson's way of answering her main question: "How was the narrative of the mission in China formulated and used to engender and sustain the fervour of [its] friends?"

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Comparative Landscape Studies

Anders Haggström, Levda rum och beskrivna platser. Former för landskapsidentitet. Carlssons förlag, Stockholm 2000. 209 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7203-354-1.

■ Research into regional identity is developing vigorously at present. One of the external causes that may be singled out is the fact that the nation state seems to have the wind against it as regards both sovereignty and legitimacy, while cultural nationalism – against all the odds – is growing. Among the internal causes one may mention how fruitful it is that not just one type of scholarship has tackled the topic. It is of course a benefit for research on regional identity that the matter interests historians, ethnologists, and geographers alike, to say nothing of planners and logistics experts. Another factor contributing to the success is the fact that the old regionalism studies à la Sigurd Erixon are now so far away that one can maintain a detached attitude to that approach, and that the new studies – represented by a historian like Peter Aronsson and an ethnologist like Kjell Hansen – have begun in such a solid way and with such a wealth of perspectives. And here we now have yet another significant contribution.

Let it be said without beating about the bush: this is an important book, besides being beautifully produced. What makes it particularly valuable is the comparative approach. Comparison, of course, is not an uncomplicated venture, since it demands that what you want to compare has both similarities and differences. The similarities should not be too great; the same applies to the differences. From this point of view, Anders Haggström has chosen wisely. The fact that he has based his study on such a trendy phenomenon as discourse analysis is of lesser significance in this context. The main thing is the research findings that are presented.

Based on a large body of source material, comprising both unpublished and published sources, and showing an impressive width in his reading, the author is able to show both vertical and horizontal differences in the forms of representation of the two Swedish provinces he studies, Jämtland and Blekinge. Vertically, that is, historically, he operates with a three-phase course of development: the time around 1900, the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, and the late 20th century. This is quite sensible, but one can nevertheless suspect that the middle period has too wide a mesh: isn't there a significant difference between the 1930s and the 1950s – in research terms as well? Be that as it may, the author at least finds interesting differences between the periods. The first period is typified by the provincial flower chosen for each province, a symbol condensing both national romanticism and local nostalgia. The next phase is characterized by a growing number of works of popular scholarship about the provinces and folkloristic scientification, giving us the well-known division between the western Swedish and eastern Swedish cultural heritage. The last phase bears the stamp of the hegemonic conflict between system planners and “the people's” defence of their own region.

This brings us to the horizontal level. Here too Häggström points out interesting differences. In Jämtland the politicization is much stronger than in Blekinge. The reason may be that in Jämtland we have regional centralism in the form of the function of the county town, Östersund, as a “monocentre”, whereas in Blekinge there is more competition between smaller local units. In other words, regionalism is multifaceted and complex. Such discoveries make a good foundation for future regional studies. We have received good assistance on the way from Anders Häggström, who is to be congratulated on writing an extremely interesting book.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Holy Bodybuilders

Taina Kinnunen, Pyhät bodarit. Yhteisöllisyys ja onni täydellisessä ruumiissa. (Holy Bodybuilders. Community and happiness in a perfect body.) Gaudeamus, Helsinki 2001. 326 pp. Diss. ISBN 951-662-823-0.

■ *Holy Bodybuilders*, a doctoral dissertation in cultural anthropology from the University of Oulu, sheds new light into the world of bodybuilding. The work examines the varied meanings of passionate bodybuilding and contributes to the discussion about the importance of the body and appearance. Taina Kinnunen examines strictly regulated rituals in bodybuilding, the doctrine of human happiness and the formation of a community. These themes are approached using the concepts of the body, religion, gender and sub-cultures.

The work is based on cultural-anthropological fieldwork carried out in a Finnish gym and at Gold's Gym in Los Angeles. There were thirty interviewees, of which only three were women. The author herself has been a bodybuilder since 1990. The interviews of Finnish and American amateur and professional bodybuilders shed light on their values, beliefs, hopes and taboos.

The author has opted for an extraordinary solution: the theoretical and methodological starting points have been included in the work as an appendix (pp. 269–316). There are two justifications for this solution: firstly, the body text becomes a lively narration without the heavy baggage of theory of science, and secondly, the appendix functions as a scientific summary of the whole study. So if one wants to debate the theoretical decisions of the work, one has to start at the appendix on page 269!

The study comprises of five main chapters. The author begins by taking a look at the world of gyms and trying to find her own place in the field as a researcher (me–other; participant–observer; observation–interpretation). The interviewees and the utilization of the material are described in this context. There is also an interesting chapter on the history of bodybuilding, although the author urges the reader to skip it if he does not find it interesting. The story begins in the mid-19th century when people were gradually taught the im-

portance of fresh air and physical exercise in maintaining their health.

In Kinnunen's text the interviewees move, communicate and have experiences: it is examined how the bodybuilders actually form a community in the everyday life of the gym. Gym practices are seen as public identity markers and symbols of the social boundaries of the gym. Included are also observations and experiences on the behavioral norms and ways of interaction in the gym as well as on the bodily manifestations of style, such as behavior and clothing.

The author has studied Alan M. Klein's – an anthropologist who has studied bodybuilding (1990) – hardcore-gyms in California: these gyms are favored by extremist bodybuilders and there is a clear social hierarchy: 1) owners and managers, 2) professionals, 3) amateurs, 4) "gym rats" (non-competing types who hang around the gym even on their days-off and thus identify with the social community of the gym; they find public identity very important), 5) the vast clientele, and 6) "pilgrims" and bystanders. The gym clients are divided into three groups (Bednarek 1985): 1) competing bodybuilders, 2) non-competing bodybuilders and 3) actives. Kinnunen's interviewees included individuals from competing bodybuilders, male and female professionals, amateur competitors, fitness professionals and ex-bodybuilders. Bodybuilding actives had jobs where looks were important: models, strippers, actors (in California in particular), ex-competitors and passionate way-of-life bodybuilders. They represented a variety of professions: gym owners, bodybuilding judges, personal trainers, managers, photographers, reporters and the film and sex businesses.

Kinnunen deepens the identity markers and experiences of the bodybuilders. She describes the life of rituals to which a bodybuilder is committed, comprising training, food and rest. Bodybuilders divide workout techniques and foods into pure and impure. This is connected with the *taboo* practice of bodybuilding. Rules about what is correct are based on social boundaries: training with a good technique and eating the right food symbolize a membership in the holy community and the position of the individual in its hierarchy. Being a real bodybuilder requires "the right attitude", in other words, the readiness to devote

oneself to bodybuilding. The study looks into the sacrifices that bodybuilding requires during "the normal season" and during the following "diet season", culminating in the moment of perfection. For competitors, it means reaching a holy state on the day of the competition.

The preaching of bodybuilding about happiness include beliefs and experiences connected with the body. The aim of the bodybuilders is to achieve a certain appearance that symbolizes social success as opposed to an undisciplined and untrained body. Years of work in the gym, a controlled diet, drugs, and possibly even plastic surgery, all have a singular aim: physical and psychological transformation, i.e. *human perfection*. The author examines which elements contribute to this transformation, i.e. what does the muscular body symbolize in our culture and how do the research subjects experience this? Values and beliefs that are attached to the muscular body vary as the bodybuilder's career advances. However, the values, beliefs and meanings are different in competitive and amateur bodybuilding. These differences are examined in the study.

The bodybuilder's body is interpreted as a cultural *symbol*. Alan Klein (1993) has studied the meanings of bodybuilding both from an existentialist (*sex*) and from a constructionist (*gender*) point of view. He emphasizes that female bodybuilders should be examined in three contexts: at the level of the individual, of sub-culture and main culture. The muscularity of the female body symbolizes different things in the main culture and in the sub-culture of competitive bodybuilding. On the other hand, a female bodybuilder may experience her womanhood differently from how society defines it. Interpreting meanings in their cultural contexts is one of the fundamental principles in Kinnunen's study. It is also of primary importance when examining male bodybuilders, because – as Kinnunen states – the manhood of male bodybuilders is also context-sensitive.

The issue of sex and gender is not only limited to people, but it also comprises communities, institutions, symbols, spaces, places and historical processes, among others. In Kinnunen's study attention is paid to the sex and gender of bodybuilders as bodily actors, but also to the sex and gender of objects, concepts, places, techniques

and media representations related to bodybuilding. When sex and gender are examined through experience, the focus is on the encounter of cultural objects and phenomena penetrated by gendered bodies and sexual symbolism. Sex and gender in bodybuilding, however, are secondary considerations in Kinnunen's study, as she has only three female bodybuilder informants. The issue is discussed in chapter Täydellinen ruumis ("The perfect body"), where the author talks about the atavism of bodybuilding, the essence of manhood and the "unnaturalness" of women bodybuilders, food and youth, power and beauty, the objectification of the male body, the sexualisation of women bodybuilders, the ethics and aims of competitive bodybuilding (the criteria of a perfect body and goals of competing), the sound mind and complete transformation.

The study draws an interesting parallel between bodybuilding and metaphorical and phenomenological religion. Passionate bodybuilding is examined from a *religion theoretical* point of view, using Veikko Anttonen's (1996) ideas derived from W. Richard Comstock (1984) about the sacred and the profane as signifiers: the sacred is a part of the inside and the profane belongs to the outside. "In other words, the sacred is not substance or something that is detached from our consciousness, such as God, but something that is sacred *in relation to* something else." Competitive bodybuilding is also discussed as a sub-culture, as a part of the *underworld* of extremist bodybuilding. The author describes training and eating rituals as well as beliefs about the muscular body that unite competitors and serious amateurs. It is these rituals and beliefs that distinguish real bodybuilders as their own holy community, which is hard and brutal. Certain values and norms are also addressed, on the basis of which competitive bodybuilding is defined as a sub-culture. Bodybuilding is examined as religion (postmodern body and religion, the perfect body and the holy community represent happiness), and bodybuilders are approached through the sex and gender. Competitive bodybuilding is a sub-culture or an underworld, which includes both passionate way-of-life bodybuilders and competing bodybuilders. Competitive bodybuilding is an extreme way of testing the limits of the

body, requiring total devotion and encompassing all areas of life.

The text in the work is lively, thanks to many ethnographic interview extracts. Jar Elsilä's excellent drawings illustrate the text with a touch of humor. It is a pity that there is no summary in the book. The language is fluent and avoids unnecessary terminology: the central terms, *body*, *religion*, *gender*, *sub-culture*, are explained to the reader in the beginning. We learn that in bodybuilding "the body is the symbolic and experiential focal point of social, ritual and ideological boundaries, where the sacred and the profane, as well as the pure and the impure that reflect these categories, are distinguished" (p. 19).

Kinnunen's study has been criticized in the Finnish media especially because of one shortcoming. Erkki Vettenniemi in *Helsingin Sanomat* (4 April 2001), among others, has pointed out that a British study on the same theme is absent from the bibliography. In the fall of 1996 a book came out in England, titled *God's Gym*, by Stephen Moore, with an eye-catching cover of trimmed muscles, dealing with bodybuilding as religion. He deconstructs the values, rituals and communities of bodybuilding from an interesting multidisciplinary point of view. Kinnunen's doctoral dissertation, which came out in the spring of 2001, is entitled *Holy Bodybuilders*, and it also has an eye-catching cover of trimmed muscles in a close-up and an interesting theme of bodybuilding as religion. We may thus ask what Kinnunen's new contribution is to the topic and the discussion.

Päivikki Suojanen, Jyväskylä

Beyond the Age of Innocence

Anna Ljung, Bortom oskuldens tid. En etnologisk studie av moral, trygghet och otrygghet i skuggan av hiv. Etnolore 24. Uppsala Universitet 2001. 196 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1511-4.

■ Anna Ljung has studied how the HIV virus and the AIDS disease were received and dealt with by Swedish society. In her thesis, she has analysed descriptions of HIV and AIDS as they appeared in the Swedish press, thus demonstrating how they convey notions of morals, security and insecurity;

she has also looked into how HIV positive individuals experience their own life situation. In this respect, the thesis deals with both social and personal response to peril whilst also showing us the practical implications of social integration and exclusion. The bulk of her material has been taken from the gay press, and from newspaper articles from the early 1980s through to the late 90s. The author has also studied parliamentary records relating to HIV and AIDS. The voice of the individual AIDS sufferer is heard via a diary handed in to Nordiska Museet after its writer died, and through interviews with four HIV positive individuals. Thus Ljung's thesis studies HIV and AIDS through representation as well as discourse while focusing on institutional circles where the discourse is put into practice as well as on a personal, experience-based level where individuals relate to the representations and the discourses.

The chapter *How AIDS Became a Social Problem*, deals with the emergence of the Swedish HIV and AIDS debate. Ljung looks at how HIV and AIDS were handled by the press and the legislature, and she investigates how the laws that were passed affected individuals. Ljung divides the debate into three different phases without any clear-cut dividing lines between them. During the first phase, 1983–1985, when the first incidents were publicised and linked to the virus, the disease was associated with homosexuality and promiscuity. The image of sexually active individuals with frequent partner changes became an important feature in how the disease was presented. The second phase, 1984–1995, is seen as a climax period during which it was found that haemophiliacs can also catch the disease, and there was a spreading realisation that the disease does not only affect "the others". And with this realisation came the panic. The expert advice was contradictory: what was considered harmless one day would be labelled fatal the following day. The third phase, 1995–2000, is referred to as a defusing phase. The "brake drugs" appeared on the scene, making AIDS seem like any other chronic illness. The big silence took over – the disease no longer incited frenzied emotions, or perhaps the hysteria became taboo.

Ljung has found that the Swedish debate

reflects three different moral agendas. First, there is the conservative moral position, which interprets the disease as a result of society's moral lapse and total dissolution. Second, a liberal moral view emerges, which is essentially contextual: if HIV and AIDS did not exist, the guidelines on safe sex would not be imperative. But now that HIV and AIDS do exist, people do their utmost to live according to these guidelines in order to prevent the disease from spreading. Third, there is an individualistic moral stance, essentially critical of society, which purports that our main concern should be to ensure that the individuals involved are afforded equal opportunities and are kept well informed. This is the view asserted by RFSL.

On the Top of the Iceberg, deals with the way in which the concept of risk is used in an attempt to establish a sense of security in a distressing situation. Ljung shows how risk perceptions are construed through legislation and through the press. She strives to stay clear of a purely technical risk concept, which often portrays individuals as "rational man". The alternative, a non-technical risk concept, allows for an awareness that risk-related actions are not simply about individuals making informed choices. According to Ljung, we need to further develop the risk concepts that were used by the theorists of late modernity (Giddens, Beck, Bauman) by allowing for the fact that social and structural factors restrict individuals to the effect that risk exposure and avoidance are unevenly distributed.

The Evil Other: the stranger and social insecurity, is a case study of "the HIV man", the American-Iranian HIV infected man who had sex with a couple of hundred women in Sweden in the late 1990s. In her analysis, Ljung shows us how cultural perceptions of evil and things alien are dealt with in descriptions of HIV infected individuals, and she demonstrates that the HIV positive themselves can experience such descriptions as an outright witch-hunt.

The Vulnerable Body, deals with various ways in which to relate to bodily vulnerability. The focus is on describing people in poor health, nonconforming bodies, and how people strive for, and some times are unable to achieve, a sense of security and a socially acceptable body. Ljung demonstrates how the discourse on disease and

suffering affects the way in which the HIV positive themselves relates to their bodies. This effect is not simply one of clear suppression; it may also help the ill to develop.

In the 1980s the hysterical reactions to the HIV virus placed the HIV positive in death's waiting room. But is this where the HIV positive find themselves? And if so, what does their waiting entail? In chapter 6, "In the waiting-room of death?" Ljung looks at how individuals relate to their own mortality and looks into cultural views on death and the dying. Interestingly, she draws a parallel between HIV / AIDS and tuberculosis with respect to the idealisation of the disease and the perception that it is the geniuses among us ("the best of us") who die first. We have long heard claims that the western world tends to hide the dying and death. Fortunately, Ljung withstands the temptation to interpret her material as a verification of this view. The many spontaneous shrines by our roadsides; the widespread wish to groom one's own dead (most often diseased toddlers); the individualisation encountered at the funerals of both heterosexuals and homosexuals – all of this demonstrate that we have changed with respect to how we relate to death. Ljung also avoids the temptation to pronounce this a radical change. She draws a detailed picture and interprets our current reactions to death as a *fascination with death*. Interestingly, the ill do not necessarily perceive the "brake drugs" as a saviour. They are just as often seen to be upsetting the apple cart: having spent years preparing to die, they have in many ways come to accept death – when the "brake drugs" emerge, major changes are required in terms of planning for life.

The bulk of Ljung's material is taken from media in the 1980s and 1990s. I remember well the hysteria that ruled at the time e.g. with respect to contagiousness and perspiration in the 1980s. Would you catch AIDS by touching the same door handle as someone who was HIV positive? Was it safe to take the bus like you used to? Was it safe to borrow books like you used to? Today, after 15–20 years of medical research and public information campaigns, these concerns are clearly misguided, hysterical and ludicrous. Some of Ljung's media excerpts reflect this same absurd hysteria. I don't know if it's possible, but I would

wish that Ljung would convey more of the frenzied atmosphere of the day as a frame of reference.

Anna Ljung's choice of subject matter for her doctoral thesis is not the simplest. Relating to and writing about people who have been forced to incorporate the certainty of impending death as part of their daily lives, is a task that demands respect. It has been undertaken in a proper fashion and our disciplines clearly produce far too few theses that deal with this type of important issues.
Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Bergen

Cultural Constructions of Sexuality

Pia Lundahl, Intimitetens villkor. Kön, sexualitet och berättelser om jaget. Lund 2001. 231 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-628-5035-0.

■ Social constructivism has been used for a long time as a theoretical fulcrum in research in the social sciences and humanities. Queer studies inscribes itself in this trend, having become the current gender paradigm in the 1990s.

Queer studies took its point of departure in the feminism of the 1970s, which allowed itself to be inspired by the first volume in Foucault's history of sexuality, *La volonté de savoir* (1976). Here sexuality is understood as something that society defines on the basis of different concepts of power. Sexuality is thus not something essential in humans, but something installed in them by society.

Queer studies investigates and criticizes the historical and cultural conditions of which sexuality is part, and thus places the emphasis on conditions in society. Sexuality is regarded not from the point of view of the individual – private, personal, and biological – but rather on the basis of how the individual's own self-understanding is defined in interaction with surrounding norms and values.

Whereas feminist theory takes its point of departure in the critique of the power of patriarchy, queer theory deals with another entity, namely, heteronormativity. Power relations are viewed here as the norms that are inscribed in all of society's institutions, rather than the top-down concept of power that feminist theory is often associated with. Heteronormativity is thus an expression of a discursive concept of power in

which power and normativity are something negotiated and interpreted between the individual and the culturally accepted.

The name “queer studies” alludes to two elements: strangeness and homosexuality. It is the idea of what is strange *in relation to* something else – normal and ordinary – that is crucial. Queer studies thus deals with how cultural notions create conceptual pairs such as normal/abnormal in lifestyles, gender roles, and gender perceptions.

This is the approach used by Pia Lundahl in her dissertation. She studies how same-sex intimacy between women is defined and constructed in the period 1870–1960. The dissertation consists of an introduction in which she clarifies the basics of queer methodology and queer theory. This is followed by two chronologically and empirically delimited chapters and a third chapter assembling differences, similarities, continuity, and change in the view of homosexual intimacy.

Lundahl investigates how perceptions of gender, morality, and homosexuality in specific eras define the relationship between normal and abnormal sexuality. She has undertaken to explore the tension between the heteronormative on the one hand and the queery on the other hand, that is, how people handle so-called abnormal intimacy, and also how this intimacy comments on the normative by means of various power practices and self-definitions.

The general critique of gender studies has been that female intimacy has not been studied as much as male intimacy. In addition, ethnological gender research has primarily dealt with heterosexuality, without applying a heteronormative perspective which implies curiosity about and criticism of heterosexuality – as Lundahl herself underlines (pp. 17, 21).

With her empirical approach, Lundahl responds to the criticism and deals primarily with two kinds of material, one from each period: prison records about “prison friendships” between female inmates (1870–1930), and correspondence between the Swedish Association for Sex Education (RFSU) and women whose intimacy and desire are directed towards their own sex (1930–1960).

The ambition of the dissertation – as the title indicates – is to study the conditions in which intimacy between women is constructed in specific times, that is, the *Zeitgeist* or cultural value that

the construction of homosexual intimacy consists of. The point of departure is the ever-present heterosexuality, which defines the women’s intimacy, and Lundahl uses the perspective of queer theory to problematize and deconstruct current cultural notions about gender, identity, and sexuality, in relation to contemporary knowledge and also diachronically. This means that Lundahl treats two perspectives: (1) what is defined as “normal” sexuality, that is to say, current normative trends, conceptions, and values in society; (2) what is defined as “abnormal” sexuality, that is, marginal areas such as women prisoners’ friendships and the homosexual women as defined in the RFSU material.

In the period 1870–1930 the perspective alternates between general cultural statements in prison records and reports on examinations undertaken by clergymen, doctors, and prison management, and specific statements by the inmates themselves. In the period 1930–1960 the perspective alternates between the replies from RFSU – based on medical and psychological theories, and the general understanding of health in the period – and the women’s questions about their sexuality.

With a wealth of empirical detail, Lundahl demonstrates the links between the women’s self-perception and current normative statements on gender. In the first period she believes that there was an “action-oriented moral order” (p. 169), while in the second period there was an “individual-oriented moral order” (p. 172).

The “action-oriented moral order” consists of a specific outlook on women according to which reproduction is the purpose of sex, within the framework of marriage. Homosexual intimacy thus falls outside the moral and normative definition set up by the prison management, with the aid of the chaplain. Concepts such as morality, vice, sin, fornication, and degeneration permeate the descriptions of the women’s friendships, but neither the women themselves nor the prison management perceive same-sex intimacy as being inherent properties – as something the women *are*. The intimacy is rather understood as something that all individuals can be tempted by if they suffer from “lack of morals” (p. 81).

The boundary for acceptable and unacceptable intimacy and the lack of morals also serves as a

basis for the women's own explanation of their friendships. The prison chaplain in Norrköping is laconic when he writes in 1895: "When asked how they could be guilty of such a serious offence [prison friendship], the surprising answer is that they came together to talk to each other about God. It is more than deplorable that people with common sense can become such slaves to their desires that they finally lose all self-control" (p. 192).

The acts – *what* actually happened between the women rather than *why* – define same-sex intimacy as the reverse of moral/religious parameters of morality: as an action against the natural order, on a footing with other immorality such as extramarital activity and masturbation without reproductive intent.

In the information material and correspondence from RFSU the aim is to respond to and explain same-sex intimacy on the basis of parameters such as "scientific facts", that is, psychological, biological, and environmental explanations. RFSU's primary goal was to end the criminalization of homosexuality, and by shifting the perspective from the act (unnatural fornication) to the explanation, the focus was now on "individual-oriented sexuality". Homosexuality was now ascribed to nature's variation, which meant that homosexuals were regarded as victims of nature, without blame or responsibility for their deviation (p. 135). Same-sex intimacy became, in medical terms, homosexuality. RFSU wanted science to be made accessible to the population, and the biological designation – *nature's variation* – meant that homosexuality was understood in the same way as, say, colour-blindness, that is, as a physical defect.

Sexuality became a part of the modern health project, yet it was an environmental/biological evolutionary idea that prevailed. Homosexuality was perceived as a degeneration of heterosexuality; it was an undeveloped sexuality associated with growing up in poor psychological and environmental circumstances. The letters to RFSU show that the "homosexual" women themselves were also supposed to perceive themselves in terms of the definitions by medical science.

One of the women wrote: "The fact is that I am one of those who have homosexuality" (p. 150). Here the self-perception is still not associated

with sexuality as identity. Homosexuality is a pathological defect, a disease that one *has*. In the letters the constitutional idea grows in significance through time. Another woman writes: "Now I wonder if it is some sort of hormone deficiency that makes me the way I am" (p. 141).

Lundahl's point is that RFSU, with its critique of moral norms, wants to install new, scientifically based norms in the individual's sexual understanding. Yet regardless of how same-sex intimacy was explained – as constitutional or environmental – the counsellors treated the women as a marginal minority, distinct and demarcated from what was normal.

Both the prison sources and the RFSU material show that the women and the experts – whether religious/moral or scientific – confirmed each other's language and perception of reality. The individual had to formulate and reformulate her self-understanding in relation to prevailing cultural circumstances, and Lundahl shows how established notions were used to shape personal experiences; in other words, experiences are in relation to the opportunities and limitations that different social and cultural conditions and normative descriptions produce.

The empirical material is contextualized with societal interests in marriage, sex life, and love that arose at the start of the 1880s, debated as part of society's organization of the family, work, and modern life values and freedom values. Around 1900 moral, scientific, psychological, and pathological definitions of same-sex intimacy were upset.

An important message is that dualistic currents prevail, including both rationality and romanticism, science and emotion, and medical science in many ways took over the historical heritage of religious and moral perceptions of sexuality. This is a difficult discussion that Lundahl presents as dynamic and complex, but one of her syntheses is that reproduction in particular became the foundation for the definition of normal sexuality. Lundahl regards this as a specific order known as *heterosexuality*. This heterosexual order requires clear descriptions of inclusion/exclusion, normal/abnormal, in order to maintain its fundamental heteronormative values.

Sarah Holst Kjær, Copenhagen

Constructing the Body in the Classroom

Anna Sofia Lundgren, Tre år i g. Perspektiv på kropp och kön i skolan. B. Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2000. 202 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7139-502-4.

■ How are body and sex/gender constructed in the classroom and in school in general? How can body and gender be seen as actors in a teenage school world? Anna Sofia Lundgren's thesis focuses on pupils at the upper level of the Swedish comprehensive school (ages 13–16) and their understanding of gender experience. She focuses on how these practices can be seen in the environment the school offers, which is constructed by such factors as rules, tradition, and the physical environment.

Lundgren's empirical material is based on participant observation, taking part in lessons and breaks among the pupils. Interviews are also used. She has followed a particular class through the upper level for almost three years. The fieldwork helped to make the contingent character of everyday situations visible.

Judith Butler's post-structural theory of identities is a starting-point for the study. According to this view, identities are negotiated and constituted over and over again. Sex and gender are thus seen not as biological facts but as cultural constructions reproduced in everyday life, and in this particular study in school.

The author focuses on the body in the analysis, the movements of the body, the body in the physical environment as well as the places of bodies. Both pupils and teachers are looked at through this perspective. How are space, time, and the body constructed in the classroom situation? The everyday life of the teenager is also described through the way the body is talked about. The dichotomy of natural–unnatural is used as an explanation in the pupils' description of themselves versus other pupils. In this thesis body is understood as something that individuals *do* over and over again. *Doing* implies reproducing old meanings or producing new ones. Lundgren argues that the pupils watched over each other's performances, making sure nobody behaved in the wrong way regarding gender-specific behaviour.

Another question asked of the material is how gender was used in explanations of everyday situations in school. This analysis is based on essays that the pupils wrote about themselves in the eighth grade. Girls tended to bring up what it is like to be a girl while boys more often were concerned about the role as a pupil.

An individualistic attitude was important for the pupils, but they often expressed their identity united in groups based on shared identities. Typical dichotomies used to help the telling were: boys against girls and pupils against teachers. But Lundgren finds a movement between positions, which implies that different meanings were mobilized in different contexts. There were different ways or possibilities of being "a young person in school" (male pupil, teenage girl and so on), and hence there were also shifting definitions of gender.

Lundgren stresses that a theoretical discussion about the school situation today is needed - the reproduction of traditional gender roles should, according to her, be discussed to reach equality.

Anna Sofia Lundgren gives us a fascinating description of a teenage school world with the inside information she has gained through her ambitious fieldwork. What confuses the reader is the sometimes indistinct line between theoretical discussion and empirical descriptions. An example is the conception *body*: sometimes a pupil or a "person" can be referred to as a "body". All in all Lundgren gives us an interesting insight into the everyday life of young people, a time in life when the body is of such great importance.

Kajsa Wikman, Åbo

Old Faroese Marine Culture

Andras Mortensen, Hin føroyski róðrarbáturin. Sjónmenntir føroyinga í eldri tíð. In *Annales Societatis Scientiarum Faroensis, Supplementum XXVI*. Tórshavn 2000. 352 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 99918-41-26-1.

■ Last February the first ethnological dissertation for a Ph.D. degree in the field of *Søga og samfelag* (History and Society), was examined at Fróðl skaparsetur Føroya, the University of the Faroes. Andras Mortensen presented his work on "The Faroese Rowing Boat", which is part of the project

“The Faroes – Tradition and Modernity” that the university and Føroya Fornminnisav, the Museum of the Faroes, are running together. His supervisor was Professor Jóan Pauli Joensen.

Andras Mortensen started working at the museum in 1989 and found an extensive amount of information on boats that had been collected by Jóhannes av Skarði, teacher at a high school, and by Verland Johansen, organ-builder. The former had concentrated on function and names while the latter studied construction by measuring and drawing. Now 34 boats from over 20 villages have been redrawn and are presented in detail, grouped according to size. The groups are called *tribekkir*, *tristar*, *fýramannaðør*, *seksmannaðør*, *áttamannaðør*, *tíggjumannaðør* and *seksæringur*, names indicating, according to Faroese custom, how many men were supposed to row.

In his research Andras Mortensen has studied the historical development from around 1600 until around 1920, when the boats had engines installed. Fishing was not important for the export trade until after 1856, when the monopoly was abolished, and the islands saw the appearance of the decked vessels, sloops, that Jóan Pauli Joensen has described. The modernization that followed is evident at the end of the 19th century at the same time as the ideas of independence developed.

In the first part of the dissertation the rowing boat is discussed for every aspect – names, construction, tools and gear – and comparisons are made with traditions in Iceland, Norway and Shetland. The second part deals with the use of the boat, population, ownership and the division of the catch. Finally, the changes that followed with the engines and the rowing competitions are discussed. The racing started in an organized way at the end of the 19th century. Today young men and women take part in a set of summer races that are broadcast live, and there is a vivid discourse on the construction of the rowing boat.

Since the boat has become a symbol of Faroese identity, the question of independent innovation or loan is relevant. There have been many connections with Norway, and it seems that the import of boats from the area of Hardanger Fjord influenced the shape of the Faroese boat as it is known in the 17th century. At the disputation, the first opponent, Bjarne Stoklund, professor emeritus from

Copenhagen, stressed that more information on boatbuilders in the islands at that time is to be found in written sources. The second opponent, Arne Emil Christensen, curator from Oslo, said that additional comparisons of essential measurements on boats from the Hardanger Fjord area could have given the answer. (The belief that the hero Nólsoyar-Páll at the beginning of the 19th century made certain amendments is regarded as a nationalistic tale.) Bjarne Stoklund praised the solid museum research in the dissertation, but he questioned the theoretical framework with its references to Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. The third opponent, Jóhan Hendrik Winther Poulsen, professor emeritus, Tórshavn, praised the language and the abundance of denominations that are included and discussed.

This very substantial opus is the 4,000th book to be printed in Faroese and it became a popular Christmas present. Since there is an international interest in marine culture, an edition in English of “The Faroese Rowing Boat” would prove most valuable. In that publication the many photographs and some of the drawings should be provided with basic information.

Nanna Hermansson, Stockholm

No Landscape is an Island

Katarina Saltzman, *Inget landskap är en ö. Dialektik och praktik i öländska landskap*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2001. 282 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-89116-26-7.

■ “No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main ... Any man’s death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee”. This quotation is perhaps best known from Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, but originally it derives from John Donne’s *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, originally published in 1624 and probably the best known of his *œuvre* of speculative, many-sided poetry. The inspiration from Donne for the title of Saltzman’s dissertation, *Inget landskap är en ö*, is obvious, but, as she states in the last chapter, it is not based on a reading of Donne himself (at least *Devotions* is

not mentioned in the bibliography) but on a reference to the Swedish historians of ideas Sverker Sörlin and Anders Öckerman. This is all right for Saltzman's use of Donne, for her "no man is an island" is a metaphor and nothing else. However, this quotation of a quotation also has to do with the way sources are treated, or rather perceived, in this dissertation, with how history is used (or not used) in the analysis. This I shall return to.

"No man is an island" is a metaphor for Saltzman used to state that the landscape she is treating, the island of Öland, is not an island in the sense that it is isolated and without ties to the rest of the world; according to the study, ties bind it in space, in time, as nature, as culture, in the scholarly tradition, and in society. The study builds on a dialectic approach (I find it hard to see more a many-sided rather than strictly dialectic approach, though this would be more in line with Donne) including all these dimensions and based on the so-called new cultural geography of, e.g., Daniels, Duncan, and Cosgrove, or the "spatial anthropology" of, e.g., Olwig; both fields heavily influenced by the Writing Culture critique of the 1980s in anthropology. However, this latter affiliation only appears in the dissertation in the weakest sense. It is the studies in their direct cultural-geographic form that interest Saltzman, and not their (at times) hidden affiliations with certain disciplinary traditions and/or philosophical standpoints. Moreover, Saltzman is in this field also known for her own *Moderna landskap* (written with Birgitta Svensson) from 1997, dealing with the same questions but directed more towards the political and present-day cultural perception and use of landscape; a perspective also included in the dissertation. In her inspiration, and thus quite sensibly, "no man is an island" is merely a metaphorical way of stating that Saltzman has asked herself "whether landscape can be used as an analytical approach for the understanding of the dialectics between nature and culture in our society" (p. 235) and, not surprisingly, she answers yes: "landscape can be perceived as the physical expression of man's and society's way of exploiting and valuing nature. To study landscape is, therefore, to study nature in culture" (pp. 235–236). This is the aim of the study and this is, more or less, what we get.

Nevertheless, this quoted statement, phrased almost as an exclamation, surprised me a bit, because it seems to me to express only half of the relationship (if we take the word *dialectic* for real), a true social constructivism which in most of the dissertation the author does much to soften – successfully. Landscape can never be just a physical expression of something either done to it or thought about it. It is also there in itself, in other words: landscape is both *in sich* and *an sich* (or, with Saltzman, nature in culture and culture in nature). However, a review must first and foremost be fair to the intention of the author, and these questions are not in the centre of the dissertation. The inspiration from the field of (postmodern-inspired, or geographical, or whatever) landscape studies is behind the dissertation but is not much discussed. This is fair enough with me, but it does lead to such uncertainties as stated: what are dialectic relationships really, what is many-sidedness and a multivocal approach in the postmodern-inspired ethnology, anthropology, and geography etc. really?

Perhaps a certain attention to such matters could have been helpful also when dealing with the empirical area of the study, where the empirical knowledge at times seems more controlled by the insights into the theoretical positions than the other way around. Öland serves more as an *example* of the themes addressed than as the theme itself, and in this it proves hard for empirical knowledge to lead to an eventual change of theoretical insight. Saltzman writes: "Hence, this is a book about landscape on Öland. It is not a book about the province of Öland" (p. 19; Swedish *landskap* means both landscape and province). At bottom it is a case of taste whether one prefers the one approach or the other, but I mention it here because scholars in the field of postmodern-inspired cultural geography normally are very careful to argue in favour of inductive approaches and methods, taking their starting point in the critique of positivist geography (or anthropology or whatever) precisely in this nexus deduction/induction, thus leaving the empirical experience much room at the cost of grand theory, leading to a position perhaps best called low theory or sensorial and evocational methodology.

Inget landskap deals with the landscape (or

space) of Öland in the Baltic, today a celebrated summer resort but also a space with still living agriculture and animal husbandry as well as e.g. showing remnants of older landscape use, stone walls and dikes. For this reason, Öland is on the World Heritage List. After an opening dealing with the idea of landscape, and landscape as analytical tool, the study continues with a chapter on the theoretical inspirations, shaped as a view of selected forerunners in Swedish ethnology's interest in studies of spatial questions (Campbell, Granlund, Löfgren, Daun). Especially Granlund is important as he did fieldwork on Öland in the 1930s, and his work thus also inspires Saltzman, at least in the shape of a trope, though one senses that she returns to him more than once. The chapter also contains a singularly well-written reading and presentation of the newer approaches in landscape research. This reading contains what is needed and presents this cross-disciplinary field with great clarity. However, as indicated above, at times this clarity is gained with the suspension of a more philosophically informed approach to the different views in this field. Still, if one needs a chapter to give students to read for an under-standable and fairly comprehensive view of this field, Saltzman's review is a good suggestion.

The next three chapters contain most of the empirical basis of the study, dealing with landscape from basically three perspectives: the many facets of landscape in relationship with people "using it" either by living there or holidaying there; landscape as a contested political arena; the discussion of landscape preservation, showing basically different perceptions of landscape. In the chapters, Saltzman bases her discussions on her own fieldwork on Öland and on work with some primary source material from archives. However, the fieldwork holds primary status. This appears strange because the author several times states the importance of history when dealing with landscape; if not for any other reason then because landscape restores memory longer than most other "memory media" and, important for both the chapter on political struggle and the chapter on preservation, because landscape is used in specific forms as weapons in these battles and discussions, weapons armed with references

to landscape perceptions from "far back" in what is usually mythic time. Throughout the study, we are given information on Öland "back in time", especially the three areas of the royal hunt in the 16th century, overpopulation in the 19th century, and new ways of using and perceiving landscape in the 20th century, and also some information on the age of churches and the like. However, it remains statements about Öland having a past and hardly much more; especially in chapter 4 it seems to me that history becomes more an incantation than the analytical perspective asked for. Just as landscape does not mean a mere description of what is before your eyes, history is not just a statement of something being older than something else. History is an analytical perspective as well, or can be. What has the royal hunt to do with overpopulation or holidaymakers in the 20th century? What has become of the 18th century? What has changed, what is constant through time? Far too often, the historical material only serves as fill-in to the points made and demonstrated through the reading of literature and the field material.

It is not surprising that this is the result – and in some way it is not wrong either, I return to the matter of taste in project layouts. We are all different, and a perfectly well-performed study could have been done based on fieldwork alone. But why, then, these continuous invocations of History? Part of the answer may lie somewhere else; somehow almost outside the control of the author, given that we all are part of a practice. In her presentation of material (as an almost exclusively historically working ethnologist myself I did notice this!) Saltzman states with admirable openness that she did some reading and "I began my collecting of material in Föra by doing interviews with a number of villagers, though I had my doubts about the method of interviews when it comes to studying landscape. Like many in my generation, however, I took it for granted that ethnological fieldwork should involve interviews too. Perhaps interviews for us ethnologists today are what the documentation of artefacts, settlement patterns and structures of ownership was in the days of John Granlund; they are an obligatory and at times only duty-bound feature in our scholarly practice. So I did my interviews and found that

they actually did bring me an important familiarity with a village and its inhabitants" (p. 46). So interviews did pay off – and the study rests on interviews with historical source material in the background even when it perhaps should have been more in the forefront. And the author apparently fulfilled the informal requirements for doing "decent research". I belong to her generation, I must say, and I am simply bewildered over these sentences.

Another example could be the use of illustrations and the lack of a map, or at least of a map of a more standardized kind than the one on the back flap of the book, beautifully drawn by Henrik Svensson in a romantic tradition but hardly helpful for a reader like me not knowing Öland at all before beginning to read the study. It *may* be so (but I am only guessing) that Saltzman nurtures a hesitation about maps in the sense that they only express a certain and often very "cold" reading of a landscape in contrast to the "warm" (or many-sided) one aimed for in the study. I understand this position – but doesn't it take a map to demonstrate? Could a many-sided position not include this kind of "cold" voice in the choir also – this in line with the title's reference to John Donne and the many references to Daniels and Cosgrove? Or is the reason of another kind (I am still guessing)? Is the map seen as an illustration of the same ontological level as the photos in the book? They are good photos, mostly taken by the author herself during her fieldwork – but they are used exclusively as illustrations, thus outside the texts of landscape interpretation. Almost all of them derive from the present day – here too the time frame is narrowed down to the immediate past.

When all is said and done, this is not a bad book, not at all. It is worth reading, also because it is basically well written. It presents an interesting empirical case. It contains one of the best reviews of the present landscape research I have read recently, at least in its Swedish and Anglo-American variants. And, as indicated, for those of us who are not Swedes and/or educated in Swedish institutions, the study offers us a glimpse into the traditions developing in our sister institutions in Sweden. *Inget landskap är en ö* is hereby recommended.

Mikkel Venborg Pedersen, Copenhagen

Life in a Students' Hall of Residence

Maria Zackariasson, Maktkamper och korridor-fester. En etnologisk studie av kulturella processer och gruppinteraktion i två studentkorridorer. Etnolore 23, Uppsala 2001. 270 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1488-6.

■ Life in a "student corridor", a unit in a students' hall of residence, is the topic of Maria Zackariasson's dissertation in ethnology, entitled "Power Struggles and Corridor Parties". Just as the author points out, this is a topic that every academic can say something about based on the memory of his or her own time as a student. Whether one lived in a student corridor or not, one's student days often stand out as a special time, at least in retrospect. It is a time characterized by a cutting of the bonds with one's parents and the development of independence, and by other rules than those applying at school or in working life. I had hoped, partly for nostalgic reasons, to read a dissertation about this alternative time, about student life as a rite of passage. My hopes, however, were partly disappointed. What I did get was a study of the student corridor as a micro-society, which is interesting in itself. The student corridor serves here as a reflection of society at large. This reflection becomes particularly clear when outside elements, such as exchange students from abroad, expose accustomed rules and norms in the group in question. The expression of this reflection of "us" in "the others" is, in my opinion, the greatest merit of this dissertation.

The aim of the thesis is to analyse the cultural processes that arise in the encounter between people in their attempts to live together. The relationship of the individual to the collective is the central theme here, around which the entire study is built up. The milieu studied by Zackariasson consists of two student corridors in Uppsala in autumn 1997 and spring 1998. The source material comes from field notes based on participant observation and interviews with students living in the corridors. The author problematizes her role in the field to some extent, and also contemplates ethical issues connected with fieldwork. She is aware, for instance, that certain statements are sensitive for the people

they concern. I had hoped that she would problematize her fieldwork more than this, the way in which she creates knowledge about relations in the corridors in the encounter with her informants. Nor are we told much about the method she used for the actual analysis. As a folklorist I find it rather a pity that Zackariasson abandoned her original idea of studying the role of conversation in everyday life on student corridors. Instead she focused on the encounters between individuals and the relations and conflicts that arose from them. Zackariasson thus studies exclusion, community, conversation, relations, conflicts, gender affiliation, and power relations.

Zackariasson uses the concepts of youth and youthfulness as analytical tools. Idealized youthfulness leads to a problematic view of adulthood, in which maturity and becoming established are not automatically regarded as positive. Other fundamental concepts are culture as a process, the individual, the collective, and sociality, that is, attitudes and actions by which people are brought into relations with each other. Placing these questions in a framework of power and gender was a happy choice, challenging accustomed perceptions of equality and the exercise of power in an exciting way.

Besides the introduction, the dissertation consists of seven chapters. The first one deals with student culture in general and in Uppsala in particular, with its students unions (the nations) and festive traditions. Here the author also considers the student's anxiety about choosing what to study, and the demands of society in this respect. The next chapter is about moving away from home; the student corridor can be viewed as an intermediate stage between the parental home and a home of one's own. The accommodation reflects as much liminality as student life itself. Community and belonging are the themes of the following chapter, focusing on personal relations. Here the author shows that the corridor may be viewed as "us", in contrast to those who are outside, but it also shows that the community is far from being without complications. If the community is to work, there must be a will to mix with other people. The next chapter is about relations between group members based on verbal interaction. Here the author presents the unofficial

conversation as an ideal way of socializing, furthering the sense of community while the community is simultaneously a precondition for the will to converse. This shared ideal is put in relation to individual characteristics and wishes. The next chapter is about who can be admitted to the community, about exclusion, about the boundary between the private and the collective, and about shared rules. Greetings are interpreted as a symbolic marker, as a minimum level of sociality. Here it also becomes clear that those who refuse to submit to the rules of the collective, for example, by refusing to take out the rubbish, are subjected to heavy criticism. Exclusion is described in terms of one's own culture versus other people's. The deviant behaviour of an exchange student, which led to his exclusion, is explained by the group members with reference to differences in culture. Swedish students see themselves and their equals as individuals, whereas the exchange student is regarded as a product of his culture. This is perceived as a politically correct, non-racist way to explain the difference, an approach that also prevails in the media. The norms and rules applying to the community of "us" become clear when "the others" do not behave in the same way.

The last proper chapter before the summary, on power relations, consensus, and democratic order, is fascinating reading. Here the student corridor's character of a micro-society is clear. The questions discussed are the view of democracy and hierarchy, organization, equality, and gender. It becomes clear that the power in the group arises in the relation between different individuals and that the power position gives an opportunity for influence. The analysis of the group members' statements also shows clearly that a corridor is perceived as a female domain, that Western women are associated with greater responsibility for domestic settings. Female members are urged to do their female duties, even though the official view is that Sweden is a country of equality. There is a discrepancy here between ideal and practice which I assume is fairly common. The power structures in a corridor prove to be complicated, consisting of a balancing act between adaptation and taking the initiative.

The dissertation is an extremely careful piece

of work, but in some cases it lacks broader perspectives. We are allowed to follow the students on the corridor through ample, lengthy quotations from the interviews. Having so much room for quotations gives a very intimate feeling. When I read about how the informants presented their views about the other members of the group I sometimes had the feeling of watching an episode of a docusoap like *Survivor*, with the author as director. My first reaction was that this was not successful. On further thought, I realized that it this is a sign that the author has succeeded in the art of bringing the reader close to the setting she has studied. The dissertation gives a powerful sensation of presence.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

Milk and Soil

Ann-Catrin Östman, Mjölkh och jord. Om kvinnlighet, manlighet och arbete i ett österbottniskt jordbrukssamhälle ca 1870–1940. Åbo Akademis förlag, Åbo 2000. 364 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-765-052-3.

■ Ann-Catrin Östman's dissertation, whose title means "Milk and Soil: On Femininity, Masculinity and Work in an Ostrobothnian Agrarian community c. 1870–1940", is a study with connections to both history and ethnology. It analyses developments in women's and men's agricultural work to understand how gender is formed in everyday life. In attempting this, the aim of the study is to understand the processes by which gender differences are created and preserved.

The study covers the time from 1870 to 1940, a period when agricultural work was characterized by several changes. While earlier studies of the modernization of agriculture often primarily revolve around economy and technology, Östman's purpose is rather to emphasize patterns of behaviour, the cultural meanings of work and not least the interaction in a local community. The alterations that took shape during the period are, for example, the structure of the households and labour practices. Also, more and more of the agricultural produce was sold and many of the farmers switched from mainly arable farming to animal husbandry. Although women's agricultural

work and the ideas about feminine and masculine work are fields that have been thoroughly studied from various angles, Östman's study brings new answers to new questions such as who worked, where, when, with what and how. She also looks closely at problems such as shame, the public sphere and education. By doing so, she is able to show how spatial and historical aspects of work gave meaning to femininity and masculinity and to the shaping of gender differences.

The Ostrobothnian women are the basis of the study. At the start of the twentieth century they often carried out a considerable amount of work and they also often worked with men and with traditionally masculine tasks. The reverse was never common and women – especially married women – in agricultural work often found themselves and their work influenced by two sets of disparate demands. On the one hand they were expected to work together with the men at chores connected with the soil, and on the other hand they had full responsibility for areas that traditionally were considered feminine, here symbolized by milk.

The focus is on the small community of Purmo, situated in the northern part of Ostrobothnia, where the author was born. There are also other reasons to focus on this particular part of Finland. The old Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnian agrarian society differs from many other parts of the country. Östman points out, for example, that social differences were not as marked as in other parts of Finland and that agriculture to a large extent was based on smallholdings.

With a micro-historical approach to a wide range of different types of source material such as biographical stories, letters, diaries, contemporary newspaper articles, interviews, ethnological notes mixed with statistics and documents from public authorities and regional and local associations, Östman starts her study. Her gender-theoretical foundation is a combination of socio-historically-oriented women's studies, men's studies and post-structuralist gender theory. Joan Scott is the starting point and the major source of inspiration. She interprets gender as a historical process and an analytical force that creates differences between the sexes and gives meaning to femininity and to masculinity. Gender here is looked upon as a

structuring category and an organizing principle. In the study, questions are asked about the division of labour on several levels – symbolically, institutionally and individually. To reach this on a more empirical level, Östman looks at gender, household, class and the public sphere.

Östman not only focuses on the division of labour between men and women; she also looks at the divisions among men and among women. It was the younger women who did the outdoor work while the older ones kept closer to the home and their chores there. The younger men were thus closer to the women and their tasks in the cowsheds than older, married men. Here, Östman discusses Laqueur-inspired interpretations of gender differences. According to this, older societies are distinguished by a difference in degree rather than in kind as the case was during the nineteenth century. In her source material, Östman presents another interpretation. She points out that milking and other traditionally feminine-coded work was strongly connected with female sexuality and with the female body. It was considered highly shameful for men to handle milk in any way. This shows, in her opinion, that the body played an important role in older societies too.

As said before, Östman's study has a considerable breadth, embracing several research fields and based on many different kinds of source material. This is the strength of the dissertation,

but also its weakness. Östman conducts an interesting and thorough discussion of her most important material, the biographical stories, but there is little discussion about how they can be used and how using them influences the study. This can also be said about the source material in general, where the important question about the limitations of the material are left unanswered. Since the source material consists of many different kinds, a more thorough discussion would have been needed. The large amount of material sometimes makes it difficult to get close to it and consequently the material needs to be introduced over and over again to make it understandable to the readers. Despite these repetitions, it is sometimes difficult to understand what kind of material the information is collected from.

Ann-Catrin Östman's dissertation is well written and it is easy to follow her thoughts and her method. It is clear that she is very familiar with the tradition of agrarian studies and that she is able to explore new paths in interpreting historical material. The dissertation is also illustrated with enlightening pictures from the studied area, which helps to bring the people behind the source material to life. Östman's doctoral thesis contributes important results when there is a gender perspective on women's and men's work in agrarian society.

Marie Steinrud, Uppsala

Book Reviews

Studies of Swedish Leisure

Efter arbetet. Studier av svensk fritid. Peder Aléx & Jonny Hjelm (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2000. 177 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-01557-7.

■ The authors of this collection of papers about Swedish leisure are researchers and teachers in the disciplines of history, history of ideas, ethnology, philosophy, and literature at the universities of Umeå, Gothenburg, and Södertörn. The book is primarily intended for university students of subjects which concern themselves with everyday history. The primary aim is to give the reader an orientation in a field which, in the authors' opinion, has hitherto been partly neglected.

The book describes the development towards increased leisure time for ordinary people, chiefly wage earners, but housewives looking after children are also brought into the idea of holidays and leisure. There is an account of the conflict that arose when workers themselves wished to determine their own spare time, while the bourgeoisie wished to retain control over how the workers used their time.

The studies, written by different authors, deal with eight different aspects of leisure in Sweden in the twentieth century. The chapters are as follows: Anna-Lill Drugge writes on "Hunting and Hunters in Sweden", Jonny Hjelm on "The Football Movement in Sweden", Alf Arvidsson on "The Musical Explosion", Tomas Forser and Ingvar Johansson on "The Left Years", Stefan Dalin on "A Forgotten Solidarity Movement – Swedish Involvement in Spain 1936–1939", Peder Aléx on "Save and Squander – Twentieth-century Swedish Consumption", Lena Lennerhed on "A Modern Sexuality", and Lena Eskilsson on "Summer Holiday – Idea, Practice, and Personal Perspectives".

This is a very uneven collection of articles. One of the few things linking them together is that virtually all of them deal with developments in relation to the sexes in the different spheres of leisure life.

The book could best be described as an appetizer which can lead people into a topic that will arouse

their interest so that they can then go on to explore it in greater depth. To this end there is a bibliography of the relevant topic at the end of each chapter. The book has surprisingly few illustrations.

Birgit Andreassen, Rødovre

Culture and Memory – Estonian Viewpoints

Kultuur ja mälu. Konverentsi materjale. Terje Anepaio and Ene Kõresaar (eds.). Studia Ethnologica Tartuensia 4. Tartu Ülikooli etnoloogia õppetool, Tartu 2001. 266 p. English summaries. ISBN 9985-4-0167-0.

■ This volume is a collection of sixteen studies on memory, its forms, functions and social meaning. It addresses what we may call cultural memory, be it individual or collective, official or private, written or experiential. It goes without saying that medical, psychological and physiological aspects of memory processes are beyond the scope of the book, which is more of a survey what the culture-scientific disciplines have done and are now doing in memory research in present-day Estonia. The collection is based on the papers read during a conference on culture and memory at the University of Tartu in October 2000.

Symbolically, some of the titles already seem to catch the focus of Estonian research on cultural memory, namely, Terje Anepaio's "Trauma and memory: repressed Estonians coping with the past" and Epp Annus's "Nation between forgetting and remembering". In Estonia the second half of the 20th century was a time of memory conflicts. The official memory, represented by the state and official history writing, fought against the collective memory, based on human experience. The collective memory had to persist even when true remembering was impossible.

The collective memory and historiography began to be reconciled at the beginning of the 1990s paradoxically in the same way as their conflict had begun. Just as the Soviet occupation started with the destruction of memorials and the erection of new ones, so the rebuilding of the republic began with restoring the former ones and clearing away the latter. The objective was "to

give the Estonians back their history", and for this purpose biographical experience was equalled with collective memory.

The second half of the 1990s is in Estonia characterised by differentiation of the social memory. The question of "true" remembering – to whom and what kind of memorials it is proper to erect and where – was and is still being discussed. The historiography competes with different social memories, especially on such key issues as the deportations of 1941 and 1949.

Memory as a cultural phenomenon and analytical category needs to be discussed. There is also a need to learn from one another, to research experiences and the results of different disciplines. There are some overarching concerns, such as "memory, truth and history", "individual and collective memory" and the relation between "cultural memory and memory culture". The articles pertaining to the latter include "Juri Lotman and Boris Uspenski: thoughts on culture and memory" (Inga Dorofejeva), "Book reception as a mirror of committing to memory and remembering culture in Early Modern Europe. Some examples from the practices of compiling booklists and about their understanding today" (Kaido Orula), "Artifacts' memory – a case of an Estonian printed matter" (Kurmo Konsa), "Ideological architecture as memory support: Italy, Germany, Soviet Union" (Siim Sultson) and "Revolt against memory in modern Estonian art" (Kaire Nurk).

The themes of "individual and collective memory" are discussed in the articles "Remembering as retrieving of the past as a possibility of the coming. *Erinnerung* and *Wiederholung* in the thinking of Martin Heidegger" (Eduard Parhomenko), "Collective memory and biographical research" (Ene Kõresaar), "Tradition-bound life-experience narrative: the ethnopoetic textualization of memories" (Taisto Raudalainen), "About the ethnical memory of Estonians on the grounds of South African example" (Karin Hiiemaa), "Two models of the Estonians' adaptation to new culture realities after World War II" (Aili Aarelaid) and "Has it existed if you don't remember it?" (Riina Reinvelt).

Three of the articles belong to the category of "memory, truth and history": "A historical event in the light of different sources (according to the

reports of deported Estonians)" (Aigi Rahi), "How to interpret the truth of a traditional narrative?" (Tiiu Jaago) and "Does history 'remember'?" (David Vseviiov).

The articles are in Estonian but there is a short English summary at the end of each one.

Anneli Honko, *Turku*

The Citizen as a Problem

*Järnbur eller frigörelse? Studier i modernisering-
en av Sverige.* Gösta Arvastson (ed.). Studentlitte-
ratur, Lund 1999. 146 pp. ISBN 91-44-00796-5.

■ This anthology, "Cage or Liberation? Studies in the Modernization of Sweden", was written by doctoral students in ethnology, Uppsala. It is in the nature of things that a collection of this kind can be somewhat incoherent, that the individual contributions do not belong very well together. This anthology is uneven in that it contains articles which are rather weak, approaching the banal, alongside articles which are at a very high level as regards thematic approach and presentation. Despite the unevenness, this is an extremely important book which touches on central themes in Nordic society at the turn of the millennium.

These themes are presented well in Gösta Arvastson's trenchant Introduction. He declares outright that the social-liberal model of Nordic society today is in a crisis, which also means a readjustment phase. This is due in particular to its increased difficulty in legitimating itself. This legitimacy was not a problem as long as there was enough money to distribute. Admittedly, the citizen was kept in tight reins and had to trot faster and faster, but optimism prevailed, and both state and citizen had the same goal. Consensus reigned, so people were able to tolerate interventions in their liberty. That is no longer the case, Arvastson writes. In the 1980s the idea began to spread that society's ills were due to a far too expensive public sector, which meant that marginal population groups and minorities were no longer the responsibility of society to the same extent; at the same time, neoliberal market forces pressured from the right with the demand that recipients of welfare had to be deserving and do their fair share.

This raised the problem of who and what these

vulnerable groups actually were and how they could do their bit. The so-called “new spirituality” was one solution. Demands for hard work and stable family relations were increasingly heard. It can all be summed up in a new moralizing view of the citizen, with the risk that those who did not do their bit could be branded as welfare parasites.

In the public debate, this parasite was often incarnated in the person of the refugee/immigrant, who was accused of sponging on the Swedish welfare state, which should rightly be reserved for the Swedes themselves. The fact that the non-Swedish “Other” became the target should be seen in the light of the international migrations that resulted from globalization. This migration, according to Arvastson, runs counter to the European tradition of “essentialism”. However, the Introduction deserves credit for highlighting the fact that the control and moral surveillance that struck foreigners also affected ordinary Swedes. This is particularly clear from Maria Andersson’s article about wage labour as the norm, that society’s concern for the unemployed is as much a matter of disciplining and controlling as of finding work for them. This means fobbing people off with make-believe projects which simulate work, especially the temporal rhythm of work, but which do not lead anywhere. It has all become a question of training in the culture of work. As a whole, the editor and the best of the other writers are keenly aware that the social cement is today turned into a matter of shared consciousness and “culture” more than social and economic community.

One must also ask, however, why foreigners have become the target for many people – and why the dislike of this targeting is so strong in progressive circles in Sweden. Is it in reality two sides of the same coin that we see? Is it to do with the vigorous Swedish tradition of universalism, that is, the principle of equal rights and freedoms for everyone? When the authorities cannot or will not maintain this principle any longer, is it seen as a sign of profound degeneration, both by those who fall outside the universalism and by those who defend it? And does the Swedish tradition of international openness also play a part, as nationalism has been anathema in progressive circles since the 1930s? And does it matter that nationalism is still central to popular culture – from sports

to the Eurovision Song Contest? These and other questions press for an answer as one reads this anthology. Here I lack a more politically oriented approach, which is otherwise not far to seek when Arvastson acutely notes (p. 17) that “social integration becomes moral integration”.

The same acuity is seen in the first article in the anthology. Here Katarina Ek-Nilsson points out that the status ascribed to engineers in the heyday of Modernity no longer comes so automatically. The engineer who more than anyone else incarnated progress is now blamed, ever since the 1970s, for all kinds of trouble: war and arms production. Many engineers have therefore begun to complain that there is no gratitude. The (social) engineers who achieved such status in society – starting with the Stockholm Exhibition and the Myrdals’ dream of a technological soci- etality – is today an object of persecution. Young people today do not want to become engineers; they want to be stylists, fashion models, and journalists, writes Ek-Nilsson (p. 25), without going into the reasons. It is nevertheless obvious: the focus today is on the ability to master symbols. Young people are already keenly aware of this. Those who can analyse and master symbols will be in a stronger position tomorrow than engineers and traditional scientists. This article is well written and refreshingly lucid in its argumentation. Moreover, it demonstrates a good grasp of cultural history.

The same applies to Anna Ljung’s brilliant article “The Tower of Babel: Morbidity and Death in Modern Society”. Clearly inspired by Foucault, but without any tendency towards the use of reporting style and conspiracy theory that sometimes characterizes Foucault-inspired works, the author makes it clear that all the talk of freedom of choice in the health sector actually conceals a distinct desire to control the citizens. At the same time, the article is one of the first examples from Sweden showing that people are fed up with all the free choices. We are shown convincingly that the population today not only have to assume authority for their own illness but also for the treatment – including the choice of which authority one should rely on (p. 54) – and that all this responsibility is an impediment to the crucial thing: learning to live with and interpret one’s

illness. The author's clearly ethnological view (p. 53) is that freedom of choice is experienced differently in practical everyday life than on the rhetorical level. It is evident that people are getting tired of the Giddensian demand for reflexivity. People have simply had enough.

Maria Zackariasson, in her article, does not go quite so far in her diagnosis. Her focus is more on the limits to freedom of choice. She gives a clear and sober account of how customs, traditions, and conventions still play a major role for young people, e.g., in their choice of career (p. 95). The article thus takes on the character of an important counter to all the talk of detraditionalization. Social relations, e.g., easily suffer from impermanence and mobility, to name just one of the features highlighted by Maria Zackariasson.

Rebecka Lennartsson's article, "Transformations of Desire", also deserves praise. It is so well written and clearly argued that it should be used in any context involving the study of sexuality and the body. In terms of presentation it is the best, along with Ljung's article. Without swinging her arms too much, she describes the construction of sexuality in the 19th century and its consequences for the view of the Whore as the Other. She shows a fine historical sensitivity and a sense of different periods. The article is a gem.

Unfortunately, it is followed by a couple of articles that do not maintain the high standard. They are too full of complaints and concern about the Other and a moralizing criticism of all the nasty ethnologists, historians, and other people through the ages who have broken the rules of compassion and cultural relativism. Condemning tendencies to racism in the past is almost too easy and banal. At the same time, in the article on the view of the Sami the author gets into serious problems with regard to the relationship between universalism and uniformity. Here a clear vision of the history of ideas, as seen in some of the previous articles, would have helped a great deal. Instead the author ends up in a morass of well-meaning clichés. The same applies to the article about the image of Norrland and its settler culture, where we read (p. 144) that the question of "the ethical and moral consequences of scholarship, its cultural significance and 'rightness'" is central. Is this not an example of the controlling

and moralizing *politruk* behaviour that Arvastson criticizes in the Introduction? Of course it is!

Luckily, there is still one titbit left, namely, Åsa Ljungström's thoughtful article about place, history, and memory. In her study of the Arlanda area, where Stockholm's airport was built, she shows that it is not just the displaced inhabitants but also the airport manager who use nostalgic retrospect as an element in self-understanding and historical understanding. The author sums it up nicely: to feel nostalgia, the distance should be long enough that the actors can feel that something is different, and short enough that they can feel a personal loss (p. 130). This is exactly how it can be done – with no need to resort to easy tricks about the author's ethical obligations and other cheap talk.

Overall, the anthology is a good example of the time of change through which the cultural sciences are passing. The book is keenly aware that the time is ripe to relativize the frequent talk of culture: that "culture" easily involves a legitimation of undesirable practice. Despite this, I would have liked to see a less "cultural" approach to the view of the Other. It would have been salutary, particularly in Arvastson's Introduction, to have a more penetrating examination of who it is that attacks the Other. Is it as banal as a struggle primarily among the weakest groups in society about picking up crumbs from the tables of the rich? Is it the struggle of the old, the weak, the young, and the outcast Swedes against foreigners that we see taking place before our amazed eyes? As I see it, the anthology, in its weakest articles, falls into the trap of forgetting to swap culture for politics and political economy. One gets stuck in culturalistic and moralistic terms. This is a shame, now when we more than ever need to tone down the cultural in relation to the political, and in relation to the striking class differences of an economic, social, epistemological character.

On the other hand, it is good that the book has an annotated bibliography after each article. Here the interested reader can explore deeper and broader perspectives. One can always find one or other overlooked work that could have been included, but the surveys are useful and reader-friendly.

To conclude, there is no doubt that most of the articles are readable, and most of them present

their cases very well. The successful ones are in the majority. The book is also a good example of the phase of scepticism and self-reflection in which Swedish ethnology – as the leading cultural science – finds itself today. It will be extremely interesting to follow further developments.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Craftsman on Two Continents

Reidar Bakken, Snikkaren Aslak Olsen Lie. Bygdekunstnar i Valdres og Wisconsin 1798–1886. Novus forlag, Oslo 2000. 145 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 82-7099-315-8.

■ Reidar Bakken is an ethnologist who has formerly been director of the Norwegian Museum of Emigration in Hamar and district conservation officer in Nord-Gudbrandsdal but is now working as a freelance researcher and writer. He thus has the best conceivable grasp of the problems that could confront an emigrant folk artist in the nineteenth century. In his biography of Aslak Olsen Lie he describes him as a craftsman on two continents. He begins with a detailed description of the young man's childhood and adolescence in a family of crofters, and he emphasizes the significance of Lie's social advancement when he married the daughter of a freeholder in 1826.

Aslak Lie used his great skill as a carpenter, wood carver, and cabinetmaker who made some of his own tools, such as planes adorned with beautifully carved decoration. Bakken has devoted a great deal of energy to tracing Lie's works, both in Valdres and in the Wisconsin to which he emigrated. Most of the works are signed, which reinforces the reliability and makes attribution easier.

Until the 1840s, when Lie was still in his homeland, his furniture bore features of the lingering rococo style, with the extreme profiling that is so typical of Norway. The tops of the cupboards still have the vigorously curving outline, and the doors are decorated with raised panels with curving waists. His clock case with acanthus on the crown is of a type inspired by English baroque style, with a large rectangular clock case resting on a straight, narrow pendulum case, sometimes so narrow that it has ear-like projections at the bottom to allow the pendulum

room to swing (this is not a specifically Norwegian arrangement; it also occurs in Skåne in Sweden in late variants of baroque clocks into the nineteenth century – see the Nordiska Museet publication *Tidsfodral*, 1997, p. 164).

Lie also received commissions from several Norwegian village churches, such as an organ façade for Bagn church, which has the local artist's mixture of styles, with acanthus and flower urns cut in wood, with carved bouquets which are more of rococo character, not unlike those which his slightly older fellow craftsman, Jöns Ljungberg, made in Härjedalen across the Swedish border. It should also be mentioned that in one of his show-pieces, known in Norwegian as *skatoll* (escritoire), he pasted in various prints – botanical plates, hunting scenes, and illustrations of Bible stories – in a way comparable to the pasting of woodcuts inside the lids of chests in southern Sweden.

Being a jack of all trades, Lie also worked with wrought iron, making his own locks and mounts for his furniture. The claim that he also made a clarinet may be doubted, however, since this would have required special knowledge.

In 1848 Lie left his home and took the whole of his large family across the Atlantic on the emigrant ship the *Augusta*, to settle in the Norwegian district of Wisconsin. Here he hoped to achieve prosperity and higher social status. After the initial difficulties of adapting to the new land, he built a large two-storey dwelling house. In 1874 the whole family posed for a photographer with the gable of the magnificent house as a backdrop. Lie was by now an old man with a white beard.

He continued to make furniture, producing a huge number of works. Bakken has tracked down and charted these with great energy. Lie's new clientele mostly consisted of fellow Norwegians with a taste for bourgeois interior decoration. His furniture now had perfectly straight lines, made of dark wood or painted in imitation veneer. Customers often ordered chests with many drawers, dressing mirrors, tables with turned legs, and sofas of Biedermeier type. Many of the cupboards were given glass doors. Aslak now Americanized his name, spelling it Lee instead of Lie. The furniture he made showed that he had completely abandoned the rural Norwegian rococo tradition. Yet this should scarcely be viewed as

solely an Americanization process. Production in Norway would change as well; the same trend of mixing old fashions and up-to-date styles was now evident on both sides of the Atlantic.

A technique that Aslak Lie adopted in his later years was the use of the fretsaw, both for the tops of cupboards and frequently in church furnishings. In America too he was commissioned to adorn churches. Although he was highly industrious, Lie's final years were miserable, and he died in poverty in 1889, aged almost ninety.

In this biography Reidar Bakken gives us an interesting portrait of the success and hardships of an emigrant cabinetmaker. The account is extremely well documented, based on archival studies, family contacts, and above all an extensive inventory of many signed objects in both Valdres and Wisconsin.

Maj Nodermann, Stockholm

Considerations on the Øresund "Region"

Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region. Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen and Orvar Löfgren (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2000. 317 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-01437-6.

■ In the year 2000 the long awaited opening of the bridge over the Øresund (sound) between Sweden and Denmark finally took place. The construction of the bridge had been accomplished in an atmosphere of excitement and speculation about its significance. There was a widespread conviction that it would result in the development of a distinctive, Øresund Region. Like the bridge, this region would span the sound and include land and people in both Sweden and Denmark.

In the very same year 2000, this book appeared. It is the product of a research group formed specifically to study this process of region formation. The group is made up of researchers from the Department of European Ethnology at Lund (Sweden) and the Institute of Management, Politics and Philosophy at the University of Copenhagen (Denmark). This unusual cooperation of ethnologists and business scholars grew out of a conviction that their combined insights would

be more analytically powerful than if they worked separately. The book begins with an overview of the issues involved in creating the region, co-authored by the heads of the two academic entities. Subsequent chapters, by ten scholars associated with these two institutions, delve into various aspects of the Øresund process.

The researchers were convinced that the development of the Øresund region was not being driven by any sort of economic or political necessity. Conceptualization of the region was taking place long before it took on any sort of physical reality. As one of the volume's contributors put it, "The Øresund Region is being talked into being, and it is a conversational reality..." (Tangkjær, 188). So, the book takes this "talk" as its subject.

Taken as a whole, it is a *cultural analysis* of this conversational reality, this Øresund discourse. Unlike "historical regions" elsewhere in Europe – such as, e.g., Catalonia, Tyrol or Northern Ireland – the Øresund has neither a determined boundary nor a governing body. There is no central planning agency. Instead of a process generated and managed by a directorate with a defined outcome in mind, there is a myriad of "region builders" who participate in the discourse. And while certain central themes characterize the process – movement and speed are two – they are often employed in very different ways by different individuals.

What makes the Øresund a region is that it is a "mutual place", however ill defined geographically, where these region builders meet as a network of conceptualizers. Participation in this discourse takes place not only via the media, but through meetings and other public events as well.

While the promotion of the Øresund region had been underway long before the completion of the bridge, the Øresund process has clearly entered a new phase now that the two sides of the sound are physically connected by the bridge. Now comes a process of "materialization" as the region builders attempt to turn their visions into physical realities. The authors are quite clear that while no particular vision of the Øresund is likely to emerge as its reality, the region will straddle the national border between Sweden and Denmark and is expected to be dynamic, modern and a significant force within the European Union.

Viewed in terms of secular processes, this

represents a new phenomenon in Europe. The classic nation states of the 19th and 20th centuries have not been sympathetic to regions claiming distinctive cultural standing, especially when this has been expressed politically. Regional inhabitants have been vigorously recruited to the national culture and historic regions have often been split in two when emerging nation states drew up their boundaries. As nation builders were fond of selecting geological features for their boundaries, especially mountain ranges and bodies of water, they often split up political regions that spanned these features. As a result, people who once shared a cultural heritage were pulled in quite different directions (e.g. Catalonia, Friesland, Tyrol). Thus Linde-Laursen's chapter, "Bordering Improvisations", makes it clear that the waters of the Øresund once united people. It was in the process of formation of the Swedish and Danish states that the sound came to divide them.

Many scholars and political figures have commented on the impact of the European Union on its member states. There is a consensus that in many ways their significance has declined as that of the EU has expanded. At the same time however, there has been a notable resurgence of the political and economic significance of regions. There are even those who see "A Europe of Regions" emerging as the significance of the nation state declines. This has strengthened the resolve of many historical regions, such as those mentioned above, and in other places brand new regional identities have been conjured up.

So, while the making of the Øresund Region may not be driven by political or economic necessity, it is reasonable to suggest that it is part of a larger process of regionalisation within the EU. The book will certainly be of interest within Sweden and Denmark, for the process it investigates is of great significance there. But it is also an important volume for anyone interested in the evolution of the EU in general and in regional processes in particular.

Unfortunately, in a short review of a multi-authored work it is not possible to comment on each of the contributions. Suffice it to say that they are of uniform high quality, that there are many clever, interesting and novel concepts and methods employed, and that the quality of writing is high.

Some of the contributions are downright entertaining, but I do wish that the book had an index. However, the book is both significant and holds one's interest. It is well worth a close reading.

John W. Cole, Brookfield, Vermont

Norwegian Constitution Day

Barbro Blehr, En norsk besvärjelse: 17 majfirande vid 1900-talets slut. Bokförlaget Nya Doxa, Nora 2000. ISBN 91-578-0349-8.

■ With her account "A Norwegian Conjuraton: Celebration of Constitution Day at the End of the Twentieth Century", the Swedish ethnologist Barbro Blehr has carried out a thorough job of documenting and analysing a distinctly ritualized phenomenon in contemporary Norway. It is of course especially interesting for Norwegians to read an "outsider's" reflections on this popular and broadly attended national festival. Blehr and her book have received considerable coverage in Norwegian broadcasting. That is a rather great achievement *per se*. Media focus on ethnologists in Norway is no everyday event. But this book has so far not resulted in any broad debates on Norwegian nationalism or the organization of the celebration of the 17th of May.

In this analysis Blehr goes into the different topical issues turning on national and cultural identity. Discussions concerning cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism in everyday Norway and the debate which arose ahead of the referendum in 1994, deciding Norway's relation to the EC, are angles of approach that Blehr uses to form a picture of the situation in the country in the 1990s. After having built up this "Norwegian landscape" of both diversity and political disagreement the author has created contrasts underlining the following analytic points in the account.

In the chapter on the logistics of the 17th of May, Blehr concentrates on the actual organization of the celebration. On these pages she shows us the interesting angles that diverse source material can bring. She not only examines and analyses the different events or the informants' adventures on the national day itself. Blehr also takes readers backstage to give them glimpses of what takes place in the many local committees planning and

organizing the processions and ceremonies. Here she finds some of the ideas marked in the organization of the celebration. The attempt to organize an uncontroversial celebration means that issues that are potential bones of contention are absent in the public events during this particular day. The committees are responsible for organizing an uncontroversial procession so that no one will take offence. References to recently concluded historical studies of the celebration of Constitution Day show that this used to be a day for current issues to be raised by different groups and organizations. At the end of the 1990s the celebration developed to become the day when the majority want no one to bring up topical issues for debate, according to Blehr.

The way Blehr throws this great day of apparent consensus into relief with controversial questions makes this account quite valuable reading. This particularly applies to Blehr's discussions in the fifth chapter, "Processions and Politics", where she illustrates the absence of different groups in society and lack of diversity in the processions. Norway and its inhabitants are on show as a people with a distinct but homogeneous national culture. The procession is held up to be a non-political demonstration. Blehr stresses that this apparently non-political demonstration thus has a clear but hidden political message. Constitution Day becomes a day of consensus since controversial issues are made invisible. This is the phenomenon Barbro Blehr chooses to identify as the unspoken Norwegian conjuration.

The author introduces the combination of nationalism and rituals as the main theoretical concepts of this study. Rituals are able to touch and engage participants and can thus be powerful agents in tying ideology and practice. Blehr's aim, among other things, is to reveal how a national ideology finds a ritualized and embodied practice through the participants. Very often, the writer underlines, there is no agreement between what is considered the most significant event of the day in general and what the individual participants themselves stress as their main enjoyment of the celebration. In this book Blehr to some extent shows us how the national ideology, put in concrete forms through a national festival, is not considered important by most informants. The celebration

taking place in local surroundings seems to be the centre of the participants' essential experiences.

Blehr has a phenomenological approach to the material. The processions are usually appraised as the highlight of the day, but the participants interviewed by Barbro Blehr emphasize the relaxing afternoons in the neighbourhood as the most valuable moments of the celebration. In the end ideology and nationalism might not be significant to people participating in or watching the processions, listening to the solemn speeches or relaxing with a cup of coffee in the local schoolyard. She underlines how the national festival is made sense of by the participants in their own practice and through their own adventures. The participants' own construction of meaning in terms of "freedom" and "peace" seems to play an important role in their understanding of this particular day. These terms are further interpreted in various ways according to the individuals' own experiences, which differ from person to person and from generation to generation.

Blehr devotes three chapters in this account to describing and analysing the main events of the celebrations according to her own empirical division of the day. She examines the organization of the celebration starting with the ceremonial mornings, and carrying on with the well-attended processions. The relaxing afternoons round off the celebration in the neighbourhood. She gives the reader detailed descriptions of the different events during the festival day. Sometimes one wonders if she has been too detailed in these descriptions. Blehr might have the advantage of not being a native Norwegian ethnologist, but she is closely connected to Norway since she herself is married to a Norwegian. This might enable her to find some new questions and approaches to practice and customs that others take for granted. On the other hand, this account in some parts is rather long, filled with inevitably well-known information for anyone familiar with conditions prevailing in Norway. This book seems in some parts to have been written for a Swedish public. Now and then references addressed to Swedish readers appear. Some misprints in the Norwegian in some of the quotations will probably annoy the most pedantic Norwegian readers. But these unessential matters are of course no obstacle to reading this book.

In what direction will the celebration of Constitution Day evolve as a national festival? At the end of her book, Blehr launches a rather vague but interesting hypothesis: she assumes that the participants seem to be focused on local and individual aspects of the celebration more than the national ones. The 17th of May loses meaning as a celebration connected to an ideology emphasizing nationalism, but gains new sense as a local celebration founded on the individual participant's construction of meaning. The celebration creates its own meaning, Blehr suggests, but stresses that this is nothing more than speculation without any evidence to document it.

I find these hypothetical thoughts rather exciting. This hypothesis could be seen as an analogy to the development in religious celebrations in modern society. The religious aspects, for instance, seem less important to many people, and many put their own meaning into the celebration on religious holidays such as Christmas and Easter. This rather small book has many qualities. Most of all it is a thorough work in which an ethnologist has managed to add and integrate a political dimension to her study, in a very explicit way that gives rise to reflections. This dimension might be what makes reading the book such an experience. *Svein Arne Myhren, Oslo/Bergen*

Articles for a Critical Ethnologist

Kritisk etnologi. Artiklar till Åke Daun. Barbro Blehr (ed.). Prisma, Stockholm 2001. 191 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-518-3890-7.

■ This book is not a Festschrift. It is a collection of articles dedicated to Professor Åke Daun on the occasion of his retirement after twenty years as professor. The invitation to contribute to the anthology included a summary of Daun's influence in three key terms: the present, pragmatism, and politics. Åke Daun was also praised for having linked ethnology to the social debate and provided material on which to base both visions and concrete suggestions for solutions. He produced socially relevant ethnology which could also be used outside the academic world.

The authors of the six articles have been recruited from among current and former colleg-

ues at the department in Stockholm, and the articles are based on the authors' own research experiences and interests in a wide range of ethnological fields.

Barbro Blehr has written the introduction and the article "In the Service of Good". She explains the development in the discipline of ethnology towards a greater interest in politics. She asks whether it is possible to imagine ethnological research which is not just politically conscious but also politically motivated. Blehr reflects on how one can avoid the misuse of one's research findings, and on whether there is any agreement about what "good" actually is. She argues that it is the researcher's task to go beyond all the fixed ideas about the state of things. Researchers should not just describe people but also their perspectives and experiences, their mutual relations, and the conditions with which these are associated. In Blehr's view, it should be possible within the framework of a project to present something that was unknown at the start of the project.

Ann Runfors illuminates the dilemma of "double hermeneutics" in her article, "Ethnology in the Present and the Present in Ethnology". She has studied some teachers' perspectives on their work of teaching Swedish to children with a different first language. The teachers were interested in becoming conscious of their own patterns of action and thought, "the unconscious philosophy" behind their work, with the aid of an outside perspective. Runfors discusses what happens when people's reality is confronted with researchers' interpretations. Her conclusion is that a field-working researcher of the present day intervenes in the reality that is being studied, but the studied reality also does something to the research.

Owe Ronström, Gotland University College, has written "Cultural Heritage Policy", in which he describes how decayed old houses are transformed into "World Heritage" with an inalienable value. In a short time the old centre of the Gotlandic town of Visby was completely renewed, while at the same time it had never been so "old". It is no longer a genuine Visby, but it is a genuine cultural heritage. As a result of inscription on the World Heritage List, responsibility for conservation has become the concern of the Swedish people in perpetuity. The question is whether coming genera-

tions will see the medieval town or whether they will see the 1990s' ideas about a medieval Hanseatic town. The Swedish cultural heritage should not just be regarded as a historical construction. It has been selected by specific persons in specific contexts and with specific intentions. What is in focus, according to Ronström, is who creates and handles these ideas, implements them and acquires power through them.

Barbro Klein's article is about domestic handicrafts. It is an analysis of the Swedish handicraft movement in the twentieth century, describing how the aesthetic of the movement and the ideals of handicraft have been linked through the decades to moral and political projects. In the new ethnology that started in the 1970s the concept of culture seemed much more useful than the petrified term "tradition" with its normative overtones. In that period many of the former research topics of ethnology were dismissed as "knee-tassel studies", and the Swedish word for domestic crafts, *hemslöjd*, was transformed into *hemsk slöjd*, meaning "dreadful crafts" or *slemhöjd*, "the height of slime". Ethnologists who studied crafts rarely reached the top of the academic career ladder, despite doctoral degrees and other merits. Klein believes that ethnology, by distancing itself from the classic topics of folklife studies, has developed new moral communities and criteria, which should be made clearer and debated more. No matter what a discipline calls itself, all those who do research in its name must debate the kind of values they help to establish and the kind of moral communities they help to confirm.

Annick Sjögren, now of Södertörn University College, has written about "The Little Red Cottage in Fittja", which is about how Swedishness is created by Swedish institutions, and about the obstacles that this can set up for people who understand their identity and shape their lives according to other models than those accepted in Sweden. Sjögren's object of study is young people from one of Stockholm's most culturally mixed suburbs, Fittja. The young people are characterized by stigmatizing concepts: young immigrants and youths with an immigrant background. They dream of feeling like and being perceived as Swedes, but the dichotomy of Swedes/immigrants works as an exclusion mechanism. Many of these

young people grew up in families from countries where ethnicity was not primarily associated with the nation but more often with religion or historical circumstances. They thus acquired a non-national world-view. Their frames of references are religion, the ethnic group, or the family. In the Swedish understanding one is either a Swede or a Syrian. In the immigrants' home countries one can be both a Kurd and a Turk or both a Syrian and a Lebanese. The first value they learn is the priority of the group over the individual. In Swedish children's institutions and schools, however, the emphasis is on the individual. Swedish society has taught these young people to value individual responsibility, but it then lumps them together under one disparaging name. We should let the minorities' way of viewing their own everyday life emerge and stop using the majority's perspective as the sole yardstick. It is essential to reflect on how one's own view of life affects one's reasoning. To understand the cultural solutions by which the young people of Fittja live, it is necessary to realize that their view of relations between people is based on a unique combination of the opposing ideologies with which they have been confronted since early childhood. Sjögren's closing observation is: "The cottage no longer needs to be little and red to be genuinely Swedish."

Maria Bäckman and Simon Ekström have together written "Feminist and Ethnologist", which shows how a feminist ethnology collides with established notions of what ethnologists do and should be doing. They focus on two aspects of current ethnological practice: the heavy emphasis on actors and the consistent stance of cultural relativism. They believe that it is still important to examine how what we do and think is dependent on time, place, situation, and gender. By illuminating other questions, other problems, and other answers as relevant for ethnologists, feminist practice offers an opportunity to concretize issues of power, influence, and social hierarchies. In the reality we study, notions and unreflected "truths" about the significance of gender create relations of superiority and subordination between people. It is these relations that feminists wish to counteract. Ethnological interest tends to move away from superior structures and the consequences of people's choices, instead giving empathetic presen-

tations of how people themselves experience their conditions. The crux, according to the authors, is to what extent the informants' "reality" is something given, which can be dis-closed, or if it is precisely these subjective experiences we ought to problematize. We should try to grasp why the actors understand themselves in the way they do, rather than just try to understand them. Instead of asking what gender is, we should ask what gender does. Biological facts in them-selves do not lead to norms and values. It is when the body is interpreted that this happens. We should repudiate interpretations of the body which determine what we are or what we can become. In exposing the social and cultural character of gender categories there is a potential to undermine important arguments and by extension also a possibility of relativizing and questioning the significance of gender.

Each article ends with a list of references. There are fifteen illustrations in all, two of them in the article about domestic crafts, the rest bringing to life the article about the transformation of Visby into a World Heritage site.

Birgit Andreassen, Rødovre

Swedish Calendar Customs

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Årets festdagar. Carlssons, Stockholm 1999. 200 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-868-3.

■ This study of calendar feasts is a new edition of Nils-Arvid Bringéus's book with the same title, first published in 1976. Not only have the descriptions of the individual feasts been brought up to date; if new research findings or perspectives have appeared since the first edition, they have also been incorporated. Swedish customs are put in relief chiefly by means of comparison with the other Nordic countries, as well as being related to the multicultural society with its new population groups, and to the world outside Scandinavia to the extent that it is relevant.

The author emphasizes the description of the living tradition and its context in cultural history, examining – whenever possible – its origin, distribution, stability, and to some extent its frequency. He more or less implicitly suggests dichotomies, such as town–country and bourgeoisie–peasantry,

also including the great influence of national romanticism on the shape of calendar feasts. The account is deliberately spiced with quotations and examples, because it is important for Bringéus to evoke memories and moods rather than to describe all the individual elements of a celebration. In this way he avoids the trap into which it is so easy to fall when describing present-day customs, namely, of being perceived as setting norms.

The book is arranged to follow the calendar year, apart from the range of new customs that have arisen in the course of the 20th century, which have been given a separate chapter. It is thus easy to find one's way, and the book works well as a handbook. There are references to further reading for each chapter, as well as a general alphabetical list of sources and literature at the end of the book.

In connection with the descriptions of the individual calendar customs and red-letter days, there is not much effort to interpret or understand the individual festive elements, apart from references to significant scholars and their views when these are relevant. In the last chapter of the book the author has assembled what he calls "overall perspectives", where he tries to increase our understanding of calendar festivals and customs. Here we are given a brief history of research into the customs and an analysis of the source material. Although the role of the church and its influence on individual festive customs is considered under the individual festivals and red-letter days, a special section is devoted to this topic here. It is very important, in my opinion, to include the ecclesiastical aspect of the festive elements because, from whatever angle we consider them, they are either embedded in or surround the secular part of the festival. This very rarely happens in ethnology or folklore studies, so it deserves to be highlighted, especially since the author in this case is an expert in both ethnology and church history.

Another important perspective that is emphasized is the people who direct the festivals, who are of great significance, especially for the form of the customs. Bringéus identifies many different kinds of directors. One of these, to which I think we should be particularly attentive, is the mass media. In our days in particular, when festivals have more than ever become popular

matter, it is fascinating to see how festive elements are learned from accounts in the media.

Bringéus shows how regional and social variations and the symbolic language of festive customs reflect, e.g., how old boundaries are changed and new ones arise. The customs are thus individual elements which can contribute to our understanding of processes of change in society.

For these reasons, this book can not only satisfy a reader who wants to obtain insight into calendar customs and their cultural history, but can also inspire those who wish to consider them from the perspective of cultural analysis. The book is packed with facts, documenting the author's extensive knowledge not only of this topic but also of many related subjects. One gets the impression that he always carries a little notebook and a pencil in his pocket, making notes every time he encounters something new.

I would like to end with some information which I hope is not already in Bringéus's notebook. It concerns the very interesting chapter about Lucia celebrations, where the author mentions how dressing up as Lucia is part of the tradition of stag nights. In this connection I can report that a Lucia procession is a part of the annual celebrations of Danish high-school pupils just before the Christmas holidays, with the difference that the participants – including the Lucia bride – are dressed in black. This way of using traditional festive elements is a phenomenon that Bringéus also discusses when referring to Birgitte Rørbye's article on whether traditions can drive in a white limousine.

Else Marie Kofod, Copenhagen

Politics, or the Dodgings of the Anti-quoted Society

Sven B. Ek, Polletik eller det föråldrade samhällets slingerbukter. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 66, Uppsala 1998. 71 pp. [text] + 89 pp. [facsimile ms]. Ill. English abstract. ISBN 91-85352-30-6.

■ It is praiseworthy that Sven B. Ek has taken the initiative to publish the text, with commentary, of a unique manuscript, written in 1887 by the cooper Carl Fredrik Hägg (1843–1928) of Landskro-

na. Hägg himself might not have wished for this, in view of the antipathy to bourgeois society that he nourished, according to Ek in the introduction.

This is a previously unpublished manuscript consisting of 43 poems, illustrated with 44 watercolours by Hägg himself. The manuscript surfaced in 1974 and is now in Landskrona Museum. All the poems except two were written to well-known tunes, so this is also a collection of songs. The manuscript could be described as an illustrated song book, but as far as we know, the songs have never been sung outside the Hägg home, and perhaps not even there. Ek has shown no interest in the tunes, but a study of them would have added to his reflections on Hägg as a poet and artist or Hägg as a socialist and the world-view of one specific worker in 1887.

Carl Fredrik Hägg was one of a family of seven. When he was born his father was a tenement soldier in the South Scanian Infantry Regiment, but he later became a cooper. This was also to be Carl Fredrik's trade in Landskrona, where he moved with his wife in 1880. He reached the position of chief cooper at the sugar works in Landskrona, the biggest industry in the town.

Hägg's manuscript is analysed from "a theoretical angle which can best be characterized as a nuanced form of historical materialism" (p. 15).

After a brief description of the Hägg family situation, Ek dwells on the social and economic circumstances in Landskrona in the 1880s, a time of poverty and uncertain living conditions. The bourgeoisie established a workers' association in 1869 and a lecture society in 1885. The workers themselves organized in 1883, forming the Workers' Ring, a cooperative society, and 1886 saw the foundation of the Social Democratic Association, which promoted socialist ideas.

Ek is interested in sketching the economic and social background of Carl Fredrik Hägg the individual, but he can find nothing that can be said to have determined Hägg's personal development or any expressions of a popular political tradition that ethnology should examine, when "narratives of a non-political kind, songs and stories are communicated from generation to generation" (p. 28). There must also have been "a political tradition in peasant society, fostered by repeated abuses, but perhaps handed on only by affected

families and groups, as well as by individuals who had grasped history and through it confirmed their conviction about the injustices in their own current situation" (p. 28).

The illustrations in the manuscript are placed in a "radical pictorial tradition of social criticism represented in Sweden by Ferdinand Tollin and Fritz von Dardel" (p. 29). In form the texts resemble broadside ballads and poems in the contemporary press, including Hägg's main source, the newspaper *Social-Demokraten*. Descriptions of events in this paper, such as the introduction of tariffs on grain and reactions to this, are part of Hägg's poetic universe.

Ek provides an interpretation of an interpretation, "in the hope of having to a certain extent understood Carl Fredrik Hägg the person in 1887" (p. 38). The difference between rich and poor, according to Ek, is the theme running through the manuscript. It is the unequal division of political power and economic resources that Hägg describes and unmasks. It is not the structural injustices in society that Hägg is opposed to, but people's immoral behaviour (p. 41), he criticizes what had previously characterized a static society, and the subsequent dissolution of morals that he saw taking place, although he did not wish for a return to that earlier age; he criticizes capitalism and the mixed bourgeois culture for being irresponsible and inhuman. He is also opposed to the hierarchical structure of the temperance movement.

According to Ek, Hägg has a particularly keen eye for the way the power system functions. The system comprises laws, taxes, and suffrage. The decisions of the system are implemented by the military and the police, and arguments for the excellence of the system are provided by the press and the established church. In Hägg's view, as interpreted by Ek, the bourgeois press and the clergy are the lackeys of power. His sympathies are with the newspaper *Social-Demokraten*. Hägg is particularly aggressive about the clergy, who are the subject of 23 poems/songs (p. 48). Capitalism gets off with only six.

According to Ek, Hägg perceived the upper class as being ideologically homogeneous in their abuse of power and their high-handedness (pp. 53, 55), their condescending view of the poor, and their suppression of enlightenment campaigns (p.

59). This is not an economic-political social analysis in the spirit of Karl Marx (p. 56). Hägg was a literary agitator and a moralist. He wrote kindly about the socialist movement and he admired the labour leader August Palm (1849–1922).

Ek has been working with Hägg's manuscript since 1981 (p. 62). As for whether it is a confessional socialist text and whether Hägg was a socialist, Ek has become increasingly dubious. *Flemming Hemmersam, Albertslund*

Modern Beliefs in the Supernatural

Hinsides. Folkloristiske perspektiver på det overnaturlige. Siv Bente Grongstad, Ole Marius Hylland & Arnfinn Pettersen (eds.). Spartacus forlag, Oslo 1999. 235 pp. ISBN 82-430-0126-3.

■ With *Hinsides* (Beyond: Folkloristic Perspectives on the Supernatural), ten Norwegian folklorists, historians, and scholars of religion tackle the task of analysing conceptions of the supernatural, chiefly from the present day, concerning such topics as astrology, Elvis worship, vampires, UFOs, and star people. The authors do not shun the negatively charged term "supernatural". In the introduction they discuss some alternative terms employed by scholars to avoid being perceived as using condemnatory terms. The authors describe and explain the different and sometimes conflicting meanings of the words, and point out that people neither are nor can be regarded as abnormal because they cannot explain all the things they experience. On the contrary, they note that with today's high-tech development rational explanations are scarce, despite the information society. The spread of alternative beliefs, on the other hand, is both extensive and effective. Studying contemporary folklore about the supernatural, investigating different explanations and understandings of today's superstition, is thus held up as an important task.

In the first article Arne Bugge Amundsen looks back at the history of research on the topic from 1730 to 1930. He shows how the canon and phenomenology of superstition, with roots in the theology of the early 18th century, gradually became an important part of folklore studies. Amundsen shows with insight how research into folk belief was related to the learned debate about

“true religion”. He points out that it was as a special science, placed in its own discourse outside the debate on religion, that folk belief could eventually be “sacralized” and described as a spiritual inheritance, as a democratic impulse or a source of the nation’s common history. The direction taken by the subject was naturally influenced by the great intellectual currents of the 19th and 20th centuries, romanticism and nationalism.

Under the heading “Satan in the North”, Rune Hagen describes the persecution of Norwegian women in connection with the witch trials in 17th century Finnmark. The geographical location as a northern border region was a major factor in the frequency of witchcraft charges. The abode of Satan was believed to be in the otherworld or the world beyond (and the Swedish name *Hin* for Satan likewise refers to the Other). Finnmark was thus regarded as being on the other side. Here the interaction between people’s way of life in uncertain conditions and a demonological ideology with witchcraft charges often directed against women led to a terrifying course of events. In the mid-17th century the witch craze spread like wild-fire among the small coastal communities. The majority of the accused were sentenced to death at the stake. Hagen draws attention to the lack of self-examination on the part of the authorities, and he wonders what guarantee there is that similar persecutions will not flare up again.

Vampires are without doubt among the most cherished supernatural beings in popular culture. What makes them appeal to modern people, and how does the vampire of popular culture relate to the traditional being? These questions are discussed by Arnfinn Pettersen. Starting by distinguishing the formal features and background of the vampire tradition, he makes several interesting observations about the heterogeneous origin of the narratives and the social role of the ideas. Unlike the traditional beliefs about vampires which arose from people’s anxiety and terror about sudden illness and death, he believes that the modern “literary” vampire can also be regarded as a representative of moral outcasts. The vampire of popular culture is interesting both as a deterrent villain and as a hero to emulate. It can make us explore the moral limits of society and test our own and other people’s egotism.

A journalist’s account of the experiences of the American pilot Kenneth Arnold on 24 June 1947, during a flight over the Cascade Mountains in Washington, gave rise to the extensive tradition of “flying saucers”. This huge and disparate conceptual world is the subject of an article by Mikael Rothstein. Although the UFO myth has a global spread, it is mainly in Russia, Western Europe, and especially in the USA that it is strongest. Rothstein shows how traditions about “contactees” “alien abduction”, and “star people” have been linked to New Age currents, he also discusses how they relate to older conceptions about supernatural beings. There are several lines of mythological development, and they can blend with seemingly incompatible beliefs in a very short time. Stories about people abducted by small, grey aliens, e.g., are linked to New Age ideas about the human quest for spiritual development. The text is about religious processes that are difficult to grasp and still in progress.

Lillian Halvorsen’s article is about astrology and ideas of self-development, destiny, and free will. It is based on a number of interviews with people who use horoscopes and astrology books to arrive at a deeper understanding of themselves and the world around them. They can describe, e.g., how astrology helps them to interpret earlier experiences, to confirm relationships with other people, and to make everyday life more exciting, and how it can strengthen or even arouse Christian faith. An important part of people’s astrological engagement is connected to the belief in predestination and free will. The informants’ statements show that there is a tension between traditional notions about destiny and the New Age focus on freedom. The astrological conceptual world can expose these people’s ideas about the connection between freedom and responsibility. The belief that God created the planets and their movements can be reconciled with a wish to work with oneself and one’s own development. The informants stress, for example, that one can show respect for God’s omnipotence while simultaneously exercising one’s free will and assuming responsibility for one’s own actions.

What are the characteristics of a ghost story, and how can one categorize ideas and narratives about ghosts? Ghosts may lack a shadow or consist

of nothing but a shadow, they may cast no reflection or appear just as a reflection. The characteristic feature of ghosts and other supernatural beings is that they break the laws of nature – otherwise they would not be supernatural. Whatever their appearance, the idea of ghosts is based on notions about people after death who make themselves known in one way or another to the people left behind. This is the topic of Velle Espeland's essay. She points out that in depictions of ghosts in popular culture we often let ourselves be frightened by pure fictions. At the same time, we allow ourselves to be entertained by what we really find frightening. Espeland cites various theories as to how this should be explained. But what makes ghosts frightening in the first place? She discusses how the reason may be sought in the connection of the belief with the realities of death and with thoughts about dying. The idea of surviving death ought to instil hope. But Espeland adds that perhaps the most frightening idea in ghost stories is that they are also about how injustices, a desire for revenge, and despair can survive death.

The theme of ghosts comes up again in the article about "The Legend of St Elvis of Tupelo" by Ole Marius Hylland. Elvis Presley died on 16 August 1977 but he is still alive. His posthumous career has been no less successful than the one he had during his lifetime. Hylland discusses what makes Elvis interesting as a phenomenon and a theme of folkloristics and other cultural studies. He shows that Elvis worship follows a pattern that may be compared with that of a Catholic saint. In many ways his life and death satisfy the necessary criteria for the cult of a person to be compared to the worship of a saint. The only thing that seems to be lacking is actual canonization by the Pope. The author says that we have here instead a popular canonization process. Although we cannot call Elvis worship a religion, we can examine and try to understand the phenomenon in terms of religiosity.

Margareta Magnus Myhre's article is about the TV series *The X-Files*. Here the interest is focused on horror stories and how they are constructed. Myhre shows how an already existing conceptual world, expressed through modern legends and rumours, is deliberately used by the producer of the series to build exciting new stories. To capture the audience, the story has to offer

viewers opportunities for identification, so that they can link the events to their everyday environment. In addition, the story is made accessible by means of its underlying codes. With the aid of an episode from this series, Myhre shows how this intertextuality is created through the viewers' recognition of the ideas found in urban folklore. The horror narratives in the series appeal to our advance knowledge of things like mutations caused by radiation, the hidden world of sewers, or how small alien animals can penetrate our bodies. We recognize these from the rumours and migratory legends spread by international news agencies in the form of news stories. What this folklore has in common with horror films is that both deal with aspects of life over which we have no control and which are therefore felt to be frightening.

The last article in this fascinating and highly readable book is about star people and the dream of Utopia, by Audhild Skoglund. Although the term "star people" was not coined until the late 1970s, the idea of reincarnations from other planets is much older. Today there is testimony from many people who believe that they belong in a different world, a fortunate planet without the problems of mundane earthly existence, a world where peace and harmony reign. People there do not need to eat, wash, express themselves in words, or reproduce, and they do not need to devote time to anything as boring as work. In short, they have everything that we lack here. In the author's view, the alienated star people's ideas about a "home planet", interpreted as a Utopia, describe a cultural tension which problematizes birth, relationships, sexuality, and the experience of meaning. The notion of star people, the longing for a Utopia, therefore also tells us about the human need for identity, a sense of community and belonging.

Jochum Stattin, Lund

Portraits without a Frame

Porträtt utan ram. Kön och sexualitet bortom strukturalismen. Ylva Hagström, Lena Martinsson, Magnus Mörck och Magdalena Petersson (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2000. 225 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-01701-0.

■ A point of criticism against many anthologies is that they incorporate considerable overlaps. This

is not the case with this one, which is the outcome of a collaboration project between nine ethnologists involved with the gender theory seminar at the Department of Ethnology in Gothenburg. Four of them are listed as the editors. The title, *Porträtt utan ram*, indicates chance and changeability, but the book also includes discussions of method, albeit in relation to chance and changeability. The frameless portraits are presented in three different showrooms referred to as “Imaginary beings”, “Performative portraits” and “Queer croquis”. To prevent the reader from getting lost, the exhibition is given a detailed introduction (Martinsson) and each showroom includes a brief guide.

In the first showroom, “Imaginary beings”, the reader is introduced to three products of imagination. The focus is on representations of gender and sexuality in film, literature and politics.

The first article, about “Pathetic Nancy! Stupid Harry! Feminism and sexism in a Hollywood blend”, presents Magnus Mörck’s analysis of the comedy *Attack of the 50 Feet Woman* which was briefly shown in Swedish cinemas in the early 90s. The protagonist, Nancy, is a suppressed woman who starts to grow after an encounter with aliens. Her husband, the suppresser, is thrilled to bits – not because Nancy becomes increasingly sexy as she grows – but because her heart is unlikely to take the strain. The sooner she dies, the sooner her husband, the upstart, will be able to get his claws into her million-dollar inheritance. The other male characters, Nancy’s own father and her doctor, will also profit from her premature death. However, naive Nancy believes that her marriage can be rescued because her giant body offers increased erotic potential. Her husband on the other hand, does not confuse a great body with great sex. In the final scene Nancy finds her husband and his mistress, pulls them out through the roof of a house, rushes through town, runs into a high-voltage cable, collapses, but is saved, in the nick of time, by aliens who take her with them to another solar system.

Mörck is fascinated by the ambiguities of this B movie. He shows us that the film is sexist (pointing to the theme of three men suppressing a pathetic woman, and to the camera angles which show us the giant woman’s legs, thighs and private parts from below), yet the film also en-

compasses a feminist approach (rage transforms the pathetic woman into a female bundle of energy who turns a new leaf and takes charge of her own life). The mix of a sexist and a feminist approach is not simply financially motivated in that the film is trying to appeal to both a male and a female audience; it is also based on the film makers’ lack of ambition to create something unambiguous and orthodox.

Carina Kullgren writes about Jan i Skrolycka, the protagonist of Selma Lagerlöf’s classic *Kejsarn av Portugallien* (The Emperor of Portugal; 1914). In all aspects of life, Jan takes his bearing from his daughter, Klara Gulla, who comes to mean everything to him. Jan takes on a caring role, and this feminisation of the male and father roles provokes an adverse reaction from the people around him. Jan and his family are poor, and in an attempt to save their house Klara Gulla, who by now is an adult woman, goes to the big city to find money. She manages to save the house, but doesn’t return herself. To cope with everyday life without his daughter Jan moves into a fantasy world where he himself is the emperor whose only pastime is waiting for the empress, to return from the imaginary land of Portugal.

Kullberg’s primary interest in *Kejsarn av Portugallien* is Lagerlöf’s departure from a conventional biographical narrative structure with clear chronology and continuity in that she structures the story round a number of critical moments. In this way she is able to emphasise the random and discontinuous aspects of life. Kullberg’s second interest is the fact that in developing such a close relationship with his daughter, Jan is portrayed as someone who crosses boundaries within a vaguely defined 19th century rural community. By challenging the gender conceptions, he helps clarify what is considered normal in his society.

Lena Martinsson’s research is concerned with national politicians and their conceptions and statements about gender and sexuality. In her article about “The fetish of being different – on politics and experience” she discusses the issues surrounding the categorisation of the feminine as *something different* and that this difference is supposed to motivate female political participation. The author focuses on public rhetoric and official argumentation relating to gender and equal

opportunities, and she bases her work on parliamentary motions about equal opportunities and gay adoption rights, government statements on equal opportunities, and the equal opportunity programmes adopted by various political parties. She finds that all this material is clearly based on an approach where women and men are reduced to two constantly separated groups, each with their own way of thinking. Heterosexualisation and heteronormative conceptions reign in this two-sex model. Martinsson points to the importance of questioning our understanding of experience in order to avoid stereotype identity categories. She is asking for variety, shifts and transgression in the national politicians' world of ideas, a variety which both Jan i Skrolycka and Nancy each represents in their own way.

The second showroom introduces us to performative portraits in a room themed round the problems of representational research methods. Barbro Johansson introduces us to a school boy, Ante, who enjoys great popularity in his class thanks to his considerable computer skills. Johansson has followed 12-year-old Ante over a period of two years, at school and at home. She has talked to him, his parents and his teachers. Johansson describes Ante as clever. He helps those who are less knowledgeable than himself, he reproaches his class mates when they fail to concentrate sufficiently on their school work but nevertheless defends them when the teacher tells them off; he never loses control in the company of his younger, computer literate brother who provokes him as only younger siblings can, and he takes a generous attitude towards other people in a way which only safe, skilful and secure children can. Ante is never arrogant, he is a dream pupil and a dream son. However, Johansson's project is not to paint a portrait of a super child, but to show how observational participation can add nuance to Ante's categoric statements in interviews (such as "I'm top of my class"). By using different methodological approaches Johansson is able to show us a many-faceted picture.

But Lars Strömberg has never met Anna, who he introduces to us in "Anna Sofia Larsson – a nondescript human being". Strömberg has focused on someone whose life never stood out, on one of those nondescript people who is born, live

and die without leaving anything but "summary notes in public records". But even if Anna has left neither letters nor newspaper writings, the memories of her live on in her relatives, who have shared them with Strömberg who is also eager to emphasise that he can never paint a correct picture of Anna. His informants – the relatives – direct the brush he is painting with, as does he – the editor.

Anna is portrayed as a hard-working woman. In addition to a number of jobs, she has had to take on responsibility for younger siblings, a duty, which she kept up till she died. After a while she could afford to buy her own café, a business that she managed on her own. Her fiancé and cohabitant(!) never helped her much, and Anna constantly had to relate to tiresome conflicts between him and her brother. Until Anna's adopted Jewish daughter takes over the paintbrush, the portrait of Anna is quite clear. But even if Anna is said to have taken good care of her adopted daughter, she is now depicted as a somewhat strict and inflexible woman. The adopted daughter missed a passionate motherly closeness which she feels ought to have been present in a mother–daughter-relationship. The fact that Anna wanted her adopted daughter to take over the café, contrary to her wishes, obviously didn't help. Anna's resistance to the concept of motherliness makes her portrait shrivel round the edges so that the frame comes off.

In her article "In media res – on method, power and the writer's authority", Åsa Andersson exhibits the last portrait of the second showroom. She depicts two Somali fifteen-year-old girls through what Andersson calls "ethnological conversational interviews". I assume she refers to semi-structured qualitative interviews, which is a technique used by a number of researchers from different disciplines within the arts. Andersson provides an interesting discussion on the hierarchy of what people *do* in relation to what people *say*, and she asks the timely question of whether it is in fact necessary to juxtapose the two techniques. By including lengthy interview transcripts, the author shows how Jasmin and Nadia, on the topics of veils and inter-ethnic sexual relations respectively, refrain from unambiguous characterisation. Their conversation partners try their best to make them come up with unambiguous answers, but the girls resist the provocations and

keep up their inconsistency. In other words, interviews provide scope not only for categoric statements, but for negotiations as well. By making the interviewing situation into an act which allows for both observation and participation, Andersson touches on Johansson's article in a fruitful way. Towards the end of her article (p. 151) Andersson discusses whether to maintain the dividing lines between interviews and participating observation, and she suggests (rhetorically?) that verbalisations should be avoided in "participating observation". It puzzles me that she emphasises the observational aspect, because participating observation has now been renamed observational participation, thus placing the emphasis on the act of participation (see e.g. Barbara Tedlock 1991). Avoiding verbalisations in observational participation therefore comes across as a somewhat absurd proposition.

The third showroom is called "Queer croquis", a formal experiment designed to outline that which is changeable and difficult to catch. Personally, I fail to see why the concepts of *queer* (which questions the fact that heterosexuality is the norm) and *croquis* (sketch or draft based on a model) have been reserved for the last three articles. To a varying degree, most of the articles in the anthology touch on the queer issues, and Strömberg's contribution concerning Anna Sofia Larsson, and to some extent Barbro Johansson's concerning Ante, could in my opinion easily be labelled croquis.

In her article "Who is Björn? Male constructions and gender renegotiations" Marie Nordberg introduces us to 40-year-old Björn, a gay woman's hairdresser. The article focuses on Björn's image of himself as a man, as a homosexual and as a hairdresser. Again the theme is the nonexistence of a uniform subject, and Nordberg points out that hers is a reduced picture of a many-faceted person. Björn has crossed gender boundaries by choosing a typical female profession, by choosing to be a man in a "women's world" and by seeing himself as an artist working with hair as his medium (contrary to an instrumentally oriented barber). However, he remains within a traditional male framework by referring to himself as a hard-working man who runs his own business.

Whereas Björn provides for creative play with different forms of masculinity, air hostess Maud,

presented by Magdalena Petersson, shows us how the air hostess profession is based on a normative hierarchic heterosexuality and how it has changed over time.

The last portrait is Ylva Hagström's "Elin – on bodies, space and that which is difficult to grasp". Elin lives and works in a studio where permanent residence is not permitted. She walks round the flat with Hagström, through whose eyes we see. We get to know what the author feels when looking at a painting on the wall, and the reader learns what Hagström believes are Elin's thoughts on Hagström's reactions. However, according to Hagström, Elin doesn't really exist – she is composed of three different women. I find this point extremely interesting and would have liked Hagström to go into greater detail on how she made use of her three informants. Do the other two women contribute only in the form external contextual information (such as Elin's age, the appearance of the house, the picture of a woman, a fridge and a coffee pot on p. 211), or are Elin's answers composed on the basis of three different interviews? And if Elin doesn't really exist, it would have been a thought-provoking experiment to present this article in the first showroom entitled "Imaginary beings". Hagström's article represents another type of approach to changeability. Instead of showing us the multiplicity of a single person, like Strömberg, Nordberg and others, she has chosen to draw a relatively unambiguous picture of three different people.

Most of the contributors spend time on emphasising that their articles present fragments only, and that the readers themselves – in partnership with the writer – must take responsibility for interpreting the material. After reading the book, I feel as if this is its mantra. My thoughts immediately go back to 15-year-old memories of free drama groups which emphasised – morning, noon and night – that the audience should not be presented with an answer; they were to think for themselves – interpretations were subjective and depended on the individual. My first reaction as a reader is one of irritation: why can the writers not trust the readers to grasp for themselves the fact that these are fragments only? Do the writers believe that the readers are incapable of understanding that the researcher cannot preach the

gospel of truth? After the initial irritation creative reflections make their way. If everything is interpretation of interpretations (etc.), then what is it possible to say? Are there categories such as meaningless and meaningful? Multiple angles provide for three-dimensionality, but what makes one camera angle more suitable than another? *Porträtt utan ram* is an exciting project which leaves the reader an abundance of questions and new insights into gender and representation, changeability and the crossing of boundaries. This book is evidence of what can be achieved in an active research community.

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Bergen

The Soul of Sport

Mats Hellspång, Den folkliga idrotten. Studier i det svenska bondesamhällets idrotter och fysiska lekar under 1700- och 1800-talen. Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2000. 362 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 91-7108-465-7.

Idrottens själ. Bo G. Nilsson (ed.). Fataburen, Nordiska museets förlag, Stockholm 2000. 366 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 91-7108-468-1.

■ Sport holds a prominent position in our time and culture. The yearbook of Nordiska Museet has been given the name *Idrottens själ* (The Soul of Sport). It contains 16 articles about modern sport, which in their variation show what a large influence sport actually has on many different levels of our society. But what was the position of sport before the days of the modern sport? That is what Mats Hellspång inquires in his book *Den folkliga idrotten* (Traditional sports). It is a clear and well-structured book, in which he describes and characterises the Swedish traditional sports and attempts to arrive at a conclusion about its meaning and place in the context it existed in, i.e. the Swedish peasant society. In this way he also aims at obtaining more knowledge of the values and norms of the peasant society. The fact that Hellspång places the traditional Swedish sports in a social and historical context is something new, compared to what earlier has been written on the subject. And a long time, nearly 50 years, has passed since last time the Swedish traditional

sports was the subject of research. An early precursor was Maximilian Stejskal with his 1954 dissertation on physical games in Finland, which also had comparative Swedish material.

A new viewpoint is also the European perspective towards the Swedish traditional sports. In this work Hellspång defines sport as games and practises, which include physical performance and have a clear direction towards competing with and defeating one another. In order to characterise the traditional sport in general, he has chosen to look closer into sports that have been particularly physically demanding and in which the feature of competition has been conspicuous. This selection has been made to make a distinction to the area of play, but when it comes to traditional sport this line is difficult to draw, the author says. A starting-point is that sport and play are phenomena common to all mankind, existing in all cultures in time and space. Still, the concept of sport did not contain the same thing in the peasant society as it does today and Hellspång aims at understanding the meaning and position of sport in the peasant society, to understand what it meant then.

The study is based on records in Swedish traditional archives, travel books, court proceedings and various other sources, a quite extensive and varying material. Hellspång also discusses the attitudes of the authorities towards traditional sport.

To a large extent the work has a comparative perspective. Traditional sports are compared to the modern ones, the sport of the isle of Gotland is compared to that of the mainland and the Swedish traditional sports are compared to traditional sports in the rest of Europe. It is known that the rural population met the modern sport movement with scepticism. As Hellspång has pictured the traditional sport, it is interesting to get a close-up picture of some of the early large-scale competitions arranged in the Swedish countryside at the end of the 19th century, about the motifs behind them and about how they were received. These competitions, on skis or bicycle, had the nature of enormous trials of strength ranging over long distances and they could be characterised as lying somewhere between traditional and modern sports.

The author compares traditional sports with working achievements in the peasant society, as both functioned as a way of gaining momentary

prestige. He rather briefly discusses the role of women in traditional sports and he points out that they mostly seem to have been spectators. On Gotland men competed with women in the “våget”, an institutionalised form of competition unique to Gotland. The competitions where men and women from the same parish participated were more playful than the prestigious competitions between parishes on Gotland, where only men competed. The women do not seem to have taken sport that seriously, Hellspång notes, and women did not compete with women in the Swedish traditional sports. Sport appears to have been a matter for men, an aspect that Hellspång could have elucidated more. In the concluding chapter “Modern and traditional sports” the author summarises the content of the book and makes it clear by systematically comparing the traditional sports in general with the modern, international and mass media covered sports. In traditional sports there was no sharp line between spectators and participants. Hellspång emphasises that the emergence of a large sporting audience, made possible by e.g. better possibilities of transportation, has meant a lot to the way in which modern sports have been shaped: their extension (or rather limitation) in time and space and concerning the development of an intricate and fixed system of rules, all of which came with the modern sports movement and its organisations.

The understanding of traditional sports also sheds light upon modern sports, and that is maybe the most interesting aspect of this study, in my opinion. The book contains numerous pictures and photographs. This is an advantage not least as it makes it easier for the reader to comprehend how the different games, which Hellspång quite thoroughly describes, were practised.

Idrottens själ is about modern sports ever since its origins in the English public schools on to the present day. The norms and values of modern sports are discussed and its influence on different cultural areas of society is described.

The opening chapter by Bo G. Nilsson has the title “The Soul of Sport in Crisis?” The ideal of competition on equal terms has been the core of modern sports. For a long time, the sports movement wrestled with the “amateur issue”. The world of sports was not open to those who had an

advantage through training received through profession and payment to athletes for their performances was not accepted. Now, however, money has come to stay in sport, and it cannot be claimed that success depends on the individual only in a stage when sport systems ultimately are the ones competing. All talk of crisis primarily concerns the sport at élite level, where doping has become something that undermines the foundation of sport: competition on equal terms.

In *Idrottens själ* many aspects of modern sports are discussed. In the article “Immigrants and sport – categorisation and normality” Jesper Fundberg argues that immigrants are seen as deviating in Swedish sports. The same applies to women and handicapped. He also says that homophobia appears to be stronger in the world of sports than in the rest of society. Who represent “the normal” in sports? As sport is an important arena for education in our society, this is a highly relevant question, Fundberg says.

Sten Feldreich discusses the new sports (multisport, snowboard etc.) which are more based on entertainment and playfulness and less restricted by rules or focused on results than modern sports have been so far. These are maybe not in the first place sports for spectators, which could maybe support what Hellspång suggested about rules and a sporting audience having developed simultaneously. There seems to be a motion in the opposite direction now too, towards the playful.

In the last article Fredrik Schoug ties the book together by discussing the statement of sport having reached a “crisis point” and he suggests that it might not be the sport itself that is in a state of crisis, but the perception of sport as a moral and educating institution, and that there is a considerably lower tolerance of deviation from the moral code in sport, for example concerning sportsmen’s behaviour, than in the rest of society. But, sport is now freeing itself from the old morals, Schoug proposes. What the sporting audience seeks is entertainment. Mats Hellspång’s article also deals with the sporting audience and he says that there are similarities in the audience culture from entirely different epochs, in how sport has been used and still is used to express identity and rivalry towards neighbouring societies. What is new in our time is the enormous role and influ-

ence of mass media on both sport and spectators.

I found both books, *Den folklige idrotten* and *Idrottens själ*, interesting to read, and they make a good couple; where one ends the other starts. *Ann-Helen Sund, Turku*

Women's Health in Denmark

Kvinder – køn, krop og kultur. Karin Helweg-Larsen, Beth Lilja Pedersen & Anette Tønnes Pedersen (eds.). Gyldendal, København 2000. 408 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-00-38314-7.

■ This volume of more than 400 pages contains 29 short articles about women's health in Denmark around the turn of the millennium. The authors – with some exceptions – are doctors, and all are women. According to the blurb, the book is intended for both professionals and laywomen. The observation that Danish women's mean life expectancy has stagnated is the express point of departure for the book. From having been the highest in Western Europe, the life expectancy of Danish women in the last two decades has been among the lowest. These gloomy statistics are commented on in the first article in the book, by the doctor Karin Helweg Larsen. She states first of all that the increased mortality at younger age among women is unevenly divided. The reason for the lowered mean life expectancy is said to be that the health of a large group of women has been affected by prolonged diseases and great suffering. Unwholesome living conditions and above all heavy smoking among women are pointed out as the major threats to health. Yet accidents and a high risk of suicide are also given as explanations for the negative trend.

In the majority of the contributions, however, no direct links are made with the reduced mean life expectancy among women in Denmark. As a whole, the book is organized with the words Women, Sex, Body, and Culture as overall headings or key words for the four parts of the volume. Besides considering explanations for the reduced life expectancy of Danish women, the articles under the heading "Women" deal with the fact that more women than men utilize healthcare and the way in which women's encounter with the health service has changed over time. A further

three articles are about the view of gender and the function of the brain, about why so many women in Denmark smoke, and about women's heart problems which are not taken seriously.

Under the heading "Sex" the articles deal with sex and reproduction. Here, as in other parts of the volume, one notices a shared ambition to look forward. The doctors Carlotte Wilken-Jensen and Beth Lilja Pedersen emphasize that new contraceptives must be developed for men, that HIV/AIDS will be eliminated with the aid of a vaccine. Their vision is evidently that contraception in Denmark will be more geared to unwanted pregnancies and not so much to the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. Several articles end in a similar way, either with the authors reflecting on the topic they have written about or painting their visions of the future. Thoughts about future development are often linked to proposals for health-promoting measures. After each article there are also suggestions for further reading.

The word "Body" in the next section heading covers articles about disease and complaints affecting women. Here the reader is given information about genital warts and cell mutations, about breast cancer, osteoporosis, and how difficult it can be to suffer from incontinence. There follow three articles about women's ageing. Two of them are by scholars in the humanities. Based on her own interviews with elderly women, Christine E. Swane shows how difficult it can be to live with dementia. The author points out that everyday life for these women is encumbered by intimidating images based on medical categorizations of dementia, which she says she wants to challenge. While Swane points out that the categorization of dementia is a cultural construction, Anne Leonora Blaakilde shows in her article how predominant notions about old women are constructed, often in negative terms. With examples taken from a variety of source material, from jokes to advertisements for Macintosh, she demonstrates how the cultural devaluation of old people has been packaged in exactly the same "naturalness" that gender discrimination used to have.

The fourth and final section under the heading "Culture" begins with an anthropological perspective on the ideal of slim women's bodies. Beth Elverdam points out that the ideal is not just mani-

fested in women's attempts to shape and control their bodies, but also by the fact that the ideal is embodied and transmitted in linguistic forms. Yet another article in the same group is about women's desire to shape their bodies, namely, about women's increasing expectations of being able to radiate youthfulness and sexuality at higher ages. Benedikte Thuesen, who is a specialist in plastic surgery, does not regard operations as a cure-all for reinforcing women's self-esteem. She stresses instead her own responsibility as a doctor to help women to choose other ways to improve their self-esteem besides cosmetic operations.

The remainder of the articles in this group are about women's dilemma of handling different perspectives in food culture, being subjected to extensive health check-ups, and the difficulty of obtaining an understanding for all manner of everyday complaints. In a brief concluding article, one of the editors, Karin Helweg-Larsen, tries to tie together some of the many threads concerning women's life and health running through the different articles. In relation to the many large issues raised by the articles, the summing up seems rather flat, perhaps of necessity. My impressions of the contributions to the book are varied. A number of articles may be read as objective health information from doctors with extensive practical experience and knowledge. Other articles have the ambition of problematizing realities which are complex and sometimes contradictory. These suggest many dilemmas in the prevention of women's health problems. Altogether, the 29 articles leave at least as many unanswered questions which may inspire others to new studies.

What I miss in the volume is a discussion of the different perspectives – for example, on women, sex, body, and culture – which have shaped the different articles. I have not been able to grasp why six articles were grouped under the main title of the book, "Women", nine under the word "Sex", seven under the word "Body", and the remaining seven under the word "Culture". All the articles focus on women's life and health in some sense. No article on this theme can wholly ignore either the sex or body perspective or the cultural perspective. By dividing up the articles under different headings, the editors hint at distinctions even though the ambition has

obviously been to integrate different aspects in the understanding of women's lives and health.

Georg Drakos, Stockholm

Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition

Thick Corpus, Organic Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition. Lauri Honko (ed.). (Studia Fennica Folkloristica 7./NNF Publications 7.) Helsinki, Finnish Literature Society 2000. 675 pp. ISBN 951-746-196-8.

■ In August 1999 the 5th Folklore Fellow's Summer School gathered a large number of folklorists from 19 different countries in Turku (Åbo), Finland. The two universities of the city, the Finnish-language University (Turun yliopisto) and the Swedish-language Åbo Akademi arranged the meeting. The general topic was "Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition". The important issues concerned: "where do we stand now that new thoughts on performance, context, intertextuality, ethnopoetics, and other key concepts have shattered the basics of the classical comparative method?" (FF Network 17/1999:1).

The results of the FFSS 99 meeting have recently been published in a volume of nearly 700 pages, entitled *Thick Corpus, Organic Variation, and Textuality in Oral Tradition*. The volume, which is divided into two main sections, "General Theory" and "Project Anatomy", comprises 28 articles, all written by scholars from Finland, the USA, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Ireland. The authors are all well-known scholars: Carola Ekrem, Pasi Enges, John Miles Foley, Anneli Honko, Lauri Honko, Tuija Hovi, Marjut Huuskonen, Dell Hymes, Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Barbro Klein, Seppo Knuuttila, Lena Marander-Eklund, Ulrich Marzolph, Margaret A. Mills, Patricia Nyberg, Armi Pekkala, Jyrki Pöysä, Ilkka Pyysiäinen, Anders Salomonsson, Anna-Leena Siikala, Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred, Päivikki Suojanen, Senni Timonen, Ríonach uí Ógáin, Maria Vasenkari, and Ulrika Wolf-Knuts.

Considering that the paradigmatic change, i.e. the change of focus from the objects (texts) to the subjects (performers and situations) in folklore research took place at least 30 years ago, the

questions put by the scholars at this meeting might seem irrelevant. Performance, context, intertextualism, and ethno poetics have, I would argue, been essential parts of normal scholarship for many years now. For that reason the issues would hardly seem to offer any real challenges or add new perspectives on folklore. Nevertheless the articles deal with paradigmatical, epistemological, and methodological problems, questions which are always of great importance.

The volume is extensive and impossible to depict in total. For that reason I have chosen not to comment on any particular article, but to discuss the overall questions put in the study as a whole, i.e. questions concerning folklore research past and present.

Whereas classical folklore research was mainly concerned with texts and variation/comparison between them, i.e. the objects as such, folklorists today concentrate on the subjects, on how people perform, use, and alter the texts. In accordance with this shift of paradigm within research, scholars have become interested in creating "thick" materials to be able to study variation of folklore in tradition systems. What then is "thick" material? The authors agree that it is not primarily a matter of collecting a multitude of facts, but rather the commensurability and comparability of the data. The most important constituent of "thickness", however, is interpretation. The collected data consist of interpretations by the teller and the collector, and these interpretations are intersubjectively produced as well as being situation- and encounter-specific. For that reason all stages of fieldwork – collecting, interpreting, analysing, and writing – are essential parts of the creation of thick corpus. They are all parts of an indivisible research process, as is convincingly argued by Maria Vasenkari and Armi Pekkala in their article on dialogic methodology.

In their search for thick material, researchers sometimes study a single storyteller or singer, sometimes a whole group or a region. Existing archive collections have often been regarded as being too contextless and "thin" for their purposes, and for that reason renewed fieldwork has been considered necessary. Scholars then have the opportunity not only to collect their own material, but also to include the contextual factors

they find relevant and important. Another advantage is the coherence of the material collected and the fact that it stems from one and the same tradition system. In addition renewed fieldwork also allows repetitive collection and dialogue with the performers. But, as some of the authors demonstrate, archive collections, "thin" as they might be, can be used as well, especially when the collectors have made contextual notes in diaries accompanying their field records. This is discussed by Ríonach úí Ógáin in her article.

In his introduction to the book, Professor Lauri Honko states that the existence of variants is the ultimate proof of true folklore, variation in fact separates oral culture from literature. The early folklorists, in their search for the original text (the archetype), often regarded variation as something negative, as signs of devolutionary processes. They believed that songs which had been used for a long time often existed only as fragments. These fragments could be regarded as the result of a process called "zersingen". Researchers strove to put the fragments together in order to restore the original text, and thereby save it for the future. Recent studies, concentrating on the performers and their repertoires, show that flexibility (variation) rather than stability is the key to the continuity of tradition. But, Honko points out, the study of variation must be combined with studies of textuality, i.e. cohesion and meaning in a narrative. Narrative context, performance, and meaning are essential parts in the study of text variation.

Some of the authors examine folklore from the performance perspective and give new information on how singers and storytellers memorize, alter, and perform texts. Dell Hymes, for example, discusses how Native American storytellers use different patterns for the same story depending on whom they are addressing. They group stanzas within the scenes differently if they are addressing a familiar person or a person of the same gender or age as themselves, or if they are confronted with people of another age or gender or people to whom they feel a sense of social distance. Hymes, therefore, underlines the importance of the researcher making verse analysis when interpreting narratives.

In his introduction Honko also sketches three stages (or paradigms) in the study of oral texts.

The first stage, where researchers were interested in folklore as a source of history or mythology, he calls “pre-textual”. This stage was predominant in the early nineteenth century. The search for mythology in folklore was partly inspired by the discovery (or invention?) of the Indo-European languages. Linguists found that, for example, the German and Persian languages were related to one another, and concluded that they must have had a common origin. Could it be that folklore items too were remnants of a common original past, the shared myths of now different peoples?

Later on, as the discipline, folkloristics, was born, research concentrated on folklore texts and their variation. During extensive fieldwork collectors gathered numerous folklore items, such as legends, fairy tales, proverbs, songs, and anecdotes. These collections soon filled the archives and called for immediate research. Scholars structured the vast material into formal categories, i.e. they created the so-called genres. Genres, however, had little or nothing to do with the storytellers’ own principles for categorizing different texts; as Senni Timonen shows in her article, they often blurred genres. During this second stage scholars tried to detect the archetype, the original text, which had been varied when used by different storytellers or singers. In her article Ulrika Wolf-Knuts discusses this stage, when she deals with the comparative method (the historic-geographical method or the Finnish School). Her discussion is most illuminating and thorough.

In the third stage, where folklore is perceived mainly as performance, scholars study the extended text, by including texture, text, and context. This paradigm states that there are no stable texts in folklore. Texts vary with the performance events themselves, and no performance is ever identical to earlier or later ones. Some scholars even claim that folklore does not exist outside the performance act, i.e. folklore exists only when being used. According to this perspective, variation is the result, not of devolutionary processes, but of the performer’s ability to adapt to different situations and publics, showing his or her creativity and skill.

Performance analysis means that researchers create thick corpora of material by collecting the repertoires of several informants and by documenting the performance situations, the events.

Community and environmental studies must also be included in these studies if organic or intracultural variation is to be found. Scholars can no longer analyse the texts as such but need to focus also on the verbal and non-verbal interaction between the storyteller/singer and the audience, paralinguistic expressions (gestures, body movements) used in the act, and the utilization of space, artefacts, and actions. But, as Dell Hymes points out, folklorists are not allowed to totally forget the texts!

The authors of the book all discuss these epistemological, paradigmatical, and methodological problems, partly in general terms, partly in their applied studies. These studies concern different subjects such as children’s counting-out rhymes, stories of childbirth, Afghan folktales, and Saami folklore. The authors use different perspectives, such as ethnicity and gender, thereby making their studies useful for teaching purposes. Two particularly suitable articles, in my opinion, are Barbro Klein’s study of the miracle in Södertälje, where among other things she discusses the impact of media on human experience, and Ann Helene Skjelbred Bolstad’s history of research in Norway. Although their topics are not related, they are both extremely well written.

Thick Corpus is an extensive study, perhaps too extensive to really attract readers. It is, however, a most interesting and stimulating work, which in an excellent way sums up the history of folklore research as well as presenting where “we stand now that new thoughts on performance, context, intertextualism, ethnopoetics, and other key concepts have shattered the basics of the classical comparative method”. If – I would add – that really *has* happened...

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Nordic Environment

Negotiating Nature: Culture, Power and Environmental Argument. Alf Hornborg and Gísli Pálsson (eds.). Lund University Press, Lund 2000. 224 pp. ISBN 91-7966-582-9.

■ *Negotiating Nature: Culture, Power, and Environmental Argument*, is a collection of essays emerging from a Nordic Environmental Research

Programme project focusing on the cultural dimensions of environmental policy negotiations. The authors deal with a wide range of cases, illustrating how humans can conceptualise the same environment, and their relation to it, in different ways.

Orvar Löfgren, ranging beyond Scandinavian examples, rehearses the changing “landscape experiences in tourism” of non-rural dwellers, from the late 18th century seekers of the picturesque and sublime experience, to the post-modern cognoscenti of the *terrain vague*. He stresses that apprehension is not merely cerebral. And then pays particular attention to interconnections between the ‘microphysics’ of the tourists’ modes of movement through the landscape, and their perceiving and experiencing it. Raising the theme of identity construction, which recurs throughout the volume, he starts to acknowledge how landscape appreciation can serve to create and defend cultural capital and contribute to identity claims. People can seek to equate their own moral quality with that of their appreciation of nature.

Birgitta Svensson also considers changes in the touristic consumption of rural environments. She argues (in a perhaps over-generalised way) that tourists today seek individualised rather than mass experiences. And that they want sensational immersion in, rather than education about the sites they visit. Suggesting that cultural landscape is now viewed as cultural *heritage*, she claims participatory heritage tourism offers valued opportunities for identity experimentation in a world where identity construction is problematic. She suggests people actively seek to identify with a past they believe offered better kinds of relation with the natural environment. Though how the ‘shared’ connotations of ‘heritage’, fit with a desire for individualised experience is uncertain.

By contrasting non-rural dwellers’ consumption of the natural environment with the environmental orientations of those who use it productively, Katarina Saltzman’s interesting Öland-based ethnography forms a bridge between the previous chapters and those by Agnar Helgasson et al., Hugh Beach, and Ebba Lisberg Jensen which follow. Saltzman distinguishes the modernistic farmers’ economically-oriented perspective on the rural landscape from that of leisure-

oriented city dwellers and external experts concerned with preserving cultural values and preventing environmental degradation. She provides an example of the slipperiness of concepts in this field, when she notes how urban dwellers elide the terms ‘nature’ and ‘natural’ as signifiers of the non-artificial, untouched by human intervention on the one hand, with the whole of the non-urban ‘rural’ on the other. This tends to obscure the humanly-shaped character of the agricultural rural landscape, and contributes to probably ill-advised desires to protect it, along with the rest of nature, from change. The chapter shows the difficulties conservationist directives pose for the economic viability of small farmers with the most traditional features on their land. It reveals how, by tempting some of them to give up farming, these directives threaten the open agricultural landscape they seek to preserve.

Helgasson’s, Odinn Gunnar Odinson’s and Gísli Pálsson’s, and Beach’s detailed studies also show the ambiguous impact of expert-devised national and European conservation strategies. In this case, with reference to perceived over fishing by the Icelandic fleet, and over-stocking by Sweden’s Saami reindeer herders. As on Öland, tensions are revealed between state policies and (some) local practitioners, but sometimes also between governments’ rationalising moves to increase ‘productive’ efficiency, and their environmental conservation goals. Indeed, the ethnographies in this volume suggest that the chances of local practitioners falling foul of *some* state experts are maximised when, as in the Nordic case, the latter include both modernising rationalisers (disapproving traditional practices) and conservationists (critical of modernising, but sometimes also of traditional practices). Helgasson et al. and Beach are not romantics. They do not themselves assume that traditional practices are inevitably environmentally sustaining in all circumstances. But (with Tim Ingold in a later chapter) they do query whether sustainability is best met by outside experts’ downplaying of traditional practitioner knowledge. They think that conservation strategies would benefit from traditional practitioners’ detailed, context-specific, local knowledge and from their on the spot ability to respond to small environmental changes. Certainly in

both the Icelandic and Saami case, state policies have undermined traditional social arrangements and identities. Giving boat owners Individually Transferable fishing Quotas, whose trading can generate profits in itself, has downgraded the status and autonomy of Icelandic fishers. Once they were thought of as creators of value by utilising their skills to maximise the catch. Now the large quota holders rationalisation has produced, see them as merely the means of bringing their predetermined quota of their fish to land. With 'quota kings' controlling who can fish what where, and sell for what price, fishers' active agency has been reduced. Though the authors suggest they are now challenging this demotion – something the experts who devised the quotas did not anticipate. The Saami have also been put in a bind by government-introduced reindeer quotas, and various requirements that the collective *Sameby* surpluses be reinvested. Beach meticulously documents how both factors threaten to undercut traditional knowledge and its transmission through practice. Moreover, Saami's use of surpluses to mechanise herding (supported by the rationalising agricultural colleges) threatens rights and benefits received from the external world because of their distinctive culture. Some now view the Saami as 'eco criminals' themselves.

Jensen's chapter carefully documents changes in Sweden's forest industry and the way in which previously divided modernising forest scientists and ecologists have reached a certain rapprochement via their shared use of the new concept of biodiversity. Both camps can now use this as a basis for an apparently objective evaluation of modern forestry practices. However for the scientists, focus on biodiversity contributes to a more complex understanding of the forest as an ecosystem they want to work profitably, whilst for the ecologists maintaining biodiversity is a good in itself. Moreover, Jensen also shows how recent consumer demand for environmentally-friendly certificated forest products, has contributed to the industry's acknowledgement of the need to maintain, not just forest acreage, but the diversity of forest species.

Connie Reksten Kapstad provides the final Nordic ethnography. This looks at young Norwegian environmental activists and takes us back to

the first two articles in its concerns with contemporary identity construction and the significance of the embodiedness of action in the environment. Her respondents put themselves *physically* on the line in moments of direct action which allows them to feel authentic. However, why they choose to put their bodies 'on the edge' as environmental activists rather than say as football hooligans is unexamined. Like the latter, they also make identity-claims through mode of dress and bodily adornment. This leads to somewhat contradictory outcomes, since the forms they use to signify their opposition to the mainstream come to appear stereotypical, closing off possibilities of development and reductive of their individuality.

Alf Hornborg's complicated and sometimes puzzling contribution completes the core chapters of the book. It proposes a triadic field in terms of which human-environmental relations can be conceptualised. One which he claims moves beyond the scientist/humanist divide by "trying to deal objectively with subjectivity". At the corners of the field stand nature, society and the (consciousness-bearing) person, as "three aspects of a single, socio-ecological phenomenon". None has causal dominance, each being 'recursively' related to the others. Referring back to this triangular field, he next depicts differences in the kinds of human-nature relations he says characterize Native American, Algonquian hunters and modern Westerners. Arguing that in both cases "there is a correlation between varieties of personhood, ways of engaging nature and ways of engaging other human beings", he shows how reciprocal, co-operative obligations predominate in the Native Americans' worldview and practice. Individuals are integrated into society in terms of a system of mutual obligations, and humans' relations with the natural world are similarly framed. Hunted animals are viewed as actors whose leaders have negotiated rights of predation in return for duties of deference, sacrifice etc. Human/natural world boundaries are thin. Hornborg contrastingly depicts modern life as pervaded by monetary exchange relations. Individuals are impersonally connected through the market and alienated from a natural world which is subject to a rational, calculative orientation.

The final sections of his chapter introduce the

further variable of 'space'. Modern Westerners' typical conceptualisation of the environment as spatially located beyond the person and society, is seen as compounding the orientation of alienated exchange towards it. This is because morally-based reciprocity (in the sphere of human, and by extension, other relations) is held to decline with 'distance'. Secondly, Hornborg uses the dimension of space (local or global) to construct a further way of classifying different modes of human-environmental relations. 'Pre-modern locals', like the Algonquians, both identify with local places and consume locally-derived resources. 'Modern cosmopolitans' identify and consume globally. 'Modern locals', whose field of agency extends beyond their field of identification, are global consumers but local identifiers. Finally, the 'post-modern locals', including the 'deep ecologists', try to be locally self-sufficient in resources whilst identifying with the whole global ecosystem. Though not a novel move, Hornborg's attempt to devise second order frameworks in terms of which disparate modes of orientation to nature can be systematically related, is useful. However, the factors which, in the contemporary world, affect *who* becomes a 'modern cosmopolitan', 'modern local' or 'post-modern local', are unexamined. (Rather as Kapstad fails to explain why some youth forge their identity through *environmental* activism and others not.) Hornborg implies that a satisfactory resolution of 'environmental crises' requires an ability to think globally and act locally, to get local engagement without losing the "struggle for abstract human solidarities that is the hallmark of modernity". If this is the case then it would be useful to know which kinds of social circumstance most readily foster people who recognise this need.

Hornborg and Pálsson's introduction and Ingold's conclusion bring out some of the continuities between the chapters which I have mentioned. They particularly re-address the question of how anthropological documenters of the way others view the human-nature relation, should conceptualise this themselves. With some similarity to Hornborg, Ingold goes for a non-reductive, relational approach. He wants to recognise the way in which organisms, of which human organisms are only one example, are shaped by,

whilst simultaneously contributing to the construction of, the changing environment they inhabit. Ingold stresses that humans construct not just the *concept* of the environment but also the environment *itself*. He is wisely critical of the notion that environments can be reduced to, or will operate only via the meanings, of human agents. He dislikes moves within current anthropology which shift so much of the environment into the socially-constructed, subjective domain of 'landscape' that all that remains of it is "a mere substrate of formless materiality". He equally criticises analogous movement of so much of the body into the sphere of active social relations and the person, that the human organism becomes a mere residual 'blob' incapable of "interact[ing] in any sensible way with its environment". "The organism in its environment" and "the person in the landscape", he declares, "do not belong to distinct orders of reality, respectively biophysical and sociocultural, but to the same order which is at once processual and relational".

Some anthropologists may need to be warned against subjectivism. But policy-making biological scientists and economists equally need reminding of the significance and variability of culture. This volume will do this. Moreover, no-one reading the Icelandic and Saami ethnographies in particular, should fail to recognise the enormous complexity of the range of historically interpenetrating cultural, but also social and natural realities that local, national or international, policy makers must take on board.

Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Complexity in Late Modernity

Marianne Horsdal, *Vilje og vilkår. Identitet, læring og demokrati. Borgen, Copenhagen 2000. 212 pp. ISBN 87-21-01528-7.*

■ For several years Marianne Horsdal has been pursuing a research project about the circumstances that give Danes their sense of belonging, culturally and politically; she does so by studying their identity formation, their interpretations of values and habits, and their self-perception. The analyses have resulted in a trilogy, the first part of which mainly consisted of excerpts from the

many life-history narratives collected by Horsdal, while the second part, *Livets fortællinger* (reviewed in *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 2000), which appeared in 1999, is the theoretical and methodological framework of the project, and the final part, *Vilje og vilkår* (Will and Conditions), now discusses the relationship between identity, learning, and democracy.

In the first part of the book the life stories are considered from a historical perspective, in order to answer questions about how we create the past in our memoirs on the basis of the times in which we are now living. The narrative analysis reveals great differences during the twentieth century. Narratives from early in the century tell of scanty living conditions, with a short childhood and requirements to work hard and not expect too much. At that time people did not ask you what you wanted your life to be like. Yet the narrators are proud of the solidarity, respect, and contentment that they say characterized the times. Development and material success were watchwords.

Narrators born in the 1940s and 1950s tell of breaking away and liberation, in pace with the development of society. The former reverence for tradition and confined scope for life gave way to broader perspectives and an exciting new life. In these years, more and more people had access to higher education. Many also acquired more qualifications. Life is described by them as divided and fluid, with constant demands for change in the family and in working life. Horsdal regards this period as a half-way station between traditional society and individualism. On the one hand, these narrators had grown up in a relatively secure and traditional childhood; on the other hand, adult life confronted them with completely new conditions.

The children of those who broke away and ventured into something new grew up in circumstances that were not simple or unambiguous, but it gave them skills to develop their personality more individually in many different contexts. Their lives are described under the heading "Finding Oneself", as expressions of personal choices: they even had to find their place in a constantly changing space. Many of them tell of how difficult it is to hold the various spheres of life together. Yet people do not necessarily become selfish and alien to community in individualist society. It

is more a matter of showing respect for people's differences and the diversity of experience that exists, and there are also many opportunities.

One of the most interesting points in Horsdal's book is her observation that our relationship to place or space has changed, which in turn means a new relationship between individual and community. Existence in the world is always corporeal and physical and thereby situated, but the demands on people today as to where this happens are much greater than they used to be. Moving between a number of different contexts requires people to be open to what is new and knowing the cultural codes that apply in different places. Horsdal uses the home as a metaphor for the relational meaning of place, asserting that it is in the sense of belonging that we can investigate the relationship between space and identity. Feeling that one belongs in a context, feeling trust, is of crucial significance if democracy is to function. Being left outside gives a sense of powerlessness and generates resistance. Horsdal argues that issues of inclusion and exclusion are decisive when choice has become an inescapable condition in society and responsibility for life is placed on individuals. Ultimately, her message is that it is lack of knowledge that creates exclusion, which is why everyone should have access to what she calls "learning arenas" which will give them the chance to live the complex lives expected in late modern society. She emphasizes the importance of adult education and that we should see equality as an expression that we all have equal opportunities to learn, if we want a society which includes everyone and which leads to active citizenship.

Birgitta Svensson, Lund

Birth Women on the Threshold

Pia Höjeberg, Tröskelkvinnor. Barnafödande som kultur. Carlssons, Stockholm 2000. 253 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-941-8.

■ The midwife Pia Höjeberg has made a name for herself as a writer with a passionate interest in the subject of childbirth. *Tröskelkvinnor* ("Threshold Women") is the result of ten years of work intended to counteract the silence that she finds prevailing about midwives and childbirth. Höjeberg sees the

cause of the silence in the seemingly commonplace nature of birth and the fact that it is perceived as belonging to a secret female sphere. The book is about women giving birth, who are on the threshold of maternity, with the midwife ready to receive the new life. Höjeberg thus sees childbirth as a passage rite to parenthood. The central question is whether there is a common theme running through traditions regardless of where or when a woman gives birth. The author moves freely between different periods, countries, and contexts, such as ancient Greece, present-day Asia and Africa, and pre-industrial Sweden. She also uses different types of source material, everything from the ancient texts of Hippocrates and Soranus to Swedish folk legends to interviews with traditional midwives in Vietnam, Nepal, Zambia, Egypt, and India. In addition, she incorporates a fictitious narrative about a young woman called Onopa from Zimbabwe. The reader follows Onopa's journey to motherhood. Apart from van Gennep's passage rites, Höjeberg has derived her theoretical inspiration from Mary Douglas's study of purity and impurity. The pure and the impure body are viewed here as a reflection of the social body. Among other things, she finds that endangered cultures have a greater need than non-threatened cultures for control of orifices and exudations, for taboos and rules about childbirth.

The book consists of three main parts. The first, "On the Threshold to the Delivery Room", is divided into seven chapters describing the birthing woman's progress from conception to motherhood. She deals with legends about midwives, symbolism involving water and frogs, births in saunas, changelings, ritual instruments and charms, the journey of a shaman in a birthing woman's body, and women in childbed. One section concerns the father's role in the birth while another treats the midwife.

In the second part, "Voices from Women's Rooms", we follow Höjeberg on her fieldwork among traditional midwives in Nepal, Vietnam, Egypt, and Zambia. The fieldwork is reported in travel narratives that give a strong sense of presence. The encounters with the midwives are mostly presented in dialogue form, which reinforces this impression. This approach works very well here.

The third part deals with childbirth in mytho-

logy: the birth of Apollo, the myth of Persephone, unnatural births of holy men, and the births of Mary and Jesus.

The book concludes with a chapter entitled "From Secret to Public Room". Here Höjeberg sums up her thoughts about birth. She finds that school medicine has objectified the female body, made women's traditions invisible, and turned the woman into a patient and the womb into an object of today's obstetric care. She regards the rituals described in her book, which have occurred over virtually the whole world, as a way for the woman to retain control in the birth-giving situation and to channel her fear. She also asks the central question how this fear is channelled today, when the woman-centred rituals have been replaced by hospital routines.

This book has involved a great deal of serious work, requiring both time and involvement on the author's part. She has read widely and combines her knowledge as a midwife with historical facts in a praiseworthy way. In addition, the accounts of her fieldwork are fascinating reading. She says in the introduction to the book that she specifically did not want to romanticize the traditional midwife. Unfortunately, I do not think she has entirely succeeded in this. There is an underlying idea of a "genuine" women's culture. She wants to get at "traditional" midwives' own perception of their work, preferably without any influence from school medicine. As I see it, this reflects an idea of a genuine and qualitatively better culture, untainted by science. The people who collected folk traditions a hundred years ago had the same idea when they sought to rescue the remains of genuine folk culture. Höjeberg is aware of this, however, since she views her book as a contribution to the rescue of the maternal heritage, which she sees as her mission.

Although the book gives a multifaceted view of childbirth and in many ways brings the reader close to the object of study (this applies in particular to the section about fieldwork among midwives), it also gives a somewhat disparate impression. We are thrown abruptly between different times, countries, and contexts. The author uses these sudden shifts to show how much ancient Greece, pre-industrial Sweden, and modern Africa have in common when it comes to childbirth. Here, however, a more coherent presentation

would have been more convincing. The fictitious tale of Onopa functions as a thread to stitch the account together – successfully, in my opinion.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

Shamanism Old and New

Merete Demant Jakobsen, *Shamanism. Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing*. Berghahn Books, New York/Oxford 1999. 274 pp. Ill. ISBN 1-57181-195-8.

■ Studies of religiosity other than those in the Judaic, Muslim, or Christian tradition have often been conducted by anthropologists. In recent years, religiosity has frequently been associated with New Age, in which other disciplines have shown an interest. New Age is regarded by many as a new folk belief or religion and hence as a uniform field capable of being studied. Others see the complexity of New Age as being such a central feature that they choose to study only isolated phenomena within it. An example is the anthropologist Merete Demant Jakobsen. Her book *Shamanism* is a descriptive study focusing on Greenlandic religion and comparing it with the shamanism practised today.

Jakobsen's aim is to examine how shamanism, with its roots in "traditional societies", is reformulated to fill the spiritual vacuum in modern society. The book therefore consists of a historical part discussing Greenlandic religion and a part discussing neo-shamanism. The former is based on notes, letters, and literature by Danish missionaries. The contemporary material consists of interviews and participant observations from shaman courses. Jakobsen's reasons for choosing Greenland are the lack of research and the fact that it escaped the influence of other cultures until the 18th century.

Since the field of alternative religion contains a great many different practices, it is important to define what one is analysing. Jakobsen does so in her first chapter, explaining that there are traces of shamanism mainly in Central Asia and Siberia, with similar practices in almost every part of the world. The shaman was viewed as a link between sacred and profane, functioning as a spiritual

leader. His work meant making internal voyages to visit spirits, by entering a trance with the aid of drum noises. The role of the shaman was to resolve crises, reduce dangers, and restore balance to society. Today, Jakobsen says, the concept of shamanism has been extended to comprise all kinds of attempts to reach the spiritual world. It is above all used on weekend New Age courses to teach Westerners how to seek help.

The next chapter deals with Greenland and its "original religion". We meet Hans Egede, who was sent by the Danish King Frederik IV to preach Christianity. This was in the mid-eighteenth century, and his work was continued by his sons Poul and Niels. The main reason for the mission was that many Danes who were exploiting Greenland felt exposed to devilry and threatened by the rituals performed by the Greenlanders. Mainly using the Egede family records, Jakobsen gives a good account of the reasons behind the Christian mission.

Greenlandic religion was based on the idea of cause and effect; if something odd happened there was a cause in the spirit world, and an *angakut* or shaman was called in. The colonists believed in one God who knows what will happen and what cannot be manipulated, and conflicts arose between the two groups. The chapter gives a good description of the encounter; the voices are those of the missionaries, so the picture of the indigenous religion is filtered.

The next is about the shaman in the early 20th century, based on accounts by non-Greenlanders. The shaman's contact with spirits is described as part of the world-view of Greenlandic religion. Jakobsen tells how shamans, with their magical prayers and songs, taboo rules and amulets, were considered holy, which gave them great influence in Greenlandic society. It could take nine years for a man or woman to become a fully fledged *angakut*. Unlike Christianity, the rituals were performed in private. The spirits in which Greenlanders believed included the Mother of the Sea and the Moon Spirit, who could be visited and persuaded to change things so that people could continue to live their lives without complications.

Then Jakobsen makes an interesting comparison with the shamanism practised by New Age movements. She begins with definitions, citing

several scholars of New Age. We see that there is a kaleidoscopic diversity in the field of alternative religion, which makes it difficult to study.

Jakobsen then gives an account of the neo-shamanism of the late 20th century, based on her interviews and observations. It differs from Greenlandic shamanism primarily by being centred on the individual. In New Age a shamanistic experience gives increased self-insight. Neo-shamans visit the spirit world or people in other ages for their own sakes, not to bring order to society. Shamanistic knowledge is acquired on courses, after which one can experiment and find one's own methods. Neo-shamanism goes along with other New Age concepts such as self-therapy, divine forces, energies, and holism (the belief in a link between spirit and matter, body and soul), as well as tarot cards and astrology. For some reason not discussed by Jakobsen, it is mostly women who are interested in New Age, but it is noteworthy that neo-shamanism attracts more men than New Age in general.

Unlike the mass media image, people interested in shamanism are not a confused and disillusioned group on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Jakobsen has met people who are consciously and purposefully searching for spiritual experiences outside the church. They are also looking for an alienation from other members of society. She has found three categories of participants at shaman courses: social workers and teachers, who have often had a difficult life and long experience of various New Age phenomena, and creative artists, musicians, or writers.

In the final chapter Jakobsen discusses other cultural spheres, such as Korea and South America, where shamanism has undergone a renaissance. An appendix then explains some of the techniques taught at shaman courses, again with comparisons with the Greenlandic tradition.

The chapters on Greenland are based on sources that were critical of paganism, so the information on Greenlandic religion may be distorted. Jakobsen discusses the problem of using such sources, but says that there was no alternative. Yet a text based on this kind of material easily becomes too sweeping for readers who would like more detailed ethnography. In the chapter on present-day shamanism, Jakobsen uses quite different materi-

al, with a thicker description. Despite this discrepancy, the comparison of Greenlandic shamanism and neo-shamanism is one of the best parts of the book.

Jakobsen has written a descriptive book about shamanism. She makes a stab at theory when she speaks about contemporary people searching for more religiosity than modern society offers. She also mentions that people today are uncertain of their identity, and that this could be a reason for their New Age questing (a debatable interpretation). But she goes no further than this. It would have been possible and desirable to have a theoretical discussion in which both the Greenlandic material and New Age are put in a broader context in order to analyse the differences between the two shamanic practices, and the role played by the shaman in each society. She mentions in the introduction that New Age can be seen in the light of Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field, but she does not follow this up. I think that a deeper theoretical discussion could supplement the rich knowledge that Jakobsen has assembled, and it could increase our understanding of the times which have generated a phenomenon like New Age.

Merete Demant Jakobsen has written a very good book which partially fills the vacuum in research into alternative religiosity. The book is a piece of good craftsmanship, showing great accuracy and knowledge. New Age studies are still in their cradle, which is remarkable in view of the spread of the movement in society. This makes the book welcome. I hope that it will lead more New Age scholars to choose a similar perspective, rather than trying to explain New Age as a whole. I regard that as impossible, since there is no fixed membership structure, no written dogma which practitioners of New Age have to profess, and no collective behaviour. By studying one phenomenon in detail, as Jakobsen does, a scholar has a chance to take part and come closer to the practitioners than if one studies the movement on a meta-level. This could bring us closer to an answer to the question of why people are attracted by a field lying beyond society and its established religions and therapies. The impression of the book is further heightened by Jakobsen's decision not to criticize New Age but instead to compare the old with the new objectively.

Many New Age phenomena are said to be of ancient origin. Jakobsen shows that the shamanism practised in Greenland has little in common with the shamanism taught at weekend courses in the late 1990s. Her concluding comment – that neo-shamanism should not be called shamanism but just “shamanic behaviour” – is however an empty gesture which is only confusing.

Magnus Gudmundsson, Stockholm

Smallholdings in Eastern Funen

Anette Jensen, Statshusmandsbrugene i Flødstrup sogn på Østfyn – et kulturmiljø under forandring. Landbohistorisk Selskab og Kertemindeegnens Museer 2001. 135 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7526-169-3.

■ In Denmark many state smallholdings were established according to laws from 1899 and 1919 which constrained counties, baronies and entailed estates to hand over one third of their land to the state in return for moderate compensation. Smallholdings of around 5 hectares were then established on this land by government loans on favourable terms and by being ground-rent holdings. The new houses were built according to standard plans in “Bedre Byggeskik” style. Because of that the style of the new buildings was alike all over Denmark. The possibility of establishing smallholdings came to an end in 1973. In total 28,000 smallholdings had then been established in Denmark. Since they are very often located in clusters of allotment gardens, they are a pronounced feature of the Danish landscape.

Jensen’s book is a study of 48 such smallholdings in a parish in Eastern Funen (Fyn), established in the mid-twenties. The aim of the study is to clarify to what extent the smallholdings and the adjoining landscape is preserved today. The study follows the smallholdings during different phases from the beginnings until today. Danish cultural landscape theory is used as a method for this. The focus of the study is thus on ecological factors: population, landscape and settlement. Economic factors are also described briefly. Among the results that may be mentioned, of all the smallholdings only eight are farms today, while six are part-time farms and 34 pure dwellings. This change is mainly due to the fact that the parish has a favourable

location in relation to bigger towns with workplaces. Jensen also sets up some criteria for the elements that make a smallholding worthy of preservation. Only eight of them fulfilled the criteria. Anette Jensen’s study is highly elaborate, showing the smallholding community and its history in great detail. One example of this interest in details is an account of different kinds of brick as building material and their prices. The use of cheap brick or cement stones in the walls of the houses had the consequence that the walls needed some kind of finish, which meant that they were normally whitewashed.

What makes the book so delightful are the many varied illustrations: drawings, diagrams, maps and above all photographs. Jensen thereby succeeds in painting a living picture of this pleasant built environment and also very clearly shows in what ways it has changed. The study confirms the growing interest in small farms near towns. Here Jensen points to a contemporary trend: moving out of cities into the countryside. In my opinion this is an important observation as it also illustrates a common European trend and future. Anette Jensen’s book is an exhaustive and admirable piece of work on how a cultural environment has developed and changed. What is not included in the study, obviously quite deliberately, is the social and cultural life of this rather special community – partly village, partly pure countryside. Maybe this could be the subject of a new investigation. To sum up, this book gives an interesting glimpse of a very special type of settlement in the Danish countryside.

Ulf Stahre, Göteborg

Forest Life

Skogsliv. Kulturella processer i nordiska skogsbygger. Ingar Kaldal, Ella Johansson, Bo Fritz-bøger & Hanna Snellman (eds.). Historiska Media, Lund 2000. 400 pp. Ill. English summaries. ISBN 91-88930-98-X.

■ *Skogsliv* is the outcome of collaboration over about a decade among a network of several scholars, mostly historians and ethnologists, from within and beyond the Nordic countries. The 14 chapters plus the introduction, written in Scandinavian

languages and with short English summaries (except for the Introduction) appended, are written in a tone sympathetic to the 'ordinary' people whose lives are documented in richly textured empirical detail. Although the introduction plays down the significance of the book's descriptive aspect, it is certainly one of the key strengths of the collection. A key weakness is the lack of theoretical ambition, though this is a somewhat unfair charge, given that the aim of the project was not to generate theory of Nordic forest life, but to analyse variation in forest's significance as resource both materially and symbolically (p. 16). In other words, the chapters each examine the cultural processes which accompany the utilisation of a renewable resource like forest, and which have made what one might call forestscapes carry so much value across Nordic society. The chapters show that these values have been (and presumably continue to be) internally contradictory and changing, and yet absolutely taken for granted by different sectors of the population. At the same time, the economic significance of forest products has been clear to the commercial classes and national administrations, a fact which might provide further fruitful terrain for theorising and thus rendering comparable, lessons about natural resources from the Nordic world.

The authors' theoretical frameworks are rather eclectic, with some chapters reinscribing well-worn stereotypes from Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Danish and, rather oddly, German, historiography, whilst others are more focused on exploring the tenacity and the socio-political uses of such one-dimensional images of those involved in struggles over forests, be they disempowered 'forest folk' or state administrators. Inevitably, a certain degree of reification is necessary if the deconstruction of a stereotypical image is to be persuasive, but the authors here seem to have rather varying understandings of how scholarship of this kind might challenge cherished images of both home and of 'ordinary people', which in the Nordic context, often take forest as a key reference point. In fact, might it not be possible to question the very preoccupation with identity itself in the Nordic world?

The centrality of forests to social and cultural life in the North of Europe has been amply

documented by generations of scholars and indeed, one wonders whom the authors of this collection had in mind as an audience. A few chapters contain rather long conceptual introductions, making reference to English-speaking writers like Clifford Geertz (Kaldal, Hansen), Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Snellman), William Cronon (Hämynen), Pierre Bourdieu (Facos) and Tim Ingold, who has a contribution here also, translated into Swedish. However, these excursions into theory are not central to the chapters nor, indeed, to the collection as a whole, nor do they push the limits of historiography or social theory in any significant way. Be that as it may, clearly there would be a readership of much of this work were it to be translated, at least in parts, into English, a point to which I return below.

As an essentially historical collection *Skogsliv* might well be of interest to the general Scandinavian or Finnish reader wanting to fight collective amnesia about the past in countries where consensus, homogeneity, even egalitarianism, form a key part of a national self-image. Anyone interested to learn about the struggles as well as the joys associated with the region's fetishisation of forests will find a wealth of information. Well-researched as it is, much of the material in the volume deals with how nature is defined in the forested landscapes of the North. It would thus be of interest also to those whose primary concern is to challenge social theory, as the implosions of 'nature' and 'culture' affect daily life, legislation and science with increasing intensity around the world.

The book is divided into three sections of uneven length. The first and most extensive deals, broadly speaking, with labour and gender, putting the question of identity and culture-building at the heart of the exercise. This section makes clear a central theme of the whole collection, namely that the forest provided status and comfort to populations which were being differentiated in new ways, but by appropriating them in contrasting ways (p. 16). It also documents in great detail the sometimes subtle ways in which gender and social class articulated and were conceptualised, even romanticised, in value-laden references to the forest, which has generally been portrayed as a masculine domain.

Many of these chapters make good use of

historical sources, but several also incorporate first-hand interview material, like Kjell Hansen's complex micro study of place-bound responses to Sweden's post-war welfare policies, and Ingar Kaldal's analysis of how narratives of forest labour along the Norwegian-Swedish border have changed. This section also includes Tim Ingold's analysis of the fortunes and futures of Finnish Lapland's reindeer economy. Ingold's work is the most theoretically ambitious in the book, dealing as it does, with the impacts of state- (but also, I would argue, Cold War-) based resettlement policies, on the entangled relationships between people and nonhuman environments in the north eastern periphery of the 'North' or the 'West'. Ella Johansson's chapter on struggles between agricultural and hunting practices in Sweden, Hanna Snellman's exploration of contrasting images of the lumberjack, and Tapio Hämynen's economic history of 1920s and -30s Border Karelia, are no less evocative and enjoyable even if they are based on historical sources, such as newspaper articles and manuscript archives of interviews from past decades, rather than on interviews.

In the second section, the chapters move on to more economic and legal aspects of living in and around forests, dealing with ownership and use rights as common land was gradually enclosed or otherwise brought under the control of modern state apparatuses. However, popular narratives and 'folk' culture continue to provide the setting from which questions are posed, as the authors explore the interplay between official and vernacular understandings of order in the rapidly changing world of industrial modernity. Kerstin Sundberg, Bo Fritzboøger, and Anne Ruottula-Vasari draw images of class-based conflict in Skåne (Sweden), Denmark and Sweden and Finland respectively. The two other chapters in the section concern the spread of bourgeois ideals of status and of exclusively commercial value into peripheral areas. Early 20th-century Norway is Paul Tage Hagberg's focus, and late 20th-century Finnish Lapland is the setting for Helena Ruotsala's paper on clashes between reindeer herders and the ubiquitous state-sanctioned forest managers.

Reading this second section, I was struck by the resonances from across a wide range of literature on forests and forest management which

was, however, rarely highlighted. Among these connections it is worth mentioning the somewhat earlier experiences of the English rural population and the rising bourgeoisie's hysteria in the face of their resistance, described for example in E. P. Thompson's *Whigs and Hunters* (1975). Nevertheless, hardly any mention was made of such commonality of experience let alone the violence of contemporary forest management in many poor countries. Nor, despite a few references to the international scope of trade in forest products, and to the extremely significant fact of mass migration from Finland and Scandinavia to North America, was the broader context of changes in Nordic land-use patterns mentioned. Instead, the regional differentiation and the contingencies of local situations were emphasised.

If the authors cannot be faulted for omitting material which is not part of their research, it is nevertheless a shame that there are no general introductions to the three sections, an omission which is particularly unfortunate in this second section. (On the other hand, it does suggest an outstandingly interesting and feasible object for further research). Whereas the convergence of theme in the first set of chapters on identity are not insignificant, they are perhaps difficult to bring together for comparative purposes because of the eclecticism in the theoretical tools used to unpack them. In contrast, this second section provides ample grounds for robust theorising and even comparative work going beyond the Nordic region. Indeed, it seems that this second section is implicitly, if not explicitly, already a rich source of comparative and potentially far-reaching analysis on how ownership, land management, and collective identity articulate in culture-bound ways.

The third section on nationalism, or more broadly, on collective identity in relation to forests, sits rather oddly at the end of these other chapters. On the other hand, the insights of Siegfried Becker into German forest ideology and its place in the anti-modernism of National Socialism, and Michelle Facos' look at the place of idealised forests in Nordic educational materials in the first half of the 20th century, are relevant and arguably even necessary in a collection such as this one. They provide a critical look at the ways narratives and images of forests help

create and sustain moral order, and they make a reflexive gesture toward the role of history and social science (i.e. works not unlike *Skogsliv*) also in sustaining this order. Whereas the earlier chapters highlighted local difference and internal contradiction, these chapters abstract out the ways in which meta-narratives of belonging and even of national superiority could be distilled out of internally inconsistent understandings.

As important as these chapters are in a collection for a Nordic audience, perhaps used to a certain timorousness in scholarly output, the section is disappointing in that the focus on Germany here by implication not only belittles, but in fact obscures, the nationalism of forest and nature ideology within the Nordic countries themselves. This means that the book as a whole avoids posing the questions about how the pragmatic synthesis of symbolic and utilitarian value in Nordic forests might be related not only to nationalisms within the region, but also to the frequent and racialised violence of so-called global environmentalism.

Let me expand a little on this train of thought. One of the reasons this collection is to be welcomed, is that it brings together a substantial range of persuasive work on the history of natural resource use in a region which is now known both as quintessentially modern and progressive, and yet which has the hallmarks of a periphery (a point noted in the introductory essay by Kaldal) and which was, in relatively recent times, a backwoods [sic] by commercially and politically important global standards. As we – scholars, citizens, consumers as well as disenfranchised populations around the world – grapple with the steady but irrevocable deterioration of the biophysical environment and the invasion of our bodies with toxins, getting environmental history right is an urgent task. For the most part, the prominent work which reaches the influential people (mostly but not solely English speakers), is based on the experiences of the USA, where land, people, and resources were plundered until what was left was subjected to strict, above all people-free, management in the name of conservation and preservation. Indeed, from a Nordic, even Western European perspective, the America's, and particularly the USA's history is peculiarly capital-driven with all that this implies

ideologically and cosmologically: from what it is to be a person (an individual) to what nature is (a resource/ a sign of God's favour upon 'us'). The use made of post-colonial social theory in reappraising America's love affair with wilderness has of course been most enlightening and has already arguably shaken off some environmentalist misconceptions based on the assumption that everywhere 'man' is the enemy of 'nature' (e.g. Balée 1998, Cronon 1995). Yet because this history as well as the historiography are so coloured by the role of America in providing a template for the supposedly global or for the so-called international community, it would be of great value to shift the focus to equally well-documented regions and equally nature-obsessed cultures such as the Nordic countries, which are, in the end, very specific politico-economically, socially, and culturally.

Like elsewhere, across the Nordic world, it is of course still very commonplace to hear laments of how the history of 'humanity's' relationship with 'nature' has led to destruction and hopelessness. What scholarship can achieve, particularly historical work incorporating social theory, is a way to connect such value judgements with how people and groups of people are classified. Making explicit that how people value 'nature' is linked to how they value 'culture' or 'humanity' for instance, makes room for critiques of totalitarian as well as unimaginative conservation policy which changes nothing. A clear example of such a connection is mentioned in the final chapter by Facos: the Nordic countries' long-standing commitment to a kind of sustainability (sustained-yield silviculture) is explicitly contrasted to the backward and thoughtless plunder of forests in the European south, reinforcing value-laden stereotypes of 'them' vs. 'us'. Rather than displace the articulation between racism and local forest mythology onto the extreme human catastrophe of Nazi nature worship, a robust collection such as *Skogsliv* could easily have accommodated a critical look at these issues in the Nordic world itself. Indeed, as a collection it suggests avenues for more exploration of the ways in which the histories of the Nordic countries were both constrained and enabled by experiences elsewhere, and by developments in the technologies not only of extraction and processing, but of communications.

Finally, it is clear that this book is about ecopolitics even if this is only implicit. It challenges the still influential notion that the forest is dear to Scandinavians and Finns because it has always, and will always be there, like everlasting, sacred nature which can be contrasted (particularly in Lutheran Christianity) to the fickleness of fallen humanity. But to be of relevance to the debates on how 'Western' ideas of nature in general are being deconstructed and reconstructed in our age, the ideas in it need to be abstracted out into at least some kind of theorised framework. It is equally a shame that the references to Nordic immigration to North America or the relationship of forest use to local or to global conservation, are not further developed. In that sense, although it achieves what the introduction promises, it does rehearse what to a UK-based academic looks like insular Nordic historiography, focusing on a narrowly parochial set of concerns without linking the processes discussed to historical transformations in the global capitalist system.

Overall however, this is an excellent source book for anyone who reads Scandinavian languages and is interested in the vernacular history of forest, its meanings and uses, and its imbrication in economic and political structures. It is thoroughly referenced (for the most part – a few intriguing bibliographic references mentioned in passing were not listed in the bibliographies), but there is no index. It leaves me looking forward to more provocative engagements with environmental history and social theory elsewhere.

Eeva Berglund, London

Saami Life

Rolf Kjellström, Samernas liv. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm, 2000. 299 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7203-930-2.

■ This attractive book, 'The life of the Saamis', is written by the curator Rolf Kjellström, who for about 35 years has been responsible for the research on Saami issues at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Kjellström is presented by the publisher as a docent in ethnography, a polar researcher and a man of nature, known as a popular scientific lecturer and author of several books, in

addition to about one hundred articles on Laplandic and Arctic themes. The present book will certainly become popular, not least due to the well of photographs, paintings, book prints, drawings and maps, all in black and white. Some of these pictures from the archives of Nordiska Museet, have not been published before.

In the preface, the author compares his book to a photo exhibition with explanatory texts. A rough estimate gives about 230 photographs, from 1868 until the end of the 1970s. More than fifty are his own, taken since 1968. Many of his pictures are lyrical panoramas, often with reindeer herds in the vicinity framed by mighty mountains in the background. A very large number of photographs are taken by the well-known Swedish lappologist Ernst Manker, who was co-author with the Norwegian ethnographer Ørnulf Vorren of the international classic *The Lapps* (1960). The photographs are all presented with explanatory captions, giving exact location and year, and the photographer's name. There are several reproductions of prints from classical works such as Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponica* from 1673, Knud Leem's description of the Finnmark Lapps from 1767 and Olaus Magnus' work from 1555. Numerous single figures from the *nåjde*'s or shaman's drum are spread through the pages together with photographs and other pictures. Of special interest are the drawings of reindeer herding by Johan Turi (1854–1936) and Nils Nilsson Skum (1872–1951), the two artists presented under the caption 'Art' (pp. 248f.). Biographical notes on Johan Turi are also found under 'Literature' (p. 228), with notes on three other men, the youngest of them being Paulus Utsi (1918–1975). From the viewpoint of ethnographic registration and invisible backstage museum work, it is a pleasure to see so many archive drawings of single objects, buildings and other man-made constructions in the landscape, some of the drawings with explanatory terms adding to the visual presentation. Janis Cirulius, A. Hammarström, Runo Johansson Lette, Maria Urbonas and even 'unknown' are some of the names from the archives.

The Saami culture is to a high degree a living culture, many-faceted and rich in variation, the author states, and he attempts to present those parts of this traditional culture that he thinks

important. The book is written for those who want a text that summarises and gives an overview of those features (p. 8). To be fair to the author, the detailed headings in the list of contents should have been reproduced here, but lack of space prevents it. The main chapters are Introduction (including Cultural, geographical and administrative divisions, History, Language, and Who is Saami?), Economy, Material culture, Spiritual culture, and Social culture. So, who is Saami? No general definition exists, states the author, but important criteria are origin, dwelling area, language, livelihood and a person's self-definition (p. 22). Whether the right to work with reindeer herding is part of the author's definition or not is unclear. However, this criterion has been central in national statistics in Sweden. So when Kjellström recognizes that there are more than 20,000 Saamis in Sweden, he counts beyond those engaged in reindeer herding. There are more Saamis in Stockholm than anywhere else in Sweden (similarly there are more Saamis in Oslo than anywhere else in Norway.) He assumes there are about 30,000 Saamis in Norway, about 5,000 in Finland and 'a few thousand' in the Soviet Union [*sic*]. The number of persons are few, the size of *Sápmi* (p. 19) is enormous, and the language map on p. 29 illustrates this. It might just be a slip of the pen, when the north Saami region, covering Troms and Finnmark in Norway, the northern part of Finnish Lapland west of Lake Inari and the Torne Valley region in Sweden is called *Norsksamiska*, 'Norwegian-Saami', and not *Nordsamisk*, 'North Saami' (70–80 % of all Saami speakers are using North Saami).

Kjellström presents, however, the Saami reindeer herding way of life in Sweden, as if this is a representation of the way of life of all Saamis, present and past, and as if organized reindeer nomadism was the livelihood pattern for all local Saami groups in Sápmi. It is not taken into account that on the coast of central and northern Norway e.g. the Saamis had a similar livelihood to the Scandinavian coastal population, based on cattle holding, fishing and hunting, although in close contact with migratory reindeer herders from the Norwegian inland and the Laplands of Sweden and Finland. Kjellström thus reduces the diversity and variation he promises in his intro-

duction, and which is indicated in the map of languages and dialects (p. 29), and in the map of natural geographical regions of central and northern Scandinavia and Finland, and the Kola peninsula (p. 21). Almost all the photographs are from Sweden. One picture from near Tromsø is taken when Swedish Saamis cross the sound to the island of their summer pastures (p. 63). The use of 18th century illustrations from the coast of Finnmark, not connected with Sweden, adds to the general feeling of a lack of conscious geographical frame, Sweden or Sápmi? Reindeer Saamis or all Saamis? The lack of a consistent chronology leads us into a sort of 'timelessness', without holding together the illustrated themes (or explained pictures), as if this situated timelessness is 'here and now'. However, this is a place where notions such as ethnic identity, indigenous rights, modernity, globalization, etc. do not appear as discursive issues. These Saamis are a fiction, not an existing people in Norden today. Do they provide a suitable introduction of the Saami Self to the non-Saami Other? Perhaps for a Saami in Sweden, identifying more with her or his Saami ancestors than with her or his Swedish, Finnish or Norwegian ancestors – which Saamis in Sweden also have – would recognize and hold together the features presented in this book, some familiar, others less familiar.

An evaluation of an exhibition on Saami culture at the annual meeting of Norwegian museum curators, in Tromsø in 1983, strikes my mind when I think of ethnic selves and others. From the sideline I had been able to follow the construction of the new exhibition at Tromsø Museum, as I saw and talked with the curators, the Norwegian panorama painter, the Saami designer and painter, the carpenters and other craftsmen. It was a condensed or compressed exhibition, with lots of models, genuine artifacts, illustrations and texts, exposed in a large, narrow hall. While the participants at the national meeting in 1983 agreed that the exhibition was technically and artistically successful, its pedagogical aspect was negatively criticised. It was overloaded with fragmented information, had no overriding principle, and the message was not easily understood. These critical comments came mostly from persons in southern Norway outside areas with Saami settlement,

with limited knowledge of the history and cultural variety of the Saamis. More positive views on the content and not only the package came from those who experienced the whole exhibition as a complex cultural-ecological system where components were related with each others in numerous ways, both ethnically and due to regional, economic and political conditions, which Saamis have shared with other groups. The bridging, the connections were already there, in the conscious minds of insiders, even though there was no temporal depth, no clear macro-historical perspective. In a way I feel that Kjellström's book will evoke similar reactions. Aesthetically it is a success, but there is no real message to the outsider on Saami life today. However, some Saamis will recognise artifacts and landscapes and share them with other Saamis, looking at the pictures and telling stories, and be able to explain the context for outsiders.

Venke Åsheim Olsen, Trondheim

The World of Soap Operas

Marianne Liliequist, Våp, bitchor och moderliga män. Kvinnligt och manligt i såpoperans värld. Boréa, Umeå 2000. 144 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-89140-14-1.

■ This book takes soap operas seriously. Watching the soaps is an activity that the author shows to have not only negative but also positive sides. The result is a fascinating account of television series from *Dallas*, *Dr. Quinn*, and the Swedish *Rederiet* to *Ally MacBeal* and *Melrose Place*, and of their audience, including the author herself. The viewers are mostly women, and it is their consumption of soap operas that the book is about – or was supposed to be about.

It was initially the context of soap operas that interested the author, but she also undertakes textual analyses parallel to her descriptions of how people use the soaps, and it could perhaps be said that the textual analyses have taken over. The book begins with a personal narrative about how the author got to know her fellow patients during a stay in hospital by discussing the latest episodes of soap operas. And she says that conversations about soap operas can be heard all over Sweden,

at workplaces, in shops, and in cafés. The characters in the series make up a common frame of reference which facilitates our interaction with other people. What is too sensitive for a person to mention can be touched on more easily with reference to last night's episode of *Ally MacBeal*.

The soap opera – a genre characterized by melodrama – is disparaged in many contexts. It is also a genre that primarily appeals to a female audience. The author's idea when she started this project was to show that the viewers of these series did not necessarily allow themselves to be affected negatively, but that they were creative in their use of soap operas – not a totally unknown approach when we folklorists/ethnologists study the mass media. The users become important; their opinions, experiences, and appraisals must be taken seriously. We also like to show that what is generally disparaged also has positive qualities. Yet Marianne Liliequist does not stop there, as she has approached the genre from three different directions: content analysis, combined with reception studies and media ethnography. Over all this is the discussion of gender theory, with the interest focused on the question of the images of male/female, both as they are displayed in the narratives on the screen and as they are discussed by the different users. Tackling media-ethnographic studies that require insight into the informants' everyday lives, and combining this with the critical perspective of gender theory is a challenge which the author does not manage with complete success in this study.

The soap opera as a television genre has been around for so long that the author operates with a distinction into traditional and postmodern soap operas. The genre has indeed changed considerably since *Dallas* and *Dynasty* provoked attention and debate (at least in Norway). These are the series that Liliequist describes as traditional soap operas, whereas today's series like *Ally MacBeal* and *Melrose Place* are postmodern, with a different, less predictable plot than in the traditional soaps. The author says that these two types of soap operas are each other's contrasts as regards narrative technique, viewer positions, and the message about patterns of gender. There are nevertheless similarities, perhaps above all in the way people use the series, which alternates be-

tween engagement and ironic distance.

Soap operas have been described as a female genre because the plot in large measure concerns human relations and their complications, a topic that women are interested in. It has been said that women deal with their own relationships and caring commitments through their use of soap operas. The characters in the series tend to come from settings that are far removed from familiar everyday life, but their pleasures and problems are recognizable, resulting in stories that are parallels or extensions to the viewer's own lives, giving a way to discuss and deal with one's relation to everyday life. But do viewers come to terms with their own relations and caring problems in a positive way, or do the soap operas merely confirm traditional male–female relations? The postmodern soap opera – e.g. *Ally MacBeal* and *Melrose Place* – has a different structure. The events and characters here are not so predictable or recognizable. Yet there is a satisfaction for the user in having a comprehensive view of the characters – which viewers do not have in real life.

This book is engaging and entertainingly written. One possible objection is that the different series are described with a kind of implicit understanding, which is a handicap for readers who do not know the series as well as the author or the users in the study. Some of the textual analyses are over-long, showing rather too much personal opinion.

The author started with a favourable attitude to the possibilities offered by the genre. She was looking for ways in which the soap operas could be emancipatory, and she rejected what she calls the demonization of mass culture. In the last chapter, however, it is a more pessimistic author we meet. She finds that the soap operas are not open to different kinds of interpretations. What she had planned as a project in which different women would be shown in user portraits to have nuanced, individual interpretations, instead becomes an analysis of content and message.

In the traditional series, she says, the message is not about feminist visions but of enduring as well as one can. In contrast, the postmodern soap opera perhaps breaks with the traditional gender order – but by having a tragic ending for both sexes. The book nevertheless ends on a happy note, with reference to young people who are

breaking down the established dualistic gender pattern by means of their aesthetic bricolage as regards clothes, hairstyles, and makeup.

Torunn Selberg, Bergen

Perspectives on Gender, Sexuality and Politics

Bestämma, benämna, betvivla. Kulturvetenskapliga perspektiv på kön, sexualitet och politik. Britta Lundgren & Lena Martinsson (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2001. 234 pp. ISBN 91-44-01570-4.

■ It's like reading through last year's newspapers! The authors of *Bestämma, benämna, betvivla* (Determine, Name, Doubt) have seized on current issues: the themes touched upon vary from vegan-anarcho-feminists to health politics and to the present-day heterosexual norms. The focus is on postmodern society, and the connection between the ten articles is found in their aim of analysing the different – both active and invisible – ways of using power. The authors state that their prime question is not so much to define power but to ask how power is created and how it functions.

This means that the concept of politics also has a central role in the articles. In the introduction by Britta Lundgren politics is defined according to Chris Corrin as processes of articulation in the variable and diverse power orders. Politics consists of judgements and pursuits in a non-consensus situation; it is considered as an open process without right answers and given legitimacy.

The bases for the anthology are set down in the introduction with references to the discourses of postmodernism and its relation to feminist politics. We are given a compact bundle of scientific backgrounds and definitions of terms. It serves its place as a background to the articles. I would not have minded, though, an even more comprehensive analysis of ethnological research (most of the writers are ethnologists) as a tool to study the postmodern phenomena – especially as the book is meant to serve both students and researchers.

All but one of the authors are female and thus the perspective on gender and politics is somewhat biased towards women's experiences in the power orders. This does not mean, however, that women

are seen as an unambiguous group with shared intentions and wishes. As Lena Martinsson writes, it is problematic if women are lumped together as a solid category without any consideration of other factors such as sexuality, class or ethnicity. Yet the anthology shows that this is often the situation in everyday life, beginning right from the educational system and proceeding up to the national level of political decision making. This is also one way of using power. The categorical gender system is unravelled in other respects too, for example, in Eddy Nehls' analysis of the masculine – I would call it macho – attitudes of truck drivers or Susanne Lindström's article about the gender policy of the Swedish church concerning homosexuals.

One of the questions the authors put concerns the political role of a gender researcher who wants to critically analyse power structures. This has led to texts in which the researchers have openly analysed their position in their field of research. I agree that making this political dimension of research work explicit is the only right way to deal with current topics. So perhaps some words of self-reflection from the reviewer are acceptable here. Coming from a department where the historical perspective is the basic method for analysis, I found the articles with a touch of historical background to be the ones that were most successfully able to explain the creation of power systems – and not only to make them visible.

Annika Sjölander e.g. has not only settled for making a cross-section of the present-day gender-labelled political discourse. She has also anchored the phenomena to the articulations of women as emotional and close to nature long used in patriarchal European ideology. Even though the visible phenomena may be new, the power structures behind them may have long traditions.

The articles form a solid and unforced entity, which I take as a sign of successful co-operation within the research group. The authors indeed succeed in making visible different kind of power structures and hidden attitudes. And even more: they also stimulate readers to find these and other power orders and sentiments used in their own environments – and sometimes also by themselves.

Pia Olsson, Helsinki

Vacationing

Orvar Löfgren, On Holiday: A History of Vacationing. University of California Press, Berkeley 1999. xiv + 320 pp. Ill. ISBN 0-520-21767-5.

■ This is a cheerful book; a delight to read. It will appeal to a wide variety of readers. Non-academics and professional specialists alike will find the book full of stimulating insights. While the book is more of a personal essay on the topic rather than a technical treatise, it is nonetheless an indispensable addition to the ethnological literature on tourism. Orvar Löfgren tells the story of holidaying from both an ethnologist's point of view, and a personal one. The story is traced through his own first experiences as a small boy of life-out-of-routine in new places, through his coming-of-age and sedate adulthood; a story which parallels the infancy, growth and maturation of mass tourism, from something out-of-the-ordinary – for a privileged few, or for people of more modest means whose infrequent holidays were remembered and treasured – to something that the great mass of Europeans, North Americans, and Australasians have come to expect as a rightful part of their annual routine. How the adventure of do-it-yourself travel and the creative pleasures of being-there in wonderful places (whether Blekinge or Biarritz) became transformed into a packaged commodity supported by a highly-ramified industrial infrastructure, one of the world's biggest, is a fascinating story that, in Löfgren's hands, has everything to do with "culture".

In a way, this is a very post-modern treatment of tourism and its history, but it is written in an engaging, elegant, and down-to-earth way with none of the polemic, pretension, and jargon which usually clutters up such accounts. The theme is a global one: the book is about the democratisation and universalisation of history, the objectification and consumption of culture, and of marks of social distinction and their deployment in everyday life, at least as these phenomena can be understood to have happened, and to be happening in the post-industrial and comfortably-affluent West. There is of course the fairly obvious point that this may be a peculiarly Swedish view of these phenomena as they are refracted through the "holiday" or

“vacation”, an annual activity that Swedes take for granted in ways that people elsewhere may not, and which is something of a national institution in Sweden in ways that it is not in other places, even in those countries mentioned in the book.

As Löfgren takes a broad view of the holiday, and draws some of his inspiration from across the Atlantic, it is worth noting that in the United States the social and economic divides between those who enjoy paid vacations and those who do not is far greater than in Sweden. Further, in recent years corporate downsizing, moves toward part-timing, and greater pressures toward productivity and accountability in the workplace have made many people – especially middle-class professionals, who are among those most likely to be the innovators in holidaying – reluctant to take all, or even any, of the vacation-time to which they might be entitled. Increasingly, those adults who vacation are retired, and the places they go are largely devoid of children. As Löfgren rightly points out, as holidaying is becoming geographically more extensive, it is also becoming more specialised as vacations are framed and marketed with certain sorts of people in mind. Vacationing is also becoming less of a family affair: while Mom and Dad go to Miami, the Bahamas or the West of Ireland, the kids go to Prague, Goa or Katmandu. This encapsulates another of Löfgren’s main themes: that, in their search for “a real experience”, or authenticity, they tend to encounter other people very much like themselves looking for very much the same kind of thing, raising the question of just why they do it at all.

Some of the explanation for this, to be sure, is a “longing for elsewhere”, seeing other places, escaping one’s humdrum life, living in a dreamland of the hedonistic pleasures and thrills of places like Las Vegas, the otherness of Dar-es-Salaam or Tibet, or merely being in nature chopping wood and drawing water in Värmland for a week or two. But it is also, as Löfgren notes, an expression of taste, and the holiday is a unit of currency in everyday social exchange – having had one at all, and what has constituted it, partially constitute us as creatures of culture, and as social agents whose lives are lived amidst others. *Reginald Byron, Swansea*

Danish Easter Customs

George Nellemann, Bogen om Påsken. Foreningen Danmarks Folkeminder, Copenhagen 2001. 126 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-89759-54-0.

■ Easter in Norway was the subject of a book published by Ørnulf Hodne in 1988, and I myself described Swedish Easter customs in *Årets fest-dagar* in 1999. Annual festivals were presented in the same year in a magnificent handbook by the theologian Martin Modéus. In 2000 Föreningen Norden published a splendid book entitled *Folk i fest – traditioner i Norden*, with Jan-Öyvind Swahn as editor-in-chief, in which different folklorists dealt with Easter in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Iceland. Now the ethnologist George Nellemann has written a book about Easter in Denmark (although the works listed above are not in the bibliography). We thus have good opportunities to study Easter customs in a comparative Nordic perspective.

This delightfully inviting and beautifully illustrated book does not confine itself to modern customs; it covers the development of Easter celebrations far back in history: the Jewish Pesach or Passover, the Christian Easter, Easter in folk tradition, and modern Easter customs. In an increasingly secularized society, where Easter chiefly means time off school and work, historical knowledge is more important than ever for an understanding of the meaning of Easter. The symbolism of the Jewish Passover meal was explicitly intended to make children aware of their religious and ethnic history (cf. *Livets Gleder: En vennebok til Reimund Kvideland*, 1995, p. 187).

The Christian Easter was both a continuation and a radical change of the Israelites’ Pesach. It is described in the biblical texts but it is also evident in the church liturgy, which could be called a sacred game in which the events of the first Easter are repeated each year. Through the different elements of the services, the participants symbolically relive, step by step, both the passion story and how it leads to the joyful celebration of the resurrection. For the resurrection is the central feature of the Christian Easter.

The Roman Catholic liturgy admittedly underwent changes as a result of the Reformation,

when many so-called adiaphora were eliminated, but since the superstitions associated with the various customs have gradually disappeared, it is time once again to revive many of the meaningful medieval customs. In this the High Church movement – more so in Sweden than in Denmark – has led the way, and what was regarded as High Church a few years ago is now normal in most churches. The Church History Archive in Lund monitors the changes at five-year intervals in every Swedish parish.

Revived customs include handing out palm branches on Palm Sunday, with or without a procession, the Maundy Thursday foot-washing ceremony, the silence of the bells and the organ on Good Friday, the unlit altar candles and the removal of the altar cloth. The Saturday before Easter is often celebrated with vigils and Easter Day with matins, when the bells and organs sound at full volume and the great Easter candle is lit. Some traditions are only in their cradle, such as the bearing of crosses in the streets, a form of modern evangelization. Judging by Nellemann's photographs, the Maundy Thursday communion in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Copenhagen is more like a love feast than the Swedish style of supermarket communion.

Church customs have their counterparts in folk practice. The Easter offering in the form of eggs given to the priests has its equivalent in the Easter eggs that young people give to each other. The "Happy Easter" mantra of the greeting cards evidently goes back to the hope of "a happy resurrection" found inscribed on seventeenth-century gravestones. Could the "Easter kiss" be a secularized form of the kiss of peace in the mass?

External regulations by society, such as legislation, have also governed the development of holidays. The lowering of flags on Good Friday no longer has any counterpart in Sweden. One of the things I miss in Nellemann's account is the role of sacred music at Easter. In Sweden the music often attracts more people to church than the actual services.

Modern-day Easter celebrations now include the decoration of the home. The custom of bringing in twigs and decorating them with feathers now even has an outdoor equivalent in the practice of adorning small trees with Easter symbols.

Day nurseries and playschools lead the Easter decoration league, spreading the decorations to the homes. All this is publicized in the mass media, and a festival handbook of the kind published by Modéus gives advice both about decorations and about more symbolic celebrations.

The cities lead the way in the spread of new customs. In Denmark, Copenhagen is particularly influential. Yet it is remarkable how regional festive patterns still survive in the countryside. The Great Belt appears to be a greater barrier here than the Sound between Denmark and Sweden. Many Easter customs are the same in Sjælland and Skåne. Folk customs such as rolling eggs outdoors have bourgeois counterparts in indoor egg games, as in Sweden. The fact that singing for eggs is also associated with Easter and not just the evening before the first of May, as in Skåne, supports Gullan Gerward's view that the same customs can be attached to different festivals, and also that the songs were a kind of parody of the litany (*Rig* 1995).

The festival industry is constantly increasing its pressure on consumers. People nevertheless differ in their receptiveness to mass production. The Easter cards that are common in Germany and Sweden have few counterparts in Denmark. Spending the Easter holidays in the weekend cabin is still chiefly a Norwegian tradition. Swedes and Danes prefer lamb steak and Easter brew.

Nellemann's book is useful reading and follows an old tradition of popular education. Yet it is somewhat surprising that he predicts at the end of the book that the Jewish Passover meal has a better future than Christian Easter celebrations, which he thinks are "too abstract". Here he is disdaining the significance of Easter customs. Ultimately, their aim is to bring the message of Easter to life in concrete form.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Celebration of a Dear Museum

Sagalund: "min kostsamma leksak". Li Näse, Ritva Kovalainen, Pekka Turunen (eds.). Sagalunds museum, Kimito 2000. 224 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-98501-1-2.

■ This book fell into my letterbox with a thud. And what a book it is! In terms of typography it

is probably the most beautiful I have seen in years. The generous square format gives ample space for illustrations in colour and black and white in a variety of sizes.

If I were to look for a Swedish counterpart it would be *Kulturen runt*, a festschrift presented many years ago to Bengt Bengtsson when he was director of the Museum of Cultural History in Lund. This new Finnish book is a presentation of the Sagalund Museum through its own collections large and small, although in this case more space is devoted to pictures than to text. The latter is in both Swedish and Finnish.

Sagalund was a modest local heritage museum, but under skilful management it has developed into one of the leaders as regards museum education. The book has been published in honour of its founder, Nils Oskar Jansson, who was inspired by Artur Hazelius to found a museum of his own a hundred years ago.

The first picture of a sign saying "Ring three times, wait five minutes" immediately moves the reader a century back in time. Who would have time nowadays to wait five minutes for someone to fetch the huge key to unlock the museum? By turning the pages of the book we ourselves can open up and look at the museum collections. Well-chosen, witty headings structure the content: "It's too worldly and vain, the vicar would have said" is a section about pearl embroidery, samplers, clothes, and accessories. "Locks are made for honest people" deals with everything from agriculture to the making of soft drinks. "Birger Bimturus is still using crutches" presents toys, *Lanterna Magica*, and photography.

Not surprisingly, the collections are rather like a cabinet of curiosities, but when presented so aesthetically, they make one take out a map to see how a trip to Finland could be combined with a visit to Kimito. The title of the book refers to a quotation from the founder's diary on 1 April 1900: "Sagalund is my dear toy". The word *dear* is ambiguous. Sagalund has cost a great deal of money and work, but it is at the same time precious, delightful, "like poetry made real". The artefacts are allowed to speak for themselves, albeit through the eye of the photographer and the designer. But when the world of business uses consultants like this, why should it be prohibited

in museums? Many attempts to "animate" the collections for different target groups are being tried in the museums, but the presentation in this book will arouse the interest of people of all ages. Most charming of all are the children and their toys from around the turn of the century.

There is no mistaking that this is "Swedish" culture. One recognizes the picture of Gustav III's assassin, Anckarström, and the admonitory oleograph of "The Liquor Dragon". We meet both peasant culture and bourgeois culture, both useful and luxury articles. It is difficult to discern any guiding principles for the collections of artefacts in the museum; in that respect it is just like a private home. Living environments are shaped by many contemporary factors but also by personal taste. Ultimately it is the feeling that the things have been touched by human hands and embraced by human hearts that is the lasting impression of an acquaintance with Sagalund.
Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

Northern Lights

Northern Lights. Following Folklore in North-Western Europe. Aisti in adhnó do Bo Almqvist. Essays in honour of Bo Almqvist. Ed. by Séamas Ó Catháin in collaboration with Patricia Lysaght *et al.* Dublin, University College Dublin Press 2001. 377 pp. Frontisp. ISBN 1-900621-63-0.

■ When Professor Bo Almqvist celebrated his 70th birthday in 2001, his friends and colleagues presented him with a Festschrift called *Northern Lights*. Several Nordic folklorists contributed to the book. Michael Chesnutt discerns three main realizations of the Norse-Irish tradition of the battle of Clontarf in 1014. It has been told in a romanticizing-rhetorical mode, a hagiographical mode and, last but not least, in a "mythopoeic" mode.

Bengt af Klintberg demonstrates how the expression "betwixt the stirrup and the ground", found in English novels and fiction, can also be traced in Scandinavian belief legends. Folk belief is also the subject of Terry Gunnell's paper on the Black Death in Iceland, but he concentrates mainly on how a special bulk of legend motifs changed when moving from one place to another and depending on the environment. He maintains that

it is possible by comparison to discern typically Icelandic traits in internationally spread legends. Bodil Nildin-Wall and Jan Wall supply us with yet another aspect of belief material. They analyse the legends and narratives on supranormal experiences told by a Swedish informant. They complete his own stories with other informants' stories about him. In this way they try to demonstrate an overall view of his belief system. Jón Hnefill A+alsteinsson takes us a thousand years back when he discusses the concept of *var+lokkur*. He ends up maintaining that the word means a song that might have been some kind of a Christian hymn sung in connection with the *sei+r* ceremony.

Ritual is also the topic of Jóan Pauli Joensen's paper on wedding customs in the Faroe Islands. In an interesting way Joensen demonstrates that the wedding dance was a sacred ritual. Moreover, he takes his reader to the bridal bed. Here he finds the bride and the groom dressed in somewhat everyday clothes and he concludes that this custom is sealed with the giving of gifts, a ceremony that, when time passes and modern ideals have an effect, to some extent compensates for the tradition of summoning the bride and bridegroom to bed.

This collection of 28 papers constitutes a representative selection of all the topics and fields of folklore-related topics that have characterized Bo Almqvist's work. First, they are written in three languages – Danish, English, and Irish – which indicates that the main field of interest for Almqvist is the connections between the cultural areas in the Nordic countries and the British Isles. Second, the articles represent a wide range of topics, such as belief narratives, proverbs, legends, ritual, archaeology, or food, to mention just a few of them. Third, the geographical area that connects the scholars is wide. It ranges from Scandinavia to the westernmost parts of Ireland and to Iceland. Moreover, this is a typographically beautiful book. *Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo*

Experiential Tourism

Nonstop! Turist i upplevelseindustrialismen. Tom O'Dell (ed.). Historiska Media, Lund 1999, 300 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88930-67-X.

■ One of theories of society most frequently discussed during the last few years is the concep-

tion of *Erlebnisgesellschaft* ("the experiential society"). It was first described phenomenologically in ethnology in the early 1990s (Köck, *Sehnsucht Abenteuer: Auf den Spuren der Erlebnisgesellschaft*, 1990) and then consolidated theoretically by cultural sociology. This theoretical conception refers to the opinion that different individualistic forms of physical and mental enjoyment are increasingly dominating social life at the end of the 20th century. It is thereby decisive that the orientation of thinking and behaviour shifts to the "inside": it is not enough any more to fulfil and represent material requirements – as it was during the post-war-decades when social life was dominated by work values and social norms. Since then more importance has been attached to the impression that the world of consumption makes on the individual, his or her emotions and feelings. People in late-modern societies are permanently induced to choose among a huge variety of consumption opportunities. These are supposed to add self-esteem to their lives. The German sociologist Schulze (*Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart*, 1992) calls this behaviour *Erlebnisrationalität* ("experiential rationality"). The change towards this behaviour is accompanied by a spread of experiential situations which are produced industrially.

In *Nonstop!* Tom O'Dell has edited a total of eleven case studies dealing with mechanisms and the occurrence of tourism within this *Erlebnisgesellschaft*. This volume is the result of a research project that includes several ethnologists. It is intended as an introduction to recent ethnological research on tourism.

The first two articles are very helpful, dealing with the historical roots of recent (experiential) tourism. They are by Tom O'Dell ("Tourism as Experience") and Orvar Löfgren ("Spaces for Travel"), both of whom argue that the experiential orientation is not as new as Schulze claimed. Referring to John Urry, O'Dell declares that ordinary life in modern times is interlaced with touristic forms – not only in holiday times. In particular, the "exoticization" of local areas as heritage centres (practised by inhabitants for themselves as well as to please tourists) belongs to this context. Löfgren examines how tourism with techniques and forms similar to what is called

“the post-modern experiential industry” already occurred in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. He investigates the organization of “experiential areas”. The concepts of airports, e.g., seem to be quotations of historical means of transport (docks and luxury liners). The experiential concept of the aeroplane itself has already been quoted by high-speed trains. Löfgren comments that experiential spaces are created by mobility and are – individually – defined by differing (mentally and physically) delimitations of ordinary spaces.

The book continues with a revealing journey through domiciles of the recent “experiential industry”. First it is shown how “cultural heritage” is used as a producer of a feeling for historical experiences, especially at a local level. To prove this, Eva A. Persson describes how the industrial city of Cobh in southern Ireland was transformed into the *historical* city of Queenstown using the techniques of the experiential industry (“Queens-town–Cobh, Return”). Cultural heritage became an elementary economic and aesthetic resource. The most important change in this case was that the local population was no longer in the actor’s role but became an observer of its own history – and thus tourists in their own home.

Cultural heritage in the modern world has a high value for the Swedish rural movement, called “All of Sweden Must Live”, whose work is examined by Kjell Hansen (“Shop, Hostel, Café! On Cultural Heritage and Rural Development”). The movement sees its aim mostly in establishing historical quality elements for to build up the authenticity of the local (e.g., by producing home-made drinks or other handicrafts). In this way the movement wants to counteract the tendencies to globalization. Birgitta Svensson combines the value of cultural-heritage events with the experience of “natural adventure” (“On Natural Adventures in the Cultural Heritage”). She highlights the increasing symbiosis between eco-tourism and cultural-heritage tourism that is manifested, e.g., in the reconstruction of historical forms of agriculture at open-air museums.

Cecilia Fredriksson discusses various presentations of “green” cultural heritage (“The Flower Trip: The Green Cultural Heritage between Experience and Enlightenment”). She documents three stagings of gardens that refer to different

experiential values: “the past” within the Helsingborg botanical garden, “transitoriness” within the nature-copying installation of the artist Roxy Paine, and “enchantment” by the forest within the woodland park of Ottvalla.

Gastronomical events are the focus of an article by Anna Burstedt (“Visits to Foreign Kitchens”). “Experiential meals” – referring to regional or national specifications – seem to be perceived as extremely genuine, authentic and unique because of their “strange” taste.

Jonas Bjälesjö describes completely different events in “Hultsfred: ‘It’s a Special Feeling’”. His essay is about the “festival experience” which became an important attraction to many people (not only in Sweden) during the 1990s. “Anything goes” is the motto of Hultsfred Festival. The “anti-ordinary” world of the young generation seems to be organized here. The special unconventional atmosphere is produced by music and outdoor life and condenses the “sense of experience”.

How many different meanings “natural experiences” can have is shown by Katarina Saltzman with narratives about experiences of nature on the island of Öland (“The Nature of Experience and Nature as an Experience”). In her interpretation she refers to the analytical categories drawn up by the anthropologist Roy Ellen: the use of nature as an object – “nature as thinginess”, “nature as otherness” (as the opposite of “the cultivated”) and “nature as essence” (with a metaphysical meaning). All these patterns of reception are reproduced in the narratives of the Öland tourists.

Narrated events are also analysed by Sarah Holst Kjær (“What Have You Got in Your Rucksack? Narratives about ‘The Rest of the World’”). She has chosen narratives about backpackers’ arrival at their destination. She notices that the stories help to structure what is “strange” in different categories of experience. The beautiful and the ugly, paradise and hell are used as typologies and based on their own cultural background, their cultural luggage.

In his concluding essay Tom O’Dell shows the ambivalence of products of the experiential industry (“The Historical Hero and The Nemesis of Nature”). A network of tourist institutions on a local basis is connected with institutions that are not touristic in the traditional sense. More and more

difficulties in divorcing the ordinary world from the world of experiences derive from this matter.

Where does an experience begin, where does it end? Current analytical perspectives can rarely solve this dilemma. So I am becoming more and more sceptical about whether it is actually possible to describe an important factor of our society with an analytical term like “the experience industry”. A better term might be “the labelling industry”, because this could describe how commonplaces of ordinary life can be transformed into completely different emotional affections by a simple (but systematic) “renaming”. Last but not least, there is still the question whether emotions that are produced by the experience industry are deeply different from “ordinary” emotions. Do I feel like a medieval knight when visiting a knight’s castle? Or do I really believe I am in Greece when eating some *gyros* with Metaxa sauce? We have to be careful when interpreting the attitudes of late-modern society. Attitudes to “experiential events” are very often meant ironically: recently I was invited to go “experience shopping” by a friend to a huge grocery store nearby. He wanted to buy some cheese for his new “experiential sandwich machine”. The main experience for us was getting very wet on the way there because it was raining cats and dogs and we did not have an umbrella with us.

Christoph Köck, Munich

Con/textual Readings of Bourgeois Time

Anne Ollila, Aika ja elämä. Aikakäsitys 1800-luvun lopussa. (Time and Life. The conception of time in the end of the 19th century.) Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki. 2000. 163 pp. ISBN 951-746-210-7.

■ The importance of the issue of time has recently been discerned by researchers in social sciences and humanities. Time and life is an example of a recent approach in the challenging field of time studies in cultural history.

The first pages of *Time and Life* can be read as a testimony of the pervasive nature of time. Time enters the study already in the book title as the era the researcher has studied – this in spite of Anne

Ollila’s strong questioning of the relevance of the chronological approaches in conventional historiography. In the preface we face a different kind of a time level when Ollila lets us know something about her own relation to time. For her, the research material she is now presenting was an example of a web of time conceptions dissimilar to the prevailing conceptions in today’s world. Ollila mentions the conditions for doing cultural history, a slow and time-consuming process by nature, as being in a conflicting relation to the demands of today’s stressful academic world with its demands of productivity and efficiency. In my reading, these two time levels constitute the conscious and unconscious of Time and Life; I only wish that more space would have been given for the latter letting it constitute the flesh of the argumentation.

The interesting idea is to take advantage of limited source material, consisting of the autobiographical documents three Finnish bourgeoisie families have left behind in archives. Ollila ran into this material when engaged in an earlier study, *Jalo velvollisuus. Virkanaisena 1800-luvun lopun Suomessa* (Noble duty. Career women in Finland in the end of the 19th century), 1998. These two books work together in a successful manner when read in connection to each other.

Time and Life is divided into six main sections entitled cyclical circulation, linear time, subjective time conceptions (hurriedness and waiting), memories (backward time), time standing still (sickness and death) and non-existing time (eternity). All of these represent well established notions and sections in time discussions. At first glance the layout of the book seems puzzling. Since Ollila describes her orientation to be phenomenological and her primary material consists of personal documents, one cannot help wondering if, as a result of the chosen perspective, not all the sections actually deal with “subjective experiences”. As titles for separate chapters, these concepts do not work very well. In the actual argumentation, anyhow, these concepts are not differentiated from each other as one might expect.

Still, at places it seems that Ollila’s starting point was not the multilayered time system presented in the research material itself, but the pre-existing categories of the time discussions. I am not always sure whether Ollila is reading too

much into her material, and the reason I am not convinced stems from Ollila's need to throw numerous details of the sociocultural context into play. An ironic reader might say that this explains the book title, "Time and Life", a rather broad thematization for a single study. Ollila dwells on themes that would have made five books instead of one, ranging from general depictions of revivalist ideas to those of conceptions on health, development of transportation, symbolic language of flowers, sociability of one of the families studied and hysteria to name a few.

My initial impression was that sometimes the connection between Ollila's various interpretations on 19th century culture and the time conceptions, her primary topic, is missing or it is not emphasized enough. Then I realized that this is due to Ollila's way of building up her argumentation. This is not a textual, but a contextual approach by a historian who sometimes has a disturbingly unproblematized relationship to her material. What is not discussed is the question of how e.g. cyclicity and linearity are, in a phenomenological perspective, elements of a person's experience of time in that particular sociocultural and historical situation. I am assured that clocks, timetables and the standardization of time ("linearity of time") have brought a profound change to the everyday life of ordinary people, but what remains unanswered is the question of how exactly can this be seen in Ollila's primary material. Ollila knows that her families must have been affected by the linearity of time, because they saw the steamboats go regularly by their windows and because their children went to school, which had organized the daily routines according to timetables. But where and how do the macro- and microlevels, context and texts, intersect? There is a difference in knowing that these families lived in an era when time was standardized and finding expressions of the experiences of modernization – i.e. finding meanings given to time, expressions of the phenomenological lived time.

When Ollila is filling in the loads of contextual details, the conceptual level she is moving around changes and, as a result, what is at stake is not anymore so much the phenomenological field of lived time. Unfortunately, the hovering between mere description of the bourgeois lifestyle in a

specific era and the realm of phenomenological lived time produces the text-context distinction and this tends to render the otherwise intriguing approach empty. What follows of this partly empiricist, partly phenomenological approach is a certain path in the whole reasoning: the problematic shifting of macro- and microperspectives, or the conventional historiography and cultural studies, if you wish.

During the troublesome moments in Ollila's argumentation, the research material lingers somewhere in the background and the researcher is in pains in trying to level out the puzzling multilayered time conceptions, and putting them into neat categories. This is truly a pity, since it tends to cover up the many fruitful insights Ollila has. When the research material is given the central position it deserves, Ollila's interpretations are most successful.

An example of such case is the description of letter writing as a way of overcoming the spatio-temporal distance between family members living or staying in different towns. The peculiarity lies in the way the lived time was tried to encapsulate in the letters the family members wrote to each other, letter writing serving as a medium for being together in time, living the momentous "same time" at once. With the aid of modern technology, we can nowadays share our significant moments while we live them; but this was naturally not the case at the end of 19th century. Another example of concentrating on the textual rather than the contextual meanings is a letter Ollila picks up as an example of using the stream of consciousness method in letter writing, which has often (e.g. Stephen Kern *The Culture of Time and Space*, 1880–1918) been connected to the changes in time and space conceptions in the breakthrough of modernity. Unfortunately the variety and number of time aspects Ollila wishes to consider hinders her from concentrating on the bourgeois act of letter writing more deeply. Another promising line of interpretation concerns the role of secularization in the changing conceptions of subjectivity and time. Perhaps Ollila is mastering the cultural context of 19th century too well to be interested in concentrating on a single phenomenon?

Gender aspects formulate a consistent theme in Ollila's thinking. The material she has chosen

speaks of the female, even girlish, bourgeois sphere. Here and there Ollila gives glimpses of her deeper insights into gender relations. She mentions (p. 70–71) e.g., how the male textual representations of the female family members in family chronicles connected women solely to the home sphere when actually women were active participants in society with a territory extending that of home. This could be read as her questioning the public/private dichotomies.

Unfortunately Ollila's gender aspects do not yield to a wider discussion of gendered time systems. Especially in the chapter on cyclical time Ollila puts forward some interesting comparisons between the male and female spheres. Women are portrayed as creating a ritualized time system punctuated with regular housework (especially cleaning the house) and sacred time (Sundays and family festives). But it is only in the last (all too short) chapter when she returns to this absorbing question analyzing it more thoroughly. This is also when Ollila finds the usefulness of the concepts cyclicity and linearity of time as *analytic* concepts. Here she takes up a perspective comparable to feminist viewpoints on time (by Barbara Adam, Karen Davies, Julia Kristeva et al.). Ollila ends up asking whether the female hurriedness was of a different kind compared to that of men's hurriedness, in other words were there qualitative differences in time orientations. In the division of labour women were connected to the cyclical daily and yearly routines in the home sphere. The female body with punctual menstruation cycle tied females in the cyclicity of time as well. While taking up positions in the job market after the mid-19th century, women were stuck between two systems of organising their own time, the responsibilities at home and at work building up pressure where life full of work is at the same time "rich and full of work, and narrow and restrained" as Olga Lemberg wrote to Lucina Hagman in a letter in 1935. Given the similarity of this and the sentence written by Anne Ollila herself in the preface on the growing demands on time efficiency in the academic world, one wonders whether we soon would be able to read more about this and other important time issues by this capable and diligent researcher.

Nina Säaskilahti, Jyväskylä

Aspects of Narrativity

Aspekter på narrativitet. Ulf Palmenfelt (ed.). NNF Publications 5. Barnkulturforskning i Norden 2, Åbo 2000. 159 pp. ISBN 952-12-0392-7.

■ This anthology contains various perspectives on what can be studied as narrative and how. It is a result of a seminar entitled "Narrativity in Child Culture Studies" held in 1998, but the focus is on narrative analyses rather than child culture, although many examples are taken from the world of children. In the introductory article Ulf Palmenfelt describes how narratives may be regarded as a general human way to formulate experience when communicating with other people. If one cannot translate one's emotions, experiences, knowledge, important events in life, and so on into narratives, then one cannot function in the social world. The same is true if one cannot tell narratives in the proper way to experts such as doctors or police officers; they can quickly identify gaps in our narratives. Incomplete narratives may reveal the teller to be either a pathological or a criminal case. Narratives are also used in modern scholarly contexts as a virtual synonym for ideologies, for example in *grand narratives*. Postmodernists, as we know, point out that they no longer function as the cement that holds society together in a form of collective consciousness. The consequence is cultural dissolution and individual release. That is not the message of this little book. It actually demonstrates the opposite, that we all contribute to the collective construction of the grand narratives through our voices.

The first paper by Maria Nikolajeva is written from the angle of literary theory, which operates with four elements in a narrative: events, characters, perspectives, and temporality. She also points out that collective leading characters have always been a specific feature of children's literature, as a rule in the form of a good side and a bad side. However, even children's literature is becoming more individualist, as it becomes more person-oriented, with the tricky situations of individuals as a new motif. In the next article Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj begins with the problem of using life stories in connection with fieldwork among a Finnish minority. She then presents three ver-

sions of childhood narratives by Elina Makkonen. Their form is a result of both the actual social circumstances and the available narrative patterns for describing childhood. Georg Drakos then gives a close-up reading of two life stories using the classic schema of the linguist William Labov: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. This schema makes it possible to point out what is lacking in the narrative and hence the problems in his lived life that have not been solved. The narratives are constructed around an identity of disease and therefore corporealization and narration are regarded as two interlinked processes.

Children's play, children's own narratives, advertisements, and girls' school diaries are topics analysed by means of narrative theory by Gabrielle Guss, Kaisu Rättö, Helene Brembeck, and Gry Heggli. They are all able to point out different rules and patterns which are general narrative devices. Adults and children use these rules in practice and are to some extent aware of them, but they have never had them explained.

Helene Brembeck's article is the most interesting. It analyses how views of children and child rearing in different periods are reflected in advertisements for products for children. Although the article primarily seeks to test Roland Marchand's theses and concepts (*Advertising the American Dream*, 1985) on Swedish material, there is a great deal of food for thought here. It seems reasonable to regard advertisements as social tableaux which contain parables in which redemption comes, not from God, but from the commodity market. The commercial world thus does not invent needs; it appeals to our cultural dreams and hopes, which have the form of narratives or parables. They dramatize the narratives and thus become models for how we should understand ourselves, and they give answers as to how to relieve our sense of lack.

The last article in the book also has something to offer. It is an interpretation of the popular school-year diaries that play an important part in the lives of many schoolgirls. They are a mixture of the diaries and poetry albums of bygone times. Messages can be drawn, written or pasted in them. Heggli regards them as a special genre in between the conventions of speech and writing.

The book shows that folklorists emphasize the following aspects of narrative: the collective creation process, narrators as individuals, and what happens when the narrative is used, but not all these are found in the articles. That is perhaps the problem with interdisciplinary anthologies. Even if they contain some interesting empirical analyses based on narratives as a cultural phenomenon, one sometimes cannot avoid thinking that the concept, like other fashionable ideas, becomes too comprehensive when it is applied to all forms of cultural communication. It then becomes difficult to see what is specific to this concept and to distinguish it from other concepts such as drama, message, history, fairytale, advertisement, myth, and life story, to name just some of our common concepts which could be replaced by the word narrative. The advantage is that one can in this way emphasize the common features, but it becomes more difficult to see what distinguishes the different types of narrative from each other.

Lene Otto, Copenhagen

Sami Folkloristics

Sami Folkloristics. Juha Pentikäinen *et al.* (eds.). NNF, Turku 2000. 280 pp. Ill. ISBN 952-12-0628-4.

■ *Sami Folkloristics* is composed of a collection of essays in English by prominent scholars of Saami folklore. Regionally its focus ranges over the entire Saami homeland with contributions from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The book is further divided into two parts; the first, dedicated to Saami Research History, provides an excellent source criticism of early missionary accounts by Håkan Rydving (similar to that presented in his earlier dissertation, *The End of Drum Time*). By careful text analysis, Rydving is able to identify which of these early sources are original, which have been built upon them through variable diffusion of more primary documents, and what parts must reflect the influence of missing manuscripts. Juha Pentikäinen, the main editor of this book, supplies two essays in this first part, one concerning the remarkable 19th century preacher, scientist and folklorist, Lars Levi Laestadius, the other concerning the devel-

opment of Saami folkloristic research in Finland. Pentikäinen has previously performed a major service to Saami studies by publishing (1997) Laestadius' *Fragmenter i Lappska mythologien* (Fragments of Saami Mythology) in its entirety and with considerable commentary. Part 1 also features Åke Hultkrantz's reflections on and memories of fifty years of research on Saami folklore and mythology. Stein Mathisen from Norway and Jelena Sergejeva from Russia complete Part 1 with reviews of Saami folklore research in Norway and in the Skolt and Kola Saami regions respectively.

Part 2, *Saami Folklore Interpreted*, contains essays by Harald Gaski, Vuokko Hirvonen, Jelena Sergejeva (again), and Thomas DuBois. Once more this group of scholars displays a broad regional spread, from Norway (Gaski) to Seattle, USA, (DuBois). However, in this part, the essential axis of division has targeted insider/outsider perspectives. Herein lies one of the major strengths of this book. It is not merely a summing up of past accomplishments, a historical review of Saami folklore studies in the four countries with indigenous Saami populations, it brings the reader into the front line of contemporary Saami folklore research.

Gaski, e.g., who is himself a Saami embedded in the world of reindeer herding and the idioms of Saami modes of expression, reveals the added dimensions insider knowledge brings to a Saami text. While this is an often talked about point, easily grasped in principle, Gaski actually takes us step by step down the path of contextual revelation, and we become greatly enriched. Not only do we gain in understanding specific Saami metaphors, but we also come to appreciate the many-layered discourses interwoven by Saami artistry.

DuBois supplies another facet of contemporary folklore studies by his analysis of the Oscar-nominated Saami film, *The Pathfinder*. Here we have a traditional story retold that extols Saami virtues and provides a unifying Saami symbolic map for survival against cruel oppression, in many ways as pertinent now as ever before even if "the enemy" has acquired new forms. Nonetheless, while bidding for a unified Saami identity through a traditional story, *The Pathfinder* is at the same time a product of the colonizer's world.

It is a highly modern film which also seeks Saami support by appealing to the sensibilities of its non-Saami public. Hence, as DuBois illustrates, it is a film which must play both to the Saami inside and outside. *Sami Folkloristics* is not stuck in dusty archives, but situated also in the ongoing struggle of Saami ethno-mobilization.

In one of the most interesting contributions to this anthology, Stein R. Mathisen applies narrative analysis in mirror fashion to itself. Different historical periods have presented accounts of Saami folklore differently depending upon the greater evolutionary narrative assumed in each period for the development of human civilization. Saami folklore has been placed in a larger scheme of human development which has varied considerably with changing insights about the place and significance of oral literature. Mathisen demonstrates ably how the Saami past has been reformulated according to our conceptions of the present.

On a number of points Mathisen provides telling critical insights to the study of Saami folklore which hit home when directed to this very volume. Upon occasion *Sami Folkloristics* gives the impression of tunnel vision. While much has indeed been written about the Saami in the realm of the history of religion during the last fifty years, the postulate (p. 84) that this has dominated the study of the Saami, cannot pass a social anthropologist without eliciting a wry smile. Some of the contributors seem to form a closed shop of mutual admiration, awarding each other "brownie points" even for emphasizing old and mundane insights (such as the importance of localizing material for best analysis), or for "reminding us" of keener insights achieved by others long ago. On a couple of significant issues, however, the contributors do not seem unified, and yet what one would think to be the necessary discussion never surfaces. While Rydving has proclaimed that: "Since the native Saami religious forms died out during the 1700s, it is not possible to gather new material through fieldworks" (1995:11), Pentikäinen states that, "...the sieidi cult has continued as a secret tradition into present times" (p. 148).

Naturally, with regard to a book that covers so much ground and tackles so many comparative aspects, it might seem unjustly cruel to offer criticism for something it does not do. Nonetheless,

less, I find it strange that no serious attempt is made in *Sami Folkloristics* to situate the Saami material in relation to the vast body of literature devoted to the folklore and religions of the other small indigenous peoples of northern Eurasia. A wealth of fascinating comparative material lies waiting which at almost every turn gives fresh, alternative insight to the old, so well-dissected Saami archival material. Understandably, language differences slow communication, but this is no reason to ignore the work of scholars who have straddled the language barrier and looked above the Saami horizon. No mention is made of the work of Kerstin Kuoljok who in her recent book, *Moder Jord och andra mödrar* (Mother Earth and other mothers) 1999, gives numerous examples of the benefits to Saami ethnography and folklore from comparison with Russian sources. Her work bubbles with fresh interpretations and methodological corrections for Saami research and binds this field of study with that of its eastern brethren.

The flaws of *Sami Folkloristics*, however, cannot obscure its tremendous potential as an introductory map to Saami folklore and culture as a whole; it is one of the few works of such caliber within its niche accessible to the English-speaking public (not only academicians). This book is an obvious choice for any university course aimed at both satisfying and further inspiring an interest in Saami folklore.

Hugh Beach, Uppsala

Everyday Racism in Sweden?

Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden. Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. University of California Press, London 2000. 321 pp. ISBN 0-520-22449-3.

■ It was with great excitement that I looked forward to Allan Pred's book *Even in Sweden*. Now it has come: comprehensive, packed with quotations from research reports, government inquiries, television, newspapers, magazines; filled with thoughts, questions, and statements about multicultural Sweden. The bibliography includes hundreds of titles, and they are not just there to impress. Allan Pred knows his texts, as he knows his Sweden.

Perhaps that is why I feel so disappointed. I had expected more from a qualified scholar like Pred, a man who is not just any outside observer, having lived almost half his life in Sweden since the 1960s; he is thus familiar with the culture and language of Sweden. There are several reasons for my disappointment. The first concerns the actual theme of the book. Pred highlights an extremely urgent issue, the rebirth and growth of racism in Europe in recent decades – even in Sweden! How can a country like Sweden, long regarded as a model of social justice and equality, now be marred by xenophobia and racism, ethnic discrimination and segregated housing?

Pred exposes the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and this is certainly one of the merits of the book. Above all, he stresses the prevalence of everyday racism, partly with the support of Philomena Essed's *Understanding Everyday Racism* (1991). Yet his analysis of the reasons for this state of affairs is deficient. His explanations and causal connections are rarely profound, hardly ever systematically built up, and they drown in the ambition to convince the reader of the advance of racism – even in Sweden! But who is the reader that he needs to convince? The man in the street, media people, politicians, practitioners, or the scholars that he so frequently cites? Most Swedes are painfully aware of racism in its various guises; the existence of “immigrant ghettos” in our all big cities has long been a reality. On the other hand, I am convinced that the many foreign readers who, since the days of Olof Palme, have uncritically idealized “the country of the third way” may raise their eyebrows occasionally. And that is good. Neither countries nor individuals benefit in the long run from being placed on a pedestal.

In Pred's defence I must point out that he does not claim to be a researcher who came to Sweden to “write a book about racism in a strictly scientific sense”, as he puts it. The book actually grew out of an increasingly clear insight that a great deal had gone wrong in Sweden, and out of an inner desire to open the closet. He says that it was far from being a pleasant journey; it was like walking on broken glass – it hurt, quite simply.

Yet this polemically subjective, highly personal point of departure is a problem for the book. Instead of writing in the critical scientific tradition

with attempts at falsifications and qualifications, for which he would have been the right person, he has given us a lampoon, born out of a profound and increasingly unbearable disappointment. *Even in Sweden* shows Allan Pred coming to terms with himself as much as with today's tarnished welfare state. To put it simply, there is an undertone of lost love in Pred's study of Sweden, the country in which he fell in love – in a dual sense – as a young man, and which he no longer recognizes: "I have borne the intense discomfort of bearing witness to an immense tragedy, of observing good intentions coming completely apart, of seeing what was once arguably the world's most generous refugee policy, what was once a remarkably humane and altruistic response to cruelties committed abroad, become translated at home into discrimination, almost total (de facto) social apartheid, and frequently encountered bureaucratic paternalism" (Pred 2000:xii).

How could this happen, Pred asks in dismay. I wonder in turn how much of this has actually happened, and how much is due to Pred's clearer insight rather than to an absolute change. Can *Even in Sweden* be reduced to a story of a Golden Age, a long journey on the downhill slope of the People's Home? Yes and no. Pred points out that he refuses to sentimentalize the past, adding that Sweden has always been racist. As examples he cites the fixation of the early welfare state on rationality and control. With the aid of eugenics and sterilization, the authorities in the 1930s and 1940s tried, figuratively and literally, to eradicate social undesirables. Difference was combated in the name of ethnic purity and social solidarity.

This is an important observation, but it is not particularly controversial in today's scholarly Sweden. Ethnologists, historians of ideas, and others have been discussing the ambiguous social policy of the modern project for a long time. In recent times historians have actually tried to nuance the rather one-sided, facile image of thick-skinned racist politicians and officials.

Not unexpectedly, then, Pred's historical retrospect lacks several important works which would have broadened the discussion of the extent of racism in 20th century Sweden. One is Thomas Hammar's dissertation from 1964, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, another is Björn Horgby's *Dom där:*

Främlingsfientligheten och arbetarkulturen i Norrköping 1890–1960 (1996). Both show how Sweden was early to give strong protection – both political and popular – to the domestic labour market. This was true not least of the labour movement, despite all the rhetoric about solidarity across national borders. The strength of xenophobia on the left of the political scale has also been emphasized in a dissertation by the historian Anders Svensson, *Ungrare i folkhemmet: Svensk flyktingpolitik i kalla krigets skugga* (1992). I mention these omissions not just to catch Pred out; his work is not intended to be a survey of literature on the topic. Yet there is something symptomatic – rather insidious, even – about the selection and the ideas that pervade the structure of the whole book. Pred resorts too much to the dominant politically correct discourse when discussing xenophobia and racism. This discourse has its roots in the unbridled homage to Latin American refugees in the 1970s, which has led to an unfortunate politicization of recent decades' Swedish research on migration and ethnic relations. Those who write in this tradition focus on condemnation and see racism everywhere they look, provided that it is displayed by "Swedes", of course, whoever *they* may be. Racialization is the key word, pitting us against them, Swedes against immigrants. Everything would have been so much better if only "Swedes" had been less racist!

Unfortunately, the one-sidedness of this view diminishes the possibility of discussing important issues of everyday racism and discrimination in a nuanced way. It is interesting to compare Allan Pred's book with another one that I have had at my bedside lately. It is by a Danish journalist, Naser Kader, who moved from Syria to Denmark at the age of eleven. Like me, he is critical of what he calls "Halal hippies", the "refugee freaks" that I have described in previous works: behind an often seemingly soft, humanist surface they wage an aggressive, uncompromising anti-racism. This struggle is turned into a sacred mission which recognizes only for and against. Through sermonizing they try to convert misled people, but they do not try to distinguish between racism and reservation about foreigners (Kader, *Invandrare & minoriteter* 2000:141). I expect that Allan Pred would view this distinction as a smokescreen or,

in his own terminology, a dirty trick. Everyone in the majority society is actually a covert racist.

A great deal of the book is occupied by a chapter entitled, in fact, "Dirty Tricks". Here Pred discusses how the denial of racism pervades most aspects of society. I agree with him that we all, scholars and non-scholars, must become better at seeing the hidden structural and quotidian racism. Another American who has recently studied racism in Sweden, the anthropologist Lena Sawyer, emphatically underlines this in her dissertation *Black and Swedish: Racialization and the Cultural Politics of Belonging in Sweden* (2000).

Unfortunately, however, Pred's message partly gets lost in the political overtones – and overinterpretations – of the text. It never seems to occur to him that the spatial, cultural, and linguistic isolation of immigrants could be self-imposed; it is automatically viewed as the result of malevolence and manipulation on the part of the state, and of the Swedish people's "skin-color hierarchy" and "European colonial racialization discourse", to cite Lena Sawyer (2001:26). To speak of responsibility and adaptation would be like swearing in church. Do not blame the victim!

Many scholars end up in the prisoner's dock. The ethnologist Billy Ehn, who has perhaps tried more than anyone to achieve a deeper understanding of the complexity in the emergence of the new multicultural Sweden, is quoted out of context – Pred's dirty trick – as saying: "One ought not to confuse what people say about one another with how they actually behave in concrete situations. 'The racist' can show himself to be a decent chap, even toward 'blackheads'. The tolerant person can be enormously unsympathetic and behave awkwardly" (Ehn 1989:361).

Another quotation, this time from my own book about a conflict with racist overtones in a rural municipality in southern Sweden over ten years ago, is used as an illustration of a dirty trick that racializes and spatializes, that makes people believe that social inequalities are the consequence of cultural differences (Pred 2000:182). What I am supposed to have said, according to this brief quotation, is: "One thing is certain! We must take 'Rinkeby Fear' seriously" (Alsmark 1990:124). Rinkeby is a segregated suburb of Stockholm with a high density of immigrants, often held up

as a symbol of the new, foreign Sweden, with precisely the characteristics that shock Pred: high unemployment and exclusion, vandalism and crime. Rinkeby Fear is a reality for many people of both Swedish and foreign background, and a nightmare for politicians who have chosen in recent years to allocate 1.9 billion kronor to increase integration in seven housing areas in Sweden with a high density of immigrants. My point in mentioning Rinkeby Fear was to demonstrate a mental, culturally constructed threat – whether true or not – which for very many people is real in its consequences, and therefore should be taken seriously. Or, as I say in the two sentences that follow the quotation above, but which Pred omits: discuss the fear with respect and understanding and at the same time combat the improper expression of the fear.

For Pred, the way that Billy Ehn and I reason is just an insidious reflection of the totally dominant discourse, with its power to name and define, a social construction of difference and Otherness. Everyday racism – even in Sweden!

The type of research that I am criticizing here – and Allan Pred is far from being alone in this in Sweden – would have gained in credibility if its proponents had toned down their political ambitions in favour of more critical, falsifying research. It is all too black and white, us against them, "Swedes" against immigrants.

Racism – "regardless of its form" – is the factor that is invoked to explain everything, reducing the immigrant and the refugee to a helpless victim. This sociological reductionism has a long and tenacious tradition in Swedish social studies. What I would like to see is less predictable research, which shows people as wholes, as complex and contradictory, whatever their ethnic background. Living in exile or a diaspora is not just traumatic and limiting; it also gives opportunities and new experiences.

The adaptation of immigrants and refugees to a relatively uniform nation state like Sweden takes time. For Pred, however, it is not allowed to take time. We are not even allowed to say that Sweden has been a relatively homogeneous country, let alone discuss the significance of habits and traditions, structures and hierarchies. No more dirty tricks, he says. I nevertheless believe that in

analysing today's multicultural Sweden we must take two very important processes into consideration. One is the rapid demographic change that has taken place in the last thirty years. Today almost 20% of the population are of foreign origin. The other process has a longer history. I am referring to the heavy standardization brought about by the building of the Swedish People's Home from the 1930s until the present. The aversion to the establishment of free schools on ethnic and religious grounds shown by social democrats today is a logical consequence of this, what Thomas Hylland Eriksen calls the dream of ethnic purity.

Allan Pred is not unaware of this. On the contrary, he often touches on the topic. It would have been interesting, however, if he had asked himself, in a reflexive spirit, why he did not notice this process back in the 1960s, when it was just as obvious, albeit in the predominant rhetoric of international solidarity. Can this blindness be one explanation for the lack of historical depth in the analysis of the negative development that he sees today with justifiable consternation? Racialized, underclassified, and segregated minorities. For many scholars this development seems much more logical than for Allan Pred.

At the end of the book, in the chapter "Beyond Dirty Tricks", Pred links up with this discussion by posing a large number of interesting and important questions. He does so partly on the basis of a report called "Accept", in which the government pleads for increased acceptance of diversity in order to meet the demands made by a multicultural society. The main issue for Pred is the effect of this discourse and the forms of action it leads to. Will the result be the elimination of Sweden's widespread cultural racism or will the measures be counterproductive, that is, leading to ethnic absolutism, while retaining the segregation in society?

How exciting it would have been to have an insightful discussion of Pred's experience of an immigrant country like the USA compared with a nation state like Sweden. And how exciting it would have been to hear what it means to come from a country which, just a few decades ago, had racism inscribed in the political structure. What differences – and similarities – are there between "Whites only" and the covert racism found here? I am convinced that Allan Pred would be better

equipped than most people to tackle that task.

As we have seen, however, Pred's mission in the book is to tell of his dismay about the existence of racism – even in Sweden. And he certainly does so. In the form of a collection of quotations, with inspiration from Walter Benjamin, statements about racism are piled up, page after page. The narrative technique is rather special, but it does not work. The author resorts too often to long lists of questions or statements, which become not only tiresome but also irritating, since they leave the reader in the lurch. One feels cheated, *Even in Sweden* is far too uneven. And that is a pity, since the topic is so important, and Allan Pred's knowledge is at bottom so large.

Gunnar Alsmark, Lund

Nordic Disciplinary Traditions

Norden och Europa. Fagtradisjoner i nordisk etnologi og folkloristikk. Bjarne Rogan & Bente Gullveig Alver (eds.). Oslo, Novus forlag 2000. 328 pp. ISBN 82-7099-330-1.

■ Nordic folklorists and ethnologists have gathered 28 times, at more or less regular intervals, for conferences on rather general topics. In May 2000 they met again, this time at Hankø on the outskirts of Oslo, Norway, to discuss traditions within their disciplines. Now the congress report has been published in a book furnished with a beautiful cover and with contents that, at first glance, feel very inspiring.

One of the editors, Bjarne Rogan, warns the reader in his introduction when he states that this book is not meant to be an ordinary conference report. This is true. The structure of the book is quite extraordinary. The report starts and ends with blocks of plenary papers, and in the middle there is a block of session papers, the internal logical order of which is not easy to grasp. On the other hand, Rogan explains in his introduction that the book is also a mirror of the conference. It is perhaps not easy to present many parallel sessions in a systematic way.

Rogan's introduction is depressing reading, because he so clearly points out some of the main problems that recent ethnology and folklore students meet with every day. There seems to be

no limit at all to what an ethnologist and a folklorist of today can study, to the way they do it, or to the people with whom they work. The non-Nordic papers express a critical attitude to this kind of generosity. Rogan wisely points to the most serious problem when he states that most of our departments are very small and specialized. He maintains that we do not have any common view of our sciences, nor do we have a common knowledge base. This is a very dangerous situation, especially in contact with colleagues and authorities outside our own departments and universities. Rogan's recipe is more cooperation, more openness, and, above all, more contacts with the rest of the colleagues around Europe.

The plenary papers are published more or less *in extenso*. They present an excellent mixture of topics such as the Other, the concept of culture, comparison as a method in the study of ethnology and folklore, and overviews of different kinds. The session papers are, perhaps, more trendy, treating sexuality, new technology, globalization, body and gender, cultural heritage, archives, and the main topic of the conference: the history of the two disciplines. Some of the papers concentrate on religious matters, but in contrast to former studies, the student defines himself as a non-believer and tries to understand belief as an experience. The papers are presented either as summaries only or as abridged versions of the lectures. Thirty-eight papers have been published, twenty of them from Sweden and six from outside the Nordic countries. The rest are divided between Denmark, Iceland, and Norway, but Finland is not represented at all. Perhaps the concept of the Nordic countries, i.e. Norden, should be discussed; it seems to be changing rapidly.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Farming Life in Sweden Today

Svenskt bondeliv. Livsform och yrke. Anders Salomonsson (ed.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 1999. 191 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-01159-8.

■ This anthology is consisting of four contributions, all written by Swedish ethnologists and cultural historians. The main aim of the book is to describe how farmers are perceived by other

people, and how they perceive themselves, and it covers the period from the end of the 19th century (national romanticism) to the present day. This is a highly ambitious project, but it is sensibly reduced somewhat in scale, as the authors have chosen to focus on specific problems and periods.

The study of farmers is a classic field of ethnology, which has lost some ground in recent years in favour of other topics. The publication of a book about farmers and their way of life is therefore refreshing, and it is especially praiseworthy that the authors of this book focus on the present day and its problems.

In the first essay, "Life as a Farmer", Anders Salomonsson gives what he calls a historical account of changes in the perception of farmers and their lives among other people, and the changed self-perception of farmers themselves. He produces his historical account by dipping into specific periods, starting in the Stone Age and then jumping to the romantic era and national romanticism, followed by brief stops in the two world wars and the inter-war years, and ending with the immediate past and the present day. As he himself writes in the introduction, it is a rather long temporal perspective that is treated in this part of the chapter – far too long. It is fairly incomprehensible why 25 of the 60-odd pages in the chapter should be used for such a superficial and uneven historical survey. It does not present anything new, it has been done better elsewhere, and it spoils the rest of the chapter. For the rest of Salomonsson's contribution is highly interesting – the sections "Being a Farmer" and "Reality and Reconstruction", where he concentrates on present-day conditions. The material he uses comes from a major survey of farms today in which a great deal of effort was obviously expended on eliciting how other people today perceive farmers and how the farmers perceive themselves. Current problems in agriculture, such as environmental issues, the debate about the cultural landscape, etc., are brought up and illuminated in detail through the use of quotations from people involved in farming and people outside it. It is a pity that Salomonsson did not use the whole of his article to deepen the picture of modern agriculture and modern farmers, and the image of agriculture and farming life as perceived by other people.

In Åsa Karlsson's contribution, "Modern Farmers' Wives", the focus is on women. The article describes what everyday life is like for farmers' wives in modern agriculture. A particular problem considered here is women who were born on farms and are married to farmers but who work outside agriculture. What do these women identify with? Their jobs, farming life, or both? To shed light on this question, Karlsson uses the life-mode theory as developed by the Danish ethnologists Thomas Højrup and Lone Rahbek Christensen. She seeks to use the theory as a tool with which to formulate good questions about the topic. The concepts used in life-mode theory also concern everyday practice, how it is structured and how it is experienced. It therefore seems perfectly natural that the theory should be used in this study. It is very possible that life-mode analysis has helped Karlsson in the collection of her material and thus been significant for the methodology, but the way in which she describes and uses the life-mode theory in the article seems more problematic. Life-mode analysis was developed and intended as a complex of theoretical concepts which can be used in an analysis of an empirical problem. It was never intended as a mirror image of reality. When Karlsson makes reservations about the life-mode theory, declaring that it is too superficial and categorical in relation to the more complex reality, she shows that she has not understood the theoretical foundation of the concepts. Life-modes are not a number of pigeonholes or categories into which real life is supposed to be fitted. This is a strangely quantitative way in which to use theoretical concepts: how much does the concept agree with reality, and how much is left out? Having answered this question, one can then supposedly assess how good the concept is. I am not saying that one cannot problematize and change theoretical concepts, but the way to do this is not to test how much reality they cover. It is not interesting whether a particular woman represents life-mode 1 or 2 or a housewife's life-mode or a mixture – she herself would certainly have preferred not to be classified in this way. The interesting thing is that the ethnologist, with the aid of the theoretical concepts, can construct a problem and a series of

good questions that can be used as tools for the analysis of the empirical reality.

Having said this, it must be admitted that Åsa Karlsson does in fact paint a fascinating portrait of modern farmers' wives, and although the focus is on women, we gain insight into the life and circumstances of the whole modern farming family.

The third contribution, written by Åsa Bill, deals with a similar theme: "Daughter of a Farmer". The article uses statements by six women who all grew up on farms in the 1970s. The women have been asked to speak about their childhood, their choice of occupation, of husband, and so on. The author is particularly interested in whether growing up on a farm has left the women with a negative or a positive attitude to agricultural life. The article is a detailed study of a specific group, but it does not add much to what we have learned in the first two articles.

What image of farmers and of farming is conveyed by the press? What happens when the urban media world meets agriculture? These questions are studied by Magnus Bergsten in "The Farmer in the Paper". He has chosen to confine his source material to just one newspaper, *Jönköpings-Posten*. On the other hand, he has studied all the issues for 1992, along with selected texts and photos from 1947 onwards. The images that the paper constructs of farmers and farming cover a broad span, from articles about loneliness to articles about a strong sense of community, from articles about economic rationalism to articles that romanticize country life. Bergsten concludes that romanticization is a prime characteristic of the articles in the last ten years. From having been a phenomenon that only appeared occasionally, the romantic image of the farmer has become the standard model for newspaper reports. This article is a good contribution to this book. The conclusion is interesting and slightly surprising when one considers the recent debate about agriculture in the light of the BSE scandal.

Present-day studies of current problems in agriculture are not exactly common in today's ethnological literature. This book is in many ways an exciting but highly uneven attempt to tackle the topic.

Astrid Jespersen, Copenhagen

Meat City, Denmark

Lene Skodborg, Den hvide kødby. Kommunaltorv som ramme om privat virksomhed. Nationalmuseet Nyere Tids Samling, København 2000. 78 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-89384-56-3.

■ During its formative period, European ethnology had a mission: to document the old agrarian life, threatened by the rise of an industrial society. Now it is the cultural heritage of the old industrial society that needs to be documented, and several projects are working with this ambition. The Danish National Museum is publishing a series of books entitled “Danish Workplaces 1800–2000”. In this series Lene Skodborg has written a book about *Kødbyen* – “Meat City”, the area where all the meat production for the supply of the Copenhagen area took place from the 1930s onwards. Meat City was divided into three areas – the Brown, the Grey and the White Meat City. Skodborg’s book is about the White Meat City, where the meat was cut up and refined. The documentation was done at a time when the White Meat City was being restructured because it did not fulfil the requirements of the veterinarians. This seems somewhat ironic, in view of the fact that when the construction of the White Meat City was completed in 1934, it was a symbol of public hygiene and health. The functionalistic architecture and the white colour signalled purity. The centralization of meat production in Meat City was a product of hygiene laws that prescribed obligatory control after slaughter. Skodborg’s book offers a quite detailed description of the history of the White Meat City. Apart from basic facts about the area, much of the information comes from interviews with retired workers. The organization of Meat City is thoroughly examined. From the beginning there were tensions because the private companies were limited by the rules set by the municipal council. The book offers good insights into the daily working life, and quotations from the interviews are complemented by a generous amount of pictures. A personal favourite is a picture of the women examining pork, looking for trichina. The department existed from 1934 to 1955 without finding a single case. The search for trichina was a part of the obligatory control after

slaughter, the reason for the centralization of meat production in Meat City. In 1968 this control was decentralized to the slaughterhouses, and the decline of Meat City began. Many of the companies and restaurants moved out of the area, and the remaining businesses have gone from production to distribution. The book about Meat City therefore offers a glimpse of a development whereby production has moved away from the city centres, which have been transformed into residential and recreation areas. The main purpose of the book is a documentation of the past; the text is therefore more descriptive than analytical. There are some brief attempts to theorize the material, but they remain undeveloped. The organization of gender in Meat City was interesting. It was clearly dominated by men, while women worked mostly with the preparing of vegetables for sausage-making and rinsing of intestines. How did these jobs become female? This interesting question is posed, but not examined further. Another interesting research problem to be investigated is the organization of purity. The passages between living and dead flesh were institutionalized in the different parts of Meat City. In the Brown part the living cattle were gathered, in the Grey area they were slaughtered, and in the White area the meat products were refined. The colours have an interesting symbolic character that Skodborg could have discussed more. These critical remarks should not, however, conceal the fact that the book about the White Meat City offers an interesting documentation of a workplace that says a great deal about society in the twentieth century.

Håkan Jönsson, Lund

Studying the Khants 100 Years Ago

Hanna Snellman, Khants’ Time. Kikimora Publications, Helsinki 2001. 168 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-45-9997-7.

■ In May 1898 the Finnish scholar U. T. Sirelius (who later became the first professor of ethnology at the University of Helsinki) started his first fieldwork trip to an area in western Siberia populated by the Finno-Ugric people the Khants (or Ostyaks). He made a second journey one year later. His aims were to demonstrate the common cultural roots of the Finno-Ugric peoples, to

collect material for his doctoral dissertation about fishing, and to collect artefacts for the National Museum of Finland. Several scholars had already conducted fieldwork among the Khants, but when Sirelius entered the field Western civilisation had reached the area. Living conditions were rapidly changing, especially after the building of the Siberian railway 1891–1904. When Sirelius visited them the Khants were wholly integrated into Russian society, the Orthodox Church, and the monetary economy, i.e. into modernity.

Snellman's book, which is based on Sirelius' diaries, drawings, and photographs from his Siberian fieldwork trips, mainly deals with different methods of recording time among the Khants. Their economy comprised reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, and farming. Not surprisingly, their vernacular calendar was based on natural conditions such as snow, water, wind, animals, and plants. But they were also, at least to some extent, influenced by the Christian calendar. Usually, however, they combined the Christian and vernacular calendar rather than following the ecclesiastical year. Time-recording was task-oriented, i.e. tasks had to be performed when the time was right. Duration and space were described with reference to the performance of tasks: the unit of duration was the time one needed to do a job. Time consisted of actions and events. The Khants were not ruled by the clock; in fact it was insignificant to their society.

The Khants experienced their own history by dividing it into two periods: first the era of the pagan Ostyaks before the tsar, and secondly the era of the Christian Ostyaks with the tsar. Referring to history, they used concepts such as "in heathen times", "in the old days", or "in the times of the ancestors". A more specific way of recording time was to say whether events had taken place before or after the forest fires or whether things were bought or learned from the Russians. The forest fires had a great impact on Khant society. They forced the Khants to adapt to new conditions. Fishing, for example, became much more important when the fires destroyed the trees.

In her book Snellman also discusses Sirelius' methods during fieldwork. In many respects his attitudes were quite modern. One such modern trait was his holistic orientation. He was mainly

interested in fishing, but he also collected material about various aspects of Khant culture. He spent more than a year in the field, used the local vernacular, and lived apart from his own kind; he also collected the traditional materials from informants in face-to-face situations and recorded it in their native tongue. But, Snellman stresses, in other respects his methods were not very modern. For example, Sirelius often forced people to give him artefacts and to have their pictures taken. In his diaries he described the Khants as being lazy and immoral, as "semi-savages in the backwoods of civilization". But, Snellman concludes, Sirelius' methods must not be judged from today's point of view. The way he behaved in the field was typical of the time, and he is not to blame.

Snellman's book is both intriguing and well-written. She not only describes Sirelius' fieldwork results, but also touches upon several different methodological and theoretical approaches when doing so. This approach makes her study especially interesting to read. And, I would add, the many fascinating photographs illustrating the text are scholarly studies in their own right.

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Steps to Comparative Religion

Päivikki Suojanen, Uskontotieteen portailla. Historiaa ja tutkimussuuntia. Tietolipas 163. Finnish Literature Society. SKS, Helsinki 2000. 285 pp. ISBN 951-746-154-2.

■ It is obvious that a publication of this kind has an important place to fill in the broad field of comparative religion. Introductory texts and surveys of the research history, its different directions and trends are needed in order to summarize what has happened and what is going on in the discipline. Also, the inter-disciplinary influences and the big names common to several other academic subjects are matters which cannot be ignored if one is to understand the position of contemporary comparative religion and its different directions. I would also stress the importance of reading about one's own research tradition in the mother tongue. This especially concerns undergraduate students, who need an early foundation in the terminology. I would like to see a translation of Suojanen's book into Swedish,

with some additional pages about the close connections between the Scandinavian and Finnish tradition of comparative religion.

In this volume Päivikki Suojanen has compiled teaching material from many years of teaching. Jacques Waardenburg's seminal work, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion* from 1973, functions as a guide and starting point in Suojanen's project. Here she illustrates the different trends that have shaped comparative religion into what it is today. In other words, the reader can follow the historical line which, after many turns and switches, has ended up in history of religion, phenomenology of religion, psychology of religion, sociology of religion and anthropology of religion. The author also focuses on the Finnish research in support of this development, which is understandable not only because of her purpose of introducing comparative religion to a Finnish-speaking audience but also because several Finnish scholars have contributed to the shaping of international trends.

Uskontotieteen portailla is divided into three major sections: (1) myths – the central focus in the study of religion in older research; (2) different directions of study in the field of comparative religion; (3) the religious language and its message. Furthermore, there are some smaller chapters on the early stages of the comparative study of religion; comparative religion in Finland and elsewhere in Europe (a somewhat misleading title, however, as the chapter mainly concerns Finnish research) and a short chapter on Finnish comparative religion in the year 2000. Two appendices are also included. The first gives detailed information on staff linked to the different departments of comparative religion in Finland, a short history of the departments, their research profile and major publications. Considering how much comparative religion has developed worldwide and how specialized the subject has become, it is amazing that the number of Finnish chairs has not increased during the last thirty years. This criticism is directed at the government. The second appendix is a brief sample of the author's own research.

Suojanen is very much aware of the problem of what to include or exclude in a book like this, how to be selective. For an introduction to re-

search history, my feeling is that the most important trend setters, research directions and general shifts are mentioned. However, I would have liked more detailed information on how different shifts in the study of religion are influenced by major historical-political changes in the world. For this I would recommend Frank Whaling's book *Theory and Method in Religious Studies: Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Religion* from 1995, which can be seen as a follow-up to Waardenburg. What role, for example, do post-colonial theoretical perspectives play in today's anthropology of religion? What impact have post-modern criticism and gender studies had concerning the change of methods and approaches?

In this book, the most famous names in the history of research are mentioned, often together with their definition of religion. Since definitions of religion can be seen as practical tools, crucial for comparative religion, it is important that Suojanen brings them out. But as a reader I am also interested in how the author evaluates the definitions. I am convinced she has several critical standpoints which she could have shared with us.

This is a useful book and I applaud the courage it took to write it.

Jan Svanberg, Turku

History of Shoes

June Swann, *History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Prehistory to 1950*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm 2001. 357 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7402-323-3.

■ To everybody with an interest in Scandinavian material culture of past times, a big book on Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish shoes is a welcome surprise. For a long time, finding basic information on this topic has been considerably difficult for those of us who do not participate in research projects involving the items in question. Yet the topic is of great general interest: the history of footwear reflects a number of cultural elements and developments within the fields of class, gender, status, ethnicity, etc., making it an excellent object of research for students of several scholarly disciplines.

Seen from this angle, the recent publication of June Swann's *History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland* should be greeted with joy.

Benefiting from the experiences of a very long career, Swann knows the topic better than most. Her experience makes it easy for her to compare Scandinavian finds (including Sami ones) with footwear from other countries. Furthermore, the book is beautifully illustrated and easy to read.

A great deal of Swann's material is to be found in museums, such as the famous Swedish institutions of Livrustkammaren, Nordiska museet and Vasamuseet (all in Stockholm) and Kulturen (Lund). This is, perhaps, inevitable, but it should be noted that the emphasis on museum pieces provides the book with a chronological bias in favour of the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, the entire period from prehistory to AD 1600 is covered in barely 83 pages. Furthermore, there are gaps in Swann's knowledge of medieval Scandinavian history that might prove annoying to some readers (such as the reference to King Magnus Eriksson as "Magnus Magnusson", p. 63).

Be that as it may, June Swann's ambitious undertaking often makes for interesting reading. Her book is a history of the Nordic world as seen from the eyes of the shoes. Wars, technological developments, the rise and fall of great powers, all are viewed from a distinctive footwear perspective. "Glorious" periods, such as the Viking Age, are identified as such on the basis of their footwear. As we get closer to our own time, the perspective grows increasingly regionally diverse (e.g., the development of Scanian wooden shoes).

Unfortunately, the very form of Swann's work presents a problem. What kind of person is the book written for? Who will benefit from it? Well, one group for certain: academic scholars interested in cultural history, searching for shortcuts to valuable knowledge of dress and footwear (i.e., persons such as myself). But what of all the others? It is definitely not a book to be read just for the fun of it, nothing for the generally interested amateur. Nor is it a book that will satisfy the serious scholar of footwear. Simply put, Swann aims to capture too many periods and too many kinds of shoes in too few pages. What we get is a curious mixture: a broad overview of all kinds of footwear from prehistory to 1950, illuminated by detailed examples and beautiful pictures. Swann's work is often encyclopaedic as far as the textual narrative is concerned, but without encompassing

more than a little of all the artistic and archaeological evidence. In focusing on examples, her reliance on museums and previously made studies (especially Ernfrid Jäfvvert's fundamental work from 1938) is obvious. The general reader will probably find the detailed descriptions too detailed and too difficult to comprehend (although the glossary at the end of the book is helpful), while the expert will undoubtedly demand more.

This said, the book has a lot to recommend it. As a general guide to historical footwear, it will hopefully be of great value not only in Scandinavia but also in Europe in general. Swann's expertise, the many fine examples of shoes and boots and the wealth of information, especially with regard to the needs of the non-specialist, are all to be applauded.

Dick Harrison, Lund

Expressions of Racism

Berit Wigerfelt & Anders S. Wigerfelt, Rasismens yttringar. Exemplet Klippan. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2001. 356 pp. ISBN: 91-44-01670-0.

■ One day in September 1995, the body of Gerard Gbeye was found among some bushes in the Swedish village of Klippan, after having lain there for over 12 hours. Gbeye, who was of African origin, had been stabbed to death, and the subsequent sentence on his 16-year-old killer indicated racist motives. Klippan was quickly singled out by the media as a black spot of racism, and the murder was seen as a warning example of how xenophobia and racism are flourishing among us. How could it go so far?

This question was the direct justification for the research project initiated in 1997 by the ethnologist Berit Wigerfelt and the historian Anders Wigerfelt under the auspices of the National Council for Crime Prevention. The task was to investigate what lay behind the open racism that led to the murder, and why racism and Nazism had become so strong in Klippan.

The book points to several factors, such as the economic crisis of the 1990s, which coincided with the arrival of a large number of refugees in the area. The lowered standard of living led to greater insecurity, and the refugees were made

the scapegoats. In the same period xenophobic parties had won seats on the local council, which strengthened prejudices about foreigners and stimulated an outright racist discourse. The media's one-sided focus on Klippan as a racist and Nazi hotbed after the murder, according to Berg, also helped to reinforce the xenophobia and create a space where it could be voiced.

Another central topic considered in the book is whether there is any link between today's organized Nazism and the Nazis of the 1930–40s. In the case of Klippan it is difficult to show any such link.

The study is based mainly on interviews with about 50 people, most of them young and not with an immigrant background, Nazis, former Nazis, and people connected to the "racist gang", as the authors call them. The informants also include a number of adults, mostly officials and politicians in the municipality. Other material used by Berit and Anders Wigerfelt consists of written sources in the form of official publications from the National Socialist Front, lyrics of "white power" music, and Nazi newspapers and websites. To illustrate the general media discourse about immigrants and racism, they have also used a large number of newspapers and TV programmes.

The methodological approach is text and discourse analysis, inspired by Foucault and based on the hypothesis that the portrayal of Klippan in the mass media, as a breeding ground for racist attitudes and organized xenophobia, has actually helped to reinforce these attitudes. As support for their view and as a starting point for their analysis, the authors cite a range of literature and theoretical positions which are developed as the text proceeds. This includes, for example, clarifying the ideology of racism and central concepts such as xenophobia.

It is an unspoken attitude in the book, which helps to reinforce a methodologically reflexive point of departure, that the authors, besides analysing, explaining, and understanding, also want to change. They emphasize that, by paying attention to the fact that xenophobia is constructed in different ways, one can question the Western tradition and Swedish norms and values. The aim is thus to contribute to a discussion about strategies for combating expressions of racism. In this connection it is important to have a good knowledge of racism and Nazism, and of what is happening

in general in society, according to the authors.

The authors further point out that the open racism and Nazism give young people a solution to the problems expressed by the adults and the problems they identify in society. This means that the seedbed for Nazism can be found in the underlying racism of the adults, on both an individual and a structural level. The overall conclusion of the book is that the underlying racism (everyday racism) is linked to the open, manifest variants of racism, such as organized Nazism, and that they reinforce each other. This thesis is convincingly developed in the course of the book.

In the large field of literature focusing on problems of integration and identity among immigrants in modern Western society, this book provides an interesting shift of focus. It takes us into the murky world of racism and attempts to uncover the many different expressions it takes. It is not only a matter of open racism in the form of, say, Nazi propaganda. Berit and Anders Wigerfelt try to expose the underlying racism, which is much more dangerous, expressed in everyday attitudes and gestures, almost without people realizing it themselves.

Rune Ottogreen Lundberg, Odense

The Way to the Archive

Vägen till arkivet. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts (ed.). NNF Publications 4. Åbo 1999. 166 pp. III. ISBN 952-12-0553-9.

■ This book, "The Way to the Archive", is a collection of articles based on a seminar with the same title, held in Helsinki in 1998. Using concrete examples, seven authors from Norway, Sweden, and Finland outline the potential and limitation of folklife archives as they have developed in recent years. The articles may be read separately, but when read as a unit they allow comparisons of practice in the different countries and archives. Many of the problems considered are about the general conditions of public archives today, caught as they are between the demand for service and accessibility on the one hand and the demand for integrity and personal protection on the other hand.

In the introductory article, Ulrika Wolf-Knuts gives a historical retrospect on how folkloristic

archival material has been used in different contexts from the 17th century to the present, and the driving forces behind collection, documentation, research, and presentation. In general the Nordic countries follow basically the same pattern. In the 17th century folklore was perceived as evidence of bygone times; in the 18th century popular beliefs were regarded as an obstacle to rational enlightenment; at the end of the 18th century peasant culture was exoticized as an expression of a free and natural life in a pact with nature; in the 19th century folklore and the professional collection of “folk culture” was part of national identity building, and large archives were built up for research purposes. The 20th century was characterized by rapid technical developments in documentation thanks to tape recording, photography, film, and video. At the start of the third millennium we have only seen the beginning of the opportunities and challenges provided by information technology. Wolf-Knuts underlines the importance of new research perspectives for the work of documentation and archiving. From having formerly collected large quantities of material from a historical-genetic or cartographic angle, the focus is now on the individual, with important aspects such as the interpretation of the material and ethical reflections on what are often highly personal matters.

Lena Huldén’s article tackles the important question of the accessibility of archive material in connection with work on new legislation in this field in Finland. The article focuses on the conflict between the principle of public access to information on the one hand and the protection of informants and donors on the other hand. She also points out the many ethical problems which are forgotten in the legislation and therefore left in an grey area, for example, the protection of third parties mentioned in the material. As for the researcher’s role in the collection process, Huldén emphasizes the specific conditions of collecting through interviews and fieldwork that characterize both folklore studies and ethnology, where the collector (researcher) is an active part of the creative process, and where the material has to be interpreted and presented before it can be used by others. What right does the researcher have to the material?

A number of articles are based on individual archives while still considering general princi-

ples. Agneta Lilja’s “The Ideal Record in Classical Ethnology” gives a thick description of the encounter between professional scholars and amateurs in the efforts to rescue remains of Swedish peasant culture in the 20th century. She not only succeeds in a detailed analysis of concrete cases from the Dialect Archive in Uppsala, where a conflict is unfolded, but also puts the conflict into perspective in her interpretation of it. On one side were the researchers, whose efforts were geared to achieving credible investigations of individual places by means of representative studies using selected informants, while on the other side were the local people who were paid to record in the field. Through correspondence and records it is possible to detect the relations of power in the collection process. The researchers were not always satisfied with the quality of the collected material and tried to ensure that “correct” information was collected in the proper way. One of the particularly productive collectors proved to be unreliable – he was even suspected of fabricating records at home, since several of his informants were dead when he wrote the records. He was carefully examined, after which the archive rejected his records as not being wholly reliable. Lilja describes how the perception of documentation as the rescue of forms of culture from a bygone society influences the archive’s collection strategies. Several non-professional assistants were engaged in the race against time in order to save as much as possible. Lilja shows clearly that the work was steered not only by a notion of the ideal research process but also by the position of the institution in relation to others competing for the same grants.

In “Potential and Limitations in a Norwegian Folklore Archive”, Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred gives an introduction to Norwegian Ethnological Research (NEG), which was founded in 1946. The archive was first attached to the Norwegian Folk Museum, later to the Department of Ethnology at Oslo University. Today the archive is a free foundation with its own funding, but it is housed in the university. There have been close links as regards research and staffing between folklore, ethnology, and dialect studies ever since the start, when interest was focused on pre-industrial peasant culture. NEG undertakes broadly

based studies using questionnaires, and the material is open to the public. The cornerstone of the work is the network of informants who answer NEG's questionnaires on various topics. As in other archives, there has been a change in that it is mostly women who answer the questionnaires. Whereas the archive used to be interested in painting a picture of a collective culture, for example, a district, through documentation of tools, work processes, and expressions, the focus is now on collecting the informants' personal knowledge and experience. The archive today has become more humble about its competence. Whereas in the past it sought to describe Norwegian culture and achieve a comprehensive picture of what it was originally like, the people at the archive now know that the person-related contemporary material is ambiguous and at best gives individual glimpses of the complex present.

With examples from the Folklife Archive in Lund (established in 1913), Anders Salomonsson gives an account of the archives in the relation between collection and research, documentation and interpretation. The first field collections were looking for *folkminnen* (folklore in a broad sense). Salomonsson problematizes the concept of "folk", which was then synonymous with the peasants who carried on the "genuine" and "original" culture. He makes the interesting observation that Sweden (like the other Nordic countries) was very early by international standards in collecting regional cultures. Salomonsson associates this with the fact that nation formation in Scandinavia goes back to the time before national romanticism, which meant that in that period there was no need to create powerful national symbols though simplifications. They could allow themselves to document a differentiated nation. The archive in Lund has always been attached to Lund University, which distinguishes it from other Swedish archives. Despite the changed content, the archive has continued with questionnaires and fieldwork, and undergraduates are expected to use these to collect material for their studies. The material is thus often produced in conjunction with the writing of an essay or a research project. The article argues that there should be a short distance between collecting and research, as regards both time and staffing, so that the research-

er helps both to design the theoretical and methodological basis for the actual collecting and to interpret the material.

"Utopia and Reality in Fieldwork" is the title of an article by Anneli Asplund. Based on Finnish examples, she considers the general phenomenon that folkloristic work has changed focus from the genres of tradition to the bearers of tradition. Modern technology (video and tape recordings) has made a more holistic dimension possible, which means that it also becomes important to document the research process itself. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Finland has been busy surveying hitherto closed areas in Russian Karelia, Ingermanland, Estonia, etc. The focus has been on recording the traditional genres (ballads, legends, folktales) in order to chart the process of change in traditions, the question of identity, and individual life stories. Asplund describes the realities of fieldwork in foreign territory, where an interpreter is necessary, and where one has to be prepared for great disappointments. Interestingly, this form of documentation resembles the classical actions to rescue the vanishing folk culture in the 19th century, although now with new perspectives.

Jukka Saarinen writes in "The Digital Archive and the Internet" about the huge quantities of information that it is possible to preserve as computers, programs, and digitization equipment have become ever cheaper. The use of the Internet is effective, quick, and independent. Text, sound, and pictures can be stored in a tiny space and copied in countless examples without damage to the original. It is obvious that the archives see potential in this technology, but there are also problems. Saarinen gives a series of thought-provoking reflections on this. The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society began to use computers at the end of the 1960s, and the problem now is to find machines which can read the data collected back then. Another problem is how the new digital archives are to be combined with the old card indexes. The Muisti ("Memory") development project involved the digitization and network distribution of national textual, pictorial, and archival material. This project is described in detail in the article, including the non-technological problems such as copyright, data protection, and compliance with the legisla-

tion on personal data, all of which limits the potential to make archival material, catalogues, and databases freely available on the net.

Karin Öman's essay is about the local archive in Karlskoga, a factory community in central Sweden. Interest in local culture grew as a consequence of the green wave in the 1960s, when people turned to the past. Investigating the history of the family led to an interest in the history of the whole district, and the archive was materialized as a knowledge bank. The local archive is not based on professionalism; the handling, registration, and use of documents is steered by interest, commitment, and the joy of collecting. The diverse material in the archive also includes the newspaper cuttings of local enthusiasts, arranged according to topics or wholly unstructured, but in any case an expression of an urge to keep pieces of life in texts or pictures for the future. The archive is wholly dependent on the way it treats visitors, which means that it must provide service, friendliness, creativity, and good humour. Besides the many local enthusiasts there are serious local historians and academics with completely different demands as regards systematization, analytical thinking, and problematization, and they do not regard the local enthusiasts as serious enough, while these turn up their noses at the academics' strict demands for footnotes and source references.

This is a book which looks at what is happening in the Nordic archives right now. It gives very good coverage of various current problems, and by virtue of its widely differing concrete examples it sheds good light on everyday life in the archives. A major Nordic and international project is being planned about the future role of the archives. The many challenges confront the archives with a great number of questions. But is there just *one* way to the archives? Perhaps there are many?

Lykke Pedersen, Copenhagen

Music as Culture and Identity

Musik, möten, mångfald. Rapporter från ett seminarium om musik, kultur och identitet. Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch (ed.). NNF Publications 8. Nordic Network of Folklore, Turku 2001. 126 pp. Ill. ISBN 952-12-0803-1.

■ This anthology contains five contributions to a

seminar on music and identity, held in Mariehamn, Finland, in August 1999. As indicated by the title ("Music, Encounters, Diversity"), the book is – like most proceedings – characterized by diversity. Two authors write about the concept of "world music", although from very different angles: the folklorist Sven-Erik Klinkmann (Finland) and the ethnomusicologist Eva Fock (Denmark). Another ethnomusicologist, Dan Lundberg (Sweden), describes how individual musicians have varying musical identities depending on the performance situation. Finland-Swedish settlers in the USA and their musical activity are the topic of the folklorist Ann-Mari Häggman (Finland). Finally, the journalist Ole Reitov (Denmark) depicts the current situation concerning censorship of music, a sad reality in a number of countries.

This mixture of topics makes it impossible to value the texts as a connected whole. Let me instead present two modest reflections:

The concept of "world music" obviously annoys many scholars. Otherwise, so much literature about this (harmless) musical label would not have been written. Originally coined in a London pub in 1987 by a number of record company representatives, the term "world music" has grown from a label to a well established, but very heterogeneous branch of the music industry. As a label, "world music" is a rare example of a "top-down" construction – most labels in today's pop music are in fact launched by music journalists. Klinkmann analyses the concept by writing its history and discussing its implicit elements of "exoticism". Fock is more interested in the grass-roots level, and therefore sees world music in the light of some active immigrant musicians in Denmark. These articles, then, are complementary and show two fruitful ways of approaching this evidently powerful pair of words.

Further, studies of music and music-making within multicultural societies constitute a vital scholarly field in the Nordic countries today. Since these studies by themselves are linked to the outside world, several researchers are seen on the international arena, which is a radical change in comparison with earlier studies of domestic folk music. The articles by both Fock and Lundberg are good examples of this promising development.

Gunnar Ternhag, Uppsala/Åbo

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.

Authors of articles receive a copy of the journal and 25 offprints of the article. Authors may order more offprints, for which a charge will be made.

This year the focus is on place, reflecting the attention that it has attracted in the research community. The orientation to place opens the door to new perspectives on classical ethnological dimensions to do with action, with material culture, experience, and ritual. These questions are tackled in a broad collection of essays.

As readers we are given insight into how environmental demonstrators outside Bergen use place as a starting point for political mobilization; we are taken along to the rock festival in little Hultsfred, where it is the local that creates the conditions for the international, and we can follow how the rock texts of John Fogerty can lift a landscape, Bayou County, to poetic heights. Places are recreated in miniature form, where Sweden can be concretized in porcelain: "Christmas in Lindsborg" shows how something composite can be made manageable and culturally innovative. The EU's regional policy tends to transform the inhabitants of the Åboland archipelago in Swedish-speaking Finland into figures in a museum. In Jutland, along the west coast of Denmark, the regional self-esteem of the population is growing vigorously, while more and more of the landscape is simultaneously encompassed by the state's cultural heritage policy. With examples from Oslo, finally, we are shown how the city planners of the 1950s consciously tried to transcend the urban place and, in the spirit of modernism, tried to transform it into an abstract space.