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Cover illustration: "Schleswig"-type farm from Sønder Sejerslev, West Schleswig, now in the Danish Open Ailr Museum in Sorgenfri.

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Contents

Papers

Biographical Notes

Reviews

New Dissertations

Book Reviews

här borta. Möten med orienten i Sverige och Norge. Åsa Andersson, Magnus Berg & Sidsel Natland (eds.). Rev. by *Rune Ottogreen Lundberg*

159 Bridge Building as an Event. – Öresundsbron på uppmärksamhetens marknad. Regionbyggare i evenemangsbranschen. Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen & Orvar Löfgren (eds.). Rev. by *Kazimierz Musial*

161 People and Resources in an Island Community. – Bo på Bergö. Människor och resurser i ett ösamhälle. Anne Bergman *et al.* Rev. by *Rauni Janser*

162 Children as Consumers. – Det konsumerande barnet. Helene Brembeck (ed.). Rev. by *Erika Ravne Scott*

163 Old and New Cultural History. – Palle Ove Christiansen, Kulturhistorie som opposition. Træk af forskellige fagtraditioner. Rev. by *Bo G. Nilsson*

165 Women's History in Source Texts. – Indefra. Europæiske kvinders historie belyst ved kildetekster. Nanna Damsholt (ed.). Rev. by *Eva Helen Ulvros*

167 The Landscape of the Danish Farm. – Peter Dragsbo & Helle Ravn, Jeg en gård mig bygge vil – der skal være have til. Rev. by *Maria Flinck*

168 The Swedification of Ethnology? – Billy Ehn & Orvar Löfgren, Kulturanalyser. Rev. by *Tine Damsholt*

169 History of the Port of Hanko. – Birgitta Ekström Söderlund & Marketta Wall, I begynnelsen var hamnen. Hangö hamn 1873–2001. Rev. by *Petri Sipilä*

170 Women and Food in the Far North. – Phebe Fjellström, Kvinnoliv och måltidsglädje. Kosthåll och resurser inom det nordliga rummet. Rev. by *Monica Nerdrum*

172 Female Entrepreneurship. – Pia Götebo Johannesson, Våga vara egen. Om kvinnligt företagande. Rev. by *Katariina Heikkilä*

174 Comparing Swedish and German History. – Norbert Götz, Ungleiche Geschwister. Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim. Rev. by *Ulf Zander*

175 The Dialectic of Education. – Thomas Højrup, Dannelsens dialektik. Etnologiske udfordringer til det glemte folk. Rev. by *Kerstin Sundberg*

178 A Local Community in Movement. – Niklas Ingemarsson, Inte som förr. Hembygd i rörelse. Rev. by *Heidi Hummelstedt*

179 The Roots and Branches of Locality. – Paikallisuuden juuret ja versot. Jatkuvuuksia Judinsalon maalaismaisemassa. Rev. by *Aki Hyödynmaa*

181 European Ethnology. – An Adventurer in European Ethnology. Pirjo Korkiakangas & Elina Kiuru (eds.). Rev. by *Anders Gustavsson*

184 Handicraft Tradition in Denmark. – Minna Kragelund, Det gode håndværk – Tråden i dansk tradition. Rev. by *Britta Hammar*

185 A Century of Swedish Handicraft. – Gunilla Lundahl, Karaktär och känsla. Ett sekel med Svensk Hemslöjd. Rev. by *Marketta Luutonen*

187 How Economics Colonized Everyday Life. – Mats Lindqvist, Is i magen. Om ekonomins kolonisering av vardagen. Rev. by *Lykke L. Pedersen*

188 A Women's Stronghold. – Bo Lönnqvist, Kvinnoborgen Högvalla – en civilisationsprocess. Rev. by *Birgitta Meurling*

190 The Construction of Europeanness. – Europe. Cultural Construction and Reality. Peter Niedermüller & Bjarne Stoklund (eds.). Rev. by *Vytis Ciubrinskas*

192 War Films and Illustrated Classics. – Carsten Tage Nielsen & Torben Weinreich, Kulørt historie. Krig og kultur i moderne medier. Rev. by *Dennis Peterson*

194 Research as an Archipelago Project. – Carina Sjöholm, Moderna skärgårdsbor i gammal kultur. Rev. by *Katriina Siivonen*

195 Changing Smallholdings in Denmark. – Gunnar Solvang, Husmandsliv under afvikling. Udvikling og forandring i et sønderjysk landbosamfund 1975–2000 med hovedvægt på de nye tilflyttere. Rev. by *Kjell Hansen*

197 A Limestone Quarry as a Neglected Cultural Heritage. – Gunnar Solvang, Kalkudvinding på Køgeegnen. En kulturhistorisk skildring af egnens kalkværksindustri og dens kalkværksarbejdere. Rev. by *Håkan Berglund-Lake*

198 Finns in Florida. – Päivikki Suojanen & Matti K. Suojanen, Retulaatsissa Miamissa. Kasvokkain amerikansuomalaisten kanssa. Rev. by *Kirsi Hänninen*

199 A Dog's Life. – Liv Emma Thorsen, Hund! Fornuft og følelser. Rev. by *Anne-Lise Walsted*

200 Christian Domestic Art in Norway. – Himmelen i kvardagen. Religiøse og folkelige trykk. Eva Warne and Ragnhild Thu (eds.). Rev. by *Nils-Arvid Bringéus*

201 The Process of Fieldwork, Archiving and Research. – Input & Output. The Process of Fieldwork, Archiving and Research in Folklore. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts (ed.). Rev. by *Agneta Lilja*

203 The Children of the Border People. – Anna-Maria Åström, Bo Lönnqvist & Yrsa Lindqvist, Gränsfolkets barn. Finlandssvensk marginalitet och självhävdelse i kulturanalytiskt perspektiv. Rev. by *Rauni Janser*

Editorial
By Jonas Frykman

What happens when one volume brings together a collection of essays about folk architecture in Schleswig, the cutting edge of digital media, seductively packaged hamburgers from McDonalds, tight-fitting Lycra sports clothes, wonderworking ski wax, washed and unwashed clothes, objects from wartime Karelia, a rhinoceros horn from China, and a complex folk painting of scenes from biblical history? A yearning in the confused reader to get back to the good old days? Or amazement at the creativity and diversity of contemporary Nordic ethnology? As Robert Willim says in his study of the computer company Framfab: "It is perhaps in the unexpected encounters between different empirical fields that great scientific potential can lie concealed."

This issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is devoted to today's vital research on material culture. The reader can share reflections on the peaks and troughs through which the study of material objects passes; the ethnological application of perspectives from Science and Technology Studies; studies of how artefacts are used to create truth and reflect ideologies, and how they act in a Foucauldian sense as monuments – mirroring contemporary intentions and knowledge. There is a focus here on things by virtue of their very materiality and what this does with culture – just as there are studies showing how their definitions are entirely projections of the culture in which they exist.

Bjarne Stoklund is one of the critics of "the linguistic turn" that took place in the cultural sciences in the 1980s. For ethnology this had the effect that objects were released from their "thing-ness" and came to be seen as representations, projections – void of action but filled with interpretation. The exchange of experiences taking place between user and things disappeared in favour of their discursive persuasive capability. But people are born into a world of already existing materiality, and through it both history and the present work in a composite way. The diachronic perspective can in itself be a way to understand how things are charged with and drained of content according to the user's intentions and the conditions of the times, Stoklund says. And several of the papers agree.

Stoklund's example is houses; people can live in buildings and see the world through them. They have a massive presence, telling us of order and clarity. Robert Willim shows that computer technology does not reduce the contact between the user and the object – on the contrary, it increases it, but according to totally different principles. The boundaries between play and work, private and public, become invisible. In the same way as the modules with which technology works are not hierarchically ordered, the company he studies has a flat organization – a network lacking strict boundaries but rich in recombinations. There is a high-tension creativity here, with the objects, the digital media, acting as cultural accelerators.

It is the hope associated with the packaging, not the content, that has become the main idea of the hamburger chains. "Das Ding an sich" is too trivial. Imagination is not given wings by a simple hamburger. Helene Brembeck shows the dogged attempts to create both brand loyalty and a certain subjectivity via toys in Happy Meal boxes, playrooms for children, and birthday parties at McDonalds. We see how messages are concretely encapsulated in toys and small dolls.

Petri Sipilä discusses how Lycra gave sportsmen and women a chance to sexualize their bodies, to make all the lines stand out while simultaneously concealing their nakedness. It gave rise to new fashions, attempts to cross gender boundaries and a new ratification of them. All this magic was found in the opportunities opened by the material – a fibre. Sport is obsessed with action and results. Aesthetics is subordinated to function, and symbols must take second place to effects. This is clear from Terje Planke's study of how skiers handle the materiality that ensures their victory. In a penetrating study he follows the processes of ski waxing that elude formalization and discourse. Here it is a question of the experience amassed by experts over time, and Planke shows the importance in fieldwork of trying to see and feel together with the agent.

It is something of a surprise when Ingun Grimstad Klepp shows that women in the age of the automatic washing machine spent more hours on laundry than they did a century ago. There is a materiality here, in the sense of fabrics and garments, that has ended up organizing people's everyday lives in a taken-for-granted but demanding way. It is not just changed ideas about hygiene or the mechanization of housework that has propelled this development; it is the fabrics that require increased care.

Museums are remarkable chambers in which dreams about a past are kept alive and ideologies acquire their thing-ness. Tenho Pimiä shows how ideas about the united Finno-Ugrian people were symbolized by objects collected during the "Continuation War" in Karelia, a time that permitted expansionist ideas to grow to a grotesque format. The objects stand today in the National Museum of Finland as an incontrovertible monument, not to the idea that the population of Karelia belonged to the same race, but to Greater Finnish aspirations.

Camilla Mordhorst develops Foucault's thoughts that objects should not primarily be regarded as sources, but as monuments. The way they are ordered in a museum is a key to the *episteme* prevailing at a particular time. She uses a cup of rhinoceros horn to take us on a fascinating journey from Ole Worm's museum collection in the seventeenth century to see how it is redefined, put in new contexts. In this process the objects reflect the emergence of evolutionary thinking – a historicizing, genealogical perspective in both the natural sciences and the humanities. The thing itself cannot be understood outside the epistemological system through which people view it.

Ethnologia Scandinavica concludes with yet another genealogical meditation by its editor for many years, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, about a painted wall hanging from Färgaryd in Småland. This illustrates how biblical narratives take concrete shape in paintings in the churches where the Word was preached and these in turn served as inspiration for folk painting. In the process of tradition, impressions are constantly made by the creative human hand.

This year the reviews section paints a very full picture of a Nordic research environment bulging with productivity. It is a privilege to be able to assemble an annual line-up displaying such competence and such variation.

Ethnology and Vernacular Architecture
Revisiting a Classical Field of Study
By Bjarne Stoklund

Ethnology took shape in the nineteenth century in pace with the creation of the nation states, and it contributed to the making of a new national awareness. Ethnology was not alone in this; this was a mission to the solution of which virtually all the new humanistic disciplines made contributions. They can all be seen as tools in a grand national project. Ethnology, however, acquired its own niche in the study of the everyday life and culture of the broad stratum of the population, everything that others ignored, but which, according to the Herder-inspired romantic ideology of the time, represented "the people" and hence the true national culture (Damsholt 1995).

It started with language and the linguistic expressions from the field that lay closest to "the soul of the people". The first half of the nineteenth century was the period when the great collections of folk songs, fairy tales, legends, and other genres of folk literature began. The interest in non-linguistic, material expressions did not begin in earnest until after mid-century. One important factor in this newly aroused interest was the series of international exhibitions that flourished in the wake of "The Great Exhibition" in London in 1851. The exhibitions may be viewed as the first mass-communication media to develop a special "exhibition language" in which non-verbal communication with artefacts was allowed a leading role. When different nations sought to present their distinctive character – their "folk culture" – in exhibitions, two material phenomena quickly became the most frequently employed: the more or less exotic costume of the rural people, which was called "national dress" or "folk dress", and vernacular architecture, which was considered to reflect ancient national building traditions. A third category of objects was later added: the beautifully carved or painted utility objects, all the things that were given the name "folk art" around 1900 (Stoklund 1994).

These categories of folk objects were moved from the temporary exhibitions to a new kind of permanent institutions: the museums of cultural history, specifically the variants that in Scandinavia were given the designations "folk museums" and "open-air museums". It was in these new museums that ethnology emerged as a separate discipline; it was here the subject was professionalized. And in the first phase of professionalization, studies of costume and the peasant house occupied a central place.

In this article we shall try to follow the changing attitudes of ethnology to material culture by focusing on one of these categories of object: folk architecture in the countryside and the study of it. The examples mostly come from Danish ethnology.

"Ethnic" Farm Types

It was not in Scandinavia, however, but in German-speaking Europe that ethnological house studies acquired the earliest and strongest foothold. In its oldest form this research corresponded well to ideas about the soul of the people and its expressions, concerned as it was with relating the different forms of houses and farms to the Germanic tribes of the Migration Period. This "tribal history" line in research had two pioneers, Rudolph Henning and August Meitzen, one of them a philologist, the other a geographer, who both published their main works in 1882. At the same time the Swiss scholar Jacob Hunziker was active, but most of his major work in eight volumes on building

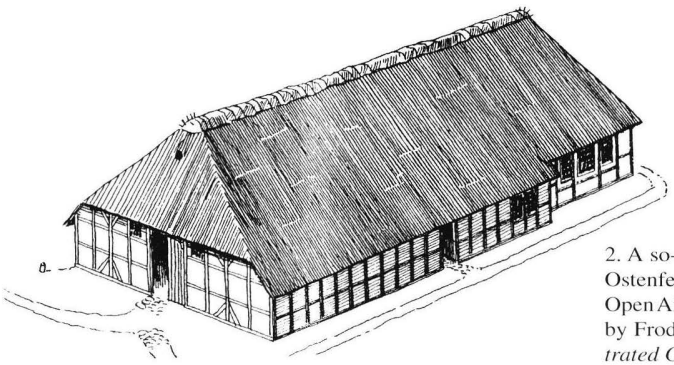
traditions in Switzerland was not published until after his death in 1901 (Hunziker 1900–1914; Huwyler 1996:75–81).

One of the first descriptions of farm types in Austria-Hungary came about as a consequence of the great international exhibition in Vienna in 1873, where an "ethnographic village" had been created, with characteristic houses from the various provinces of the Dual Monarchy (Schmidt 1960:12). The first Danish survey of regional farm types was likewise the result of a large exhibition, the closest we came to anything like the international exhibitions. "The Nordic Exhibition of Industry, Agriculture, and Art in Copenhagen" in 1888 was to commemorate three anniver-saries: King Christian IX had been on the throne for 25 years; the Industrial Association which arranged the exhibition had existed for 50 years; and this was the centennial of the "liberation" of the Danish peasantry, with the abolition of adscription, the law that tied the peasants to the soil. The latter was the occasion for a department of agrarian history at the exhibition and no less than three "Festschrifts", one of which was about "old Danish homes", with the emphasis on rural architecture (Mejborg 1888).

This publication was compiled by the draughtsman Reinhold Mejborg, who was working on a nationwide documentation of old farms in Denmark and the old Danish territories to the east and south. Unfortunately, Mejborg did not manage to publish more than one volume of the planned work on Danish farms (Mejborg 1892). It was not by chance that this volume dealt with building traditions in Schleswig, the disputed Danish-German border zone (see map Fig. 1).[1] Right from the beginning, the struggle over Schleswig was not just political, but also cultural. Both sides endeavoured to draw the "ethnographic" border between Danish and German. This was manifested primarily in the "original" linguistic boundary, and this gave support to a study of topics such as place-names and the first survey of "folk speech", the dialects. "The soul of the people" was also expressed in material phenomena such as costume and diet, but particularly in architecture, a concrete phenomenon that was easy to observe in the cultural landscape. Work therefore began on the documentation of the old farm types, which were interpreted in the light of the national antagonism (Stoklund 1999).

1. Sketch map of the old Duchy of Schleswig, with some of the place-names referred to in the text. Schleswig was conquered by Prussia in 1864, but through a referendum in 1920 it was divided into a northern Danish and a southern German part. The latter now forms part of the Land Schleswig-Holstein.

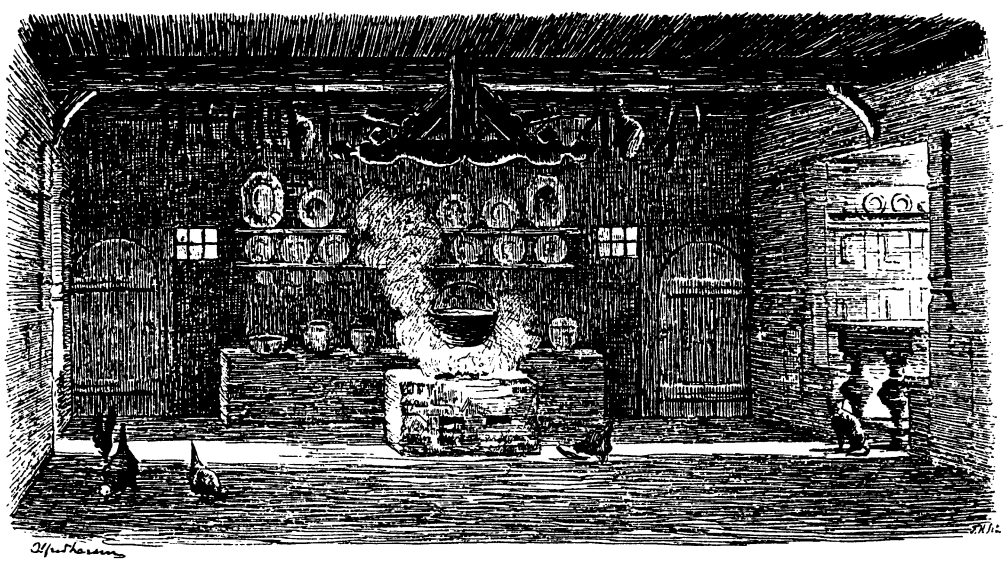
On the German side one finds the prevailing "tribal" explanatory model. The politically divided Germany, which was



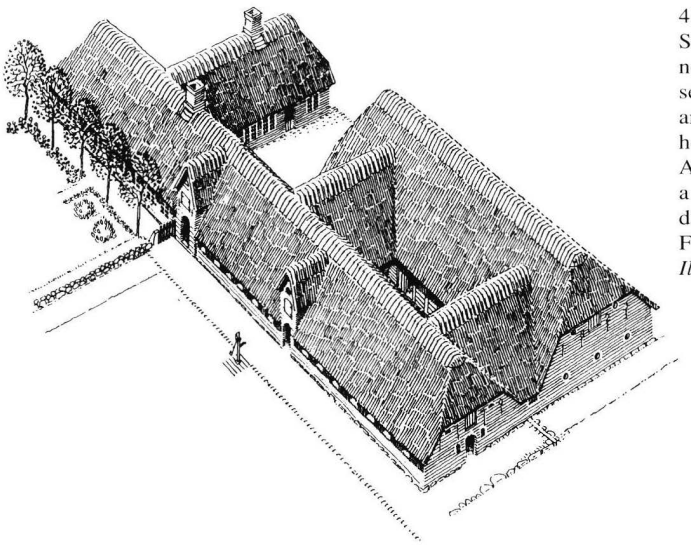
2. A so-called "Saxon" farmhouse from Ostenfeld near Husum, now in the Danish Open Air Museum in Sorgenfri. Drawing by Frode Kirk in *Frilandsmuseet: Illustrated Guide in English*.

united in the nineteenth century into one empire, perceived itself as basically composed of Germanic tribes, each with its own distinctive cultural features, including farm types. North Germany was dominated by the "Saxon" farm with its broad houses with the door in the gable leading into the spacious *Diele*, the living room for humans and animals alike (Figs. 2–3). In Schleswig this met the "Jutish" or "Cimbrian" house, a long, narrow house with a porch in the middle and the dwelling and byre on either side (Fig. 4). This farm type, together with linguistic arguments, confirmed German scholars in their belief that the Jutes were a West Germanic tribe who had been suppressed by the Danes coming from the east; they could thus question the national affiliation of the Jutland peninsula (Adriansen 1990).

For Reinhold Mejborg and the other Danish scholars, the task was to show that Danish and German farm types met at an "ethnographic boundary" which largely followed the old defensive rampart, Danne-



3. Interior of the big main room, known as the *Diele*, in a "Saxon" farmhouse near Husum. From Mejborg 1892.



4. "Schleswig"-type farm from Sønder Sejerslev, West Schleswig, now in the Danish Open Air Museum in Sorgenfri. The buildings are dominated by a long main house with dwelling and byre. Added to the rear is a scullery and a barn; between barn and byre a diminutive courtyard. Drawing by Frode Kirk in *Frilandsmuseet: Illustrated Guide in English.*

virke, and the Schlei fjord. Unfortunately for them, however, in the area north of the "Saxon farm" they could not find the four-winged farm that was reckoned as the Danish "national farm". Instead this area was dominated by the previously mentioned farm type with one long house containing dwelling and byre, which in Danish literature is usually called the "Schleswig" farm. The solution was provided by the historian Peter Lauridsen, when he showed in an epoch-making little dissertation that the four-winged farm, even in Denmark proper, was a rather late result of a long development, leading from a single-house farm with dwelling and byre in the same house to farms with two, three, or four wings (Lauridsen 1895).

Yet this meant, according to Peter Lauridsen, that the farms found in the area north of the "Saxon farm" represented an earlier stage of the Danish farm. It was thus not an alien form, but rather a form that was more genuinely Danish than farm types elsewhere in Denmark. The crucial Danish characteristic was that houses were long, narrow, transversely divided, and oriented to the compass points and not to the road as the German houses were.

The discussion of Danish and German building traditions in Schleswig was carried on in the 1880s and 1890s, but it was resumed again on the eve of the Second World War. In the Nazi "Blut und Boden" ideology, the idea of ethnic cultural features was revived and used as an argument for the German right to expansion at the expense of neighbouring peoples, including the Danes to the north. In 1936 this provoked Claus Eskildsen, a Danish lecturer at a teachers' training college, to write a *Dansk Grænselære* ("Danish Boundary Studies"), which gained enormous popularity, appearing in numerous editions before, during, and after the war, as long as the border between Denmark and Germany was still disputed (Eskildsen 1936). Although Eskildsen was a professed supporter of the "national sentiment principle" – that people had a right to decide their own national

affiliation – in his book he adopted the romantic notions of "the soul of the people" and its expressions in a way that brings his argumentation suspiciously close to the Nazi "Blut und Boden" ideology.

From Element Studies to Holistic Analyses

This second round of the discussion of borders as regards farm types in Schleswig did not involve any of the real experts in the field. They distanced themselves from it, being more concerned with documenting the surviving old buildings in the kingdom. The idea of ethnic farm types could only be maintained as long as people generalized from a relatively small sample. As field studies were intensified, however, and the mapping of cultural geography gained ground, it became increasingly impossible to operate with true farm types. It may be said that diffusionism in the 1920s and 1930s broke up farm types as an object of study. It dissolved them into their constituent parts, and thus also contributed to making house studies more empirical and gradually also less nationalistic. It was the individual elements in the building that were mapped, and their distribution was studied in time and place. And the movements of cultural elements could not be studied within narrow national frameworks; a broader geographical perspective was required.

In German research on building, these new tendencies were expressed in "Gefügeforschung", which avoided grand generalizations and concentrated on studies in limited areas with a historical perspective (Bedal 1993:15). As the name indicates, the main interest was focused on the field of house construction. Something similar applied to Danish farm research, whose leading figure in the inter-war years was the architect Halvor Zangenberg. In 1925 he published a map of the most important old forms of construction (Zangenberg 1925), a map often used subsequently by others. The relatively few monographs that saw the light of day after the Second World War are likewise meticulous surveys of details such as half-timbering forms and roofing methods (Lerche 1971; Hjorth Rasmussen 1966). We find the same pattern in the much more productive ethnology in Sweden and Norway. A central task here was the study of the forms of log construction, and the establishment of a relative chronology based on notching types (Stigum 1944; Arnstberg 1976).

It was the study of selected cultural elements and the mapping of their paths of diffusion and patterns of distribution that characterized ethnology in the thirties, forties, and fifties, and this research strategy engendered a number of ambitious cultural atlas projects in Europe. Thus Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other countries acquired atlases of their folk culture. The Swedish atlas was published in 1957 (Erixon 1957), whereas the Danish equivalent never got beyond the preparation stage. Scandinavian ethnology experienced a period of growth in these decades, when everyone had the sense of making their own contribution, whether little or large, to the great common project. Never has ethnology been closer to becoming a "normal science" in the sense used by Thomas Kuhn.[2]

Then came the critique. People began to question the very core of ethnological research. Was it correct to perceive culture as being composed of elements that could be studied individually, in the hope of finally – by laying stone upon stone – obtaining a picture of a whole? Doubts arose among

the younger representatives of the discipline, who reacted against the one-sided orientation to Central Europe instead of taking inspiration from Anglo-Saxon anthropology. Here they found a completely different concept of culture, which was viewed as a functioning whole, something more than the sum of its parts; the relations between the parts were considered more important than the parts themselves. Instead of a study of cultural elements, it was important to study cultural wholes, and these could best be found in small, easily surveyed communities: an island, a fishing hamlet, a village. For a time, community studies became the wholly dominant research model in Scandinavian ethnology.

The change of paradigm started in the 1960s and took effect in the 1970s. In the discipline it meant shifts concerning more than just methodology in a large number of fields. Whereas ethnologists had previously looked backwards in their research, concerned with the perspective of cultural history, the new watchword was contemporary ethnology. Diachronic studies had to give way to synchronic studies, and objects, technology, and working life disappeared into the background, making way for social relations. A study of farm types and dwelling forms inevitably felt antiquated in this context.

By the end of the 1970s, however, community studies had already lost their central role in Scandinavian ethnology. At the same time, ethnological interest had swung "from the study of social relations, group formations, and role-playing towards the content of human interaction: people's conceptions, values, and ways of thinking" (Löfgren 1996:55). This swing from the social to the cultural brought new objects of study. Ethnologists now sought out subcultures such as youth groups, women, or immigrants, with an interest in seeing how such groups marked their identity.

For Swedish ethnologists of the 1980s the key concept was *cultural analysis*. They looked behind the external forms and patterns of action to disclose the ordering principles concealed there. In the same period Danish ethnologists preferred to analyse culture in larger contexts which were called – albeit with differing theoretical points of departure – *life-modes*.[3] Despite the theoretical differences, it was possible in the 1990s to observe great similarities across the national borders. The "pure" study of culture dominated everywhere, often coming close to the history of ideas; a key concept is discourse, the ideas and conceptions dominating a period or a setting. Frequently changing sources of inspiration from international culture studies otherwise characterized most of Scandinavian ethnology at the end of the twentieth century.

New and Old Artefact Studies

As long as social relations were the main interest of ethnologists, there was no room for material culture, but with the shift from "roles and scenes" to "codes and messages" the neglected objects once again began to stick their necks out. Did this mean that the practitioners of the subject thought better of it and went back in the history of the discipline to resume the broken thread in ethnological research? No, they did not; instead they launched a whole new kind of artefact studies, inspired by the broad international field of interest that is summed up under the designation consumption studies, which tries to describe and understand modern consumer culture.[4]

A characteristic of this new artefact research is that it ignores what was the main interest of earlier ethnologists: the form and function of things. Instead all their attention is focused on the meaning of the objects. In 1980 the British anthropologist Mary Douglas outlined the new research programme as follows: Let us try to disregard the practical function of the things and assume that the most essential function of consumption is its ability to create meaning. "Forget that commodities are good for eating, clothing, and shelter; forget their usefulness and try instead the idea that commodities are good for thinking; treat them as a nonverbal medium for the human creative faculty" (Douglas & Isherwood 1979:62).

Let us look briefly at the background to this manifesto. Most of the new artefact research is indebted to linguistics, and the change in theory and method that began with Ferdinand Saussure's distinction between the practised language, *la parole*, and the underlying linguistic system, *la langue*. This heralded a radical change in linguistic research, from having been primarily concerned with the history of language, to a subject giving priority to the synchronic analysis of language as a system. The next step was then easy to take: to expand this outlook to comprise non-linguistic sign systems as well, or to put it another way, to study other aspects of human culture as if they were systems of signs. Linguistics thus became an all-embracing semiotics.

Most anthropologists and ethnologists who have become involved in the new artefact studies are agreed that the semiological inspiration has been exceedingly beneficial because it has directed scholars' attention to aspects of material culture that were formerly overlooked or neglected. But there were also critical voices who warned against taking the linguistic parallels too far.

The anthropologist Daniel Miller, in a survey of this research field, says: "To make the analogy with language work ... artefacts have tended to be detached from their physical nature and functional context and to be treated as relatively arbitrary signs formed through the applications of contrasts, making them potential meaningful units which could then be combined to produce something resembling a text" (Miller 1998:406f.). Artefacts are not words, however, Miller declares, and they cannot automatically be read as texts.

The semiological inspiration has meant exciting new angles in research, but it also entails the risk that artefacts are torn from their contexts. In my opinion it is important that the "trinity" of form, function, and meaning is maintained. Artefacts are not just symbols or semiophores; they are also tools in humans' struggle for existence and their shaping of the world. This applies to pre-industrial cultures and modern society alike. Take a central cultural element like the car. Its symbolic value is obvious, but it is also much more than this. Once it was invented, designed, and produced, it became a significant factor in the radical changes in the organization of society and in people's everyday lives in the twentieth century. Or think of the mobile phone with its SMS functions, which is changing the way young people interact.

Signals in recent ethnological literature also indicate a coming reaction against the dominance of symbolic interpretation. In a book from 1995, *Ting, kultur och mening* ("Things, Culture, and Meaning", ed. Daun 1995), Orvar Löfgren warns against focus-

ing too much on the symbolic, on the sign, the thereby forgetting the object itself and its use (pp. 137f.). This is said even more forcefully in the same book by Ulla Brück: "Artefact research today concerning industrial society is really characterized by the fact that it is not the things themselves that are at the centre of attention, in their property of concrete objects, but objects abstracted to become conceptual categories" (pp. 107f.).

If there are thus tendencies towards a broader study of artefacts, there still seems to be the same orientation towards the present, and in the few cases when historical material is brought in, it is analysed from a synchronic perspective. This interest in seeing things in the synchronic context in which they were used, viewing the human "world of artefacts" as a system, has hitherto been neglected and deserves to be cultivated in many more studies. In my opinion, however, people do not fully understand the interaction between people and artefacts if they do not also apply a diachronic perspective in the form of a "cultural history of artefacts".

I shall try to elucidate this more by proceeding from the concept of *cultural product*. Earlier research spoke of *cultural elements*, but after the change of paradigm scholars referred to artefacts as *cultural products*, as something arising from human thoughts and conceptions. Yet this concept is actually misleading as long as one confines the analysis to the synchronic context, for people always live in historically conditioned physical surroundings. We are born into a world of things, which often came into existence centuries ago, but which are taken for granted as much as the nature around us. To a great extent, then, we live with a world of things created by the generations before us, often in very different social and cultural circumstances.

In certain highly static societies, a world like this can be passed on virtually unchanged for generation after generation. Normally, however, there is a constant process in the form of an interaction between people living now and the already created world of things. In this process some things will be passed on and some things will be discarded or reshaped so that they are more suitable for the current way of life. There will be things that, although they live on, are ascribed a whole new meaning or assigned a different place in the value system. Some things will be transformed into pure forms, their function and meaning completely forgotten, and new things will come into being and will have to be fitted into the old world of things, but they will often affect people in a completely new direction.

It is this constant interaction between people and the already created world of objects that the cultural history of artefacts is about. It is a banal and well-known story but there is still good reason to underline the importance of the diachronic perspective, because scholars have almost forgotten it. Research on the cultural history of artefacts has a particular significance when it comes to development in the last two centuries. This is a period in which human–artefact relations have been subjected to some qualitative changes, the primary result of which is an almost total separation of production and consumption.[5]

Farm Types in Schleswig Once Again

These general reflections on the ethnological study of artefacts and its potential are eminently applicable to the classical research area considered here. A house is

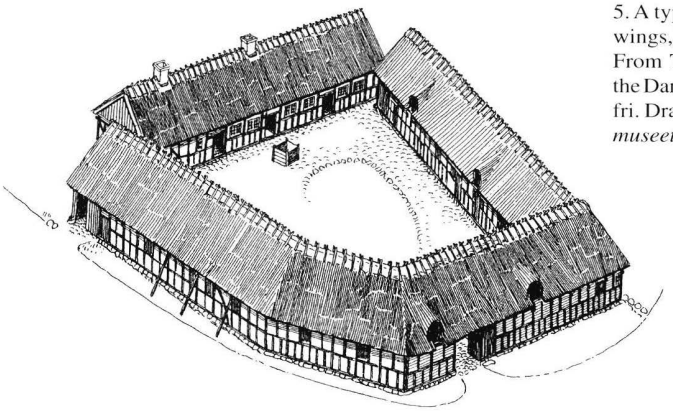
decidedly a "long-term consumer good", the form and use of which can only be understood in a diachronic perspective, when it is viewed as a result of a dialectic process between the house and its changing occupants. The dwelling in a given society is not just the framework around central economic and social functions, but is also charged with cultural meaning. It is one of the media whereby values and norms are passed on to the next generation, and it is simultaneously something with which one communicates one's cultural affiliation and self-understanding to other people. For that reason the house is also – despite its permanence – a sensitive barometer of cultural change.

Bearing this ethnological knowledge of the role of the house in mind, we can now return to the starting point of this article: the birth of farm studies in the Danish-German borderland and the question of the possible connection between ethnicity and farm type. It must be stressed, however, that we are treading almost virgin soil here, as not many people have taken an interest in Schleswig from an ethnological viewpoint since the pioneers at the end of the nineteenth century.

This is surprising, for in many ways the province of Schleswig ought to be ideal for those who are interested in cultural differences and cultural processes. Few places can display so many regional differences and so many changes over time within such a limited area. The ecological living conditions vary from the fertile boulder clay in the east, via the sandy heaths in the middle, to the rich marshlands towards the west. A maze of criss-crossing administrative boundaries have staked out very different legal frameworks for ways of life here, and the social status of the peasantry has varied from freeholding to serfdom within the same period. In the last two centuries the area has moreover been a pawn in the greater political game, with the consequences this has for living conditions. In addition, three peoples, each with their own language – Germans, Danes, and Frisians – have lived side by side here since the early Middle Ages in the Duchy of Schleswig.

Schleswig should thus have the status of an ethnological "dream laboratory". We may nevertheless note that this potential has only been used to a very small extent, perhaps because the traces of the national interpretations in the first half of the twentieth century have a deterrent effect. When it comes to the forms of farms and houses, it also has to do with the fact that this research area has largely lain fallow since the paradigm shift. A new beginning is on the way, however. In 2001 Peter Dragsbo and Helle Ravn published a large book about farms and their gardens in three parts of Denmark, based on contemporary fieldwork, but analysed in historical perspective (Dragsbo & Ravn 2001).[6] One of the most interesting findings of the study is that the regional differences that are known from earlier evidence can still largely be found in modern times. In 2002 the book was followed up by a detailed study of the situation in a corner of Schleswig, the island of Als (Ravn & Dragsbo 2002). In 1996 building traditions in a different part of North Schleswig were examined by Nina Fabricius (1996) in a book about "The Land with the Big Farms".

As we have seen, the Danish and German scholars who were active at the end of the nineteenth century were all agreed on one thing, namely, that there is a precise associa-



5. A typical Danish farmstead with four wings, built together round a courtyard. From True in Eastern Jutland, now in the Danish Open Air Museum in Sorgenfri. Drawing by Frode Kirk in *Frilandsmuseet: Illustrated Guide in English.*

tion between ethnicity and farm type. None the less, they had problems in finding empirical material to confirm this assumption. They were most successful in demonstrating a connection between, on the one hand, the old Low German language area in Holstein and southernmost Schleswig and, on the other hand, the type of farm once known as "Saxon", but today called "das niederdeutsche Hallenhaus". Greater problems were caused by the farm type with a dwelling and byre in one long house, which we have chosen here to call the "Schleswig" farm. It was found north of the Danish-German language boundary, but it did not coincide with the Danish-language area. It spread into the Frisian settlement area, and farm forms with the same main characteristics could originally be followed down along the German and Dutch north-east coast, that is, throughout the Frisian settlement area and a bit further to the south. It is clear, however, that we are dealing here with a type of farm that differs distinctly from the square-built Danish farm as regards the overall arrangement of the farm, not least the areas around and between the buildings. Helle Ravn and Peter Dragsbo have shown that there is a difference in the perceptions of what a farmstead is supposed to look like, a difference that can be followed up to the present day (Ravn & Dragsbo 2002). What we have here seems to be one of the "tenacious structures" in agrarian culture.

Having said that, we must note that if we are to operate with a few well-defined farm types in the older material, it means simplifying matters that may be rather complicated, comprising a wealth of variants. On closer inspection, one must also note that the types do not meet along razor-sharp dividing lines. Countless examples could be cited of how the "Saxon" and the "Schleswig" farm have influenced each other. Almost everywhere we find gradual transitions between the two main forms.

Finally, the cultural history of the area contains several interesting examples of people changing the form of the farm. In some of the cases one can observe with varying degrees of certainty a roughly simultaneous change of language. It is not so surprising that it is Danish or Frisian speakers who have switched to German/Low German, and not vice versa, for through most

of Schleswig's history the Germans have been socially and culturally dominant.

Some of the examples are so far back in time that the chronology is uncertain and the link between the change of language and the change of farm type is extremely hypothetical. This applies to the switch to Low German and the introduction of "niederdeutsche Hallenhäuser" in an area south-east of Husum in the medieval or early modern period, and it applies to the change of language from Frisian to Low German and its possible link to a completely new form of farm, known as *hauberg*, which was introduced from Holland around 1600.[7]

The Transformation of Angeln Farms

We have much better documentation of the process of change that took place in the first half of the nineteenth century in the district of Angeln between Flensburg fjord and the Schlei. In the southern and eastern part of this district, which was under the control of Holstein landowners and where serfdom was common, there had been a change to Low German as the everyday spoken language, but in the central and northern parts Danish was still spoken at the start of the nineteenth century. In less than half a century, however, there was a switch to Low German as the everyday language.

The most important preconditions for this language switch were the major economic and social changes that had taken place in Angeln from the end of the eighteenth century. The land was enclosed and improved farming methods were introduced, following the Holstein model, which soon transformed Angeln into a leading agrarian area. Prosperity grew, and with it the peasants' self-esteem. It felt stigmatizing to speak the Danish dialect, or as the people of Angeln themselves put it: "Dat is so gemen un spräken Dänsch". The language of the church, the schools, and the courts was German, and the Angeln people therefore had no contact with or knowledge of a high-culture parallel to the simple folk speech they used every day. The "urbanization" that the inhabitants of Angeln, like the peasants of many other districts, underwent during an economic boom, almost inevitably had to have a German content. And the ordinances on language that the Danish government issued after the Three Years War to check this development in reality had the opposite effect.

The growing prosperity in Angeln was expressed, among other things, in tremendous building activity in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the result was that a significant proportion of the old farms of "Schleswig" type were replaced by newly constructed farmsteads. What did the new farms look like, and where did the inspiration come from? It might be expected that people, as before, would have looked to the south, towards the trend-setting farms of Holstein. Even within the kingdom of Denmark there were in fact landowners at the end of the eighteenth century who tried to transplant the large Holstein "Hallenhaus" to Danish soil (Zangenberg 1932:22).

The Angeln peasants of the early nineteenth century, however, had higher ambitions, taking the inspiration for the new type of farm from the manor-house architecture of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, perhaps with "Meier-höfe" and vicarages as the intermediate link (Hagemeier-Kottwitz 1982). The new Angeln farm is a three-wing, stone-built structure with a clear division between dwelling and outbuildings. Flanked by the byre on one side and the

6. Old drawing of an Angeln Farmstead, representing the form the farms in this area adapted in the nineteenth century. From Hagemeier-Kottwitz 1982.

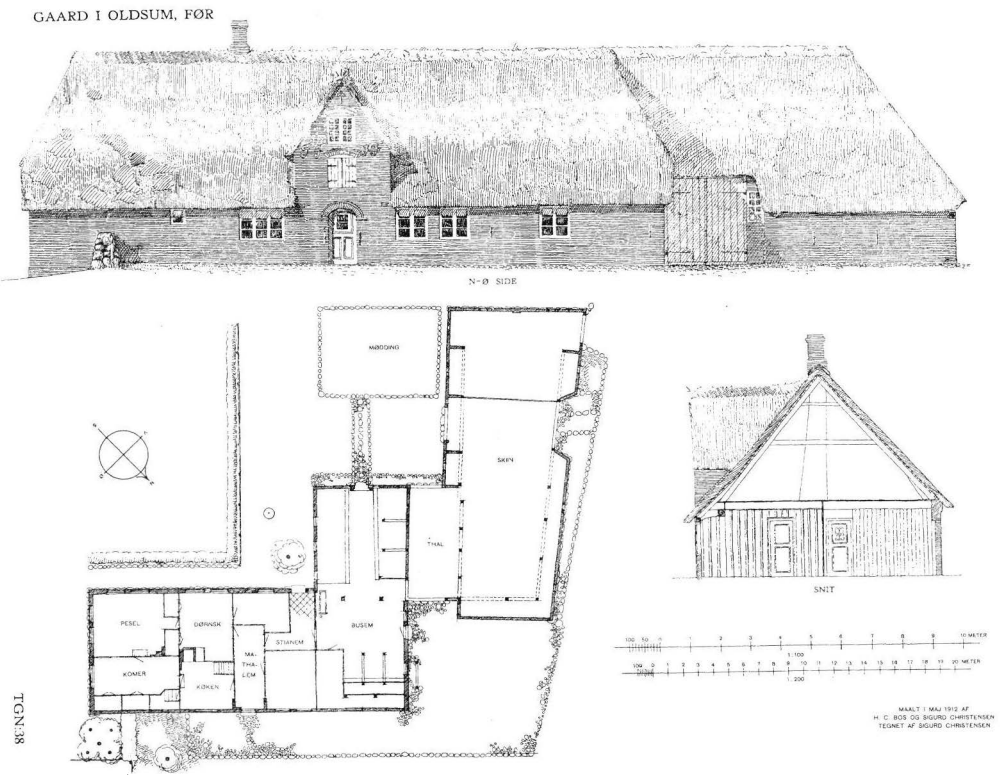
barn to the other, the dwelling house stands on a high plinth and has a broad dormer in the middle. Stone steps lead up to the imposing front door, where guests are received. The yard between the three wings is designed as a kind of "cour d'honneur", where carriages can drive around a lawn with trees and up to the entrance (Fig. 6). Here we have peasants obviously trying to rise above their old status.

It should be added that such splendid three-wing structures also became common among prosperous peasants in eastern North Schleswig. Here, however, the people stuck firmly to the Danish language and were oriented to Danish culture (Fabricius 1996).

National Symbolism in the Borderland

We have looked at cultural processes involving a change of both language and farm type. They took place at very different times, but there are clear similarities. In all three cases it seems that both the everyday speech and the traditional building style in the district became "stigmatizing". They symbolized something boorish from which people wished to liberate themselves. It was not primarily a matter of wishing to change one's ethnic affiliation; it was the social status that had to be changed. It is not surprising, however, that the change simultaneously had ethnic consequences, when one bears in mind that ethnic or linguistic differences in pre-industrial society were something that did not merely follow geographical boundaries but just as much social ones. We have also noted that in two of the cases the reference for the two phenomena is not the same. The language is taken from one place, the farm type from another, but both phenomena contribute to changed social status.

The idea that ethnic or national belonging is something innate, persisting across social differences, is a thing of the past. So too is the idea that each people not only has its own language but also its own culture, expressed in architecture and other ways. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century one can say that material culture was definitively "nationalized". Where better could the distinctive national character be found than where "the soul of the people" was expressed, namely, in the traditional style of rural building? The pioneers of farm studies had shown the way, and others



7. Farmhouse in Oldsum on the North Frisian island of Föhr, measured and drawn by members of the "3rd December 1892 Society". From *Gamle Bygninger paa landet 1911–16.*

went further by translating the new knowledge into practical cultural policy.

In 1892 a group of young Danish architects founded the "3rd December 1892 Society" with the aim of measuring up good examples of old Danish houses, which could serve as models for modern, national architecture. From 1907 they also turned to the vernacular architecture of the countryside, and their first survey trips took them south, to the Danish-German border, to the Tønder district and the North Frisian islands (Fig. 7). This interest in architectural culture in the North Frisian districts may seem surprising at first, but at that time there was a general perception in Denmark that the north Frisians did not have a building style of their own but instead followed Danish traditions. In many ways it had been the fate of the North Frisians to be forgotten or explained away in the national struggle between Danish and German. As a rule, they were enlisted on the side of one or the other party and denied the right to a national existence of their own. The architects could thus seek models in North Frisia with a clear conscience, and they let the beautiful, well-proportioned houses with their Dutch inspiration serve as a basis for the national Danish style that was designed from 1915 by the national association for better architecture, "Bedre Byggeskik".

The German counterparts to this organization were called "Heimatschutz" and "Baupflege". Both had offshoots in Schleswig in 1907, and in these organizations too the inspiration was preferably sought in North Frisian building styles. In an interesting analysis of the shared interest of Danes and Germans in the "home style", Peter Dragsbo points out that although the efforts were in the same direction, the underlying goals of cultural policy were different (Dragsbo 1999). The Danes wished to create a national style that could unite people on both sides of the border. It was a national concern for the Germans too, but in the large, composite German nation state that was established in 1870 there was room for several nuances, including a "Nordic" or Schleswig-Holstein variant. We thus see here a difference in cultural policy which shows an interesting correspondence to the differences demonstrated between Danish and German interpretations of farm types in Schleswig.

Via "Baupflege", the local vernacular architecture was to set its stamp on some of the public administrative buildings and housing in North Schleswig at the time of its reunification with Denmark in 1920. In that tense national situation, however, there was a tendency to see everything through national lenses. Even fairly neutral architecture could be called German or Danish, or even both at the same time. In his book about national currents in the architecture of South Jutland 1850–1940 Christian Kaatmann cites the following example: Around 1900 it was fashionable to make façades with grey-and-white cement surfaces and bands or sections in red masonry. Although the style was used by everyone regardless of their national persuasion, posterity has singled it out as decidedly "Prussian". yet this is not how it was perceived by the German authorities, which justified the order to expel a Danish citizen in Haderslev on the grounds that he had "demonstratively had [his] house painted red and white, that is to say, in the Danish colours". In reality, however, he had just shaped his façade in keeping with the latest fashion (Kaatmann 1988:53).

After the plebiscite in 1920, when the Danes were able once again to take possession of North Schleswig, deliberate efforts were made to "Danicize" the cultural landscape of South Jutland. The state took over a series of large "crown estates" from the Prussians, and it was in good agreement with current Danish agricultural policy that it was parcelled into smallholdings. The new colonies of smallholders' houses were in themselves a new, very Danish feature in the landscape, but the architects also ensured that they looked Danish. They had to follow the norms of "Bedre Byggeskik", with red tiled roofs, avoiding tin roofs and stud constructions, since they were both ugly and German! (Kaatmann 1988:111–113; Solvang 1978).

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Notes

1 In Danish the name of the old Danish duchy is spelt Slesvig; here I have chosen the German spelling which is current in international contexts. When the boundary was being drawn in 1920 the area was divided into a Danish

North Schleswig (or South Jutland) and a German South Schleswig, which is part of the Land of Schleswig-Holstein.

2 Thomas S. Kuhn, in his book about scientific revolutions (Kuhn 1962) claims that any science will develop into a "normal science", which for a period is all-prevailing, governed by a paradigm (a set of generally accepted assumptions), indicating what is worth researching and which methods may be used.

3 Some ethnologists use "life-mode" as a broad and rather imprecise term for the daily life and patterns of activity of a particular group (see P. O. Christiansen 1980:31–34). For Thomas Højrup, on the other hand, "life-mode" is an analytical concept which plays a crucial part in the "structural life-mode analysis" that he and his pupils developed in the 1980s and expanded in the 1990s into a "theory of state and life-mode" (T. Højrup 1984, 1995).

4 In recent decades the literature on the "consumer culture" of modern society has grown enormously. Here I can only refer to a couple of the best surveys which put the extensive literature in perspective. Mike Featherstone put together a series of his theoretical articles in one volume entitled *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (Featherstone 1991). Don Slater's *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Slater 1997) is more systematic. In my view, however, the most rewarding introduction is Daniel Miller's *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1987); although it deals primarily with modern consumer culture, it also provides a general theoretical survey of the study of material culture.

5 These reflections on artefact studies are a condensed version of some sections in the introduction to my book on the cultural history of things (Stoklund 2003).

6 Two other examples of the continuation into modern times of earlier farm studies (which stopped around 1850) should be mentioned: Odense City Museum's survey of agricultural buildings 1850–1940 (Hedegaard & Myrtue 1997) and the National Museum's investigations of selected farms in Djursland and Salling (J. H. Nielsen *et al.* 1998).

7 These two examples are discussed in chapter 4, "Gårdyper og boligformer" in Stoklund 2003.

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Tools for the Electronic Frontier

Artefacts and Associations in IT Business

By Robert Willim

New gadgets and systems are launched with high frequency in the IT (information technology) business. Moreover, few other sectors have been permeated by such loud rhetoric about the power for change and the revolutionary innovation inherent in the new products. I will therefore discuss here how a series of artefacts became important for cultural processes in a Swedish IT company during a turbulent period in industry – a period that was known, among other things, as "the new economy".

I will proceed from a business activity that was presented as innovative and situated at the front line of commercial and technical development. The company was thus said to belong to a new economic era, and tried to conjure up an image of an imaginary landscape that could be called the electronic frontier.[1] It was a near future that was about to be entered. This future could be reached with the aid of a number of artefacts, including various forms of electronics. I will look at how the electronics, together with rhetorical images of a desired future, were combined in what I call a shared field of associations, which may be viewed as a collection of cultural conceptions shaped by both rhetoric and material practices.

The material on which the article is based comes from an ethnographic study of the company Framfab in the period from 1999 to 2001. The study also resulted in my doctoral dissertation dealing with the conditions in the company and in the new economy (Willim 2002). In my fieldwork I focused on one of the company's offices, called the Ideon office because it was located in the Ideon Science Park in Lund. I interviewed employees and studied activities in the office. I took part in various company-related events and looked at how Framfab was presented to the surrounding world. I also studied how the new economy and the IT industry were described and manifested in the mass media, at trade fairs, and in company and product presentations.

The New Economy and The Electronic Frontier

In the last years of the twentieth century, it was said that we in the Western world had entered a new economic era, the new economy (cf. Kelly 1999; *Kulturella Perspektiv* 3/2001; Thrift 2001). It was a time when new economic laws were to prevail, particularly arising from the potential that could be offered by network-linked electronics.

Work in trade and industry, according to many influential voices, would now be different. One of these voices was that of Kevin Kelly, a key person in the rhetoric about the new economic reality. In the book *New Rules for the New Economy: Ten Radical Strategies for a Connected World* he summed up some of the guidelines for a future economy based on electronic networks, a network economy (cf. Evans & Wurster 1999:13):

> This new economy represents a tectonic upheaval in our commonwealth, a far more turbulent reordering than mere digital hardware has produced. The new economic order has its own distinct opportunities and pitfalls. If past economic transformations are any guide, those who play by the new rules will prosper, while those who ignore them will not. We have seen only the beginnings of the anxiety, loss, excitement, and gains that many people will experience as our world shifts to a new highly technical planetary economy.
>
> This new economy has three distinguishing characteristics: It is global. It favors intangible things – ideas, information, and relationships. And it is intensely interlinked. These three attributes produce a new type of marketplace and

society, one that is rooted in ubiquitous electronic networks (Kelly 1999:1f.).

Kelly stresses the significance of electronic networks, which he sees as the central concept around which our thinking and our economy will be organized. The network society that he creates images of is something that is approaching, emerging. IT companies and organizations which filled their activities and business rhetoric with ideas about the coming network society therefore seemed to be at some kind of front line, at what I call the electronic frontier.

A Swedish company around 2000 which placed great emphasis on being a part of the coming network economy was Framfab (a Swedish abbreviation for The Future Factory). During a few years the company grew from half a dozen people to a corporation with well over two thousand employees. The company was primarily to produce Internet applications and business solutions for companies such as Ericsson, Nike, and Volvo. Framfab used the slogan "Creating The Future", and tried in various ways to stand out as a pioneer. They tried to conjure up an image of their work being completely different from that of companies in the past, different from the old economy.

In a folder entitled *Framfab Formula* the company presented its graphic profile together with information about the orientation of the company. The folder was intended, among other things, as presentation material for new employees or for staff newly incorporated in the group. It was supposed to give a motivational image of what the quickly growing company worked with. In the introduction we can read that Framfab is geared to the network economy, that Framfab is working to be first, and therefore as a pioneer must create its own rules. The folder declares that there are no models for the new operations pursued by the company, so it has to set its own standards and design its own success (*Framfab Formula* 1999:3).

Framfab called itself a "fast company", and through its speed it represented the organizations that were expected to be successful in the coming network society. Speed and the network society were to be achieved with the aid of tools like computers and networked electronics.

Fields of Associations

To develop the reasoning about the significance of electronics at Framfab, a term launched by Lev Manovich may be useful. He speaks of *conceptual transfer* in his analysis of what he calls new media, which I prefer to call digital media. The most important of these media today is the computer. The cultural significance of digital media, according to Manovich, reaches beyond the situations where a user sits at a computer and tries to understand and use the technology. Since digital media have had such an impact on society, the concepts and distinctive features that characterize the media are also transferred to other areas of society. According to Manovich, this transfer takes place as

> cultural categories and concepts are substituted, on the level of meaning and/or language, by new ones that derive from the computer's ontology, epistemology, and pragmatics. New media thus act as a forerunner of this more general process of cultural reconceptualization (Manovich 2001:47).

It remains to be seen how correct Manovich is in his ideas about a broad cultural reconceptualization with an impact on society. At any rate, it may be noted that, in

certain contexts, the concept of the computer is more important for the understanding of processes and activities than in others. One such context was Framfab's Ideon office. The computer was a central artefact there. Obtaining a knowledge of its significance and peculiarities was related to an understanding both of the company's operations and of the employee's own role. Framfab's motto was "to acknowledge and challenge the unknown", and the unknown was presupposed to be found within the framework of the digital media. It was an electronic world, or a world in an electronic borderland which was to be explored by the workers in the company. Framfab held itself up as a pioneer. The new ground they broke was located within the electronic networks, at the electronic frontier. It can thereby be said that the world that was central for the work at Framfab was dominated by the concepts, preconditions, and distinctive features of digital media.

Framfab stressed the importance of high speed in its corporate rhetoric, and this was conceptually rooted in electronics. It called itself a fast company, using as its logotype the "fast forward" symbol known from different types of home electronics. The acceleration and the change advocated within Framfab was in itself dependent on electronics. It was with electronics and digital media that rapid progress could be achieved. Ideas about what the world was like, and what it could become, were linked to digital media and to the potential of computers. The basic features that characterized computers and the electronic systems of which they were part could thus be interpreted as also steering how an operation like Framfab, and ultimately the world as a whole, ought to function.

I do not want to view it solely as a conceptual transfer from digital media to the world as a whole, although some of the distinctive conceptual features of the digital media harmonized with societal processes during a period. Framfab's growth and the new economy's positive forecasts of accelerated processes, which would give us a better world, did not exclusively spring from conceptual transfers from digital media, but the phenomena were not isolated from each other either. During a certain period they ended up in a shared field of associations, which can thus be viewed as a collection of cultural notions shaped by rhetoric and material practices alike.[2] What the associations have in common is that they harmonize with each other. They make up a field of *conceptual congruity*.

Let us now look at how fields of associations arose at Framfab. They emerged in connection with the networked electronics that was the company's means of production. They arose in the way in which the work was organized and in the employees' ideas about Framfab and the future. In addition, however, a number of simple artefacts, rather unusual in offices, were incorporated in the fields of associations.

The Lure of Plastic Bricks

It is autumn 1999. We are at Framfab's office in the Ideon Science Park in Lund. Lines of black tape form tracks across the light-coloured wooden floors of the office. They run between computer tables, groups of armchairs, and IKEA shelves. Some boxes contain a multitude of plastic blocks put together. It looks like Lego. It is Lego, but not the pieces I recognize from my childhood, the cubes and triangles and chubby little plastic men with primitive

claw grips and petrified, harmless smiles that never disappeared no matter what you did to them. The kind of Lego gathered in boxes and standing on shelves in the office belongs to a different category of product known as Mindstorms. The product is the result of collaboration between Lego and MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). It consists of relatively advanced Lego kits which can be steered with the aid of computer-based software. The reason for Lego lying in a box at Framfab is that some of the people who work in the office have started a play project.

Lego can be linked to the way in which images of Framfab as a company were created. The Mindstorms components and the colourful Lego blocks in the box caught the attention of visitors when they came to the office. They attracted people. When the prime minister, Göran Persson, and the minister of trade, Leif Pagrotsky, visited Framfab in 1999, they stopped with interest beside the small pieces of plastic and half-finished Mindstorms robots. Andreas Carlgren from the Centre Party was also fascinated by the Lego blocks. They lay there in a box, a materialization of a playful attitude and IT activities like those reflected in Douglas Coupland's acclaimed book *Microserfs* (1995), where Lego is associated with young people in the IT business. In many respects, the Mindstorm props in the office harmo-nized with the image of innovative, deeply involved hackers.

The Lego pieces caught the attention of visitors like Göran Persson. They caused visitors' fantasies and associations to move to some extent in a predetermined direction. Lego, and especially an advanced category of product like Mindstorms, signalled a childlike curiosity and an innovative attitude that harmonized with the image of Framfab disseminated by newspapers and television. The blocks were like a discreet promise of playfully simple innovative products and growth. The pieces of Lego in their box became a motor that powered fantasies and images of the company. Through their ability to symbolize and steer associations, they fitted the placing of Framfab in various media, particularly as a backdrop to politicians' encounter with the young company.

The Lego Mindstorms project was an example of how the office was simultaneously a playroom. Those who started it all and brought the Lego blocks to Framfab were moreover working on a project for which Lego was not wholly unimportant. The work and play on the project led to the product known as Brikks (see www.brikks.com). Brikks is a kind of web portal developed out of a product that Framfab designed for the telecom company Ericsson. There are links between Brikks and Lego.

Modularity

Lev Manovich has pointed out the basic features and some essential principles of digital media. Digital media, according to Manovich, are characterized by *modularity*, which means that objects within the framework of the media consist of (more or less) independent parts. These parts are discrete, that is, separate, units. The parts of digital objects consist in turn of smaller discrete parts, and so on, all the way down to bits (binary digits), the basic building blocks of digital media, or Manovich's new media (Manovich 2001:31).

The product Brikks, which Framfab started to develop at the end of the 1990s, is a platform for delivering digital content and services. It is supposed to be adaptable to

different types of technologies: computers, personal digital assistants, cell phones, and so on. Brikks is based on a modular structure. The product is built up of a number of discrete parts intended to make things easier for user and developer alike. Brikks is thus in line with one of the central features of digital media: modularity.

A computer, like most other digital media, is a highly complex artefact. Using modular solutions is a way to simplify the use and the development of the technology. As a stage in this simplification it may be necessary to have models to think with. In the development of Brikks, something physical and material was therefore used as an aid to thought, to pinpoint what was going on under the shell of the digital equipment. This physical and material aid was Lego.

Lego is a concept that harmonizes in large measure with the modularity of computers. Lego blocks are discrete modules that can be clicked together to make larger objects. Lego was thus an excellent conceptual tool for thinking with, especially during the development of Brikks, which emphasized the modularity of digital media.

The link between Lego and computers, as I have mentioned, was made explicit in the novel *Microserfs* by the American author Douglas Coupland. The book is a fictional account of a bunch of young people on the west coast of the USA who first work together at Microsoft's office in Seattle, and who then start a company of their own farther south, in California. Lego plays a central part in the book. The plastic toy is crucial for the development of a program called *Oop!*, a kind of software Lego. Coupland's *Oop!* was not found at the Ideon office or in the development of Brikks, but another oop was. The name that Coupland had used for the software Lego product in the book was not chosen at random or because it sounds funny. In programming contexts the abbreviation OOP stands for Object-Oriented Programming. The object orientation in this type of programming is based on a modular concept and is thus linked to the modularity of computers. Oop is a central feature of much of program development, including Brikks. Within the oop framework, the modularity of computers makes it easy to reuse previously created objects. Discrete parts can be selected and incorporated in new objects. In conceptual terms this is like Lego. Building with Lego means using prefabricated bricks which can be combined, within some limits, into various creations.

The Modular and Playful Enterprise

The link between computers and Lego is an example of how fields of associations and conceptual congruities have arisen. In the form of modularity there is a common denominator between the different types of objects. The modularity was also found at an organizational level in Framfab.

The Framfab group consisted of different "cells", which were quite simply the different offices in the group. Each cell consisted of about fifty people divided into a number of projects. The idea of the cells was that they would be relatively independent units. The organization thus consisted of a number of components put together in the form of cells, a kind of modular organization. These cells were also in a way prefabricated. Various smaller companies were bought up by Framfab, becoming the nucleus of new cells within the Framfab group. It was a form of growth whereby new offices and

small companies were quickly integrated in the group, like Lego bricks assembled on a green plastic base. Different colours made it a colourful whole. Framfab's growth was in large measure modular, like a Lego structure that just got bigger and bigger. Several companies in the same business as Framfab, for example, Adcore, Cell Network, and Icon Medialab, also represented rapid growth through the purchase of smaller companies. Through its emphasis on the cell concept, however, Framfab stood out with its modular organization.

The significance of modularity in Framfab resembles a dynamic within organizations described by Karin Knorr-Cetina (1999). She sees how knowledge emerges in a combination of social relations and encounters with the distinctive features of the objects that are crucial for the work of the organization (see Strannegård & Friberg 2001:60; cf. Salomonsson 2001). Modularity here is a shared feature generating a feeling of concord.

This type of congruity between the characteristics of artefacts and objects and ideas about reality recurred in several contexts. Framfab focused on what would happen in the new network society. It was therefore not the old desktop computers standing isolated in homes and offices that were the technology of the future; instead success would be gained with the aid of future network-connected electronic equipment. There was congruity between how Framfab as an organization profiled itself *vis-à-vis* several older companies and how new generations of digital technology were in contrast to earlier technology.

A desktop computer with an operative system like Windows had for years had a graphic interface consisting of a hierarchical file system – a structure of folders, each containing more folders, and so on. This visual way of representing information had been popularized on Apple computers in the 1980s and then become increasingly common. It created the illusion that reality could be reduced in a logical way, whereby every object had a distinct, well-defined place. In the 1990s, as more and more computers were connected to the Internet, a different way of organizing data became meaningful. The mainly relational structure was then based on hyperlinks. The World Wide Web is based on a non-hierarchic system of links between objects in which it is not clear which is the most important. Through the hyperlinks it is presupposed that any object can be linked to any other object (Manovich 2001:16).

There is a congruity here between the form of the hyperlink structure and the way in which the Ideon office was organized. Moreover, old rigid corporate structures could be compared with the earlier hierarchic file system.[3] I am not saying that those who worked on Internet products at the Ideon office had just been conceptually influenced by the structure of the Internet. What is interesting is the correspondence between the non-hierarchical and the dynamic relations in digital network settings and what the organization, the work, and the human relations looked like in the office. In a way, Framfab reflected itself in the distinctive features that characterized the digital settings which they created and hoped would dominate in the future. It was with hyperlinks that the office was to be organized rather than in a hierarchic structure.[4] The network replaced the hierarchy as the main metaphor for understanding the IT world of which Framfab was a part.

The conceptual agreement with the pattern of electronic networks in the office was noticeable in the vague position structure of the staff and in how projects in the office were organized in a relatively free way. Moreover, most employees were involved in extensive electronic networks of mailing lists, discussion groups, and chat rooms which reached outside the office and even the corporation. These networks could be important for the work in Framfab, since important work-related information and knowledge was passed on in the networks. There were no watertight bulkheads between the employees in the office and their acquaintances, who could very well be working for rival companies. It was just a matter of keeping the information in the different channels separate. Details about products and assignments, for example, could not be discussed with acquaintances working for other companies, but other computer- and job-related matters could. The work for Framfab was thus an integral part of the employees' lives, which led to difficulty in drawing clear boundaries.

This difficulty was also reflected in the blurring of the boundaries between work and play in the company. The equipment that dominated the Framfab office in various ways aroused associations with playfulness. Most work stations were decorated with various types of objects, with everything from Linux penguins to Star Trek dolls and old video games. Moreover, Framfab's most essential tool, the computer, could in itself evoke associations with play. Several of the fundamental parts of the graphical interface in programs like Microsoft Windows consisted of colourful components. Various small icons for folders, recycle bins, search tools, and the like made the graphical work environment on the screen anything but serious and solemn. More producers than Microsoft have chosen to design their software to stimulate a cheerful mood. Apple's operative system Mac OS, for example, is if anything, even more colourful than Microsoft's. When launching the OS X operative system at the start of 2001, Apple wrote on its website: "The desktop is your work (or play) surface and retains the behavior you are used to, which eases the transition to MAC OS X" (www.apple.com).

The boundary between work and leisure could be blurred when the same computer was used for both work and play. A Framfab employee could sit at the computer feeding in data, analysing, viewing and manipulating pictures, listening to music, searching for information, creating and using websites, dealing in stock, playing games, and so on. All this at the computer, on the same screen, with the same mouse and keyboard and the same software: a web browser, a search engine, a series of commands such as cut, copy, and paste (Manovich 2001:66).

The office itself was a place where the boundary between work and leisure was supposed to be erased. The company's equipment and premises could be freely used for recreation. Employees were also encouraged to bring along friends and loved ones to the workplace. Parallel projects – activities not directly linked to the company's production – were affirmed at the office. It was even envisaged that there should be a time margin in the operations so that there would be room for play during working hours, but this proved to be a rather optimistic idea. If one wanted to have projects on the side, it could mean long hours in the office.

The theme of play was thus present at

Framfab. The dividing line between work and leisure became invisible, erased by the very tools of the job with their playfulness. The Lego Mindstorms project was another example of how the workplace was simultaneously a playroom.

Through the Fields of Associations to the Future

Companies like Framfab tried to conjure up feelings that the work was going in the right direction: towards the coming network society. Visions emerged in the congruity that could be experienced between notions of a trend of development and the properties of the artefacts and objects that were central for the operations. The playfulness, the quickly built-up modular units, and the flat network organizations were phenomena which could be connected to the company's means of production, the networked computers, and to the company's organization and operations.

During the time when companies like Framfab had the wind in their sails, and their business ideas and operations were viewed favourably by investors and customers, the conceptual correspondences of the fields of associations were an asset. They created a kind of flow in the organization. They could conjure up a gut feeling that the work was quite simply right. The company sailed on towards the electronic frontier. Jump on board the Framfab ship, the future lies ahead!

The merry journey lasted a couple of years. When the recession in the new economy gained momentum in 2000 and dotcom companies like Framfab were decimated or went bankrupt, however, there was little that could help against the growing aversion of the market. In the years immediately following the stock-market rally of the new economy around the young IT companies, information technology and electronics were associated by most investors with the business practices in all the dotcom companies that had collapsed. New images emerged. Maybe the playfulness of the new economy was not such a good thing after all? The playfulness could be regarded as naivety, the quick young companies as puerile. Perhaps modularity also had some negative connotations? A modular organization like Framfab could be viewed as an unstable structure, like a hastily built tower of Lego blocks which toppled over when it grew too tall.

So what happened to the electronic frontier? It is still there. Enticing, just out of reach.[5] When it comes to electronics and digital media, the development of new products has not in any way decreased because of the dotcom crash and the derailing of the new economy. New fields of associations emerge in connection with new technology. Users' practices and ideas about their artefacts blend with different players' business rhetoric and images of the future.

Despite the economic setback, digital media have not declined in importance; on the contrary. It is therefore essential to develop cultural research into these electronic artefacts and the processes that arise in connection with them. With the ethnological tradition of studying material culture, coupled with the application of new analytical approaches to material culture, conditions are good for undertaking analyses of the world of digital media. Might it not even be conceivable that there is a possibility for analytical cross-fertilization between different empirical fields within ethnology? For instance, what do the insights gained

from studies of painted wall-hangings and household implements tell us about how people use digital media, and vice versa? It is perhaps in the unexpected encounters between different empirical fields that great scientific potential can lie concealed.

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Notes

1 The term *the electronic frontier* was claimed in large measure by the Electronic Frontier Foundation (www.eff.org), which fights for the right to spread information freely over the Internet. The new frontier is likened in the rhetoric to the American West, with allusions to how settlers and trailblazers in the nineteenth century explored and laid claim to new territories in America. I do not link my argument directly to the EFF, but it is worth pointing out that several of the companies in the new economy liked to lean on the liberal rhetoric used by organizations like the EFF.

2 Fields of associations can be compared with a term used by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai. He talks of how "imagination can become social practice" (Appadurai 1997:31). Imagination may be regarded as an unproductive flight from reality, but it can also be viewed as crucial for the way in which people approach reality. This means that imagination can stand in more or less direct relation to what people do.

3 The hierarchic file system was still used in computers at the office, but the crux of my argument is that the hyperlink organization was a later invention, and to some extent a replacement for the hierarchy on the computers' isolated desktops.

4 If there was any ranking system it was non-formal, based more on the competence-based ranking of, say, the hacker movement (cf. Raymond 2001).

5 I have written an article (Willim 2003) about how the IT business is in large measure concerned with conjuring up images of products that are soon to be – vaporware. This business practice may be seen as part of a broader cultural dynamic in which various players try to stake claims to the future.

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Happiness in a Box
The Magic of Packaging at McDonald's
By Helene Brembeck

That McDonald's is a place where hamburgers are served is a pretty banal remark and at the same time not quite true. McDonald's is rather a place where packaging of various kinds is served – food and toys enclosed in packages. The merchandise meets people in its wrappings, and people meet the merchandise via the packaging (Cochoy 2004). Although the company has an ambition to reduce packaging at various stages in the distribution chain, the management of Swedish McDonald's argues that it is impossible to make any savings closest to the customer.[1] The risk of reducing the experience is considered too great. The packaging is an important part of the experience production, the argument goes, an extension of the food. In the customers' meeting with the food at the counter, packaging is indispensable. Moreover, it has to be considered that hamburgers are excellent packaging in themselves, the meat and lettuce wrapped in easy-to-grasp pieces of bread. The idea behind the burger, as well as the hotdog, is that it should be possible to eat while standing and without extra utensils such as porcelain and cutlery. What is the magic, the extra value, that the packaging affords, and that would have been lost without it?

The management maintains that the reason why packaging is indispensable in the meeting with the customer is that McDonald's sell something more than food; they sell values "with the food as a natural carrier". There is every reason to take this statement seriously. The food cannot speak for itself. It needs the packaging. Just as the building needs the golden arches to become a McDonald's restaurant and the hamburger needs its wrapping to become a Big Mac, the burger, fries and toy need a box to become a Happy Meal.

Happy Meal as a Gift

"Happiness in a box" is the message you receive when you click on at the Happy Meal icon on the website of Swedish McDonald's. The red box with its yellow handle and white text was introduced to Sweden in 1979. Initially it was called the "tasty and fun box", again emphasizing the importance of the packaging.

Wrapping something in a package means dissociating it from the production process and standardization in order to personalize it. The money, the purchase, the standardization are washed away. From the rows of identical items, produced in the same way, one is chosen, singularized, and made into my personal property (Carrier 1994). Put into a package, the artefacts are transformed into a gift, a present just for me. This could be considered as a part of McDonald's attempt to create a homely atmosphere. At the restaurant everybody should be like a big family, everybody should be met with love and be friends. And what could be a better way of showing friendship and love in a family context than by gift giving? The red boxes are McDonald's gift to all children, a way to show how much they care, and to show sincerity and authenticity. "Our guests must feel that we care at heart," says the marketing manager of Swedish McDonald's on the website about the new marketing concept "Big Love" (www.mcdonalds.se).

Karol Ann Marling (2000) points out that fancy boxes were common gifts at the beginning of last century. The turn-of-the-century magazines were full of instructions for how to make small containers of various kinds to give away as Christmas presents: scent cases, needle boxes, match holders, Bible covers etc. (Marling 2000:10–11). Today too, most of us as children have

probably tried to remake a matchbox into a nice container for tiny things using a pressed autumn leaf and cling film. The Happy Meal box is also a present in itself, the marketing manager states. Often it is possible to make something out of it with the aid of a pair of scissors and glue. The Muppets were issued in Sweden in 2003, in a Happy Meal box that with one simple operation could be made into a theatre, where Kermit, Fozzie Bear, Miss Piggy and the other Muppet figures could play their show with the help of the child.

Marling also calls attention to the fact that the ability of the package to dissociate the purchase from the production process by transforming it into a gift is not enough to explain the magic of packaging. This reasoning assumes an artificial division between the (good) home and the (bad) marketplace. The wrapped gift is in fact often a compound of home and market and it is exactly this mixture that is interesting to study, Marling argues (2000:20). The production of wrapping material to personalize the merchandise, such as paper, ribbons and labels, is itself a large-scale industry; in other words, material very much part of the market is what is used to make the merchandise personal. Likewise, the Happy Meal could be conceived of as a hybrid phenomenon in this respect; the personal, familiar gift giving takes place in a commercial setting, where the company answers for the wrapping of the present from the company that the parent buys and gives to the child. This way the singularization happens step by step: the personnel produces the gift by wrapping it up – the parent buys the gift – the parent presents it to the child – the child receives it and unwraps it. At each step the materiality of the Happy Meal is altered and turned into something new.

Inscribed Child Subjectivities

The understanding of the Happy Meal box and its relation to the child might be enlarged with the aid of Latour-inspired French sociologist Madeleine Akrich (1994). According to her, a package (or any object) could be understood as a "script" or a "scenario" of the company's vision (or prediction) of the world. Note, not a script in terms of an idea to be interpreted by the receiver, but in terms of a design or blueprint inscribed on the object, its shape and conceived handling. The design of the package defines actors with specific tastes, competencies, motives, aspirations etc., and it presupposes a certain kind of e.g. moral, technical and scientific development of society. The package is thus designed to be handled by a child with certain preferences and competencies that is part of a cultural and social context of a specific type. It is designed to be part of a certain kind of scenario, to connect to the child certain ways, to facilitate certain kinds of child subjectivities. Which child subjectivities will actually be produced is not at all presupposed, but produced in the meeting between the package and the child. It is all a matter of studying the interaction between the inscribed user and the real user, what happens between the world inscribed on the object and the world as it appears at the moment of use, Akrich argues (1994:209). Or in even more Latourian terms: which potentials and qualities of both parts are released and linked together when they meet. Objects allow certain actions and render some actions impossible, just as the context contains certain limitations and possibilities.

The Radiant but Obedient Child

Although children and their families were not the main target group for McDonald's in Sweden at the start in 1973, Swedish McDonald's too "has always been a place where children are allowed to be children", I am told at my visit to the head office, but also that children at the very start in 1973 "were looked upon as customers, just like adults", which of course is not the same.

That children should be children is part of McDonald's child policy. At the basis lies a conception of children as special, different, but also subordinate to adults. Even if the latter is implicit and not particularly emphasized, I would still argue that this understanding was a part of the McDonald's cosmology of the 1970s, at least in Sweden. This could be compared to the Swedish child-rearing ideology from this time of "free upbringing". The ideal was democratic and anti-authoritarian children able to fight the world's injustice, yet never bossy, unruly children. It was equally important to be attentive and considerate (Brembeck 1992). This special but subordinate child was part of the inscription on the Happy Meal box at the launch in 1979. The overall representation referred to was a Rousseauan, playing, natural child, albeit with hedonistic overtones: that play demands playthings (Kline 1993). Play and laughter are a part of childhood, and that is why children should be able to play and enjoy themselves at the McDonald's restaurants, was the company's (implicit) motto. There was, however, from the very start a competing inscription, also in Sweden: that children are customers just like everybody else, meaning, I suppose, that children, generally speaking, are special and subordinate to adults, but in the role as customers equally as important as adults. This liberal market-based ideology was overlayered by the inscription of the child as innocent. It is, however, important to point out this ambivalence, although it did not seem to cause much problem in those days.

That the Happy Meal box presupposes unchanged generational order is evident from the fact that the box as such constructs a giving parent, presenting the child with the gifts of consumer culture, and a receiving child. Yet another subordinating inscription is the surprise effect. The child is supposed to open the box with expectation and be overjoyed with surprise, and it is this surprise effect and the thrill it creates that constitutes a great part of the value of the Happy Meal box. One can assume that it was this expectation or inscribed surprise effect that contributed to the fact that the first Happy Meal toys were not particularly remarkable, tiny plastic objects that you could hardly do anything with except put them on a shelf or in a box.

The representation of the child joyously opening presents is the oldest convention in toy adverts, as well as stressing the feelings of gratitude that will be directed at the giver/the parent, when the child opens its present, Ellen Seiter argues, especially common in the 1930s, when happy children opening their Christmas presents constituted the most common representation in toy advertisements (Seiter 1993:55). Giving children presents was a way to create happiness and a spirit of community in the family, but also a way to confirm the prevailing generational order. The child is considered a child in an obviously subordinate position in relation to adults: a predictable child, glad about little things, a child whose prime responsibility it is to rejoice at gifts from adults.

Other parts of the McDonald's child concept from the seventies and eighties, when the Happy Meal box was introduced, also rest on this conception of pure joy, but a joy, I would argue, that like the Christmas-present-opening scenarios from the thirties, is founded on an idea about an unchanged generational order between parent and child. One example is what in Swedish is called "the sea of balls", a small room filled with plastic balls where the children can jump around. The "sea of balls" was introduced at Swedish McDonald's restaurants in 1985, inspired by similar rooms at IKEA. In the "sea of balls" the children are supposed to throw themselves, physically experience and express play and childhood, be enchanted by fun and be carried away by the "flow" of play (Csikszentmihalyi 2002). But at the same time this activity takes place in a clearly defined part of the restaurant, designated for children and also glazed-in, which creates a panoptical effect and allows a free view for adult gazes. In this demarcated, panoptical room, the children are allowed to romp and play freely, yet all the time supervised by their parents. The generational order is not called into question.

The production of radiant but obedient children via the inscription on the Happy Meal box is, however, only possible if a number of other conditions in the user situation back up this perception. And it may be questioned whether all the "devices, inscriptions, forms and formulae" (Latour 1999:17), required to create this happy but yet subordinate or at least democratic child, still work. Different entities have changed shape and quality, they present different potentials, and the finished product is different. In the 1980s and even more manifestly in the 1990s, the debate about the unruly child taking over has become more and more prominent (e.g. Frykman 1998). McDonald's representation of the child, as visualized for example in television commercials, has often been highlighted as a proof and sometimes as a cause. Joe L. Kincheloe, for example, argues in a critical article that the company's television depiction of itself to children is as a happy place where "what you want is what you get" (Kincheloe 1998:254). He also argues that children are considered as consumers in training, and this is, I suppose, the meaning of the statement that "children are customers just like adults", that is, that children as consumers are as important as adults. Kincheloe furthermore argues that McDonald's tries to separate parents and children by setting up an oppositional culture for kids in television commercials, casting no adults and depicting groups of children making adults the butt of their jokes or sharing jokes the adults don't get (Kincheloe 1998:256). This might be regarded as a way of laying stress upon the sentimentalized view of the innocent child in a world of his/her own, but clandestinely turning the generational order upside down. Suddenly the happy child has become a child who knows best, definitely trying and at times even pretty insufferable.

Increased Pleasures

In recent years, something has happened to the Happy Meal box and its content. The times of the small, simple plastic toys, are long gone. In "Barbie and Hot Wheels Happy Meal" from 1998, Barbie had four different outfits to change between and the Hot Wheels cars could spark, spin and "roar their engines". When Hot Wheels turn up again in 2002, this time in combin-

ation with Diva Stars, the cars are accompanied by different parts of a car track that can be put together to make a linked race track. To the yellow car belong, for example, a curved piece and a start device for pushing the car away with the aid of a small button. Diva Stars not only have various outfits to change between. They also have movable arms and legs and a mechanical screw enabling them to move their heads and blink their eyelids.

The increasing interactivity is even more noticeable in the "Jungle Book 2 Happy Meal", launched in the winter of 2003 to coincide with the release of the Disney film by that name. The offer consisted of eight different toys in the shape of the main characters of the film, such as Mowgli, Bagheera and Kaa, that appeared in the boxes for three weeks. All of the toys had small buttons and sticks the child was invited to manipulate. If, for example, you press the button on Mowgli, he spins around the branch of a tree he is holding on to and if you fill the hole in the log Baby Elephant is standing beside with water, you can make him spray water by pushing the button on his trunk. Besides, all eight toys can be put together to model a large tree.

The concept of several small toys, each one interactive, that can be assembled to a large toy moved to a new and more advanced level when "Snoopy Happy Meal" was introduced late in the autumn of 2002. The various parts of Snoopy, such as head, body and feet, contained not just a "fun game" each, but could also be assembled to make a giant-Snoopy, where the integral parts were no longer detectable. A true hybrid had been created. Giant-Snoopy seems to have been an immediate success since this offering after only a couple of months was followed by the robot B.E.N. in four separate parts from the Disney film *Treasure Planet*. As this article is being written, the Happy Meal offering is "Spy Gadget Ralph", a spider-like character from Disney's *Spy Kids 2*, which in a clever way can be put together using six different "spy gadgets", such as binoculars, notebook and sunglasses etc.

The little red Happy Meal boxes with their simple illustrations are seen more and more seldom; instead the boxes come decorated with colourful pictures of the toys inside. The increasing hybridity of the toys also leads to their tendency to grow out of their packages, and the boxes are often replaced with spacious decorated bags. One could question why Happy Meal boxes are needed at all, when every one already knows what's inside. Probably first of all because they bestow some dreamy and fabulous quality on the artefacts; their character as commodities and their connection to monetary transactions is veiled if they are put in a nice package. The package also makes it possible to cling to the family illusion and the love theme of the restaurants, that the Happy Meal is a gift from the company to the children, a reminder of how much McDonald's consider and care about each individual child. But it is also about enhancing the experience value. The packages often show the toys in action; they are not dead things, but alive and acting in magic worlds, to which the child is allowed entrance with the help of the toy. This is about utilizing intertextuality, the fact that images move between various media, a Disney film, a T-shirt, a mug, a Happy Meal box etc. (Sparrman 2002:149ff). Packaging is thus co-producer of the commercial world of images where children are at home. The Happy Meal packaging of the new millennium

presents other potentials via images of things in changing shapes and sizes, they carry inscriptions of another child, and they presuppose another kind of meeting with another kind of child in a new kind of world. The surprise effect as inscription is becoming vaguer. The package can be regarded as an extension of the content, a creator of extra value for the toys inside. The children of late modernity expect larger and more elaborate toys in their boxes. It is the symbolic value of the toy that is the most important thing and that has to be signalled already on the outside of the package.

The new inscription is of a media-wise child, familiar with the commercial world (Buckingham 2000). A rather choosy child, not easily satisfied, a demanding child that adults must make an effort to please. The level of what counts as an experience is constantly raised; bigger toys, in several parts, that can be handled in ever more refined ways. A child that is more equal to adults, no longer living in the protective cocoon of the home, but in the same commercialized, medialized society as their parents – a child with the right to consume experiences, the right to consume his or her subjectivity.

The Happy Meal boxes and the "sea of balls" no longer produce radiant but obedient children. Both the child and the artefacts are different. The toys are exposed everywhere, the child can choose any toy s/he wants, the toys are sold separately. The surprise effect is no longer enough, the symbolic value of the toy is exposed, and the bags increase in size. The sea of balls is transformed into a threatening free zone where the children run riot with their desperate parents shut out and with small possibilities of making contact with their children through the thick glass windows. The room no longer acts panoptically, but as an adult-free zone. The parents cannot possibly squeeze themselves through the small entrance hole to intervene in the children's unruly play. The children take over as the adults watch.

No wonder many adults regard the market as a frightening and strange sphere, standing in opposition to the home and the school where the good socialization is suppose to take place, a sphere where other child subjectivities are created and where the generational order is overthrown.

Part of the explanation can be the ambivalence among adults about the combination of children and consumption, the historian Gary Cross argues (2002). Western parents consider children as creatures to be protected from commercialism and, at the same time, as recipients of consumer spending. Children serve as guarantors of innocence, naivety, simplicity, and the sanctities of private life and as valves of adult desire to consume, Cross maintains. At the same time as the innocence of childhood should be preserved, parents spend for the sake of evoking delight in children to meet parental needs, but also with the effect of awakening desire in children. Merchandisers quickly learn to exploit the youthful desire, provoking anger among adults/parents, wanting to maintain children's "wondrous innocence", Cross concludes. Giant-Snoopy can be conceived of as McDonald's way to stretch the limits of producing the desiring child. Snoopy is in fact a good example of an attempt to create desiring children at the same time as withholding childhood innocence, rarely symbolized better than by Snoopy and his blanket. What came

first, what is the cause and what is the effect, the discourse or the changing toys, is not possible and not even meaningful to speculate about. At the very least one has to consider the interaction between the child, the parent and the toy in a gradually changing scenery of possibilities and impediments, material as well as discursive.

Play as Extra Value

Perhaps it is this anger, or at least hesitation among many Swedish parents, that is the reason for the recent development. Maybe the child script produced by McDonald's during the late nineties has given birth to a child that is regarded as too fastidious, too spoilt and too competent to agree with a Swedish audience, a child regarded as having too many traits of the "cool child", that Cross (2002) argues has followed the child characterized by "wondrous innocence", a child script that needs to be supplemented by a design of a child defined as learning, growing, put in place in relation to adults with the aid of pedagogical games and activities.

The marketing manager argues that in Sweden "it has been considered that play value is not enough, something more is needed, some utility value, something causing an urge to learn". So it is play that has been focused on. A first example is "Learn for Life", in cooperation with the non-profit association "Movement for Reading", resulting in a Happy Meal with children's books, small booklets with covers, which were distributed in one and a half million copies to all the McDonald's restaurants in Sweden during the spring of 2001.

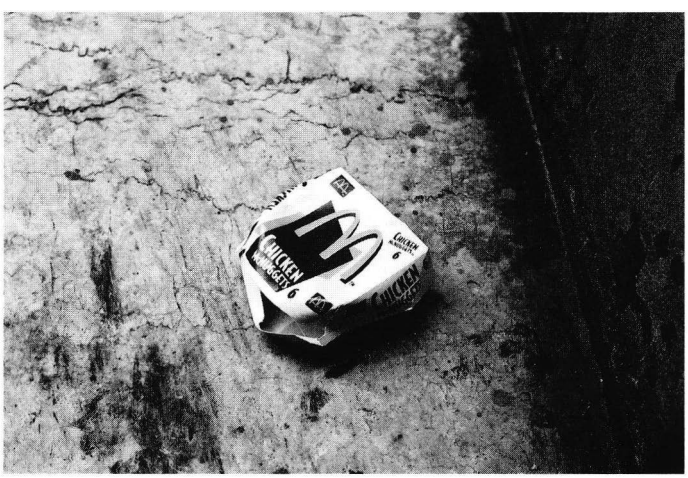
In 2002 the campaign was followed by "Play & Learn CD-ROM". During three weeks six educational CD-ROMs were included in the Happy Meal, with titles like "Maths", "Pre-school", "First Grade" and "English". CD-ROM Happy Meal was also an immediate success and during the autumn of 2002 it was later followed by "Clever and fun Happy Meal", consisting of six different activity books, teaching children "useful facts", such as how to make a kite and how to equip your bike in a fun way. McDonald's chooses to prolong new, supplementary values via the packages themselves. On the bags with the educational CD-ROM games, the words "Play & Learn" are repeated in large letters and the paper is filled with drawings seemingly made by children, all in order to elucidate and prolong the value of the disc. Another kind of child subjectivity is inscribed; another type of action is presupposed. The urge to learn is emphasized, as well as values such as curiosity, imagination, and creativity. The fanciful, creative child in the new knowledge society, in the new experience economy, is the ideal.

"It is not that play should be omitted, both play value and entertainment value should stay, but there has to be something more", the marketing manager comments. Utility value, learning, can be regarded as an extra value, a bonus. But it is equally important that aspects of learning do not become too prominent. Most important is experience value, and it is the "experience part" that is the most important thing to go in for in the years ahead, the marketing manager argues. Her vision of McDonald's is as a "real place in the world", an oasis where people can meet and have their food in peace and quiet and where fun things happen, where you might encounter Ronald McDonald performing tricks in his very

best mood and where you can experience fun (and instructive) activities like "tiger painting" "potato printing" and celebrating your birthday party. The children's birthday parties are marketed as "noisy, fun and at full speed", and in the spring of 2003 the new neatly gender-coded theme birthday parties "Princess and knight" and "Cowboys and Indians" were introduced on the website. Pedagogical values and the Swedish morality of moderation are absent in the marketing. "A birthday party at McDonald's is a way for you as a parent to make your child the centre of attraction, without reservation... The fact is that the restaurants arranging the parties are built just to make children have fun and feel at home!" the website blazons. And in the advertisement for "tiger painting" – painting the faces of children striped like tigers – parents are cautioned: "Mum and Dad are naturally welcome too, but they had better beware. It's a jungle out there!"

From this perspective Snoopy's script is a hybrid of the competent, learning, hedonistic child. Snoopy, B.E.N. and Spy Gadget Ralph demand a considerable skill to assemble, and the various extra activities could very well be called educational. In Snoopy's head there is a calculator and four pieces of various games, in the body there is a ball game and in the feet noughts and crosses. B.E.N. is accompanied by a whistle, a compass, a telescope and treasure maps. The Spy Gadget Ralph parts are shown to include, for example, binoculars, a generator and a pen for invisible ink.

Another type of child subjectivity is produced, scripts for a different kind of child in a different kind of world. Neither the democrat of the seventies, nor the hedonist of the nineties, but a creative, fanciful, lifelong-learning child, fitting the new experience economy like a glove, as either producer or consumer. A child that is developing his or her creativity and imagination with the help of the artefacts of consumer culture. A child consuming qualities and subjectivities. A child whose competencies and qualities are assemblages of consumer-culture artefacts. A child whose subjectivities demand McDonald's offerings to be realized.



1. From added value to waste. A McDonald's box thrown away in a street of Bologna, Italy. Photo: Magnus Mörck.

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Notes

1 This article is based on observations at McDonald's restaurants in Sweden and on interviews with the management of Swedish McDonald's conducted as a part of the project "Commercial Cultures from an Ethnological and Economic Perspective" at the Centre for Consumer Science (CFK) at Göteborg University, Sweden (www.cfk.gu.se). In an ambition to maintain the integrity of the informants as far as possible, I have chosen to give them the collective denomination "marketing manager", randomly provided with a female gender.

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www.macdonalds.se.

Second Skins

Function, Sensuality and the Gender Distinction in Technical Sportswear

By Petri Sipilä

Clothes are said to have two basic purposes. On the one hand, they protect the body; on the other, they function as a means of communication. A central purpose of this communication is to mark gender distinction. In sportswear, functionality is a fundamental property. However, demands set by the gender system can be seen as well. In this article I shall examine the development and growing popularity of sportswear from this angle. I ask whether functional needs in clothing have paved way for crossing gender borderlines and for unisex attire. Or, if not, what forms of manifestation the need to make the gender distinction may take on in changing situations.

I shall not even try to cover the entire range of sportswear. Instead, I shall focus on apparel that seems to be more controversial in this respect than others: clothes that are worn closest to the body.

The Technical Development of Sportswear

Rapid technical evolution of sportswear began quite late, when competitive sport became more and more professional, and science and technology become tools for improving results. With help from Adidas, East Germany was also a pioneer in the development of performance clothing. In addition, they made the Americans realize the importance of garments in the 1970s: East German swimmers won medals in thin, almost see-through swimsuits that in some cases were glued to the skin.

The development of synthetic fibres began in the 1940s. Du Pont registered its trademark Lycra in 1959. At first, this new elastic fibre was used mainly for women's underwear. From the 1970s Lycra and other elastic fibres were to a growing extent used for sportswear. From swimming, skiing, speed skating and cycling, Lycra made its move to the athletics stadium, where it became more and more popular from the mid-80s onwards.

The emergence of Lycra garments from the 1970s started a Lycra honeymoon among ordinary people too. At first, Lycra was used in swimwear, dance wear and gymnastics suits. They were more elastic and more body-hugging than clothes had ever been before. From dance studios, leggings and leotards found their way to discos and other places of entertainment. Only after that did they conquer athletics arenas.

Several new fibres and fabrics have emerged since then, and Lycra has been accompanied by other trade marks: CoolMax, Supplex, Gore-Tex etc. They were all developed in consideration of the demands of aerodynamics and better freedom of movement, and they were marketed with reference to their excellence in protecting the body from cold and wind, or their ability to transfer moisture from the skin. To put it briefly, these garments can make you feel good in performance.

Du Pont and other manufacturers of new fibres have made efforts to obtain scientific proof of the benefits of their inventions for athletes. According to research sponsored by Du Pont, athletes can improve their performance by 10–20% when using garments certified by "Lycra Power" (the new trade name used by Du Pont). The tests also showed that fatigue in strength, endurance and power can be reduced by wearing garments of this kind, and athletes were said to have increased the accuracy of their movements or body positioning in the tests. User comments found on the Internet

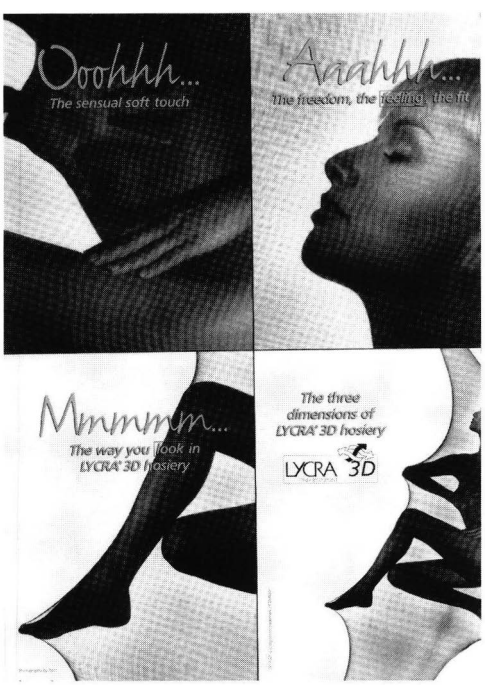
also confirm that a body-hugging costume giving a slight compression can provide better proprioception.

How Does It Feel?

A garment is a means of communication. Material that can be felt on the skin gives a physical sensation of being part of one's environment. Moisture, breeze and even other people's glances are part of the experience, of what the feeling of fabric intensifies. This is an aspect that has attracted little interest in academic research. Nor has the sensual experience of wearing certain garments or materials been a question that we would expect sports journalists to put to top athletes.

Women's underwear has been advertised by emphasizing softness and sensuality ever since these new man-made fibres began to be used for them. For men, however, technical sportswear or underwear is hardly ever advertised by stressing softness or other sensitive properties. Men are approached by stressing practical properties, such as functionality. In the gender system, the man's role has been to act as the bodyless counterpart, for others and for himself.

The Internet and its news groups have made discussions of sensuality and bodily matters available to everyone. Runners, cyclists and other athletes compare the pros and cons of different garments, materials and brands. Popular themes have also been the sensations that certain garments can give, how they feel on the skin. The Internet has given an opportunity for an anonymous exchange of opinions. That is why participants in these discussions do not even hesitate to talk about issues that men seldom talk to each other about face to face: the erotic side of sportswear, or the self-



1. Lycra 3D Hosiery. *Elle*, November 1997.
2. Caratti cycle accessories catalogue, 1995. Women's underwear has been advertised by emphasizing softness and sensuality. For men, however, sportswear and underwear are advertised by stressing their technical and functional properties.

consciousness that they may feel when being looked at in certain clothes.

Gender Distinction in Clothing

Clothing is an essential part of the gender system. Man's costume has traditionally been functional and it has expressed social position or power. Women's costume has, in turn, been a regulator of the male gaze – to catch it or to avoid it.

After having been controlled by men for so long, Western women have gained greater freedom to choose when to cover and when to uncover. Women have demanded a freedom to dress functionally and to put their figure on display if they want to do so. At the same time, however, they may complain of the inappropriate looks and comments they get when wearing revealing outfits in public. Furthermore, it has been argued that in many cases, sporting females get to the sports pages more probably because of their looks than their achievements.

It is probable that women's arrival in the sports grounds had a stimulating effect on the development of sports clothing. Unisex outfits are used in many sports, such as football, skiing, and snowboarding. However, much more apparent gender distinctions are made in some other sports. Ice dancing, for example, can be seen as a supporter of the gender order.

What is appropriate dress for men and for women depends on culture and it also keeps changing in the course of time. In Europe, leggings and stockings were widely worn by men from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. It was appropriate for men to show their figure at that time, while women had to hide their legs under long skirts or gowns. From the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, men wore tight trousers, because they were comfortable when riding.

Roughly, the gender order means that if something is appropriate for one sex, it is not so for the other. Against this background it is understandable that the early feminists' decision to wear trousers met with disapproval (see, e.g., McDowell 1992:161). After the invention of women's nylon tights, leggings in general begun to be thought of as a female piece of clothing. Today, men are cautious not to be considered effeminate.

Sport – a Strategy of Emancipation?

In Western culture, legislation or the church does not set strict rules regarding how we should dress. Still, there is a variety of norms considering clothing. Especially the borderline between genders is regulated by sanctions. Improper choice of attire may result in facing ridicule or ignorance. Feminists have raised the question of how women are often evaluated on the basis of their clothes. Less attention has been paid to the way men's choices are restricted. An example of this is the way a man's outfit can be belittled as effeminate.

In sports, it is acceptable to wear clothes that might be considered inappropriate in another context. Additionally, sport has paved way for approval of certain modes of dress even outside sports venues.

Sporting activities played a crucial part in liberating women from corsets and impractical long skirts in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe. Long skirts were impractical for riding and cycling, and there was a long struggle before bloomers or other riding garments could be considered decent.

However, costumes originally designed for sporting activities have become everyday clothes. This aroused disapproval in the 1800s, and sometimes it still does.

New elastic fabrics made clothes easy to wear and easy to care. Any piece of clothing that contained these fabrics in it was soon referred to as Lycra, a brand name that became "the fashion fabric of the decade" from the 1980s to early 1990s (*A Decade of i-Deas*, 1990). Suddenly, it was chic to wear Lycra cycling shorts with a jacket. A columnist in the *Daily Mail* wrote in 1997 that Lycra leggings are as liberating for women as the pill and the vote. In the same year, in *Cosmopolitan* magazine's birthday survey, Lycra was named the third most important innovation for women in the past 25 years. How about men?

The jogging boom in the 1970s and the mountain biking craze a decade later made new styles of sportswear appropriate for the streets. Was this the beginning of men's liberation in clothing? Certainly, there was a call for this kind of revolution. The Finns are said to have adapted the tracksuit as their everyday costume. During the hottest Lycra boom, men could enter cafeterias and business meetings wearing Lycra shorts.

Alexandra Buxton wrote in *Design* maga-

3. Lycra, "the fashion fabric of the decade", became macho in the 1980s. Lycra leggings were adopted by bodybuilders and climbers, as well as hard rockers in the music scene. An aerobics outfit inspired Twist Twist Erkinharju, the drummer of the Finnish Peer Günt group. *Soundi* 7/1987.

zine (August 1987) that Lycra became macho during the 1980s. Whether macho or not, Lycra leggings were adopted by body builders and climbers, as well as hard rockers in the music scene. Tights in bright colours provided an effective contrast to the masculine image.

Softer materials of new sportswear made it possible for men too to use comfortable clothes. However, the advertisements aimed at male consumers did not stress the comfort as much as the technical properties: breathable, light, functional.

There is no doubt men were also fascinated by the technical character of the new gear. Technical properties are highly visible in the marketing of cycling gear and clothes for winter sports. A long process of development has made technical sportswear comparable to other technical devices, such as cars, motorbikes and palm computers. Their high prices also play an important part in making them status objects.

Columnist Linda Sykes of the *Mountain Bike International* magazine made observations of her partner's relationship to cycling gear in 1996. It was quite OK that she bought him any other clothes, but not for cycling. He wanted to choose his cycling clothes himself. This gear was something that he never got tired of talk about with his mates – what to wear for a race and so on.

For men, dressing for a specific activity may turn into a ritual of customizing (Myntinen 2001) – as if the permission to feel comfortable or to show off your body should be earned by meeting the standards of correct apparel to the slightest detail. It is notable that there has been a much wider supply of, say, proper cycling gear for men than for women.

Eventually, it was technical sportswear that changed men into fashion slaves.

Fashion Overrides Function?

Yet, as it always happens in fashion, a hit becomes a turn-off. People became fed up with the gloss and the snug fit and the day-glo colours of clothing that was so popular until the mid 1990s. Increasing doubts arose especially about the suitability of tights for men. Tight-fitting and revealing outfits begun to be thought of as feminine. In several contexts, it could be heard from dancing boys that they were reluctant to wear tights in dance classes.

Even from the 1980s, heavy metal artists and other men in tights were occasionally ridiculed by some commentators. In the 1990s scientists and physicians joined the critics by giving men moralistic warnings of the risks of wearing too tight shorts: impotence or decrease of semen production could result.

More straightforward was *The Sun* in 1994 with a title "Real Men Don't Wear Lycra". The tabloid dressed seven men in Lycra shorts and asked for comments from them and their wives, girlfriends or mothers. However, the opinions didn't quite prove the title, or else half of the interviewed guys failed to pass as "real men". The article showed very well the general ambivalence to Lycra among men: the opinions varied from unreserved enchantment to definite repulsion. The same ambivalence can easily be found in the Internet discussions. While numerous cyclists and runners defend the superiority of Lycra in sports and leisure, other men keep condemning it as ugly or effeminate. Why does it unleash such strong emotions?

4. *The Sun* 9.6.1994. Men and body hugging clothes are a controversial combination: the tabloid suggested that "Real Men Don't Wear Lycra". However, not all of these men or their wives were so sure about that.

Lycra would make also men's life better by giving them greater comfort and allowing more freedom of movement. Supportive socks or tights are recommended for aeroplane passengers regardless of sex. Still, the gender order and fashion may dictate a different way of conduct.

An example of the shift of trends can be seen on beaches. In the 1930s men wore trunks or a swimsuit resembling a wrestling singlet. Women had more cover on them. In the twenty-first century, women may appear in a skimpy bikini or topless, but young boys feel the need to cover themselves with baggy shorts that reach below the knees. Trunks are not considered cool by the young.

Unlike sportswear, street fashion seems to ignore functionality. Tracksuits are widely used in baggy hip hop style, but low-hanging and extravagantly large trousers cannot be considered particularly practical in any sporting activity. In consumer society, new commodities are introduced to create new needs. Thus, fashion trends may have at least as much to do with the changes in sportswear styles as functionality. Further-

more, they obviously have something to do with the popularity and trendiness of different sports.

Aerobics was a product of the Lycra era: sport and the clothing industry were feeding each other's needs. A thong back was a must for a couple of years. Its function was probably as much erotic as it was practical. Obviously, it was not necessary for aerobics, because it was replaced by so-called jazz pants a couple of years ago, and now by baggy nylon pants. Perhaps the Lycra image also had something to do in getting men on their mountain bikes, as Richard Stanforth, co-founder of Saracen bicycles, has suggested (Bull 1991:102).

Today, it is cool to put on snowboarding clothes – not at all snug like Lycra, but even more technical and expensive. Lycra cycle shorts are still as good for cycling as they were before, but fashion slaves cannot imagine wearing them – at least not for the next few years. Instead, we see girls cycling in jazz pants, wearing clothes pegs in their legs.

Even though you may lose your street credibility in Lycra, many sports could not survive without it. Function and other benefits have to override modesty and passing trends in sports like swimming, track cycling, speed skating, luge and gymnastics. In football and basketball, however, it has been easy to change the size of shorts along with the changing fashion trends.

Erotic?

Erotics is in the eye of the beholder, and any piece of clothing may take on an erotic meaning. Yet, a wide range of evidence from articles and photographs in the media, shows quite clearly that tight-fitting clothes have been associated with erotic aspects. Swimsuits, leotards and catsuits have been used in images that are intended to be erotic. Additionally, it is quite easy to find images of performing athletes that are, in one way or another, used in an erotic manner or in an erotic context.

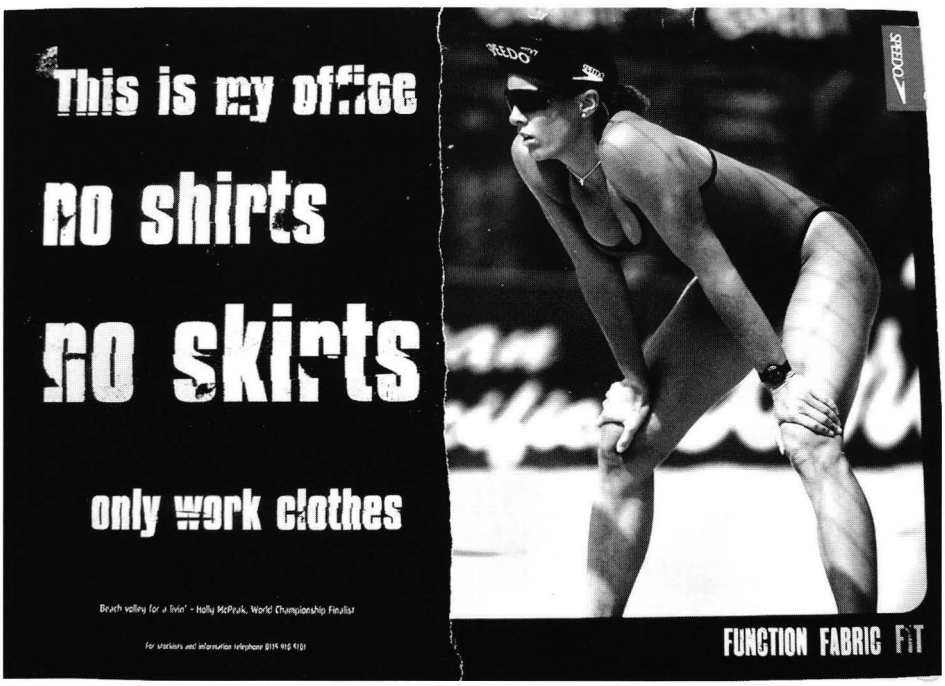
Even though it was not appropriate to talk about the sexiness of female swimmers' high-cut swimsuits, four sizes too small, this fact became clear in another context: when talking of the new full body swimsuits, a Swedish coach said in an interview that among them the erotic disappears from the sport (*Helsingin Sanomat* 3.7.2000). In other words, there had been eroticism in swimming.

In sports, results are not achieved only in the tracks or pools. Significant results are also gained in the number of viewers and the amount of sponsorship money. The best possible gear will improve results in both these areas. Female volleyball players gained media attraction when bosses of their organizations demanded that players should wear skin-tight Lycra outfits (*Ilta-Sanomat* 10.11.1998).

The development of sportswear has thus not been guided only by the hunger for results measured in metres or seconds. It has been guided by various social, aesthetic and erotic motivations.

Out of Context

The material and cut of swimsuits are designed for unrestrained movement in water. With swimming costumes becoming smaller and thinner, they became a good justification to illustrate half-naked women (in some cases men) in magazines. It is not considered odd that a magazine usually not interested in fashion publishes swimsuit reviews, like *Sport Illustrated*. Even though



5. Speedo advertisement, *Sky* magazine, July 1998.
6. Franziska van Almsick poster, *Bravo* 15/1995.
A swimsuit worn by a sports star in a magazine poster or advertisement carries different connotations than an athlete in performance: he or she is transformed into a pin-up model. However, this can be seen as a justified way to show off one's body. Athletes may put themselves on display, perhaps scantily dressed, but still not be considered as objects. Holly McPeak and Franziska van Almsick in their "work clothes".

it has become inappropriate to place a bikini-clad girl in a washing machine advertisement, it is easy to justify a female swimmer in the same context: the product is as fast and efficient as the swimmer is.

A swimsuit worn by a model, beauty contestant, or even sports star in a magazine poster carries different connotations than an athlete in performance. A swimmer or an athlete posing in a poster is in fact transformed into a pin-up model. However, this is not usually stated explicitly, and she or he is not considered to belong in the same category as page-three girls. For men, in fact, this is one of the few justified ways to show off their body. They may put themselves on display, perhaps scantily dressed, but still not be considered as an object. An athlete, male or female, is an active performer in his or her performance outfit, and that is what makes it acceptable for a viewer, too, to look at him or her.

Athletes act as models for the masses. Sports and exercise became activities for the crowds after the revolution in clothing had taken place on athletic fields. Ordinary people are looking for ideas about clothing from sporting stars, and they may also challenge the limits of propriety by doing so.

In nineteenth-century England, bloomers aroused disapproval if they were worn outside sporting activities. In the late 1990s, an American tourist became famous when she was denied access to Harrod's in London because she was wearing leggings. During the Olympic Games in Atlanta, a columnist from *Sports Illustrated* marvelled at spectators who came to watch cycling events in full cycling outfit:

> This category of cross dressinsg (if you will) has long been an M. O. of tennis fans. But donning a Lycra shirt, unlawfully snug Spandex shorts, clip-in bike shoes and a plastic helmet takes us into a different arena. We should see no reason, though, why the concept should not spread to other Olympic venues. Swimming fans could show up in revealing Speedos (*Sport Illustrated*, cgi.cnnsi.com, 2.8.1996).

As we can see, questions of modesty still matter at the beginning of a new millennium. We still wonder how men and women are allowed to feel their bodies, how they should cover their bodies in different situations, how they are allowed to talk about their bodies, and how they are allowed to look at each other's bodies or to be looked at themselves.

The pursuit of functionality has, to a certain degree, helped us to cross the borderlines of gender-specific clothing. However, conceptions of what is appropriate for men or women as well as fluctuating fashion trends can still deter us from wearing clothes that we might personally consider most comfortable or practical.

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Notes

1 The text is based on a paper given to the Costume Society Symposium "Leap and stretch! Clothes for physical activity and sports", Manchester Metropolitan University, 6.7.2002.

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Wax: Object and Intention

By Terje Planke

A thing is nothing, in itself, without a relation. A thesis constitutes a fixed point that makes it easy to consider the object in a specific relation. By studying a cluster of objects in depth, and investigating how different individuals make different choices, the nuances appear. My ethnological fieldwork was established in order to study such nuances, the result, however, being that the relationship between the person and the object came into focus.

The aim of this discussion is to explore how the understanding of a mass-produced group of objects varies between individuals. The majority of studies of both objects and actions focus on how cultural elements acquire a cultural meaning in a public dialogue. However, the difference between the view of the actor and the view of the observer is rarely discussed (Campbell 1996a). To facilitate an insight into this relationship, I will discuss the connection between the object and the action according to the intention and the meaning of the actor. The method employed is based upon following the actors' perspectives in a highly specific context, that of the use of kick-wax on cross-country skis:

> Margins! When the Norwegian cross-country skier Erling Jevne took a silver medal during the 1998 Winter Olympic Games in Nagano, he had one perfect ski. The other ski picked up ice and clumps of snow, so he continually had to kick away the clogging. The ski waxer who successfully prepared the right ski did not manage to repeat the same success on the left one. The difference between the two skis might be due to the wrong mixture of the different waxes, the wrong amount of wax, or a difference in the camber of each ski. According to the ski waxer, it was impossible to see the difference between the two skis after the race. Different camber is the most likely reason, he told me later (field notes, Holmenkollen 21.2.1999).

The point is that it wasn't right under both skis. Erling Jevne won silver, not gold; or rather silver instead of a place farther down on the list. The rest of the Norwegian national team also experienced a total waxing disaster, exactly like the national ladies' team the previous day (*Dagbladet*, *Aftenposten* and *Verdens Gang* 9–11.2.1998).

Choosing the right wax and applying it perfectly is a complex field of work, and the consequences are immense. Elements from the natural sciences are incorporated into the field of knowledge to help the waxers, but doing a good job is more a question of making successful choices in a stressed situation than understanding the physics. Does the complexity imply a common method of understanding and use of the objects, or is it more reasonable to imagine a chaotic variety of ways to act? How do different individuals within the field of knowledge tackle uncertainty? These were my questions when I started the fieldwork.

The Culture of Speed

The desire for speed, better results and gold medals makes athletes live on the narrow edge where play, self-suffering and pain are frequently intertwined and sometimes crossed, to the point of exhaustion. There are small margins which dictate which athlete is on the top of the rostrum. During three winters, I have studied the desire for speed by investigating practical choices. Skis and waxing must be perfect for the conditions of the day, and national support teams specialize in the perfection of small details. The Norwegian Olympiatoppen and the Norwegian Ski Association have their own "secret" ski-glide and structure projects, while for some nations systematic

cheating has been an integral part of their system. Speed and results are constantly pursued, and one has to orientate oneself with regard to continually changing borderlines concerning what is legally and morally accepted.

During the fieldwork, I have been assistant, nuisance and test pilot, for both professional and semi-professional ski waxers. I have observed and discussed choices of wax with the service teams during the World Cup, the Norwegian Cup, recreational events and local races for kids. My goal has been to follow the perspectives of the ski waxers in their actions. This has given me insight into the relationship between human, object and action based on a very defined and narrow context: the uncertainty connected with the transformation of snow crystals and sudden shifts in the weather.

Snow, friction and glide are mysteries that are not precisely described by physicists. The friction of snow is in general extremely high, but when gliding on it, parts of the snow crystals melt and friction is thus drastically reduced. The skis thereby glide against particles of water. If the snow is very cold it will not melt against the sole of the skis, and then it is like skiing on sand. If, on the other hand, the snow is warmer, there will be a suction problem demanding a coarse structure in the sole of the ski. The technique for classical skiing consists of "kick and glide". This is made possible due to the materiality of the snow and the technology in respect of the camber of the skis, the base material and the use of suitably soft waxes. When kicking, the ski is pushed down into the snow; no warmth is produced by friction. In the case of sufficiently soft wax, high enough friction arises, thus allowing the skier to kick. If the wax is too hard, the skier slips, if it is too soft, the water freezes and sticks. The snow must penetrate the wax; enough, but not too much. Then you feel the wax icing up.

Friction in a Historical Perspective

In many rural communities, skis were a common means of transport in the winter months. The skis permitted easy access and good speed, even in deep snow. Winter conditions vary, and problems with glide and friction manifest themselves for the skier in a variety of experiences. Wooden skis that absorb water and ice up might even slip going uphill while sticking during descent. To ensure gliding, tar, bee wax, salt, tallow, linseed oil, paraffin and stearin were used. Fritjof Nansen mentions that one can rub a dried, salted herring under the skis, in which case the fat lubricates and the salt prevents icing (Vaage 1977).

The variety of possible preparations bear witness to the complexity of the problem, a complexity which radically increased as the use of skis progressed from being a means of transport, to becoming a toy within the world of sport. The planning of sporting events according to the calendar entails an inherent inflexibility. It is no simple matter to move a race to another day on which the conditions may be better. The technology of waxing was thus rapidly developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, when a new arena, based on a combination of popular culture, honour and economy, appeared. Many Norwegian skiers started small-scale commercial production of their own special waxes, and some undertook product development, with their marketing being their reputation and their track results (Vaage 1977).

1. The idea of triple-colour coding introduced by Swix has influenced the entire ski-waxing market, with the majority of manufacturers following their example. The colour code in which colder colours are intended for colder snow promotes an easy choice and simplifies the process of assessment of personal experience. Swix displays here its first series of ski waxes introduced in 1947. Swix presents itself as "the scientifically tested ski wax". The original advertisement is accompanied by two "Krystal" waxes from 2003. Advertisement from Vaage 1997:104. Photo: Terje Planke.

It is not difficult to understand that glide can be improved through impregnation, but the control of friction by using a sticky wax – thus promoting a well gripping ascent, followed by a downhill glide – was a huge challenge to established attitudes. The solution was to make precisely the right soft waxes that neither gathered ice, nor became too hard, nor wore off too fast. Kick-wax was first used in cross-country races as late as 1910, and in 1918 they started mixing rubber into waxes, by adding used bicycle inner tubes. Some time later came the introduction of other materials including gramophone records and galoshes, whereupon skiers were accused of spending more time making wax than skiing:

> [there are] surprising tales of how the skiers ... practice their fanatic waxing-alchemy... Boiling, burning and rubbing... They try the skis, scrape, shake their heads, and boil the mixture once again. A new test, a new disappointment, and the start signal is looming ever closer. Those who have discovered the right mixture are confident on their way to the start; the others, however, in desperation make wild guesses, mixing all available waxes (Johan R. Henriksen, in *Idrettsliv* (*c.* 1920), quoted in Vaage 1977:44; my translation).

It is indeed easy to make ski wax, a simple exercise in creativity. But it is difficult to make good, reliable products with a wide range of uses, Leif Torgersen, Development Manager at Swix Sport, explained to me (field note, Holmenkollen, 1999). This attitude displays the manner in which he distances himself from both the unsystematic mixing of ingredients and from the use of natural raw materials. The Swedish pharmaceutical company AB Astra introduced a new series of waxes in 1946 under the brand name of Swix. Based on systematic testing and modern synthetic materials, colouring was added to the wax, facilitating the organisation of the ski waxer's choice within a colour range comprised of green, blue and red. Swix describe their breakthrough as the development of a second-generation ski wax. They advanced from tradition-based mixing to scientific research.

Development and adjustment are the norm in a business where ski competition has continuously been the main arena of product development and marketing. At the end of the 1980s, fluoride-based glide-waxes were introduced on the market. Carbon fluoride is also used in kick-waxes to avoid problems of icing and to repel dirt from the wax.

The Intention of the Ski Waxer

Today's ski waxer may choose from a wide range of products from many manufacturers. The professional waxer's goal, to make the perfect choice giving optimal skis while at the same time minimizing the risk of failure, is not easily achieved due to the incompatibility of these two factors. I found that waxers choose different strategies.

When acting, one reaches into the future while at the same time relying upon the past. The actor assumes that the choices achieve the result intended, based on experience and the ability to predetermine or imagine the future. The actor has an intention. Should the conditions be cold temperature with new snow, the choice of the appropriate wax is easy. Some will choose Rode Blue; others will stick to Swix Blue Extra. Further choices are made to select base preparations for coarse, abrasive snow and to find the right thickness for each individual skier and each pair of skis, with experience from similar situations underlying the choices made. The touring skier may accept a larger interval as successful, and will tolerate rather slow skis, or resort to herring-bones on steep sections, and if the skis slip too much he might even stop to adjust the wax with a couple of new layers.

The racer cannot afford to stop and adjust while en route. The aim of the professional waxer is to find the perfect solution based on the current snow conditions with regard to sun exposure, likelihood of snow, and local temperature changes at different stages around the track. These considerations are seen in connection with weather conditions, the profile of the track and exposure, such that choices may be tailored for the individual racer. Some prefer more glide while others insist on having *spikerfeste* or a perfect grip to perform well. The majority of the participants bring between four and six pairs of classic skis to a race. Variation in camber, base type and structure constitute the prime differences. Camber must suit the individual racer, the conditions and the track, and base structure must be appropriate for the camber and the specific sole. As regards the choice of wax and the thickness,

a number of aspects must be taken into account; what appears to be similar might work quite differently under specific conditions, and the longer one delays ski preparation before the start, the better one is able to judge the prevailing conditions. Thus in the case of demanding conditions there is always a fight against time.

I chose to study the use of kick-wax on the challenging *nullføre*, that is, skiing conditions at approximately zero degrees Celsius. *Nullføre* is a complex puzzle facing everyone, from the amateur to the professional. With heavy snowfall comprised of sharp, wet snow crystals there is maximal uncertainty. Either the tracks will be sheet ice, requiring soft and tough waxing, or a thin layer of ice will be deposited in the wax due to the sharpness of the crystals, thus demanding a harder wax. *Nullføre* is the most difficult situation for the waxer. Perhaps it is raining down by the stadium whilst it is snowing further on in the circuit, or maybe there is dry, new snow on the north face and in the forest, while on the sunny side there is sticky snow with ice in the tracks.

Alchemists and Purists

The combination of uncertainty and risk produces distinct effects within this context. Ski waxing has been described above as a form of alchemy. During my fieldwork I discovered two different ideologies as to how one should wax skis. The concept of alchemy is appropriate only in the first case. Previously, the "ski-waxer alchemist" was an individual who concocted home-made waxes in search of the perfect wax for each set of difficult conditions. Nowadays, the alchemist is a ski waxer striving for the perfect mixture for the current conditions. Within this ideology one aims at mixing the perfect combination of different waxes to achieve the gold (medal). The idea here is that the present skiing conditions are unique and that best results are attained by mixing together different waxes such that the unique qualities are perfect for the current conditions. This appears to be magic and the alchemy-approach is popular. During my fieldwork, the best waxers within this category were described as gurus or geniuses whilst the worst were given less flattering titles. Some alchemists mix their own waxes at home whilst others mix layer upon layer directly on the ski base, as illustrated below in a simple recipe used at the Norwegian Championship in Berkåk, Trøndelag, February 1997:

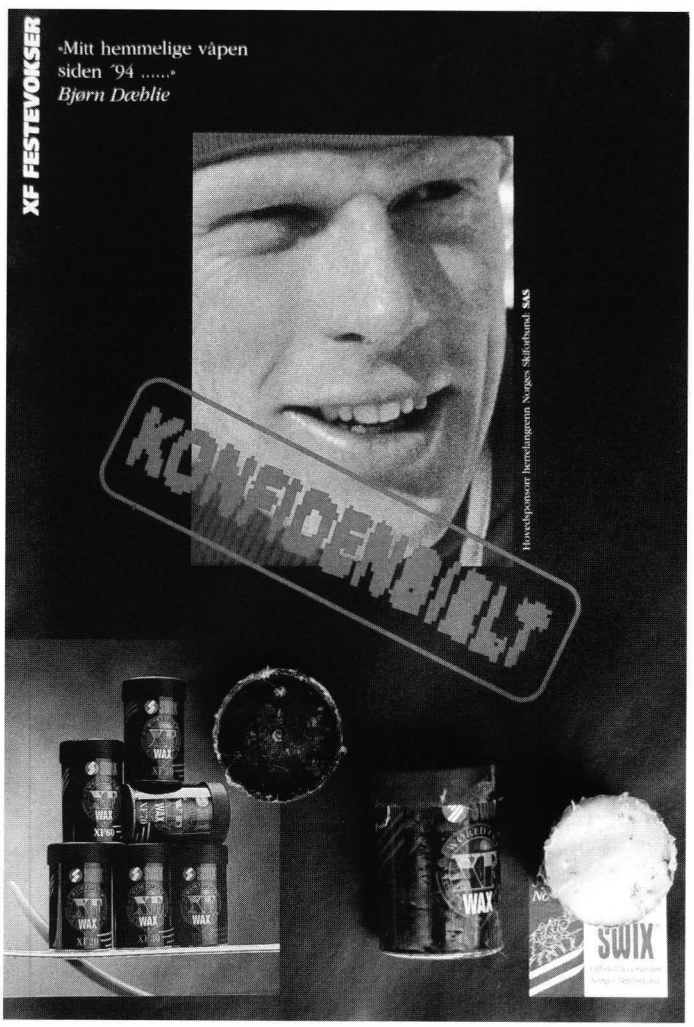
> Blue Extra wax, Blue Extra wax, XF30 (light blue) with a touch of XF40, (corresponds to Blue Extra but is a more expensive variety), two layers of Blue Extra and finally XF30, such that the waxer blends them together. The explanation is that "XF40 is a bit aggressive but is a good choice when mixed with others" (field notes 16.2.97).

According to that informant, Blue Extra alone produces unsatisfactory glide, while XF30, which has better glide, does not hold well enough and needs the help of the softer XF40 wax. Thus mixing is necessary in order to produce the perfect hold, but it is more frequently undertaken in more difficult snow conditions. In my opinion, the Norwegian Championships in Mo, January 1997, were a success due to the difficult *nullføre* with changing snow clouds. "Klister as a sticky grip-base with dry wax on top" should provide good hold on slippery tracks, but suddenly there fell dry snow in the middle of the circuit, provoking icing problems for many. A mixture that worked better was:

Melt in Violet Special. Two layers of XF40, melted in. Klister-wax (Start), covered with XF40 (carefully applied with the cork on top). – He had perfect skis, which NN also had. It was a horrible gamble to take and easy to spread too thickly. NN2 got too much (field notes 16.2.97 and 28.1.97).

Consider the gambling aspect; you run the Norwegian Cup in top form, you wax wrongly and are not selected for the team for the World Championships simply because you chose the wrong skis or wrong wax (field notes 16.2.97). The uncertainty makes some mix different substances, as a way to spread the blame, if it doesn't work. Choosing the wrong substance looks worse than missing the nuances of the mixture.

The wax manufacturers too have enjoyed the aspect of mysteriousness. In the 1990s, new kick-waxes with fluoride carbons appeared on the market. Swix marketed their "XF-kick-wax" in a manner best



2. During the 1990s, Swix tried to market the quality of the waxes by mystifying its new content. The text says: "My secret weapon since 1994..." and "Confidential". From an advertisement in *Skisport*, 1998. Photo: Terje Planke 2003.

likened to advertising for the television series *The X-files*. The advertising communicates a secret recipe and an expensive product. The world's best cross-country skier, Bjørn Dæhlie, guaranteed the product's quality. Some time later Start appeared on the market with their "Black Magic".

The name of the wax, "Black Magic", says it all. The message gets even stronger when seen in connection with the sales-promoting wrapping; a kind of felt bag with a red silk ribbon. Faith has an important role as far as making the right choice is concerned. I first bought this product during Norway's most prestigious winter ski event for recreational skiers, the Birkebeiner race in 1998. I experienced somewhat of a religious awakening due to the enthusiasm of passers-by at the sales booth. The ingredients from the Finnish forests are practically mythical, and while opening the package I think immediately of tar. Here Finnish mysticism opposes Swedish scientific rationalism, which we were presented in the development of Swix by a pharmaceutical company.

Since so many products are competing on the market, the point is how to choose the right one for today. Black Magic should be applied on top of other waxes, as a final touch. The manufacture expresses the effects of the wax explicitly – Black Magic holds better when it holds and glides better when it glides. The 54 kilometre long Birkebeiner Race is not only the annual highlight for 10,000 amateurs, but is also seen as a personal barometer for testing physical development or decline. It is easy to understand that many amateurs are tempted to test new and expensive products. It is impossible to purchase better fitness, but one can always race faster by buying the best equipment.

The alchemists are criticized by the purists who believe that the most important element is to accumulate a pool of exact experience from one competition to the next. Consequently one should keep waxing

3. Details from a brochure from Start, 1998, together with the wax. The graph explains the superior quality of the product, since both the friction and the glide increase drastically. Photo: Terje Planke, 2003.

simple and use waxes which one is familiar with when waxing for training and competition. There are many hundreds of different waxes and it is unnecessary to mix different kinds in order to create several thousand alternatives. After all, what are we mixing? Are we mixing different qualities or just applying different layers of meaning on top of each other? Mixing blue and red should make violet, but how could we control the exact effect of this mixture. Is it good because of, or despite, the choices I made? Are we mixing the good qualities of both waxes or maybe compounding the bad sides?

The purists seek to choose genuine products which function on a wide range of snow conditions and are working to find the optimal thickness of wax for each individual pair of skis based on the specific snow conditions. Should the conditions be *silkeføre*, or prefect skiing conditions, five layers of Blue are added to the sole. Following testing, adjustments are made by applying several thin layers. Ideally, the different pure, unmixed waxes are tested against each other before the waxer's and the skier's final decision.

To facilitate an understanding of the consequences of different choices and to discover whether the wax can be subtly altered, the purists put the emphasis on the waxer himself having a good kick and making frequent tests on the tracks. The purists' main point is that in mixing the waxes one cannot be sure *why* a particular mix is successful or not. Were the skis good due to or in spite of the fact that a small amount of Violet was applied as the second last layer, or was the difference merely due to an adjustment in thickness? And how does that specific mixture react to possible changes in snow conditions on the circuit? To get significant knowledge, in the form of experience, one has to be methodologically coherent and systematic. One has to make the sources of error as few as possible.

Universal waxes are literally a utopian concept, yet the waxes undergo alterations and developments to promote wider-spectrum usage. Once again Swix makes a simplification of the system with the return of colour coding and the reduction from three parallel series of Kick-wax to two. The ultimate product is of little consequence as long as the consumer is unable to make the right choice, a waxer explained to me. Good wax cannot therefore be seen as a category or a quality in itself, but rather the result of the correct combination of product, knowledge and snow conditions. A good wax works well for a wide range of conditions while at the same time allowing for a simpler selection system. In employing colour coding, lettering, numbering, clear symbols and precise text, the manufacturers once again aim at easier and more certain selection system. As shown in figure 1, Swix has returned to their point of departure; they abandoned the XF series, and returned to their original name of Krystal, as shown by the two Violet waxes on the picture.

We have seen that there are two different approaches to ski waxing. The two schools use the same products, but in a different way. I have participated in many discussions with the same people again and again. By discussing the same matters in many different situations, the two ideologies clearly appear to be competitive, ideal-type strategies. Both focus upon achieving the best possible results but there are significant differences in the way in which way they reach the ultimate result.

Within the narrow context of how Kick-

wax is used on *nullføre*, I have indicated that observable actions cannot be directly copied without access to the intention of the individual performing the task. I have further stated that the intention must be integral and derived from the individual's personal experience. Each individual makes his choices on the basis of his own experience, and by subordinating himself to the principles of the tradition. The significance of experience can be illustrated in the fact that most waxers are not interested in what the others are doing before the race. After the race, however, they are very curious about each other's choices and results since they can now form judgments in the light of the results.

Experience and Intention

It is not easy to understand the brief instructions on the wax packaging. During fieldwork, however, I had access to the opinions and methods of the experts. I made notes. I waxed my own skis. I accompanied them during testing. An important observation was that I seldom managed to achieve success when they used products that I was not previously familiar with. In other words, I was unable to copy their actions and methods. Why not? What are the components of an action?

A waxing sequence constitutes a range of different, smaller acts. I tried to copy what I saw them doing; the observable aspect of the job. However, the actions also harbour an internal aspect, which is guided by intentions and habit. The intention is closely related to the material aspects of the action and the desired result. Much of the waxing process does not produce visible evidence; the task must however be undertaken with an intention, conviction and confidence since it is at all time a question of carrying out the right amount of the task. If the task is to be undertaken properly it cannot involve doubt, hence relying on experience with other products involves a touch of uncertainty. Irrelevant experience results in a higher degree of failure.

When I acquire a pattern of actions I am able to imitate a number of basic movements and I can also imitate the products used. However, I cannot imitate the intention. The intention for my own action must arise from my own experience and expectation since the intention is an integral part of the action itself and not merely an additional element. The intention exposes which problem the use of this or that waxing is a response to, while at the same time the intention has no use if one does not master the physical movement. The significance of one's personal experience repeatedly struck me while I tried to understand what was taking place in the waxing booth and out on the track.

Whose Experience?

It is impossible to understand ski waxes or ski waxing by considering the way the objects are presented by the manufacturers. Nor is it possible to discover the intentions by observing the work itself. The meaning might, however, be found in the context of doing, which is guided by the actors' practical intentions. In the study, meaning was exposed by participating in the practical selection processes and at the same time discussing the methods of choosing. My point is that it is in doing the action itself I might find out whether I can manage to integrate intention and experience in a satisfactory manner. In the action, both past and present are incorporated. The present action

(1) relates to the past (3) by extending ourselves into the future (2). The time-periods converge in the focus of the present.

past (3)	present (1)	future (2)
experience	action	intention
tacit knowledge	action	focus

The cultural traits of ski waxing can be evaluated in respect of aspects such as form, function, meaning or use (Linton 1969). The key question, however, is not which aspects of the phenomenon we study, rather how we regard the aspects themselves. As cultural researchers we cannot extract anything interesting directly from the objects, the example in this case being the wax packages and the wax itself. Objects have no meaning themselves. Therefore we are required to impose meaning on the objects by understanding specific situations and relationships. An important question in a culture based on mass production is to examine how a given object is continually interpreted in different ways on constantly renewed occasions – without being lost in meaninglessness or indifference. It is insufficient merely to describe the surroundings. Instead we need a perspective from which it might be studied and interpreted.

The philosophical approach of phenomenology offers a way to see, study and describe phenomena like ski wax. But what are the implications for a discipline like ethnology? Phenomenology puts the focus on the study of the things themselves by broadcasting slogans. A prime objective has been to achieve non-prejudiced access to the object and to draw conclusions extending from the unique object to the kind of phenomenon and the phenomenon itself. Perception is vital in respect of the manner in which phenomena are represented for us. According Husserl, the way of looking is central, whilst Heidegger emphasizes routine and everyday actions, and for Merleau-Ponty the body is the point of departure. But the field of phenomenology emphasizes the human state and not the specific experiences of culture.

The study of phenomena as culture requires a radically different approach, as the phenomenon *in itself* is not only inaccessible but also entirely uninteresting. I do not seek general statements with regard to the phenomenon or the type, through my own perspectives or my own perception. Individual approaches vary (Barth, 1994) due to the involvement with both objects and individuals. No one is alike. If we were alike, there would be no point in studying either the informant or the situation. My position as a fieldworker makes me different from my informant – even if we do the same thing (Planke 1999b). When we study cultural aspects within our own cultural circle, the aim is necessarily that of advancing beyond general description. My concern is the discovery of the manner in which the informant understands a situation, object or thing, and how that understanding varies from case to case.

The Instrumental Aspect of Action

The British sociologist Colin Campbell (1996a) has investigated how the sociological study of action focuses one-sidedly upon the social aspects of action, and he has identified how sociological theory of action only discusses action on a meta-level. The theory of action lacks action, he states, searching for a new action theory without the social bias. I am occupied by how I can gain an understanding of the ski waxer's

complex situation. In the arena of ski waxing, it doesn't take more than fifteen minutes before choices, expectations and the future have become explanations, certainties and the past. Under these circumstances, a new light was thrown upon the relationship between action and object, since the intention of the layers of wax is of little worth for the skier, to whom the aspect of importance is the result.

Our surroundings and material culture have another meaning when studied as action. If we consider the social and symbolic aspects one-sidedly, the material purpose of the action or the actor's intention is neglected. In our actions we are to a great extent dependent upon the action of others, but it is somewhat doubtful whether we need to know their motives, or be aware of their understanding. The important thing is that we expect and perceive their response, Campbell writes (1996a:130): as actors we have little reason to seek the "subjective meaning" in the actions of others. Campbell proposes that it is experience and not understanding which is the key to response in a given situation. Despite the fact that actions can be socially or culturally constructed they are, after all, neither primarily symbolic, nor communicative, nor interactive:

> Actions are instrumental. They are established primarily in order to achieve an alteration in the conditions or relationship of the actor to his environment (Campbell 1996a:131).

As an ethnologist, my response to Campbell is that the study of action perhaps requires not only a theory, but also most importantly a methodology for the study of actions. I propose a "tradition analysis" (Planke 2001), a method that involves the informant's relationship to objects and other actors. The goal is to reconstruct the actor's perspective within a context which is restricted by the informants' own actions. The tradition-analytical manner of studying the relation between the actor and object involves pursuing the informant's perspective over a period of time, in various contexts and situations, thereby giving the informant the overall power to restrict the area of study, not only by his words, but also by his doings and point of focus. Through tradition analysis, the individual becomes a representative of the tradition, which in turn provides the possibility to consider the perspectives in a cultural-historical context.

Object and Action

The discipline of ethnology should involve actions as an object of study since action is central to human life. Material culture presents a significant problem area in this context since such an approach obviously requires a concept of culture, a concept of knowledge and an understanding of sources, which includes more than the cognitive aspects of the person. The point of departure should be an experience-orientated or action-based concept of knowledge and a study of culture in ways that extend far beyond contextualism.

Furthermore, there is no reason to restrict the study of action to be valid exclusively in the case of social or communicative actions (Campbell 1996a). Social action is secondary to action. It is the actor in his dedication that is of importance, and that knowledge is inherent in the actor himself because actions are basically carried out alone, individually and in isolation, Campbell states. As active, we do not need access to other individuals' meanings or intentions but we require

awareness of their response. Therefore, Campbell says, it is experience and not understanding which is the key to successful action. Hence we must study the relation between the experience and intention of the individual by pursuing his perspectives, understanding his acts. When studying action, I am obliged to focus upon other individuals' subjective intentions in order to facilitate participation in their experiences. It is their experiences and not mine which are my academic goals and which provide me with the possibility to observe an object as something significant. The personal experience of the researcher is thereby reduced to a part of the method in order to comprehend other persons, in present and past. The study of experience and intention should be extended to a historical context by constructing patterns of action by analysing traditions. Such a focus would be a worthy objective for further cultural-historical studies.

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Clothes and Cleanliness

Why We Still Spend As Much Time on Laundry

By Ingun Grimstad Klepp

In the story "She Was Good for Nothing", Hans Christian Andersen (1855) tells of a washerwoman who dies in ice-cold water after a long working day. For her little son the crucial thing is to find out whether she really was good for nothing. Was she addicted to drink, or was it the cruel, unhealthy work combined with not having enough good food and clothes that was the reason for the tragedy?

Washing clothes was a heavy job, and in the cold part of the year it was also a health hazard. Women with paddles and heaps of clothes sitting by holes in the ice or beside freezing-cold rivers are an image of the toughest side of women's work in pre-industrial times. In the century that followed after H. C. Andersen wrote his story, great changes took place in this work. Piped water, electricity, washing machines, and commercial washing powder have made the work so easy that older women declare that doing the laundry has become child's play. But when it comes to the amount of time spent, it is difficult to see that the technological changes have led to any savings. The classic studies of technology and time consumption are from the USA in the 1970s. These studies pointed out that the mechanization of washing has not led housewives to spend less time on this part of the housework.[1] This paradox has subsequently been confirmed by studies in a series of other countries. The paradox is also made evident when the spotlight is focused on how our increasing consumption eats up the benefits brought by more environmentally effective technology. Less energy, water and chemicals are involved in the washing process today than a few years ago, but because we wash more and more, there is still as great pressure on the environment.

In earlier studies of washing, the aspects of technology and time consumption have been central. This applies both to studies oriented to cultural history, which consider the various obsolete methods, and to studies which highlight the endless, ice-cold toil (Bugge 1965; Nedrelid 1985; Avdem & Melby 1985). The same can be said about the literature dealing with developments in time consumption and the relation between rationalization and technology. The higher standards of hygiene are included as a more or less explicit precondition in both types of studies. The dirty clothes, on the other hand, are largely absent. "Throughout the ages, people have felt a need to keep dirt away from their bodies, their homes, and their clothes," writes Gunilla Kjellman (1989:6), showing how the "need" to wash is envisaged as static in research on laundry. I have to go back all the way to Eilert Sundt to find a scholar who has systematically integrated the study of dirty clothes in the study of washing.

I wish to carry on Sundt's perspective by following the history of individual garments and textiles as dirty clothes, from his study of cleanliness in the 1860s until the present day. In the analysis I have looked at four factors that are essential if a textile item is to end up in the laundry:

1 That the item is reasonably widespread.
2 That the item has been in use.[2]
3 That the item is defined as dirty.
4 That the item can be made clean by washing.

In this article I will not be able to give a complete history of the many different textiles in the laundry basket, but I have selected some examples. Through these I

wish to show how development in the use of textiles has been crucial for the development of washing. Not just the quantity – the amount of clothes to wash – but also how and why the textiles were washed has, in my opinion, been influenced by the content of the laundry basket.[3]

Technological Changes

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, dirty clothes were washed with a number of home-produced means, the most crucial one being lye, and later also home-made soap. Boiling in lye and bleaching were important methods, and laundry, or at least the part of it that we know about, was a white wash with linen as the major fibre. Washing was a seasonal chore, ideally carried out a couple of times a year. In practice it could take place slightly more often, at least among the less well-off.

From the mid-nineteenth century there were major changes: One was that the amount of dirty clothes began to grow. At the same time, new technical solutions arrived on a growing market of consumer goods. There were chemical agents in which fermented urine was replaced by sal ammoniac, and lye and soap now came as ready-made products. Among the mechanical aids, the washboard was the first great innovation. It came in the 1870s, an American product made of zinc. An advertisement in the newspaper *Arbeideren* ("The Worker") said that "it turns a big wash into a game" (Bugge 1965:10). A few years later the wringer was the great novelty. The end of the nineteenth century saw the development of several different hand-powered washing machines. None of them, according to Bugge (1965:11), was "particularly convincing". In 1869 about 200 patents were granted for different washing machines in the USA. These machines replaced just a small portion of the washing process: the scrubbing on the washboard.

Electrical washing machines were introduced in the USA in 1925, and fully automatic machines came in 1949 (Cronberg 1987:51). The American innovations reached Norway quickly. In 1933 the Commission for Testing Electrical Household Apparatus announced that six washing machines and two automatic machines had been tested for their ability to get clothes clean, for wear, hygiene, drainage, and time consumption. The distinguishing feature of these early machines was that they differed greatly in mode of operation, design, and size. The machines were often fitted with rollers to squeeze the water out. Yet for this part of the work there were also several different technical solutions such as pressing machines and spin-driers.

A very significant element for the spread of the more advanced machines was piped water and electricity for more than lighting. These benefits came in the years between the wars, and became general after the Second World War.

In Norway industrially produced soap and other detergents are closely associated with the name Lilleborg. The history of this soap company starts in the "soapery" in 1842. It was one of the first companies in Norway to go in for trademarked goods and broad advertising. Before Blenda came in 1935, green soap was the most important washing agent. Blenda was launched with the aid of a large advertising campaign. Ladies travelled around the whole country in specially equipped buses, demonstrating the product. Both the many advantages of Blenda and the latest washing technology

were demonstrated in practice. Detergents were among the early and important ready-made goods. Lilleborg's marketing was therefore not just teaching new washing habits but also the new woman's role: the housewife as consumer.

The many different solutions seen in the technical aids from the start of the twentieth century were gradually reduced in number. In a school book from 1967 we read that it is possible to choose among agitator, pulsator, rotor, drum, wing, or various combinations when we are selecting a washing machine (Cappelen 1967). A decade later, however, the winner had been chosen: "The drum machine is best", and the fully automatic variant is preferable (Sandberg 1977:55). The period of technical trials was over.

The automatic washing machine for domestic use came to stay, and it triumphed. The agricultural census of 1959 shows that 53% of households then had washing machines, despite the shortage of money and goods in the post-war era (Avdem & Melby 1985:165). In the 1960s it was obvious that private household appliances were the solution of the future (Kjellman 1990:117). "The washing machine is labour-saving and should be among the first household appliances to purchase," as pupils in continuation schools learned in the 1960s (Christensen & Helgesen 1964:31). We are virtually all in agreement about this. Very few people do without a washing machine and ready-made detergents. It is taken for granted that they are necessary. Carrying water, collecting ashes and urine, boiling soap, boiling clothes, beating, wringing, and rinsing are heavy, time-consuming chores.

The Paradox of Time Consumption

As I said at the beginning, piped water and electricity, washing machines and washing powder did not save any time for housewives. They ended up spending just as long washing clothes.

The first study of the relationship between time consumption and the introduction of new technology in housework is, not surprisingly, American. In the USA the federal government had granted funds in 1925 to investigate housework. In 1974 these data were analysed by Joann Vanek in her comparisons of time consumption and technological changes in the period 1925–1964. The sensational finding was that housewives did not spend less time on laundry. Instead a slight growth was found, from roughly five hours a week to over six. Vanek compiled a frequently cited table in which she showed the relationship between time consumption and the distribution of technical aids: electric washing machines, automatic washing machines, tumbler driers, and wash-and-wear clothes. Her explanation for this was that Americans in this period had acquired more clothes and washed them more often. She drew attention to the large-scale advertising for increased cleanliness which came at the same time as the introduction of the washing machine.

Vanek's study was followed up in a number of other countries. Boalt's (1983) investigation of Swedish households confirmed what Vanek had found in the USA about the relationship between time spent on washing and occupational activity. The time used by women for washing clothes is less dependent on technical equipment than on women's participation in wage labour. Cronberg found the same in Denmark, writing that it is difficult to prove that

the technical improvements have led to any saving in time. "On the contrary, the time spent on housework has been amazingly constant and has been primarily affected by women's relationship to the labour market" (Cronberg 1987:75).

In Norway the "paradox of time consumption" was discussed by Ragnhild Evju in 1960. She presented Norwegian studies of the time spent by rural housewives on housework, which stayed around 52 hours a week despite major improvements in technology between 1929 and 1953. The paradox has since been discussed by Anne-Jorunn Berg (1983, 1988).

Various explanations of the paradox of time consumption have been put forward. The sociologist Ann Oakly (1974) shows how the housewife's isolated work situation makes it difficult to find a standard against which work can be measured. This leads to a mental pressure to show that they do something, to make the work visible to themselves and to others. In Norway Marit Melhuus and Tordis Borchgrevink conducted a qualitative study of housework among housewives in the 1980s. They stress that the fundamental element in this work is the link between two culturally defined phenomena: time and love. Because these entities can be translated in either direction, married women feel a burden to use time and do housework (Melhuus & Borchgrevink 1984:326). Because of the invisibility of housework, being busy becomes an important signal that the woman is faithful to her home and her husband. It therefore becomes morally problematic for the housewife to translate the time saved by efficient work into leisure.

Anne-Jorunn Berg compares housework with an accordion. The time it takes can vary, but there are limits to how far an accordion can be drawn out and squeezed in. Berg uses this image to warn against pursuing the cultural arguments too far. Housework is also work that does in fact have to be done. It contains various types of jobs with different characteristics; some of them can be done simultaneously while others have to be done in specific sequences.

The paradoxical position occupied by housework in the functionally divided family with one breadwinner's wages and a housewife at home is undoubtedly essential for understanding time consumption as the researchers above have argued. The standard for the work is important here, and when it comes to the laundry, the work afterwards especially – stretching, rolling, ironing, starching – was extended far into "housewife-land". I shall not go into this in detail here, apart from observing that several factors are decisive for understanding the time consumption paradox. In the rest of this article I want to look closely at one of these factors: changes in the use of textiles. This change, in my opinion, has not been considered or understood sufficiently in the research on housework that I know of. As I see it, the change in use affects the amount of dirty clothes, its composition, and the standards according to which the work is done. All three factors influence the time spent on the work.

Higher Hygienic Standards

From the middle of the nineteenth century until 1970 there were great changes in the "sense of cleanliness" in Norway. The general changes in society meant that more people worked indoors, and new arenas such as schools, shops, assembly halls, public transport, and the like meant that

people ended up spending more time together indoors. At the same time, hygienic improvements were urged by spokesmen for the educational system, the health service, the commodity industry, and in particular the major project associated with "the housewife" (Alsvik 1991; Augestad 2000; Schmidt 1986). Eilert Sundt's work with "cleanliness" was also a part of the attention focused on dirt and disease in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The result of the social changes and of the more deliberate educational project was an increased awareness of hygiene and body odours (Frykman & Löfgren 1979; Schmidt 1986; Maartmann 1998).

We shall now look at three concrete examples picked from the pile of dirty washing, to see how changes in hygienic standards affected the actual work with the clothes.

Bedclothes

The most common bed, according to Sundt, was a sheepskin blanket: "The majority of the rural population still probably sleep under sheepskins" (Sundt 1975 [1869]: 244). These were not washed; instead they were beaten outdoors.

The next type of bed had a quilt or rag rug. The rag rug could be used both as a *bosbreier*, that is, a coverlet on top of the straw or other bedding, and as a quilt (Melgård 2000). These could also be aired occasionally, but the usual cleaning was an annual wash.

The finest bed, the duvet bed, was not common, but Sundt believes that sheets and pillowcases were changed once a month. Sheets were not in daily use, and when they were used, it could happen that "the sheet is there just in the daytime and is taken off at night so that it will not become worn" (Sundt 1975 [1869]:239). Putting on sheets for Christmas Eve is an old custom in some places (ibid.:236).

The sheet was thus a decoration for the bed and not a way to protect the heavier textiles from dirt. At the same time, vermin in the bed were a constant problem. They had to be kept in check by other methods. One way was to let small animals such as ants or amphipods eat the pests; another was to kill the vermin by heat in the sauna.

In her essay on rag rugs, Anne Melgård (2000) describes how the use of rag rugs and duvet beds reached the coastal districts of Agder early on. There are several explanations for this, including the sense of cleanliness and the availability of bird feathers and imported textiles. The various bedding customs, and the associated cleaning methods, can be found in the responses to a questionnaire from 1994.[4] Duvet beds became more common after 1900, but some of the informants say that they were used only in the summer; in the winter people had heavy quilts or sheepskins. The cleaning method followed the type of bedclothes in that the "winter bed" was washed once a year – in the spring, whereas bedding in the summer was washed regularly, for example, once a month or every three weeks. Several informants of the Norwegian Ethnological Survey (Norsk etnologisk gransking, NEG) report bedclothes being washed as infrequently as twice a year in the 1920s. Some of the informants explain that the bedclothes were washed so seldom because the stock of textiles was small. In bourgeois settings duvet beds were of course used all year round, and were washed regularly.

If we look at the washing of bedclothes in Norway today, we see that 57% of people

change bedclothes every two weeks, but there are still about 16% who change bedclothes in the way described by Sundt in connection with the introduction of the duvet bed: a monthly wash (Brusdal 2003). Our Norwegian washing habits here are far behind those of the other countries in the study, Spain, Greece, and the Netherlands (Arild 1993).

Sheepskins and woollens were cleaned by airing, shaking, and beating. These routines seem to have been continued when duvet beds came. Both in the questionnaires and in the literature, airing is a major theme when the treatment of bedclothes is mentioned up to the 1960s. In the case of the duvet bed, this was in addition to washing. The airing of bedclothes is heavily emphasized in the literature for housewives. This work had the effect of keeping women busy. The following is a description of what was to be done every day:

> Open the windows wide. Place the bedclothes – including light mattresses – there to air. Shake them in the open air if possible or put them in front of an open window, but do not use a vacuum cleaner for the duvets and pillows (Riseng 1960:139).

The best thing is to leave the bed exposed the whole day. The airing is preferably to be repeated "before the bed is made ready for the night, if this is possible" (Riseng 1960:139). The NEG material gives examples which show that the norm of daily airing was followed wholly or partly – at least in bourgeois settings.

This example clearly shows the link between the cleaning method and the textile material. Sheepskins are not washed. Wool is washed once a year (if it is washed at all), and linen or cotton monthly or more often if possible. Because the annual or biannual wash of the quilt bed was maintained parallel to the more frequent wash of the duvet bed, one can ask whether it was an increased sense of hygiene that was the reason for the more regular washing. It was not because people had become so cleanly that they could no longer think of lying in unwashed bedclothes for six months. It was rather the case that the new standard came with the new textiles. The standard in the summer half of the year could be completely different from that of the winter. The example also shows that the change to the duvet bed, whether this took place at the end of the nineteenth century or in the first half of the twentieth century, entailed a dramatic increase in laundry.

Clothing

The garments considered here are trousers, jackets, sweaters, dresses and the like for adults. Underwear will be examined in the next section.

Sundt describes the different materials from which clothes were made and how they were kept clean. The oldest material, and one still frequently used in his day, for both trousers and jackets, was leather. Sundt does not deny that a new pair of chamois leather trousers can be fine, but "anyone who has seen these clothes a few times will not doubt that the change is an improvement" (Sundt 1975 (1869):248). Leather clothes, of course, cannot be washed. More modern garments were made of homespun cloth. Sundt describes this as "the man-made product replacing the natural product" and notes that "the man-made one has the advantage" (ibid.:249). Another change was the increase in the use of cotton, the first fibre to be imported to Norway on a large

scale. Sundt views both the change from leather to wool and that from wool to cotton as progress for cleanliness, because these fabrics could be washed more often and also more thoroughly. Despite this, homespun clothes were not washed often. Outer garments of homespun used for special occasions were kept clean by airing, beating, and brushing. As for everyday clothes, it was common that "if they get exceptionally soiled they have to be washed" (ibid.:262). When it came to men's clothes in particular, "many jackets or trousers are worn out without ever having tasted any water other than a little rain now and then" (ibid:262). In other districts, men's clothes were washed for the major festivals, for example, three times a year.

The responses to NEG questionnaire 169 provide no information about clothing. If clothes washing is mentioned at all it concerns underwear, socks, and nightwear. In the literature about washing, clothing is also conspicuous by its absence. The explanation for this is probably that clothing was not often washed. Instead garments were aired, brushed, and stains were removed before pressing. What we today can achieve by putting jeans and similar things in the machine and taking them out without stains, smells, or dust, was achieved by a number of different techniques. In school textbooks and books of household advice, the methods mentioned for ordinary clothes are: airing, brushing, vacuum cleaning, removing stains, and pressing. "Garments must be aired, brushed, and preferably also vacuum cleaned at regular intervals. [...] Stains must be removed as quickly as possible" (Cappelen 1967:189). It is assumed that garments cannot withstand being washed in water, and that they are mainly kept clean by airing and brushing, but this was to be done daily. Clothes were not to be hung in the wardrobe before they had been aired (Anderson 1961:299).

Instead of washing clothes, people tried to keep them clean as long as possible. "An apron is easy to wash and it spares the clothes" (Christensen & Helgesen 1964). The extensive use of aprons was part of a pattern for the protection of clothing. Clothes were shielded from dirt from within by undergarments, possibly blouses and shirts. Dirt from the outside was warded off by aprons, overcoats, and the like.

In a Swedish inquiry from 1955 I have found the only detailed account of the types of garment in the wash. Men's clothes in the dirty laundry in the course of one year consist of: 78 shirts, 24 collars, 12 cuffs, 8 leisure shirts, 3 overalls, 2 pullovers, 1 tracksuit, 4 pairs of shorts or other leisure trousers, 3 slipovers, and 1 anorak (SOU 1955:281). It is shirts from the wardrobe worn to work that dominate, along with clothes for manual work and leisure. For men, the rule is that clothes worn everyday, with the exception of the shirts and the four pairs of shorts and leisure trousers, are not put among the dirty washing. Women's dirty clothes consist in large measure of clothes for housework; 64 aprons, 12 coats, 42 blouses of various kinds, 12 jumpers, 14 dresses, 4 cardigans, 1 anorak, and 4 pairs of shorts. On average she washes one protective garment for housework once or twice a week, more often than she changes her blouse, jumper, or dress. She did not need to wash trousers or skirts (SOU 1955:282).

In the 1960s the books of advice and instruction are full of exhortations to have clothes that are newly pressed, aired, and brushed, and not to smell of sweat. The verb

"wash" nevertheless begins to creep in, and in the 1980s washing has become crucial: "Clothes which you are going to wear daily should be washable" (Laventa *et al.* 1987). Suits were, and still are, everyday wear for some professional groups. Suits, of course, cannot be washed. A handbook of classic gentlemen's fashion from 2000 discusses whether suits should be cleaned. One of the arguments against dry-cleaning is that the subsequent pressing spoils the garments. Moreover, no cleaning is necessary apart from removing stains, brushing, and steaming (keeping the garment in a steam-filled room). The reason is that "the suit hardly ever comes into contact with bare skin" (Roetzel 2000:344).

Today clothes such as trousers, sweaters, tops, and the like make up a large part of the dirty washing. They are often washed after having been worn just a few times. At the same time, the NEG material records an older treatment method that is still used for some types of garment. Suit trousers and other trousers with creases for men have stains removed, and they can also be aired and brushed and dry-cleaned occasionally. Other trousers are cleaned much more regularly, and more "thoroughly", to use Sundt's expression. A pair of jeans, for example, is usually washed after having been worn four or five times. Whereas the requirement for the first type of trousers seems to be "spotless and not crumpled", jeans follow a more modern standard according to which factors such as smell, colour, texture, and the like are essential considerations.

At the end of the nineteenth century it was not automatically considered necessary to wash clothes, apart from shirts, slips, and underwear. As late as the 1950s a large proportion of the adults' daily garments was not thrown in with the dirty linen. Today, by contrast, clothes make up a large share of the laundry.

Underwear

Sundt writes that in "old-fashioned areas" it was unheard of to wear underwear (Sundt 1975 [1869]: 245). In his day, however, it became increasingly common to use under-garments such as shirts, slips, and also drawers, even among women, "despite the prejudice against this" (ibid.:250). He adds that the children of poor people usually did not have all these garments. Socks were not washed: "they would no more think of washing socks than we townspeople would wash shoes" (ibid.:263). Instead they were dried and rubbed so that the dirt fell off.

The NEG responses show that in the first three decades of the twentieth century the use of underwear was considered self-evident. An explicit norm was to change underwear in connection with the weekly washing of the body. This patterns seems to have been universal in towns and bourgeois contexts. In the countryside it seems as if it was equally common to change underwear once a fortnight. Socks could accompany the underwear, or could be changed more often in both settings. Several reasons are stated for washing these garments "so often". One of them has to do with smell. The other is associated with the function of the garments.

In the 1950s a change of underwear once a week is described as "a general hygienic standard" in the literature on washing. At the same time, it is clear that this standard was not followed by everyone. Books of instruction and advice from the 1950s onwards argue that underwear should be

changed more often. The arguments used did not invoke health but smell and even more so the switch to new materials. "It is inappropriate to put on dirty underwear again when we have had our daily wash below. We want to get rid of the bad smell, so we change to clean underwear" (*Bryllupsboken* 1979:129). "Underwear today is made so simply and practically that one can easily change it every day without being overburdened by washing or ironing. If you wear nylon underwear you do not need to iron it at all. It is sufficient to change your petticoat once or twice a week" (Golbæk 1952:63). All kinds of stockings should be washed every day to restore the elasticity and hence the strength and comfort, as well as for hygienic reasons. "If we get used to doing this every evening we save both money and work, and we become friends with our feet" (Bagge-Skarheim & Olaussen 1965:80).

It was recommended to rinse clothes in lukewarm, soapy water in the sink, which is described as "handy". In the books it is claimed that a material like nylon *demands* to be washed more often: "Such garments should therefore never be put away; they should be washed immediately, even if they have only been worn once" (Riseng 1960:161). "Nylon stockings are washed after every time they have been worn. This makes them last longer, and they hold their shape better" (Christensen & Helgesen 1964:56). Frequent washing was necessary to keep garments white, elastic, and comfortable.

While the books argue that the new materials should be washed more frequently, they also say that they should be used. The books of advice and instruction make it seem as if the new materials are labour-saving. This seems strange to me. How can one argue that a change from washing once a week to washing every day is labour-saving? It is even more remarkable in that the weekly wash was mostly a machine wash with a great many clothes, whereas the daily wash was a separate hand wash.

One factor saving time was that the new underwear did not need to be ironed. In addition, the new materials (according to the books) never ended up in the laundry basket. They had to be washed every day, and this is referred to as "small washing". It was the big wash that was regarded as the great "washing problem", not the small washing. If everyone did this themselves, it would not put more work on the housewife, who was portrayed in the 1950s as being chronically overworked. Another result of this is that a person did not need to have more than two changes of underwear, as against five when changing weekly and washing once a month. The new textiles were therefore considered more economical.

Today the "general hygienic standard" from the 1950s has been improved seven-fold, from changing once a week to changing every day (Brusdal 2003). Then as now, however, this norm is not followed by everyone. Whereas changing underwear daily is taken for granted by young people, there are still some older people who stick to their old habits. One example is a married couple, the husband having been born in 1920. "Personally I have a 'catlick' every day. Then I shower and wash properly every weekend, changing my underwear. That is what has been done all these years, I think there has been little change in this area" (NEG 335352, questionnaire 190). Like the young people, these older people change to clean underwear when they have washed their bodies.

The use of underwear and the function of underwear have changed in the course of the hundred years that I have looked at. This of course has consequences for the amount of washing, but has also had consequences for other clothes. Where little or no underwear has been used, clothes take over the function of underwear, that is, to protect against dirt from the body, to shape it or warm it.

I cannot go into all the details here, but as I see it, the content of the argumentation for a weekly change of underwear was hygienic and aesthetic. It was out of concern for one's own health and other people's reactions to bad smells that this change was introduced. In the arguments for switching from weekly to daily changes of underwear, it was not health but smells and consideration for the new materials that were crucial. To some extent this development too was seen as "a luxury that one can grant oneself".

Amounts of Dirty Washing and Time Consumption

The examples have shown that changes in the use of textiles have had major consequences for the amount of dirty washing. If we take bedclothes as an example, we see that the duvet bed with sheets, pillowcases and duvet covers became common some time at the end of the nineteenth century. Before this, washing bedclothes was something that happened twice a year, if at all. Something similar may be said about underwear. Here, however, the actual use of the garments came first, and then the hygienic standard was raised several times in the form of more frequent washing. People have worn clothes for a very long time, but it is only relatively recently that they have put them into the laundry basket to be washed. The duvet bedclothes have been washed between one and two times a month as long as we have had that type of bed, at least for 150 years. The washing frequency for clothing, however, has increased from zero to 100, or from no washing at all or only once a year, to washing after garments have been worn a few times, and thus at least 100 times a year.

The examples also show that the washing methods and the frequency of washing depend on the individual types of textiles and hence are not just a consequence of the desire for a higher hygienic standard. This is most clearly seen in the case of bedclothes: washing the "winter bed" twice a year could be maintained parallel to a monthly or fortnightly wash of bedclothes in the summer. At the same time, the very different treatment of two different types of men's trousers – those with and those without creases – shows the same thing. As for underwear, we see that the introduction of the new fibres helped to increase the frequency of washing.

I would claim that developments in the textile sector would have increased the work of washing even without a rise in hygienic standards. If we look at the development in the use of the various fibres, we see first an increase in cotton at the expense of wool and linen. Synthetic fibres came in the 1950s, simultaneously with a continued decline in wool. While wool shows good resistance to dirt and cleans easily, cotton requires frequent and thorough washing to stay clean. Synthetic fibres further strengthened the equation of newly washed clothes with comfortable clothes.

It is obvious that the amount of dirty washing affects the time spent on washing. I therefore belief that we can built upon

Vanek's explanation for the paradox that Americans spend more time on laundry. Not only do we have more clothes and domestic textiles, and wash them more often, but washing has taken over as the cleaning method instead of earlier procedures such as airing, brushing, and removing stains. The laundry today consists of many garments such as sweaters and trousers, a category that is hardly mentioned at all as part of the dirty washing in bygone days; they were far from being a part of the "washing problem" as late as the 1950s.

Statistics on time consumption also change with the way the work is categorized. As long as the focus was so firmly fixed on the "big wash" or "weekly wash", it is uncertain whether "small washing" was counted at all. The example of underwear shows that the change to synthetic fibres could actually lead to socks and underwear (or shirts for that matter) not being thrown in with the dirty washing. These were supposed to be "rinsed" and were reckoned as "small wash" and hence, ideally at least, fell outside both the laundry basket and the actual washing.

The examples also show another interesting development. The improved hygienic standard was applied in very different ways for different parts of the dirty laundry. Washing of underwear and outer garments increased heavily, whereas there was only a modest increase for bedclothes. The growth thus came, not in the "big wash" or the "white wash", as it was often called, but in the "small wash", which gradually became the main wash. The privately owned fully automatic washing machine made this distinction less relevant both because it made it possible to wash every day and also because it had programmes designed for washing synthetic materials and wool.

Looking at the individual textiles as dirty washing has convinced me that this has been underestimated or omitted in the analysis of laundry. It is not just washing technology that has changed radically, but also the dirty clothes. The picture that is often painted of the toil with a huge wash in primitive conditions applied in a short period of our history. Not many generations passed from the time when the pile of dirty washing arose until new technology and improved sanitary conditions changed the work with laundry. But when the new technology did not lead housewives to spend less time on washing, one of the reasons was that the pile of dirty washing continued to grow, and it grew quickly.

We should not forget the mother in H. C. Andersen's story. The rise in hygienic standard was to have great consequences for some generations of women. Yet Andersen's story is not just about inhumane women's work; it is just as much about class. The washerwoman washed for the better off. The few textiles the mother and the little boy owned would not have taken very long to wash in the river.

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Notes

1 The time for washing includes sorting, putting clothes in, hanging them up, and smoothing, and any other work that is done afterwards, but not the time while the machine is working.
2 The difference between points 1 and 2 can in

many cases be small, but there is a difference between having a scarf at the bottom of a chest and wearing it every day, and there is a difference between having handkerchiefs for decoration and using them to blow your nose.

3 In the project "From Clean to Newly Washed: Dirty and Clean Clothes after 1950", financed by the Norwegian Research Council, I am investigating why we wash more and more and why this part of housework shows the clearest division of labour. The sources are 15 books of household advice, 25 textbooks used in Norwegian schools, and previous studies and books of advice about washing, NEG questionnaire 169, "Personal Hygiene in Former Days", and a new questionnaire, no. 190, designed especially for this study, "Washing and Dirty Clothes". The Norwegian Ethnological Survey (Norsk etnologisk gransking, NEG) collects material by sending out questionnaires to permanent informants all over Norway. The questionnaires are answered in writing. The informants are of different ages, although there is a preponderance of older people. Questionnaire 169 was distributed in 1995, and asked specifically about the informants' childhood; it was answered by 113 informants. Questionnaire 190 was distributed in 2001, and I have used 97 responses.

4 NEG questionnaire 169, "Personal Hygiene in Former Days", distributed in November 1994.

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Ethnologists on the Warpath

Finno-Ugric Research and the Finno-Ugric Collections During the Period 1941–1944

By Tenho Pimiä

Traditionally, the defining phase in the moulding of a national identity will inform the conceptual framework for a specific ethnographic perception of reality. This principle also pertains to Finno-Ugric studies. The history of this area of research can be traced from the first fumbling, but determined steps made in the field at the time of H. G. Porthan, through to an innocent, eager, but fairly uncritical period of early youth. And as is always the case, when the dogmatism of youth is accentuated, conflicts arise. In the research of Finnish-related peoples, this particularly affects the way in which issues associated with the Contin-uation War are dealt with, these including an ideology of a Greater Finland which arose in connection with the war and which also extended its influence in scientific activities.

The concept of a Greater Finland is temporally a broad-based phenomenon which arose as an element in the period which saw awakening of Finnish nationalism. During the middle of the 19th century, Zacharias Topelius presented the idea of "a perfect Finland", which is to say a Finland including Karelia. However, the ideological contents of Greater Finland began to take on a specific shape only with the birth of the epic poem *Kalevala* and the Karelianist movement following on from that. At this point, thinking was greatly influenced by neo-humanism and German-born romanticism. In addition, the spirit of Finnish national extension was comparable to other contemporary – both eastern and western – expansive national movements (Sihvo 1973:355). The first half of the 20th century was a period of intensive ideological thinking concerning kindred peoples, which developed in synchronisation with a political agenda. The body of work pertaining to Finno-Ugric peoples gradually became political dogma. This work was later continued by the Academic Karelian Society, which prepared the ground – later realised – for actual attempts to invade East Karelia.

From the perspective of the current Finno-Ugric attitude, it is interesting to observe how this old flagship of the national sciences is seeking to inhabit new waters, for example, the language family tree, that perennial curse of school children, which is now gradually being cut up into firewood. In other words, the questions as to whether we are related to some distant people or not and from whence exactly we originate have now in the eyes of the public at large only a certain curiosity value. New times have brought new methods of exploring this issue, and results of blood and gene tests have, for example, shed new light on the possibility of the historical existence of an original home and an original language. On the other hand, the question has recently attracted new interest as the historian Kalevi Wiik has presented his view of the last original home of the Finns.

At the level of image, the ideology of a kindred people is focussed around the Finnish eastern border, in Karelia. The Karelian language is understandable to Finns, but still exotic and slightly foreign. The same pertains to the geographical character of the area, which simultaneously displays both familiar and foreign elements. One of the main arguments of the earliest explorers of Karelia in the mid-1800s was the emphasis on the geographical meaninglessness of the Maaselkä border. Crossing the border was, above all, experienced as a mental event, not as a physical one, such as the crossing of a river or a mountain.

Over time, Karelia has become a Finno-

Ugric landmark: it encapsulates qualities of innocence, purity and is seemingly untouched. This image of a geographical area where the people's original characteristics have been preserved in a vacuum has been consciously created. For most of its explorers, Karelia has appeared as a living museum, where evidence of the nation's obscure past can still be found. For a long time, it has remained a fascinating object of study for imaginations residing on this side of the border, for whom it functions as a last abode of virtues for us who have lost our innocence in the turmoil of modern development.

The Kalevalesque original nest of Finnish culture has always also contained one problem though – the Russians. Russianness has presented an insurmountable obstacle in the national study of Karelia. It is an object which always lurks in the background and which always manifests itself in one way or another in any research project. In defining a relation to Karelia, a relation to Russia and Russianness in a broader sense is also always defined. Underlining a sharp distinction to everything Russian was one of the main, if not always very noble, ideas in early Finno-Ugric research.

It should be borne in mind that besides the Finnish Pan-Fennicists, there were also at the same time the Russian Pan-Slavists who had an acquisitive attitude toward Karelia, and with approximately the same motivations attributed to pre-historic times. Situated between two distinctive linguistic and cultural regions, and later also opposing political ideologies, Karelia became an arena in which forces stronger than itself played themselves out. The land of poetry became a void, which was filled and attached with a variety of meanings depending on the changing political situation.

A Blind Spot in the Ethnological Sciences

Even if the years 1941–1944 in Finnish history have been widely and meritoriously explored, the period has not received enough attention within the field of ethnology or that of Finno-Ugric research which focuses on our own recent history. This is so despite the fact that ethnologists undoubtedly played a significant part in creating the basis for what turned out to be a short-lived Finnish occupation administration. Not even the archive work carried out during that period can be regarded as a totally innocent activity, as a recording of tradition for its own sake. Is the knowledge that the Finnish activity in the occupied areas was part of a strategic Fennisation policy, and that all other work, such as ethnological research, was determined by that goal, still an embarrassing secret? Luckily, this is a view held hardly anywhere any longer.

Within folkloristics, the same problem has been pondered mostly in light of the Finnish Civil War and the events of 1918. The conclusions made include the following: "The study of Finnish and comparative folklore has held a special position among studies of the nation state, and within this field past events have been given significance according to the needs of the present. The mainstream has never doubted that this kind of activity would not fulfil scientific criteria. The prevailing ideas of the leading men within folkloristics have, from the very beginning, included an ideological engagement in projects concerning the building and defence of the nation state. In this sense, it has, undoubtedly, been a useful science" (Knuuttila, 1993: 49).

Conclusions have also been drawn about the influence of the prevailing political

circumstances: "When the situation in society is stable, people easily tend to busy themselves with secondary things, in an atmosphere of childish enthusiasm and fantastic, mythic interpretation. But, when times are hard one returns to basics. In folkloristics, historical explanations regain their value and the story of the past is patched by placing elements temporally and spatially within the framework of a new need for a past" (ibid.).

All the above can well be applied as pertaining to the study of Finno-Ugric peoples.

Early 20th Century Finno-Ugric Research and Its Implication in Later Acts of War

There had been armed unrest in Karelia from as early as the beginning of the 1900s. During the Civil War and the Russian Revolution the liberation movements carried out several armed operations in the Karelian forests. Many of the leading figures of the Continuation War, such as Major-General Paavo Talvela, participated in these so called Finno-Ugric Wars and won their spurs in them. Many people working in the national sciences, inspired by Finno-Ugric ideology, had also been connected to the early attempts to liberate East Karelia. According to the war journal of Olavi Paavolainen, the ethnologist Sakari Pälsi had participated in Karelian liberation operations in 1922.

The "tribal wars" and Finno-Ugric research significantly influenced the worldview of the leading figures in the Continuation War, and they liked referring to these. For example, directly after the occupation of Tulemajärvi, a commemoration was organised there on 21 July 1941 for those killed in the "Finno-Ugric Wars". According to Martti Haavio, Major-General Paavo Talvela recited the following emotional lines at the event:

"Kaaduitte nuorna	*You died young*
nähdessä huomenen koiton,	*as you watched the sun rise,*
puolest maanne,	*for your country,*
puolesta heimonuskon"	*and the Finno-Ugric faith*

Finno-Ugric activity and Finno-Ugric organisations in Finland were lead by a joint body, the Finno-Ugric Central Committee, which was founded in 1929 by refugee and Finno-Ugric organisations. The committee had a Finno-Ugric archive, which encouraged people to collect evidence of the history of East Karelia and Ingria. The organisation was of an openly provocative character.

The Archive asked its informants to concentrate mainly on subjects that would provide information for the political elements of the liberation and independence movements, as well as on material concerning the circumstances in East Karelia under Soviet rule, and only thirdly on other material illustrating the history of East Karelia and Ingria. Quoting the bulletin of the organisation: "It is not our purpose only to collect and preserve historical material which will be interesting for scientists, but also to at the same time acquire reliable evidence of the Finno-Ugric people's struggle for freedom and the injustice done by the Soviet Union to East Karelia and Ingria."

By the 1930s, the people working for the Finno-Ugric purpose had become politically active, and thus the East Karelian question and the alternatives for its solution had become part of the national political scene. The issue gained additional urgency as the first deportation of Ingrians in the Soviet Union took place during the years 1929–1931. In general, the enthusiastic work for Finno-Ugric people at the beginning of the 20th century closely followed upheavals in domestic and foreign politics, always gain-

ing impetus when there appeared to be an opportunity to influence the political or cultural status of the Finno-Ugric people (Nygård 1978: 239).

Apart from the Finno-Ugric ideology of the Academic Karelian Society and the spirit of revenge which was the legacy of the Winter War, material incitements in domestic politics for the Continuation War included the existence of large numbers of evacuees and the discontent with the state of affairs of the farmers who had to release land to these: they wanted the Karelians – as the Karelians themselves wanted – to return to their homes. This amounted to the issue of regaining the occupied territory, the Karelian Isthmus.

In spring 1940, President Risto Ryti initiated a project with the aim of scientifically clarifying for the Germans that the East Karelia and Kola areas were part of Finland. In addition, the study was to show that these areas belonged neither to Norway nor to Germany. The burden of the scientific responsibility was laid on the shoulders of geographer Väinö Auer and historian Eino Jutikkala. The study was delivered to Germany, where it was published in 1941 with the title *Finnlands Lebensraum* (Laine 1982: 47–48).

Later in the spring, the Germans wanted a more thorough investigation of the Finnish border problems. This time, the study was to have an ethnographic perspective. The task was assigned to the historian Jalmari Jaakkola, assisted by Reino Castrén, Eino Leskinen and Keijo Loimu. The memorandum suggested five different alternatives for the border, and it also showed the need to cleanse the area of elements of foreign population (ibid.) Jaakkola's study *Suomen Idänkysymys* (*Finland's Eastern Issue*) was published in both Finnish and German. At the same time, a new edition was printed of Herman Stenberg's pamphlet from 1917 *Ostkarelien im Verhältnis zu Finnland und Russland* (Laine 1982: 82).

Later in 1941, domestic political circles observed the pressing need for finding new motives for the possession of East Karelia. For this purpose, the Ministry of Education founded the Scientific State Committee on East Karelia, which was given the undertaking to make arrangements for providing the conditions for scientific research in the occupied areas. The research was to be used to form a comprehensive overview of the area in question, on the basis of which the area could be concluded to be an organic part of Finland. The committee consisted of Sakari Pälsi, Väinö Salminen and Kustaa Vilkuna. During 1941, they approached scientific associations interested in Karelian culture concerning this issue. The scientific associations responded by means of a new memorandum, stating the motivation for the research as being "to clarify the absolute national and historical kinship of the new areas with former Finland". The statement was given by the Finnish Literature Society, the Finno-Ugric Society, the Finnish Antiquarian Society, the Dictionary Foundation and the Kalevala Society (Sihvo 1987: 228).

In addition, the Finno-Ugric Society suggested co-operation with the Finnish Academy of Science, the Finnish Medical Society Duodecim and the Kalevala Society in order to carry out linguistic and anthropological studies, tests of blood groups and amass collections of folk songs in the prisoner-of-war camps (Sihvo 1969: 229). Finland had over ten camps in Karelia, with about 25,000 prisoners in all. Among these were, naturally, also representatives of

Finno-Ugric people. A separate camp was set up for representatives of people that sympathised with Finland – and all Finnish-related people were automatically regarded as such. This camp had its own special exemptions from rules concerning the other prisoners (Pietola 1987: 48).

The Ethnic Problem

Apart from the Finno-Ugric population, the occupied territory had equal numbers of Russian and other non-Finnish inhabitants. What was to be their faith and what were the plans pertaining to them? The ultimate goal was to gain a nationally homogenous population basis. The military administration of the occupied areas mainly operated using the concepts of "national" and "non-national" population elements. The division between these two concepts was made based on language. On the other hand, sometimes an anthropological division was used, based on the racial origin of the inhabitants. As can be imagined, the division of the population into two groups using these arguments caused considerable problems (Laine 1982: 100).

Apart from the national food supply, the grouping of the population was the main task of the East Karelian military administration. Its principles of action concerning the non-national portion of the population could be divided into three points:

1. Separation from the citizens of Greater Finland.
2. Isolation in concentration camps.
3. Deportation back to Russia.

For the national portion of the population, an internment village had been planned, which would keep them protected from the immediate acts of war. In difficult cases, such as the inhabitants of Äänisniemi, an anthropological study was carried out. On the basis of this, it was concluded that the attachment of this population to the national elements would not introduce foreign racial material to our population. The study was conducted by the Sanitary Major, Professor Niilo Pesonen (Laine 1982: 113).

An ethnological study was also carried out among the same inhabitants of Äänisniemi, which was ordered by the intelligence department of the headquarters and the staff of the East Karelian military administration. The study was made by Reino Peltola, who during his field trip collected, among other things, an extensive collection of place names and about 300 photographs, while paying less attention to material folk culture. In his conclusions, Peltola noted that the study was incomplete, and that no decisions on the compulsory transfer of population could be made on the basis of it (Laine 1982: 114).

Fennisation

The Fennisation of the population in East Karelia was started very soon after the occupation situation had been stabilised and it included, for example, the organisation of education, health care and agricultural advice. It is, however, often forgotten that these measures did not always cover the whole population. The division into national and non-national also meant a division into privileged and less privileged groups. Names were also rapidly Fennisized. For example, Petroskoi (Petrozavodsk) was renamed Äänislinna immediately after its occupation. The names were also quickly established in standard use, since the new objects arriving from the

occupied areas to, for example, the National Museum, were registered using the new place names.

The Fennisation attempts also resulted in acts of excess, which were acknowledged even in their own time. One example is the synod in Syväri, where it was suggested that mission work by the Greek Orthodox Church be prohibited and that the Lutheran Church should conduct a quick baptising operation, so that this province of Finland would be brought from pagan darkness into civilisation.

The dissemination of information was, of course, selective and aimed at a common consensus. In his journal entry of 9 October 1941, Olavi Paavolainen comments on the information concerning the recently occupied Petroskoi and its occupiers: "They are more interested in the electric wires of Kuusinen's administrative palace fastened in a oddly Bolshevist entangled way than, for example, in the university building erected in this godforsaken place." Of the ethnologists, Sakari Pälsi distinguished himself in the field of propaganda information, a relic of which is his work *Voittajien jäljissä* (*In the Footsteps of the Victors*), which ended up among the books which were banned after the war.

Information gathering activities can be regarded as the most important intellectual tool of the war. Even during the Winter War, the foundation and operation principles had been laid for the work of the State Information Agency, which co-ordinated information during the Continuation War. It realised the socalled advance preparation line, which aimed at combining official information, propaganda and censorship with free information dissemination (Herlin 1993:124). Of the ethnologists, Kustaa Vilkuna held the most prominent position within information and propaganda. For practical operations, a separate information company had been formed. This was a body responsible for wartime information, modelled on the organisation of the propaganda units within the German army. The tasks assigned to this company included the organisation of information dissemination to civilians, the planning and realisation of propaganda against the enemy, and education of the Finnish troops. The activities of the Information Company greatly influenced what information was given out about the acts of war and the way in which this was told, and how the new Finnish conquests were publicly justified.

The cultural elite of that time served in the information companies of the Finnish Army: including writers, painters, poets, photographers and filmmakers. The unit headed by Martti Haavio included, among others, Olavi Paavolainen, Yrjö Jylhä, Sakari Pälsi and Päiviö Oksala. Gunnar Jansson and Lorenz von Numers, who had become known to the reading public during the Winter War, served the Swedish-speaking information company.

Haavio and his unit were assigned to formulate the ethical motivations for our war and for the Finnish-German military liaison, which did not enjoy absolute popularity among the troops (Haavio 1969: 75). Haavio was offered the job of compiling a volume in honour of Major-General Paavo Talvela detailing the stages of the conquest of Aunus (Olonets). He was also asked to write a spelling-book for the children of Aunus (Haavio 1969: 148). Below, in my discussion of reminiscences about the war, I will refer to the published war journals of Martti Haavio and Olavi Paavolainen, of

which the latter gave rise to quite intense debate at the time of its publication.

Paavolainen was mainly judged for his ideological criticism. However, in my opinion, this is rather an expression of the author's own personal intellectual struggles, than a criticism of society. It is, in any case, interesting reading, since it contains a number of observations touching upon archive work. On 21 September 1941, he noted the following:

A grotesque thought, which has constantly been on my mind while journeying on this side of the border, is now beginning to take a more lucid form: the Finns have arrived in East Karelia no less than as a master race, carrying in their minds an unnatural dream of a land that, with people and all, will be turned into a decorative museum, administered by a haughty military intelligentsia which is constantly enjoying the awareness of its own superority.

Romantic Karelia

The attitude of the intelligentsia, including Olavi Paavolainen himself, towards Karelian cultural heritage was explicitly romantic and approached its object aesthetically, despite the fact that this was, after all, a war area. On the other hand, those who had worked within folkloristics, were in a region that they were familiar with from collection expeditions they had conducted here in their youth. This was the case, for example, with Martti Haavio; he described the chaos caused by the war as follows:

The house of Muuda was in a more chaotic state than the others. Either the inhabitants had turned everything upside down before escaping into the forest, or the enemy, or our own soldiers who had passed through here, had caused the destruction. A ray of sunlight fell on the floor through a square window. On the floor lay a clean cover towel and I noticed its typical embroidered cock-shaped pattern. Next to it, there was a primer written by Kuusinen, a mouldy loaf of bread and a birch-bark cup. I was startled when I lifted the cover towel: underneath it was a kantele. In a matter-of-fact manner, I lifted the kantele onto the table and plucked its discordant strings. Perhaps this incident is symbolic in a general sense.

A Finnish Karelia was the common dream of the intelligentsia, which, when in the process of being realised, allowed for admiration. In the village of Jakolampi, Haavio has noted the following:

I wish Sakari Pälsi and Kustaa Vilkuna were here. When visiting villages in Aunus, I have never tired of admiring the beautiful architecture of their buildings, the gracious, I would say noble, forms of the gables, the skilful, even if dilapidated, lace-cuttings of the eaves, the carvings on the windowsills. And even if the war has swept over the villages and overturned the interior of the houses, I still notice that the domestic culture here is, in its own way, of a high standard. The previous layers of this culture are still visible. The culture of primitive economy: fields, meadows, forests, lakes.

Martti Haavio ends his on-the-spot account by saying "This is like the Seurasaari openair museum, but better than Seurasaari." Olavi Paavolainen is, on 28 August 1941, inspired by the same subject to a generally very poetic outpouring, ending in criticism typical for him:

Never before has an aspect of literary history dawned on me as clearly as here today: where else than in houses exactly like these could the old folk poetry have been preserved? They are veritable homely nests – nurturing, fertile, 'of the Old Testament'. Poetry has been as if conserved in their architectural vacuum and closed building complexes. The big kitchens, the chambers, the stables, the cowsheds, the barns, sometimes even the wells have all been under the same roof. In winter, when snowstorms beat the grey walls, there is thus no need to take one single step

outside the buildings. The warm and fruitful smell from the animals is part of every moment of the day. Warmth emanates from the big ovens, the fragrance of hay from the loft, the steps to various nooks and crannies lead to shadows and seclusion... The mysterious stairs between the various floors are like missing rings between instinct and knowledge, animal and intellectual life: the fairy lives downstairs in the house, and the mother of god upstairs, stories move in the nook behind the oven and knowledge in the daylight from the five windows in the big kitchen... Here, war heroes turned into philosophers, men of action and will into wise men and oracles befogged by the too homely and exhausting smoke from the hearths. The epic became interpreter of the world-view and a problematic great poem pondering upon our origins.

One only needs to see these houses to understand how mindless and constructed is the desperate attempt of Jalmari Jaakkola and the whole Academic Karelian Society, that has become fashionable, to explain the Kalevala as a historical series of events and piece of evidence of the warlike and even feudal past of Finland.

Archive Work

The archive work undertaken during the war is, in a way, divided into two kinds: unofficial and official. The unofficial work originated as if by itself, from the personal interests of the actors. From the first days of the war, museal objects were also delivered by many others than researchers, often by privates in the military units. Olavi Paavolainen describes this as follows on 10 October 1941:

When going around in the villages we have, taking our lead from Pälsi, started to systematically gather both old peasant objects and icons for the collections of the National Museum. (It is unbelievable that, despite the fact that there is such a large population of Greek Catholics in Finnish Karelia, our national museum does not own any kind of icon collection.) In the numerous villages empty of inhabitants – or in the case the villages have been inhabited by Russians – now emptied by the Finns, heaps of old objects with museal value float around among the chaotic junk of the houses. These lie around both in the attics and in the yards as evidence of a hasty escape or evacuation; the soldiers' usual hunt for 'souvenirs' has added to the horrible turmoil of the uninhabited houses. As soldiers also have taken doors, windows, floors and ceilings from the empty villages to use for their dugouts, the rain and the approaching winter threaten to destroy the interiors. The craze to gather 'souvenirs' has gained such proportions that the backpacks and parcels of all Finns going on leave are now checked by the military police.

Archive work and "archive work" was carried out enthusiastically at the front. As a comment to this, Olavi Paavolainen found a note on the doorframe in a crofter's cottage in Niemenjärvi on 8 July 1941:

Dear neighbour, when you visit here, please don't take any things with you, there are not that many of them anyway. Vihtori Koljonen.

As support for the official collection work, the Finnish Literature Society in 1943 published a guide for the collection of folk poetry in East Karelia, for the needs of the research trips into the occupied territory and as help for ethnologists carrying out fieldwork.

The archive work channelled through the Scientific Committee on East Karelia mainly focussed on the organisation of ethnological collection trips and on increasing the numerously already very extensive objects collection gathered at the National Museum of Finland. The objects collection comprises about 1,000 items, in addition to which, there is a considerable ethnological collection of photographs which serves as a memorial to the Continuation War. Well-

documented tradition collecting trips were made by, among others, Helmi Helminen, Hilkka Vilppula and Tyyni Vahter. The entire corpus of material concerning these trips is in the ethnological manuscripts archive of the National Museum. Material gathered by many other veterans within ethnology is kept in several archives. However, the most extensive material can probably be found in the Military Archives, where the archive material concerning the activities of the staff of the East Karelia military administration is kept.

A lot was achieved within the framework of the activities of the Scientific Committee on East Karelia. For example, four doctoral theses were completed under its auspices.

Conclusion

Within the discipline of ethnology, and particularly when discussing the study of Finno-Ugric people, the Continuation War – and activities connected to it – can be regarded as a kind of culmination point. It represents an episode after which nothing has returned quite to what it was before it, and the focus of ethnology has subsequently taken new turns. As a whole, this was an intense period of ethnographic documentation activity, work which was undertaken in very special historical circumstances. If the best days of the movements directed towards Karelia have been described as the renaissance of Karelianism, the Continuation War could be characterized as the baroque of Karelianism.

However, it is another matter whether and how this period is remembered and what perhaps has been learnt from it. In a memorandum circulated in 1992, the committee appointed by the Ministry of Education to survey the need of an ethnographic museum described the events almost six decades later as follows:

> Finland has never included distant areas, evidence of the possession of which would have been brought as trophies to the capital of the country, whose cultural difference would have had to be explained to the decision-makers or inhabitants of the mother country, or whose self-esteem would have had to be support for political or financial reasons by collections presented in dignified surroundings in the centre of the colonial power.

This despite the fact that all the activities pertaining to the collection of spiritual and material culture were, from the beginning of the century that had almost passed, leashed to provide and produce grounds for the legitimacy of the existence of a Greater Finland.

Today, the extensive array of objects gathered during the time of the Continuation War belongs to the Finno-Ugric Collection of the National Museum of Finland, which, in turn, is part of the objects collection administered by the new Finnish Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Cultures. The wartime collection of one thousand items is not any curiosity within this internationally significant Finno-Ugric collection, which amounts to a total of about 12,000 items.

The task defined for the Museum of Cultures is to present cultures foreign to us and thus to increase the awareness and tolerance of the visitors. So a collection, which originally was to prove to us that East Karelia is an organic part of Finland and that we share a common culture, has, with time, become representative of a "foreign culture".

On the part of the wartime collection this means that the objects in the museum can very well be used as evidence for both

Finnishness and Karelianness, and partly even for Russianness. It tells us about our way of inter-preting the past and its material pieces of evidence instrumentally, according to the current situation, within the frame of reference defined by politics and ideologies.

The period between the years 1941 and 1944 within ethnology and museum work provides a kind of laboratory of circumstances for exploring the familiar and the foreign, the Finnish and the non-Finnish. A set of concepts that in the treatment of the Finno-Ugric ideology ambiguously became a dichotomy of Finnish-related and non-Finnish-related. The short period of our occupation administration in East Karelia was close to being a situation where the past promises of a unified Finno-Ugric people suddenly began to turn into living reality. Soon, however, it became apparent that this was not necessarily the prelude to a new bliss and happiness, but, rather, to new kinds of problem. As the situation arose, geographical problems were encountered: where would the Finnish borders eventually be drawn and should they be defined on geographical, ethnic, political or defence strategic grounds? The same problems were met with pertaining to the population. Who actually was of non-national and who of national origin? When the population was registered, the classification could vary for several reasons, and a Karelian could be turned into a Russian and somebody who felt himself to be Russian turned into a Karelian. Increased study into the problem and stricter definitions did not ease the situation. On the contrary, the issue became increasingly difficult to administer.

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Medical Use and Material Matters
Rhinoceros Horn as a Museum Object
By Camilla Mordhorst

I have begun the establishment of a collection of natural curiosities, particularly those of the rarest kind; several of my friends have made contributions to this end. If you find yourself in places where a large amount of things of this kind occur, I therefore ask you kindly to remember me. I ask you to send me everything on offer, whether from the animal kingdoms of land, sea, or air, or of stone, metals, shells, or other things of that kind (Worm 1623/1624).[1]

More than 350 years ago, the learned Danish physician and antiquarian Ole Worm (1588–1654) began to assemble objects for his collection. As the quotation above shows, the objects were mainly gathered by Worm's friends and colleagues aboard, to whom he wrote requesting rarities of all kinds. His efforts were so successful that the museum was already acknowledged in his own days far beyond Denmark, because, as Jens Lauritzøn Worl wrote in 1654, it contained: "very unusual and strange rarities and diverse objects never before seen, which many princely persons and emissaries who come to Copenhagen ask to see on account of the great fame and repute in foreign places" (Hermansen 1951:23). The large museum catalogue,[2] which appeared in 1655, the year after Worm's death, shows that the museum comprised a multitude of stones, plants, and animals, as well as man-made artefacts: art and ethnographica, historical objects and antiquities. On Worm's death in 1654 there were at least 1,663 items in the collection (Schepelern 1971:200). Of these, 39 still exist, mostly in the collections of the National Museum in Copenhagen. They are a motley collection. Among the objects are a horse's jaw with the root of a tree growing around it, a pair of Chinese silk shoes, a show carved out of a cherry stone, and an impressive reliquary made out of a piece of Norwegian rock crystal.

In this article I shall look closely at a modest cup and a little bowl (figs. 1 and 2), both of rhinoceros horn, not because they are especially rare as museum objects or because their long "afterlife" in the museum collections makes them noticeably different from the other objects. On the contrary: the two artefacts of rhinoceros horn have been selected because they are typical representatives of how much interpretations of the same object can change over time. The constant interpretation and reinterpretation can give us insight into how new meanings are added, and how earlier descriptions are corrected. Moreover, we gain a glimpse of what has fallen away through time: what was once thought worth mentioning and describing, but has, so to speak, evaporated from the descriptions. In other words, the lost significance.

It is in the nature of things that this evaporation has not been easy to condense, because the evaporation is a consequence of historical shifts of the scientific gaze, whereby new ways of knowing can make central aspects peripheral, and formerly obvious connections incomprehensible. The method has been not just to follow the interpretation of the *same* objects back in time, but to search within the different periods to discover the contemporary priorities and categorizations in order to see what was considered important then and why.

The Archaeology of Knowledge

The method is inspired by Michel Foucault's investigations in the archaeology of knowledge. Foucault's comprehensive studies and his pioneering thinking in fields such as the relationship between discourse and power,

1. The cup of rhinoceros horn, now kept in the stores of the Danish Medieval and Renaissance Collection, Inv. no. 9078, National Museum, Copenhagen.

technologies of the self and disciplining, and studies of discontinuity in scientific thought have set their stamp on a broad spectrum of humanistic disciplines for almost 30 years. In this context, however, I shall consider just a small part of Foucault's great *œuvre*, his archaeology of knowledge, because this not only presents a method for investigating the rationality of the past on its own premises, but also gives scope for including the significance of material objects in historical research.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* Foucault presents his methodological and theoretical thoughts behind the archaeology of knowledge. In the book he objects to what he calls "traditional history", which has foc-used on just one specific kind of source material and used it in a specific way, namely, as documents.

> Of course, it is obvious enough that ever since a discipline such as history has existed, documents have been used, questioned, and have given rise to questions; scholars have asked not only what these documents meant, but also whether they were telling the truth, and by what right they could claim to be doing so, whether they were sincere or deliberately misleading, well informed or ignorant, authentic or tampered with. But each of these questions, and all this critical concern, pointed to one and the same end: the reconstitution, on the basis of what the documents say, and sometimes merely hint at, of the past from which they emanate (Foucault 1972:6).

2. The bowl of rhinoceros horn, now kept in the stores of the Ethnographic Collection, Inv. no. Ebc66, National Museum, Copenhagen.

The eagerness of traditional history to judge the statements of historical sources as true or false had the consequence that just one type of source was found interesting: those containing a statement that could be evaluated, in other words, the written sources.

Traditional history has thereby, according to Foucault, ignored the fact that the historical sources can also be interpreted in a different way, namely, as monuments. If a source is used as a document, the truth of its testimony is investigated, but if it is viewed as a monument, its actual appearance is considered: what it looks like, where it has been, and what relation it has had to other contemporary sources. This method is not unlike the archaeologist's interpretation in connection with excavations, hence the name the *archaeology* of knowledge. In this process the non-written historical evidence is in principle equated with the written evidence, so that an object of rhinoceros

horn can say just as much about the past as a letter by virtue of its special design, and where, when, and how it was included in a collection.

In conjunction with my study of the objects from Worm's collection and the history of their interpretation, this coordination immediately gives meaning, because the objects themselves, their design and their changing concrete placing in different museum contexts, are just as charged with meaning as the written catalogues, inventories, letters, travel accounts, minutes, and other material in which the interpretation of and occupation with the objects can be read.

Going to the study of material culture thus does not exclusively mean relating to the objects. This would be the same as if I had used only the two artefacts of rhinoceros horn as sources. From their design I could possibly say something about aesthetics; a little hole in one of the objects, the bowl, might suggest that it had been hung; a chemical analysis might have allowed the material to be dated; the colour and condition of the horn could perhaps tell us about the effect of light and climate through the ages; and marks of wear might say something about the use or non-use of the object. This information is by no means without interest, but how could I say something about the *historical context* – how the objects were regarded, why they were collected, or how they have been exhibited – if I had not *also* looked at the links between the objects and the written source material? The study of material culture, in other words, is not a study of artefacts in themselves but a study of the *relationship* between words and things and our interaction with them.

The Order of Things

It is only to a limited extent, however, that Foucault's own investigations use the potential of the method of the archaeology of knowledge to coordinate the non-written sources with the written ones. For Foucault the aim of the method is primarily to *use* the mainly written sources as monuments. Instead of making a vertical section through history, whereby statements from the past are evaluated according to present-day rules for rational systematism and rational discourse, the aim is a horizontal section whereby the testimony and appearance of the objects are assessed in relation to each other in order to find repetitions, patterns, focuses, and logics, which do not necessarily give rational meaning in the contemporary scientific context, but evidently constituted the "space of order" that in a given period dictated the conditions for possible knowledge. Foucault calls this the *episteme* of the period.

The archaeology of knowledge thus consists of a method aiming at liberation from reading today's rationality into past actions, because the researcher "merely" orders the sources according to what they say, without evaluating their testimony from a contemporary context. In epistemological terms the method can be criticized as problematic, bordering on the naïve: that just reading the sources as monuments would mean being able to transcend subjectivity and overcoming one's own interpreting presence in the scientific process. Bearing this in mind, the archaeology of knowledge has nevertheless made a convincing impact, especially in research on the history of museums. This is particularly due to Foucault's great study of the human sciences in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*,

where he shows how it is possible to deduce a series of different epistemes from the historical material from the Renaissance until our times. It is not just Foucault's basic concepts that a number of historians of museums have found interesting and useful, but also the concrete historical "map" that Foucault unfolds, which has been applied to the changing history of museums.

As the French title, *Les mots et les choses*, indicates, the book is fundamentally about the relationship between words and things, as expressed in the human sciences. More specifically, Foucault investigates the three fields of science dealing with language, economics, and living beings, and how the relationship between words and things has changed from the Renaissance until the present. The relationship between words and things is dictated by the episteme of the time, which defines with which knowledge and in which way one considers this relationship. It is reasonable to think that the relationship between words and things must find direct expression in museum collections: What designates the period as relevant to collect, and by what criteria should things be arranged? It is therefore hardly by chance that attempts have been made to take the three essentially different epistemes that Foucault highlights from the Renaissance to the present, and read them into the changes that museum collections have undergone, in terms of chronology and content.

An example is Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, which is an attempt to apply Foucault's epistemes to the history of European museums. Foucault's ideas about the Renaissance episteme, where words and things were intertwined in a whole consisting of different reflecting relationships, are seen by her in the seemingly strange arrangements in Renaissance museums. In the same way she sees the eighteenth-century quest for a universal nomenclature, which Foucault calls the classical episteme – whereby the proper names of things can be charted on the basis of established taxonomies of visible similarities and differences between things – in the numerous eighteenth-century collections of natural objects and taxonomically ordered cabinets. Finally, she views the modern episteme, whereby historical development and man himself become the crucial fulcrum for our understanding of the relationship between words and things, in relation to the rise of museums of natural *history*, cultural *history*, and art *history* and their chronological ordering principles.

Shortly after Hooper-Greenhill's museum history appeared, there was a major exhibition at the National Museum in Copenhagen, *Museum Europa*, which presented the history of museums in the same way by applying Foucault's epistemes to the history of museums and thereby trying to explain changing European exhibition principles from the Renaissance to the beginning of the twentieth century (Becker *et al.* 1993). Both the catalogue and the exhibition have been of great significance for research on museum history (at least in a Danish context), particularly because, by using Foucault's epistemes, they have opened people's eyes to just how different systematization and collection criteria can be, yet each is logical in terms of its historical context. The formerly condescending attitude to the first museums, which resulted from their being assessed according to contemporary scientific

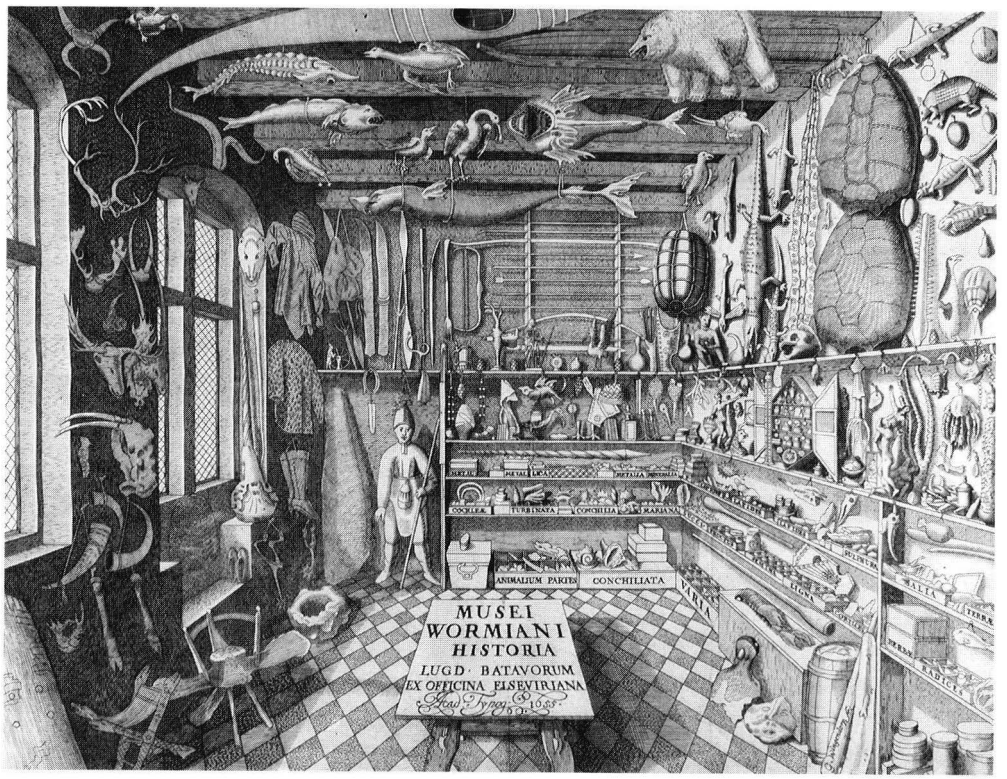
criteria, would thus be virtually unthinkable today, and the following quotation from the museum historian David Murray seems outdated: "Exhibits were, however, badly placed, and were nearly always arranged in relation to their accidental and not their distinguishing features" (Murray 1904:206).

Foucault's share in the reassessment of the ordering principles and artefact interpretations of bygone times can scarcely be underestimated, but the direct application of his epistemes that is often seen is not without problems. Foucault's project was to dig deep to find the very way of knowing: How do people argue? What criteria apply for scientificity? What can be rationally linked? In other words, he searched for the space of order within which the scientific knowledge of the time could unfold. This deep foundation for scientific knowledge, however, is not always reflected directly in a scientific praxis, for example, in the way in which things were exhibited.

Worm's collection and its further destiny are an example of how Foucault's thought at once creates a framework for understanding the strides that have been taken in interpretation, but without delineating the historical content in detail. For this, other factors have to be considered.

Worm's Museum

The big catalogue of Worm's museum from 1655 contains an outstanding picture[3] of



3. Worm's museum. The picture is the frontispiece of the museum catalogue from 1655. Photo: Lars Kann-Rasmussen, National Museum.

the interior of the museum (fig. 3).[4] At first glance it seems undeniably chaotic, a tightly packed and motley collection of shells, skis and shields, fishes and figures. The objects are clearly visible, and so meticulously rendered that several of the surviving items can be identified in the picture. Everything is arranged on shelves, on the ceiling, along the floor, and on the wall, and gradually a picture emerges of a system determined by material. In the open cases on the shelves are the objects from the three kingdoms of nature – mineral, vegetable, and animal – placed after each other. Each case even has a name written on it, clearly stating the content. Hanging on the left wall are objects of animal materials: horn, teeth, bones, and skin, and on the back wall can be seen objects of vegetable material, chiefly wood. This is actually a comprehensible and direct mode of categorization: wood by itself, animal material by itself, and so on. After having observed this order, which also provides the main categories for the museum catalogue, I looked further for the *real* order, a victim as I am of the "trap" of traditional history, which always looks behind the testimony of the sources, as if there were some hidden historical reality there. In my eagerness to understand the logic of museum people in the Renaissance, I did not see what I had already seen, that the scientific gaze of the time focused on the *materials* in a completely different way, thereby guiding the arrangement of Worm's museum, as well as a great many of the other famous museums of the time in Europe.[5]

Master of Materials

It was a detail from a letter written by Worm that made me realize that the materials were not just a simple means of classification for him, but were in fact the very fulcrum for Worm's study of the objects. In a letter of 5 June 1646 he comments on a book by his good friend and nephew Thomas Bartholin's book about the unicorn (1645). The comments refer to the different pages in Bartholin's book. Worm writes:

> *page 140.* I have a phiala of rhinoceros horn, very finely made in India; in colour it resembles yellow amber, apart from the fact that it displays some black spots at the root. I would have sent you a picture of it if the painter had done me the favour.
>
> *page 141.* Of the same animal I have a back tooth which the man who brought it here from India praised as being very good against toothache.
>
> *page 142.* I should like to know why you let the unicorn's horn have a porous substance when it is just as hard as that in the horns of our oxen. When it is made into a cup, it does not let the liquid contained flow through or seep out. The bad smell that comes when it is heated is something it has in common with all horn. I can scarcely believe that it can be contracted, extended, and pressed flat, as the animal desires, since this conflicts with the firm, hard, and horny nature (Worm 1645).[6]

The phiala, or perhaps we should call it a bowl, to which Worm refers is still in the National Museum. It is part of the Ethnographic Collection, among the Chinese objects. If one wants to find the object today, one must therefore know that it is from China. It could be said that priority is thereby given to a cultural/geographical interpretation of the objects. For Worm, on the other hand, the most interesting thing is not what it was used for or where it came from (he mentions an imprecise origin in India), but rather what it looks like and the properties of the material from which it is made. This gaze on the objects is also found in the description in Worm's museum catalogue. There we read that the bowl comes

from East India, but what it may have been used for remains uncertain. However, there is an accurate description of its design and the nature of the material, which in this case sets the framework for the form: "almost oval in the form as far as the horn itself permits" (Worm 1655:381).

Right after the bowl the catalogue mentions the other surviving object of rhinoceros horn, the little cup, whose measurements and simple design are carefully described, just as it is noted that the rhinoceros horn here is "of a more black and compact matter" (Worm 1655: 381). There is no mention of how old the beaker is, where it comes from, or what it was used for. The material-oriented approach is underlined by the way both objects are described in a chapter about objects worked up from animals (Worm 1655:376–381), which gives ample opportunity for comparison.

Worm owned many objects of different kinds of horn. In his museum catalogue they are found both in the chapter about artificial objects made from animals and in a chapter about "the cloven-footed animals" (Worm 1655:336–341). The former chapter particularly describes the form of the objects, the main concern being the working of the material. In the latter chapter, in which nature herself has "worked up" the material, it is the more fundamental properties of the material that are important. The chapter describes what the animal used the horn for, the natural variation in size and colour of the horn, and its medicinal benefits (Worm 1655:336).

On the print of the interior of the museum, objects of horn are not separated. Artificial objects of horn hang side by side with antlers. This mixture might not seem immediately comprehensible, unless one regards it as two different ways of working the same material, one by nature, the other by culture, which can shed light on different aspects of the properties and possibilities of the material.

The Renaissance Episteme and Worm

Applying Foucault's interpretation of the Renaissance episteme to Worm's description and interpretation of objects would be an almost impossible exercise and scarcely a fruitful one. According to Foucault, the Renaissance way of thinking was moulded by the absolute precedence given to the Scriptures (Foucault 1970:38) in the relationship between language and things. The world can be read because God has put things there with legible signatures, which are part of a complicated system of relations of similarity, in which the world enfolds itself, is duplicated, reflected, or interlinked, so that it is possible to gain insight into the macrocosm through the microcosm.

In her history of museums, Hooper-Greenhill cites an example of how this kind of thought may have set its mark on the collections of the time. Antonio Giganti's museum in Bologna from the end of the sixteenth century exhibited

> a horizontal row of things which combines starfish and portraits on a repeating basis, which was crossed by a vertical row of repeating torpedo fish and starfish. The rules of place and image seem to be in operation here, articulating the relations of *resemblance* and *sympathy* that are characteristic of the Renaissance *episteme*. The stars are reflected in the faces of men through analogy (Foucault [*The Order of Things*]: 22), and portraits and starfish possibly evoke this relationship, while also reminding the viewer of the universal '*convenientia*' that there are as many stars in the sky as there are fish in the sea (ibid.: 18) (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:124).

Cosmological analogies may have influenced the way some contemporary collections were arranged, but by focusing almost exclusively on the patterns of thought that constituted the deep foundation of the rationality of the times and applying it directly to a concrete praxis, there may be a tendency to overlook more practical and situated circumstances which may explain better why starfish were placed between works of art, and why it gave meaning to mix natural and artificial objects. Worm's collection does not seem to be particularly shaped by these similarities. On the other hand, Foucault's study of this virtually all-embracing linkage of the diversity of the world can give us an understanding of the encyclopaedic tendency of the time, which also applied to Worm's collection and interpretations, when nothing in principle was irrelevant for learned thought.

Rational Praxis in Worm

Worm's interest in materials should primarily be viewed in relation to a concrete praxis. Apart from being a learned antiquarian, a good philologist, and much besides, he was also a physician. For the last 30 years of his life he occupied the chair of medicine, and alongside this he practised as a doctor. Subjects in the seventeenth century were not as specialized as they are today. Things could be connected in a network of relationships. Part of the study of medicine involved studying botany, mineralogy, and chemistry (Findlen 1994:246). The aim was rarely to obtain knowledge about the phenomena themselves, but to study only their utility: for the botanist to find medicinal plants; for the zoologist to provide animal material for the pharmacy; for the chemist to extract useful medicine; and for the mineralogist to investigate the health-giving properties of precious stones (Garboe 1915:4). The medical significance of rhinoceros horn was a matter of concrete interest for Worm, as is evident from a letter from a fellow physician in Stralsund, Johann Conrad Saur, who sent him a cup of rhinoceros horn for "prophylactic purposes". Saur writes: "For you know already how it can be successfully used against diseases, palpitations, paralysis, apoplexy, etc., when chemically prepared" (Saur 1650).[7] In Worm's other descriptions of objects in the museum catalogue there are also frequent references to their medicinal utility; for example, Worm regarded unicorn horn (which he knew came from the narwhal) as an effective antidote, and he himself had tested its effect in experiments on pigeons and kittens (Worm 1655:286–287); similarly, he believed that precious stones could be very useful for medicinal purposes (Worm 1655:104–105).

In *The Order of Things* one notices the same intimate link between description and use as in Worm, when objects were to be described scientifically in the Renaissance, and Foucault emphasizes the great Renaissance naturalist and collector Ulisse Aldrovandi's (1522–1606)[8] "inextricable mixture of exact descriptions, reported quotations, fables without commentary, remarks dealing indifferently with an animal's anatomy, its use in heraldry, its habitat, its mythological values, or the uses to which it could be put in medicine or magic" (Foucault 1970:39). That the mixture was inextricable should not be understood in the sense of being opaque. One should rather view the "inextricable" approach of Aldrovandi and Worm as an intimate and highly concrete link between

description and use for naturalists who were also practising physicians.

This link simultaneously indicates a way to understand Worm's focus on the material of which objects were made, as in the example of the two artefacts of rhinoceros horn. It is the material that determines the grouping of the objects in the catalogue, and it is the material that indicates the main system for ordering in the museum. In this way the material of the objects becomes the quintessence of knowledge and utility; from the material it is possible to systematize both the "natural" and the "artificial" variations in form in a single motion provided by the divine order of nature, while simultaneously putting the observer in a good position to compare and explore various possible uses of the same material, with "use" comprising both nature's own use and man's use and products.

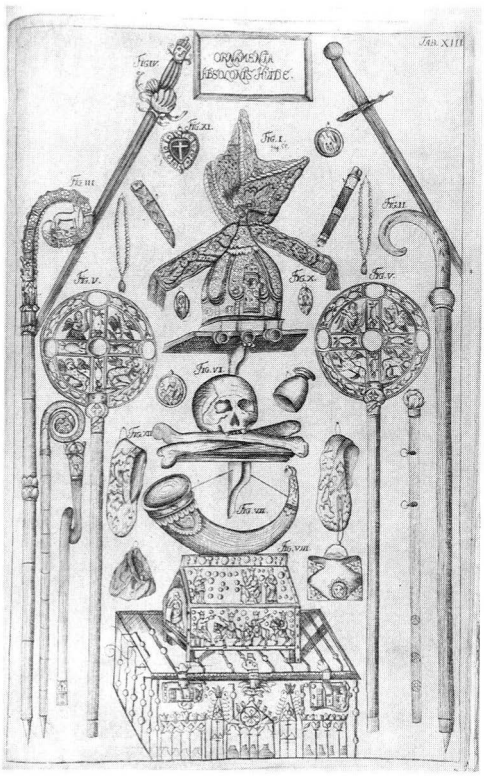
Rhinoceros Horns in the Royal Kunstkammer

Worm died in 1655. His will (Worm 1654) mostly concerns the future of his famous museum. His immediate wish was that his eldest son should take over the collection, but if this were not possible, then it should be sold to some learned man. Worm himself suggested the king, Frederik III (1609–70), who, unlike many other kings, really was learned. As a newly crowned king and with the insight afforded by learning, it was natural for him to adopt the great fashion among princes, and he set up a *kunstkammer*, in which he himself was greatly involved, as regards both the arrangement and the many purchases of objects, including the acquisition of Worm's collection.

Frederik III and Worm had shared a passion for collecting rarities from nature and the world of art alike. They were scholars busy investigating God's diverse creation, but right from the beginning it was clear that it was now no longer a physician's practice, but that of a king, that the collection became part of. The medicinal utility of the objects and the investigation of the fundamental properties of the materials did not engage the king's interest in the same way, and the comparison of the possible uses of the materials slipped into the background. There was no longer the same reason to place artificial things side by side with natural objects. Worm's collection was divided.

Only the learned Frederik III had any direct interest in the scientific potential of the collection. It was only to a limited extent that later kings bought objects for the collection, using it primarily to provoke admiration for the monarch's exquisite taste, his wealth, and the extent of his royal power. This development is also reflected in the composition of the collection, which was mainly increased with works of art, princely gifts, and rare coins. Figuratively speaking, the collection thus increasingly changed character from being an encyclopaedic laboratory to become a part in the staging of autocratic power.

The changed use of the collection is reflected in the interpretation of the objects. In Worm's catalogue one can read the instructive presentation of the eager inquiries by Worm and other scholars into the nature and form of each object. In the two catalogues of the Royal Kunstkammer, *Museum Regium* of 1696 and the later revision *Museum Regium* of 1710 one does not find the same inquiring attitude to the objects. The description of the bowl of rhinoceros horn in the first edition of



4. The picture shows how Bishop Absalon's alleged possessions may have been arranged in the Royal Kunstkammer. Note the cup of rhinoceros horn, hanging just to the right of the skull. Picture from *Museum Regium*, catalogue of the Royal Kunstkammer, 1696.

Museum Regium is more or less a transcript of Worm's catalogue. In the second edition of *Museum Regium* the description of the bowl is incorrectly combined with the description of a completely different object of rhinoceros horn. The cup of rhinoceros horn loses its separate description in the catalogues of the Royal Kunstkammer, but it is perhaps to be found among the "cups" mentioned among Bishop Absalon's alleged possessions in the Chamber of Antiquities in the Royal Kunstkammer. At any rate, it is unmistakably like the cup that is seen among the objects supposedly belonging to Absalon on one of the beautiful pictures in the catalogue, illustrating selected parts of the collection (see fig. 4).[9]

The difference between Worm's way of interpreting the objects and that of the later king's, however, was not just a difference between the gaze of a physician and that of a king, but a difference in the very way of thinking. The close connection between the worlds of nature and culture that is seen in the study of material can no longer be found at the end of the seventeenth century. In *The Order of Things* Foucault describes this change as the appearance of a new classical episteme, which was to prevail for most of the eighteenth century. Briefly, everything was excluded from the scientific gaze except one aspect: the visible. The standard-bearer of the new age was Carl von Linné (Linnaeus, 1707–1787), whose great project to chart the world of plants proceeding from their visible similarities and differences set the standard for ordering and collecting principles in virtually every sphere. Nature was given all at once by God and could therefore be charted in all its universality. The time of herbaria had begun, and private cabinets of natural specimens became widespread among the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie. Figuratively speaking, everything could now be put behind glass and mounted, because only what was visible was interesting for scientific investigation. This would have been unthinkable in Worm's time, when the physical materiality of the things was to be investigated; in other words, besides being observed they were also weighed, felt, and tested to determine their effects and properties.

The Royal Kunstkammer cannot be said to be a direct reflection of the classical

episteme. The increasing charting of the objects from the natural kingdom and the works of art had the result that these two realms drifted apart, the objects were split up in separate rooms in the museum, and the fondness of the earlier epistemes for the total description of objects, which also included their potential uses, slipped into the background together with the whole study of materials. However, the order of the museum was not dictated by pure taxonomic principles, neither in the exhibitions, which seem from the plates in the catalogues to have been aesthetically ordered, nor in the selection of objects that were too rare, curious, and unique to be incorporated in the typological and ideally total hierarchies of the taxonomies.

The two objects of rhinoceros horn were separated from each other and placed in different rooms. The little bowl remained in the Artificial Chamber, a room mainly containing pieces of fine decorative art. The material still meant a little, in that the bowl was put in a cabinet with other artworks of ivory and horn, but by being separated from the natural specimens it now showed what fine objects worked from these precious materials the king possessed. The cup was placed in the Antiquities Chamber, which also included antiquities from Nordic prehistory, weapons, mechanical instruments, and religious objects. The composition indicates that the gallery that contained both the famous golden horn and Bishop Absalon's "personal" belongings, was envisaged as a tribute to the nation's history and the innovations of civilization in general. Why the cup ended up in this chamber, on the wall among Absalon's items, is uncertain, but at least it indicates that a new aspect of the object had been highlighted, namely, its function as a splendid drinking cup.

What had previously been perceived as the most essential feature of the two objects, that they were made of rhinoceros horn, was in both cases pushed into the background in favour of their artificial aspect, that they were beautifully worked and had a specific function. Just like many of the other objects in the Royal Kunstkammer, they were thus part of the magnificent equipment that documented the king's exquisite taste and his historical and economic power.

The Centrifugal Force of History

Around 1800 yet another fundamental shift took place, according to Foucault, in the epistemological structures of the human sciences. The modern episteme, which became predominant from now on, was primarily characterized by a huge interest in history. All science became in a sense historical science, because everything was subject to the passage of time. A knowledge of things became a knowledge of their history, their inner evolution, and their place in the great historical development. It was in the nineteenth century that the founder of the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865), developed his three-period system for prehistory: Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age; the naturalist Charles Lyell (1797–1873) rejected the prevailing catastrophic theories of the origin of the earth and of man; and the young scientist Charles Darwin (1809–1882) made his round-the-world voyage, which was to confirm the evolutionary laws of nature. Together they inscribed themselves in the great project to investigate the individual details of evolution

(Jensen 1993:25–26). In a period like this, the dating of objects is of course crucial, and this is directly reflected in the reordering and reinterpretation of the two objects of rhinoceros horn.

Travellers who saw the Royal Kunstkammer at the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth century all expressed disapproval of the "disorder" that prevailed in the collections. The Englishman William Rae Wilson, for example, concluded his description of the museum with the following salute: "This leads me to express regret, that from the accumulation of this great store of antiquity so many precious objects and collections of pictures should be thrown aside, in consequence of the several apartments not being sufficiently large to admit their being properly classed and arranged. Many of the objects, in short, that are shewn in the vast collection, carry a spectator back to past times, and shew him the manners and customs of former ages" (Wilson 1826: 399).

It was not just the constant growth of the collection that had made the arrangements disorderly and too crowded, as Wilson notes, but the ideas of a new age which had made the classification system of the Kunstkammer antiquated. The gap between nature and culture had now become so deep, in the name of specialization, that all the objects could not even be contained in the same building. In the course of the eighteenth century, small portions were separated from the museum, but this development gradually gained momentum, and in the 1820s the natural specimens were completely detached from the artificial objects by being delivered to the newly established Royal Museum of Natural History. The remaining collection, however, continued to bear other traces of the universalist ambitions of former times, and the old "artificial objects" were sorted by six expert commissions. Some of the objects were distributed among a number of new, more specialized museums, while the majority were transferred to the new Royal Art Museum in Dronningens Tværgade, ordered and numbered in five strictly separated groups. These were: 1 Antiquities; 2 Objects from Nordic Prehistory and the Middle Ages; 3 Beautifully worked objects of art; 4 Objects of precious metal; and 5 Ethnographica.

Besides being separated, the vast majority of the objects were rearranged in a chronological order that satisfied the important dating needs, or else in geographical order. Perhaps chronology and geography were really two sides of the same thing. The desire for a geographical division of the objects may be seen in the light of the overall mapping project, intended to place cultures in their context in the evolution of civilization. Even the Ethnographic Museum, which was separated from the Art Museum in 1845, was initially ordered chronologically according to the degree of civilization (Gilberg 1988:9–10).

The two objects of rhinoceros horn came first to the Royal Art Museum. The cup was placed in main department B, which contained "Nordic antiquities and curiosities from the Middle Ages", more specifically in "Class B.B.", which included things from the Catholic culture (i.e., the Middle Ages) and the Renaissance. When the Royal Art Museum became further specialized and divided into the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Northern Antiquities, and the Antiquities Collection, the cup came to the Museum of Northern Antiquities. The description from 1845 in the museum's

catalogue, *Fortegnelse over de til Museet komne Oldsager*, is sober and lucid: "A little cup of horn, 4 inches tall with a turned foot. The upper part is slightly compressed. The form is beautiful, but simple." Interestingly, this description is very similar to Worm's, but the context has changed completely, from "representing" an artificial object made of rhinoceros horn, it had become a representative of a particular period in historical development.

The bowl of rhinoceros horn likewise came to the Royal Art Museum when the Royal Kunstkammer was broken up. It was transferred to the Ethnographic Department at the National Museum, which was further divided into a number of geographical areas. The bowl ended up among the Chinese objects, which were subdivided according to their original function: worship, weapons, household objects for utility and pleasure, and objects of art. The bowl was placed in the latter category. It was then transferred to the Ethnographic Museum in 1845.

Objects in the National Museum Stores

Today both the objects of rhinoceros horn are in the National Museum Stores. According to Foucault's thought, we are still in the modern episteme, founded at the start of the nineteenth century, which is in good agreement with the fact that the major museum institutions from that time, for example, the National Museum, are still the main ones. Moreover, the historical dating of the objects is still crucial for the understanding of the objects. This reflects the placing of the two objects of rhinoceros horn.

The bowl is in the stores of the Ethnographic Collection, among the Chinese artefacts from the seventeenth century. On the computer screen in the permanent exhibitions of the Ethnographic Collection one can find it among the Chinese objects of horn. The cup of rhinoceros horn is also in the stores, but among artefacts belonging to the Danish Middle Ages and Renaissance. In the register of artefacts in the collection it is in the category "Drinking vessels of other material", more specifically, of "Ivory and rhinoceros horn, bezoar." The actual description of the cup is extremely brief: apart from an artefact number and a photograph of the object it just says "*kunstkammer*". All the words that Worm used to capture the form and use of each individual object have vanished.

It is, however, more precise to say that, in the course of the more than 350 years during which the objects have been preserved, there has been a virtual reversal in what is found important. In the seventeenth century the material was decisive for Worm's interpretation. The geographical and historical origin of the objects was mentioned, but only as secondary information which could illuminate the description of the material. Today the geographical and historical origin is crucial, and although the material still plays a part, it is mostly as a specifying characteristic which can shed light on aspects of the historical and geographical placing. This reversal has changed our outlook and hence the placing of the objects. Foucault's episteme idea cannot show exactly what these stages of historical development looked like, but it can provide a framework for an understanding of how these stages are connected with greater, more fundamental changes in the relationship between words and things.

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Notes

1 The letter is from Ole Worm to his friend Johan Rhode, a Danish physician in Padua, dated 7.11.1623 / 11.1.1624. Letter no. 147 in *Breve fra og til Ole Worm*, vol. I, p. 84. Translation from the Latin by H. D. Schepelern.

2 The full title of the catalogue is: *Museum Wormianum seu historia rerum rariorum tam naturalium, quam artificialium, tam domesticarum, quam exoticarum, quæ Hafniæ Danorum in ædibus authoris servantur.* It is often simply referred to as *Museum Wormianum.*

3 There are perhaps 5–6 prints that offer a visual impression of the first museums in the Renaissance. They are frontispieces in the museum catalogues of the time, such as the one of Ferrante Imperato's museum in the catalogue *Historia naturale* 1599, Francesco Calceolari's museum in the catalogue *Museum calceolarium* 1622, and Ferdinando Cospi's museum in the catalogue *Museo cospiano* 1677.

4 A more detailed survey of the print will be found in Mordhorst 2002.

5 Barbara Jeanne Balsiger (1970) provides a survey of a great number of the most famous museum catalogues of the time, with a translation of their tables of contents. This shows that the material-based system predominated, although it was not all-prevailing.

6 Letter from Ole Worm to Thomas Bartholin in Leyden, dated 5.6.1646. Letter no. 1419 in *Breve fra og til Ole Worm,* vol. III, p. 186. Translation from the Latin by H. D. Schepelern.

7 Letter from Johann Cornad Saur in Stralsund to Ole Worm, dated 7.3.1650. Letter no. 1680 in *Breve fra og til Ole Worm,* vol. III, p. 423. Translation from the Latin by H. D. Schepelern.

8 Worm knew Aldrovandi's collection and a large number of his books on natural history, to which he refers frequently in his museum catalogue.

9 Whether these "plates" give a concrete impression of what selected parts of the collection appeared like in the Kunstkammer is an open question. The realism of the plates, however, is reinforced by the way that the objects are suspended on strings and nails, as is clearly seen on the print.

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Wine, Women, and Song
An Analysis of a Newly Found Painted Wall Hanging
By Nils-Arvid Bringéus

The distinction between ethnology, in the sense of the study of material culture, and folkloristics, which comprises non-material culture, coincides with an old subject division at Nordic universities. The introduction of the term *folklivsforskning* "folklife studies" in Sweden in the 1940s was chiefly intended to stress that the two research fields belong together. In the 1960s, however, the change to a system of small courses, each worth a certain number of credits, increased the segregation once again, and at the same time the study of material culture was weakened. Now that there seems to be a renewed interest in material culture, this does not mean a return to the earlier research, since the study of the context has increased in importance, and the focus is more on man as a cultural being.

The case study that I present here, based on a newly discovered painted wall hanging from southern Sweden, illustrates how products of material culture can be impregnated with spiritual culture, with human beings at the centre, as both producers and receivers. The object of study is part of a long-term ongoing project which I started in the 1970s at the Folklife Archives in Lund. The collection of material (building up a central picture archive) was a necessary precondition for comparative pictorial analysis. This study of *bildlore* or "picturelore" – the value-neutral term that I gave it – is being carried on in collaboration with scholars in Scandinavia and the rest of the world, one expression of which is recurrent Nordic and international symposia on pictures.

Paintings on linen in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance were important in Holland, north Germany, and Scandinavia, but their only lasting expression was in the peasant culture of southern Sweden (Hamran 2002). Museums of cultural history in Sweden hold considerable collections, but in private ownership there are valuable hangings of which I shall give examples. They come from a family living in Färgaryd in western Småland, an area that was once a centre for the painting of wall hangings (Bringéus 1982:51).[1]

Lot and His Daughters

The hanging (fig. 1) is painted on two pieces of coarse linen, sewn together horizontally a couple of decimetres from the lower edge. The cloth was primed with white paint. No traces can be seen of any underlying drawing in pencil or charcoal. The rough outlines were executed in black paint. The other colours used are reddish-yellow, blue, violet, yellowish-green, and brown, all harmonizing well with each other. Empty white fields have been decorated with artless crosses or stars. The facial expressions are strikingly individual.

The hanging consists of four scenes in two registers, besides which there is a peacock. The motifs refer to both the Old and the New Testament, and they are all related, as is usually the case. In the traditional way, the text inscribed in the border has biblical quotations alluding to the pictorial motifs, and there are also shorter texts in the picture fields themselves. The text "Book 19" to the right in the lower field refers to Genesis 19, where we find the story of Lot and his two daughters.

On their escape from Sodom and Gomorrah, which had been destroyed by the Lord, Lot's wife had disobeyed the order not to look back, so she was turned into a pillar of salt. Lot and his daughters, who were of marriageable age, took refuge in a cave. For Israelite women it was

1. Painted wall hanging of Lot and his daughters etc. 86–170 cm. Property of Anna-Britta and Olof Jigsved, Bäckhult, Hyltebruk. Photo: Kerstin Pettersson, Örkelljunga.

important to bear children and thus ensure the survival of the kindred. Yet this was a problem for the two daughters:

> The elder daughter said to the younger, "Our father is old and there is not a man in the country to come to us in the usual way. Come now, let us ply our father with wine and then lie with him and in this way preserve the family through our father." That night they gave him wine to drink, and the elder daughter came and lay with him, and he did not know when she lay down and when she got up. Next day the elder said to the younger, "Last night I lay with my father. Let us ply him with wine again tonight; then you go in and lie with him. So we shall preserve the family through our father." They gave their father wine to drink that night also; and the younger daughter went and lay with him, and he did not know when she lay down and when she got up. In this way both of Lot's daughters came to be pregnant by their father. The elder daughter bore a son and called him Moab; he was the ancestor of the present-day Moabites. The younger also bore a son, whom she called Ben-ammi; he was the ancestor of the present-day Ammonites.

In the lower picture field to the far right we see Lot sitting with a fair-haired woman on his knee. He is holding his right hand around her neck and his left hand over her right hand. The woman is wearing a yellow dress with a bib. She has blond hair and wears a reddish-yellow headdress.

Standing on Lot's other side is a dark-haired woman lovingly stretching out her right arm behind his back. In her left hand this elder daughter is holding a wine glass, and in front of the younger daughter is a carafe with two handles. A squirrel in a bush to the far right is nibbling a nut, and birds are circling the tree in front of the group, their song completing the triad of "wine, women, and song".

To the left of the tree we meet Lot with the same straggly beard, wearing black boots and carrying a staff or lance in his hand. An angel wearing a jacket and skirt is leading him by the hand. The brief text between them can be read as *Loffräls*, but the last letter of *Lof* must have been a *t* before

it was restored. The text thus refers to how Lot was rescued (*frälst*) from Sodom and Gomorrah. According to the account in the Bible, *two* angels accompanied Lot out of the cities, but this would have taken more space and been more complicated, so the painter made do with one angel. Reductions like this are not unusual. In the same way, the single building on the other side of Lot is allowed to represent the two sinful cities.

The picture field to the top right shows "MOSES and Aaron", which one could deduce even without the text, since Moses, wearing a full-length yellowish-red robe, is depicted with the bronze serpent and the tablets of the law. Aaron, wearing his priestly dress, is holding a monstrance-like lamp in one hand and a censer in the other.

The middle frame, according to the text, shows "Lazarus revived", with a reference to "cap 11 JNs", that is, chapter 11 of the gospel of John, which has been misinterpreted as the artist's signature (see note 1). The blond, bearded man with outstretched hands is evidently supposed to be Jesus and the sleeping, clean-shaven man in yellow is Lazarus.

The scene to the far left renders the story in Matthew 22:11–14 of the man with no wedding clothes. The picture shows a young couple holding hands. The man is dressed in a violet justaucorps with clearly marked pockets and buttons. The woman is wearing a violet top with the same kind of bib as Lot's daughters. Her skirt, decorated with horizontal yellowish-red lines and black

2. Lot and his daughters and the destruction of Sodom. Genesis 19. Print from the block in the Nordiska Museet from Gustav Adolf's Bible, later used in the Figure Bible.

3. The Revelation of Saint John, ch. 1. Source as in fig. 2.

zigzag lines, enhances the elegance. The bunch of grapes between the loving couple may symbolize the sweetness of love. Some violet lines below the ground level indicate that the peacock belongs to the young couple and is not just there as a decorative filling. Through its gaudiness it represents extravagance and ostentation, which in older paintings symbolized Luxuria, one of the vices (Bringéus 1982:232 f.). It also occurs on one hanging by Johannes Nilsson (Berglin 2000:264; 2001:433 f.).

As a whole, the hanging is very decorative, executed in clear but restrained colours. The spaces between the different figures are filled in the traditional way with flowers and herbs. The figures in the top three frames are rendered close-up, while the story of Lot and his daughters required more space, so the figures are smaller.

The Models Copied by the Painter

A painter of wall hangings would not have been capable of depicting biblical history in such detail on his own. The motifs that most clearly indicate that he was copying a model is the middle one, which according to the text shows Lazarus being raised from the dead. I have previously (Bringéus 1982:56) reproduced a similar pictorial motif by Kristina Erlandsdotter and shown that the model came from the so-called Figure Bible. The pictures in this collection of woodcuts from King Gustav Adolf's Bible, which were reprinted in 1707, 1739, and 1777, frequently served as models for painters in Dalarna (Svärdström 1947). The hangings considered here are probably the earliest example showing that southern Swedish hanging painters also held the Figure Bible in their hands and copied from it.

As with the painter Lind Lars Matsson from Dalarna (Svärdström 1944:37), the Figure Bible provided an immediate model for Anders Bengtsson's portrayal of Lot and his daughters, their placing, the position of the hands, and the wine glass and carafe. The scene in the Figure Bible woodcut, showing Lot's wife transformed into a pillar of salt, (fig. 2) has however been omitted. The less complicated portrayal of Lot being led by the angel did not require any exact

4. Aaron. Exodus 28. Source as in fig. 2.

5. Moses with the bronze serpent. Numbers 21. Source as in fig. 2.

model. It should be observed, however, that the angel is depicted with his wings in the same position as in the Figure Bible.

The panel with Moses and Aaron shows the painter's ability to combine motifs from different woodcuts into a new composition. The portrayal of Aaron in his priestly robes with a censer in his hand comes from a woodcut in the Figure Bible (fig. 4), while Moses with the bronze serpent is taken from another one (fig. 5). They are depicted in a similar way in the continental pictorial tradition, for example, by Merian (Meinhold 1965:71, 75).

The story of how Jesus revived Lazarus in Bethany is not illustrated in the Figure Bible. Despite this, the hanging painter found a model to inspire him. He quotes the words in the first chapter of Revelations: "I am the Alpha and the Omega" [says the Lord God, who is, who was, and who is to come, the sovereign Lord of all]. This is

followed by John's vision on the island of Patmos. He saw seven lampstands of gold:

> Among the lamps was a figure like a man, in a robe that came to his feet, with a golden girdle round his breast. His hair was as white as snow-white wool, and his eyes flamed like fire ... In his right hand he held seven stars, and from his mouth came a sharp, two-edged sword; his face shone like the sun in full strength. When I saw him, I fell at his feet as though I were dead.

In the absence of a pictorial model for the story of the raising of Lazarus, the painter has chosen this picture, which shows John "as though dead" together with the one who has the power to raise a person from the dead (fig. 3). A virtually identical portrayal is found in a privately owned wall hanging in Färgaryd (no. 549 in the Folklife Archives' register of pictures). Here, however, there is no link to the revival of Lazarus.

The picture of the man who had no wedding clothes likewise has no pictorial model in the Figure Bible. The painter therefore contented himself with depicting a bride and groom, which was rather pointless in this context. In contrast, Johannes Nilsson, who was in the same situation, illustrated the motif in a very dramatic way (Berglin 2000:124; cf. 172 f.).

The Painter

We now come to the question of who could have painted the wall hanging. In the absence of a signature and date, we have to make comparisons with already known hangings, chiefly as regards details that are not of immediate significance for the interpretation of the pictorial motif and the writing of the text.

The depiction of the bridegroom in Caroline uniform displays a striking similarity to the nobleman in a suite showing the four estates of the realm, which I have previously published in the 1978 yearbook of Varberg Museum. The similarities concern the cut of the clothes, the buttons, and even the posture with one hand firmly on the hip. There are also similarities to a wall hanging reproduced in my *Sydsvenska bonadsmålningar* (1982:158). The resemblance to the angel who leads Lot is striking, as are also details such as the dots around the burning candles, the meandering ornamentation separating the motifs, and Lot's hat and the form of the trees. The figures on a parade of people of different ages also show similarities (Bringéus 1982:228).

The three hangings with which comparisons have been made have previously been ascribed to Anders Bengtsson of Södra Fagerhult. His identity has been established by Nils Strömbom, an expert on painted hangings. Anders Bengtsson was born in Stora Hästhult, Färgaryd Parish, on 1 September 1723 and died in Södra Fagerhult on 1 June 1781. His profession as a painter is clearly indicated by the register of deaths: "the painter Anders Bengtsson died of a stitch and pang" (Strömbom 1963). Through its provenance the hanging is also linked to Anders Bengtsson, since it comes from Färgaryd.

Strömbom (1963:161) ascribes 37 hangings to Anders Bengtsson, or, as he writes later (1972:216), "about forty". The register in the Folklife Archives lists 25 hangings attributed to him. His dated works range from 1757 (NM 284657) to 1779 (NM 58351a). Some time during this period he must have painted the hanging with Lot and his daughters. For Strömbom, Anders Bengtsson was to all accounts and purposes a professional painter, which is corroborated

by the fact that a book of paintings is listed in his estate inventory.

The Wise Men and the Ten Virgins

During my work with the hanging in Färgaryd I learned of another hanging in the same home. It is of slightly larger format, painted in two registers, with the wise men in the upper field and the ten virgins in the lower field (fig. 6). This hanging is also painted on pieces of coarse linen sewn together. There is a significant difference in the colouring from the previous hanging, partly because it has a secondary coat of varnish, giving it a shiny, yellowish discoloration.

One of the distinctive features of this painting is the depiction of the ten virgins, with strikingly individual facial expressions. Two of the foolish virgins are raising their hands to the skies in desperation, or in one last plea to be admitted to the wedding hall even though their lamps went out when the bridegroom arrived. Two of the lamps are more like hand bells. Whereas the foolish virgins are usually depicted with crowns about to fall off their heads, these ones have no crowns at all. A black bird is circling ominously in their panel. The angel – with black wings – who is usually depicted with both a bassoon and a birch, has as his sole task here to mark the punishment of the foolish virgins. As a result, the symmetry is weakened. On the other hand, this underlines the contrast through the small cones filling the blank spaces, enhancing the effect of the light from the wise virgin's burning lamps and golden crowns, all of which have a different appearance.

A couple of unusual details in the upper register are the dog with raised tail and the hare depicted under two of the mounted wise men. Perhaps they were borrowed from the suites of animals that the painters often ended their hangings with. One also notices the posture of the wise man kneeling before the baby Jesus and Mary, and the chair on which Mary is seated. The difference in height between the mounted and dismounted wise men is compensated by the way the drapes here come lower down.

In the Nordiska Museet there is a wall hanging with very similar distinctive features (fig. 7). It was published in colour in 1938 in an article by Sigfrid Svensson about Linnaeus in Swedish peasant houses, in *Svenska folket genom tiderna*. The similarity to the hanging from Färgaryd is striking, for example, in the way Christ stretches out his hands to welcome the wise virgins at the bottom right. Both hangings bear the text "SOLI DEO GLORIA", which suggests influences from church painting. The text band between the two registers has the same wording and is written in similar style. The hanging in the Nordiska Museet, which is undated, is said to be from the 1770s. The Färgaryd hanging bears the date 1764. The hanging of Lot and his daughters is probably from this time too.

A closer comparison of the two hangings with the wise men and the ten virgins also reveals some differences, however. The noticeable placing of the date 1764 is totally different from the practice of the hanging painters. The wise man kneeling before Mary was painted by someone who lacked the ability to depict a kneeling person. The floral decorations are clumsy and the lettering is awkward. Everything suggests that the painting is a copy or a pastiche, but based on a hanging by Anders Bengtsson like the one in the Nordiska Museet, and perhaps actually from 1764. The fact that this pastiche was found not only in the same district, but on

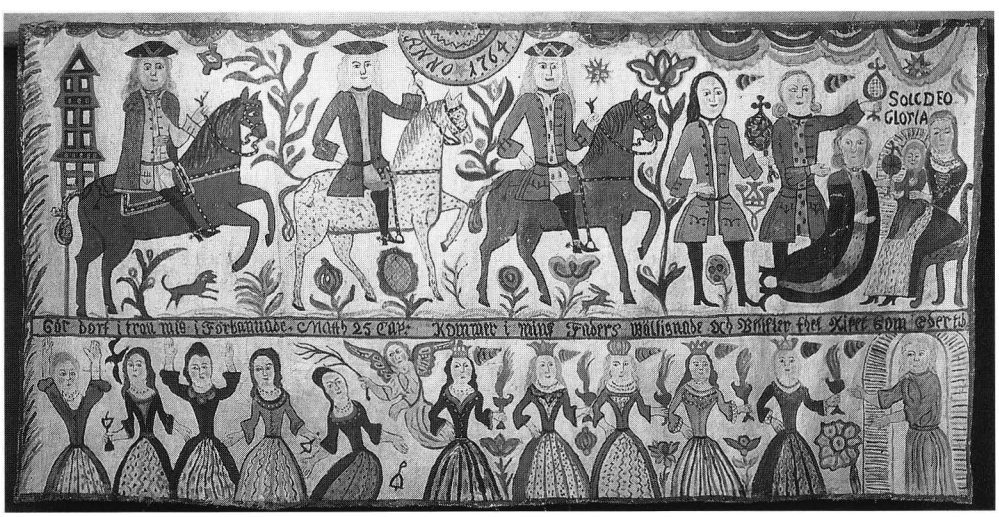
the very same farm, where we found Anders Bengtsson's skilfully executed hanging of Lot and his daughters, shows that he enjoyed great respect in the district and was therefore considered worth copying after his death. However, we can rule out a forgery, even though forgeries are not unknown in the world of painted wall hangings.

The Painterly Context

Anders Bengtsson's career as a painter coincided with that of Nils Lundbergh in Södra Unnaryd, whose dated hangings are from the period 1751–1781 (Bringéus 1994:11). Their works nevertheless show the mutual independence of the two painters. In Lundbergh both the wise men and the ten virgins lack all individuality. Each is like the other, but this gives an effect of repetition that is lacking in Anders Bengtsson. Lundbergh lets each of the wise men ride up his own sloping road which ends in a border or a towered building. Anders Bengtsson's mounted figures are all riding on the same level, with only a coil of flowers separating them, a feature that we recognize from Anders Eriksson of Ås and Sven Erlandsson of Håcksvik.

As regards Lundbergh, no influence from the Figure Bible can be demonstrated. Anders Bengtsson should therefore be reckoned as the painter who introduced this pictorial repertoire into southern Swedish wall hangings. In the 1790s Johannes Nilsson was to develop the pictorial world of the Figure Bible further in wall hangings (Berglin 2000:65, 205, 239 f.).

Anders Bengtsson's hanging of Lot and his daughters shows both his dependence on his models and his helplessness when he had no model to copy. One possibility was to proceed from a motif in the Figure Bible, but to give it a completely different meaning, as in the case of his painting of Lazarus being raised from the dead. As for the hanging of the ten virgins, we do not need to assume any model. These standard motifs were so well known and often repeated – even by Anders Bengtsson – that they did not require any models.



6. Painted wall hanging showing the wise men and the ten virgins (106 × 215 cm). Property of Anna-Britta and Olof Jigsved, Bäckhult, Hyltebruk. Photo: Kerstin Pettersson, Örkelljunga.

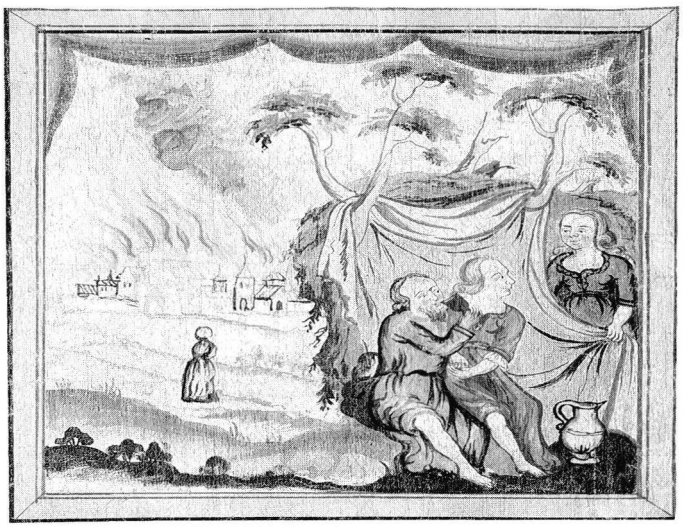
7. Painted wall hanging showing the wise men and the ten virgins. Nordiska Museet.

One of Anders Bengtsson's distinctive features was his fondness for animals, as both hangings testify. Another characteristic is that the unhappy fate of the foolish virgins is often marked on his hangings with a ghost, thereby reinforcing the polarity *vis-à-vis* Christ, who offers the wise virgins everlasting life.

A question that is difficult to answer concerns the painter's intentions with his painting, besides the livelihood it provided. His decorative ambition is obvious, and in this respect Anders Bengtsson seems to be an even more adroit painter in view of the hanging examined here. His picture of Lot and his daughters, however, is an example of a folk painting rather than an endeavour to present a religious message. In Dalecarlian painting there are likewise no more than a couple of examples of the motif from the start of the nineteenth century (Svärdström 1947:140).

The act that Lot's daughters commit with their father would today be regarded as incest – the oldest known example, moreover. If we instead interpret the motive in terms of society of the time, we see how strong was the urge of Jewish women to preserve the family. This can be compared with the story of Jephthah's daughter in the Book of Judges. When she knew that she would not be able to live and have children, she asked for two months' respite so that she could mourn her virginity along with her friends (Bringéus 2003). In the absence of men, Lot's two daughters instead use the stratagem of getting their father drunk so that he can make them pregnant. The Old Testament text does not express any moral condemnation of their act, merely noting that the daughters became the ancestresses of the Moabites and the Ammonites.

Taking pictures from the Bible was a painterly convention in the eighteenth



8. Lot and his daughters and the destruction of Sodom. Detail of a wall hanging painted by Per Schönhult. Nordiska Museet 59.380.

century; it cannot be interpreted as an expression of personal piety in either the painter or the client. Such features would not appear until the nineteenth century, in painters such as Johannes Nilsson of Gyltige and Nils Erlandsson of Kind Hundred (Berglin 2000; Bringéus 2002). Through the large format, Anders Bengtsson follows Nils Lundbergh and the older hanging painters of western Sweden. The fact that there are so many paintings among his works with double signatures (male and female) indicates commissioned paintings. This in turn shows that he was already respected as a painter in his lifetime and that his paintings were appreciated.

The church in Färgaryd, Anders Bengtsson's native parish, was one of those decorated by Peter Edberg. He was born in Stockholm and served as a corporal in the Jönköping Infantry Regiment 1743–58, living in Reftele Parish. After participating in the painting of Habo Church he himself decorated the churches in Femsjö in 1749, Bolmsö in 1754, Färgaryd in 1755, and Långaryd in 1756. Alongside this work he also painted wall hangings (e.g. NM 92.542 from 1733). Anders Bengtsson was thus contemporary with Edberg and familiar with his paintings. For the nineteen ceiling paintings in Femsjö Church (Ericsson 2003:85 f.), one of his models was a copperplate from Heinrich Müller's *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuss*, which was first published in Swedish in 1748 (Svärdström 1949:95 ff.). The same source was used by the folk painters in Dalarna (Svärdström 1944:44).

When Peter Edberg's daughter was christened in Reftele in January 1745, one of the witnesses to the baptism was Anders Sillman, another painter of churches and wall hangings, born in Håcksvik Parish in Västergötland (Bringéus 2002). Anders Sillman, with known paintings from 1733 until his death in 1747, belonged to the first generation of southern Swedish hanging painters (Strömbom 1958; Ericsson 2003:87 f.). Anders Bengtsson thus lived in a setting with craftsmen working as both church painters and hanging painters.

In terms of motifs too, the painting of churches and the painting of wall hangings were very close in those days. The seven candlesticks from Revelation are thus found depicted in the church in Barnarp in 1730 (Ericsson 2003:60). Moses with the tablets of the law and Aaron in his priestly dress can be seen in Kulltorp Church from 1769 (Ericsson 2003:79). What is more, Anders Bengtsson's main motif of Lot and his daughters was painted by Per Schönhult (1760–1837) of Ängelholm as his masterpiece, according to the town council minutes of 20 March 1797. In 1823 Schönhult painted the same motif on a hanging now owned by the Nordiska Museet (fig. 8; NM 59.380; Strömbom 1937:255). It seems as if the Figure Bible provided the model in this case too. Lot's wife is also included in Schönhult's painting.

The newly found wall hanging examined here confirms my previous description of Anders Bengtsson:

> Anders Bengtsson occupies an independent position among contemporary hanging painters... As regards the figure drawing and the muted colours, his picture suites give a noticeably archaic impression. Perhaps Anders Bengtsson's hangings are the most palpable proof of the affinity with church painting... Anders Bengtsson is a key person in southern Swedish hanging painting. He is easy to recognize through his characteristic lettering and outlining, through his mild colour scale, and through his floral decorations (Bringéus 1982:54 f.).

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Note

1 The hangings belong to Anna-Britta and Olof Jigsved, Bäckhult, Hyltebruk. They were already in the house when Mrs Jigsved's parents moved there in 1926, and they are said to have been in the farm since it was built in the 1850s. The hanging in fig. 1 was kept in a wardrobe until 1964, when the painter and decorator C. E. Andersson of Torup saw it in conjunction with the renovation of the house. He offered to restore the hanging, which was too damaged to be hung. Andersson glued the hanging to a new piece of linen and glued on new borders at the bottom and sides, in the same style as the two vertical borders inside the picture field. A field was inserted at the bottom left and one at the top left. The paint was touched up in places at the same time. In connection with the restoration he noted on the back that the hanging had been done by "Johannes Nilsson of Gyltige at the end of the 1700s". The reason for this attribution may be a "signature" in the middle of the border which was interpreted as JNS. Johannes Nilsson, however, never signed any hangings.

I an very grateful to the former elementary school teacher Inge Kamstedt of Kulls Vingård, who drew my attention to the hangings and arranged for me to borrow them. I have had the benefit of discussing the paintings with Dr Elisabeth Berglin and the depicted costumes with Britta Hammar, head curator at Kulturen in Lund.

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Lauri Honko 1932–2002

Lauri Honko, former Professor of Comparative Folkloristics and Comparative Religion at the University of Turku, died on the 15th of July 2002 at the age of 70. He was born in southern Finland on the 6th of March 1932.

Professor Honko was recognised as the most important folklorists of his time, one whose studies on the theory and methodology of oral traditions benefited researchers working in the field worldwide. He identified genres of tradition by naming them according to various criteria. His engagement in international post-graduate training and the publication of folkloristic research resulted in the *Folklore Fellows' Network*, which brings together folklorists representing a variety of geographical areas and research traditions. At present, the network has 650 members. Its newsletter *FF Network* has a circulation of 1,300. However, the most important activity of the network is the series *FF Communications*, founded in 1910. He was its main editor from 1969 up to his death.

Lauri Honko, who was a student of Professor Martti Haavio, defended his doctoral thesis *Krankheitsprojektile* at the University of Helsinki in 1959. At the time, the thesis was an innovative piece of research, thematically combining comparative religion and folk medicine. Honko received a professorship relatively early, as he was appointed personal extraordinary Professor of Comparative Folkloristics and Comparative Religion at the University of Turku in 1963. He dealt with the basic issues of folkloristics and comparative religion as well as belief in supernatural beings (cf. his work *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland* of 1963), tradition ecology, anthropology in developing countries, project teaching as well as methodology and field research in his own area.

Alongside his Professorship, Lauri Honko was Docent in Comparative Religion at the University of Helsinki from 1961–96.

Lauri Honko was a very active participant in the work of organisations within his discipline, both in Finland and internationally. Among other things, he was the chair of a world organisation of folklorists, the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR) from 1974–90; he headed the Finnish Literature Society from 1975–88 and was member of Academia Scientiarum Fennica from 1969 and chair of the society in 1989–90. He was on the Finnish UNESCO Delegation in the years 1990–92. He was also invited to be an honorary member of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR).

Lauri Honko's interest in the study of epics was renewed in the 1990s, when it took the form of an international project. Perceptions of the Finnish epic poem *The Kalevala* were transformed as a consequence of the work produced following Honko's and his monumental research project's discovery of the south Indian Siri epic in the Tulu language.

The legacy of Lauri Honko's career, which covered several decades, strengthens the estimation, held in the international and national academic world, of the Finnish school as longlived and widely appreciated globally, starting from the research work of Julius and Kaarle Krohn in the 19th century. The Finnish school bases its research on solid fieldwork, thick description and textualisation of the gathered material, and a specification of the research process abstracted from the texts. Lauri Honko wrote his lifework permanently into the history of the international and national study of folkloristics and comparative religion in the 20th and 21st century.

Päivikki Suojanen, Tampere

*Photo from FF Network, May 2003.

Leea Virtanen 1935–2002

Leea Virtanen, former professor of folkloristics at the University of Helsinki died suddenly on 18 July 2002. Her carrier within the field started in the 1960s, on the one hand concerning riddles and, on the other, research on songs in the Kalevala meter.

Leea Virtanen was born on 10 April 1935 in southeast Finland. She started studying at the University of Helsinki aiming at a career as a teacher of Finnish. However, as her studies progressed, Finnish and comparative folklore, attracted more of her attention.

In her doctoral thesis 1966, *Suomalais-virolainen arvoitussarja* (A Finnish-Estonian series of riddles), Virtanen showed that the origin of two Finnish riddles and their variations is to be found in the Estonian-Ingrian-Votian tradition. In 1987, she published the first anthology on Estonian folklore in Finnish, *Viron veräjät* (Estonian gates).

Leea Virtanen is known particularly as a pioneer within the study of children's lore. In 1970, she published a general presentation of the traditions, which was based on extensive and diverse material collected in 1969. *Children's Lore,* an English overview based on the books *Antti, pantti, pakana* and *Tytöt, pojat ja tykkääminen*, was published in 1978. The works exceeded the borders of the scientific field and they have become very appreciated and much read.

After children's lore, Virtanen turned her interest towards the tradition of narration. As more narratives of experiences connected to the agony of dying loved ones were gathered through new advertisements in newspapers and interviews, she started to explore whether all these dramatic experiences could be mere coincidences. This question led her to study parapsychological research at the University of Freiburg in Germany and to use this knowledge to look for regular patterns in the narrated experiences. On the basis of the material, she published the book *Kun kello pysähtyi* (When the clock stopped) in 1974, which describes psychic experiences of ordinary Finns. Three years later, she wrote *Telepaattiset kokemukset* (Telepathic experiences). She herself regarded the results of this work as some her most important scientific achievements. This interesting and thought-provoking study was published by the University of Indiana, *That must have been ESP! An Examination of Psychic Experiences* (1990).

Leea Virtanen was appointed professor of Finnish and comparative folkloristics at the University of Helsinki in 1979 and retired in 1994. She was the first female regular holder of her chair. In her book *Suomalainen kansanperinne, Finnish Folklore* (1988/2000), Virtanen sought to give a new kind of image of folkloristics and the extensive research opportunities it offers. Her books on contemporary urban legends *Varastettu isoäiti* (The stolen grandmother) (1987/1993) and *Apua! Maksa ryömii* (Help! The liver is crawling) (1996) contain about 250 story types. Almost all Western urban legends are known in Finland. *Nykymagian käsikirja* (Handbook of contemporary magic) (1988) gives an overview of the magic in Finnish everyday life.

For her book *Arjen uskomuksia – Punatukkaiset ovat intohimoisia* (Everyday beliefs – Redheads are passionate) (1994), she looked for statements that appear in Finnish conversation and that might be crystallised in generally known sayings

Leea Virtanen held several expert positions within her field, but she was, above all, a productive and pioneering researcher and a very popular teacher. As her hobby, she edited tradition anthologies or looked for material for popular articles, lectures and radio programmes. Thus, it is understandable that she did not spend idle days after retirement, either, but wrote to the very last.

Mervi Naakka-Korhonen, Helsinki

Ragna Ahlbäck 1914–2002

The folklife scholar Dr Ragna Ahlbäck died on 6 September 2002. She was born in 1914 in Borgå in Finland, where her father Gabriel Nikander was principal of the folk high school. Her roots on the maternal side were in the Dåwö estate in Munktorp, Västergötland. In 1921 Gabriel Nikander became Finland's first professor of folklife studies at the newly founded Academy in Åbo, where Ragna grew up and studied. The home was exceedingly academic, with friends of the family including Alma Söderhjelm, Otto Andersson, and several of the other professorial originals.

In many respects Ragna Nikander followed in her father's footsteps, influenced by the combination of Nordic cultural history and Finland-Swedish folklife studies that was unique for the Academy. Folk culture was not something romantically closed, but a historically and socially determined transformation process, with old and new interacting. If one combined living tradition with historical documentation, one could follow that process over the centuries.

Ragna Ahlbäck's scholarly studies, from her first essay in 1935 on the carpenters' guild in Åbo to her last major work on farmers in Swedish Finland from 1983, are based on this method, with *Sachforschung* and word geography telling of the origin and age of cultural elements. She could jokingly say that her research trips had taken her by bicycle to every village and parish in Swedish Finland. This was how she wrote the valuable *Kulturgeografiska kartor över Svenskfinland* (1945), where she showed that the linguistic boundary between Swedish and Finnish was never a cultural boundary; instead, the coastal regions had been the point of entry for influences from the west. A central theme in her research was village life and customary law, which fascinated her and gave her the subject for her doctoral dissertation. When her book on *Kökar* appeared in 1955, it was a pioneering Nordic work, in which she showed how a society in scant circumstances could function through a toughly enforced combination of private and collective rights. She also edited the records of Socklot village court 1751–61.

Her style was terse. In one sentence in the preface of her dissertation she was able to sum up the results. As a scholar she managed to create a personal profile, even though her work was closely connected to her husband Olav Ahlbäck's dialect dictionary.

For 45 years she led and inspired the ethnological work of the Folk Culture Archives founded in 1937 by the Swedish Literature Society, where her large collections and a number of unique colour films from the 1950s are preserved. She was known and respected in the Nordic world of museums and archives. In 1965 the Ahlbäcks settled at Åminneborg in Malax, where they also founded the Kvarken Boat Museum. For Ragna Ahlbäck the restoration and furnishing of the eighteenth-century buildings was an opportunity to translate a solid knowledge of cultural history into practice.

As a person, Ragna Ahlbäck is unforgettable. Spontaneous, unpretentious, friendly, and humorous, she shared generously of her experience and knowledge. She had informants in every village and every social class, and she remembered them all. She herself was a bearer of Finland-Swedish cultural tradition in its truest form.

Bo Lönnqvist, Jyväskylä

Marianne Liliequist, Professor in Umeå

Marianne Liliequist, born in 1950 in Frostviken, Jämtland, took her doctorate in ethnology at Umeå University in 1991, with the dissertation *Nybyggarbarn*, about child-rearing in three parishes in Norrland around the turn of the century. She became a research assistant in 1992, docent in 1995, and lecturer in 1996.

Since her dissertation she has explored several fields which have resulted in the books *I skuggan av "Inte utan min dotter"* (1996), on identity among Iranians in exile, *Våp, bitchor och moderliga män* (2000), on male and female in soap operas, and (as co-editor) *Gatans politik* (2002), on the demonstrations in Göteborg during the EU summit the year before.

Socialization, ethnicity, media, politics – Liliequist shows great breadth in her choice of topics, and in theory and method. She has used archival material, interviews, participant observation, and media ethnography. Her strength as a researcher is the portrayal of people's experiences from their own perspective. Thanks to the fluency of her language, the media have shown a keen interest in her books and herself.

As a teacher, Marianne Liliequist has pioneered problem-based learning and has been particularly successful in supervising students writing essays, perhaps because she has an unusual ability to integrate research in tuition.

Liliequist is now responsible for research and postgraduate education at the Department of Culture and Media with its three different scholarly disciplines. In addition, she is busy with new research projects, including one about the left-wing movement of the 1970s, of which she herself was part, not least as a worker at the Norrbotten Ironworks in Luleå.

Billy Ehn, Umeå

Susanne Lundin, Professor in Lund

Susanne Lundin was appointed professor in Lund in 2002, after a research career containing several bold and unexpected leaps. She was born into a journalist's family in Stockholm in 1955 and took her doctorate in 1992 with a dissertation entitled *En liten skara äro vi*. This crowned several years' work in a field that was then current in ethnology – working-class culture, the biographical perspective, and the heavy influence of Bourdieu's sociology. Shortly afterwards, together with Lynn Åkesson in Lund, she began to explore the cultural consequences of the new biotechnology, in collaboration with medical scientists and geneticists. This broke new ground, gradually expanding the field of ethnological competence. They engaged scholars and doctoral students, establishing a creative research environment that crossed faculty boundaries. A series of publications soon followed, such as *Guldägget* from 1997, which illuminated the cultural consequences or artificial fertilization; and in three collections of articles, *Gene Technology and the Public* 1997, *Arvets kultur* 2000, *Gene Technology and Economy*, Lundin wrote about topics such as transplants between animals and humans and the ethical and economic aspects of gene technology. At present she is working in the field of stem cell research. Her work has gained international appreciation, and she has become a high-profile participant in several European projects and research groups.

Susanne Lundin has an unusual ability to localize salient themes in contemporary bioscience, to open new perspectives and test areas outside the conventional frames, the latest one being the cultural organization of human space flights.

Jonas Frykman, Lund

New Dissertations

Soundscapes and Smellscapes of Sawmills

Håkan Berglund-Lake, Livet äger rum. Försörjning och platstagande i norrländska sågverkssamhällen. Etnolore 22. Etnologiska avdelningen, Uppsala universitet. Uppsala 2001. 241 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1452-5.

■ Håkan Berglund-Lake's study of the everyday life of sawmill workers in Northern Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century begins dramatically. He describes how in May 1894 a family from Värmland, the Westergrens, left their home for good. They had sold their farmstead, two cows and a horse. They were heading for the east coast of Sweden, where wages were supposed to be good and where there was work to be done throughout the year in tree felling, log driving and sawmills. The Westergrens were not the only ones looking for a better life. There were thousands of others from the provinces of Värmland, Dalarna, Dalsland, Västerbotten and also the inland parishes of Norrland and the neighbouring country, Finland, who were likewise heading for Västernorrland during the expansion of the sawmill industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Even though Berglund-Lake's study is strictly confined to a certain area at a certain time, the study is of general human relevance as far as migration is concerned. If you close your eyes and move the Westergrens to another place and time, they could be moving from Värmland to Maine in the 1880s or from Finnish Lapland to the industrial towns of Sweden in the 1960s. All these movements have been of people looking for work when times were becoming bad in their home areas, and they all moved from the forests to towns, from woods to bricks, so to speak. This process of taking a place in new surroundings is the title of Berglund-Lake's book, and very rightly so. Furthermore, there is something universal about sawmills. Even though Berglund-Lake's study deals with particular sawmills in Sweden, the pattern of social life of the sawmills is similar in other countries.

Not everyone left their home for good like the Westergrens, though, since the workforce of the sawmills mostly consisted of migrant labourers who, after the end of the sawing and shipping season, returned home or searched for work elsewhere. The owners of the sawmills were dependent on both groups, the family men living near the sawmills throughout the year, and the single males who were satisfied with little. Berglund-Lake's study concentrates on the people who settled permanently in the sawmill communities. His aim is to study the pattern of subsistence and the process of place-making among the permanent working population. The focus is on the possibilities and limitations of the permanently employed sawmill workers and their wives and children, and the material and symbolic resources they created and gained access to in order to build up a new life in a place where they had no previous contacts.

To have or not to have previous contacts is a difficult question. Berglund-Lake emphasizes the fact that the migrants started from the very beginning in a new area, without the help of a familiar social landscape. According to him, the migrants were separated from family relations (p. 173). He ignores the importance of the typical pattern of migration: there were only a few who would move alone. Even if there were not a family to move with, migrants usually followed relatives or neighbours from the same village. Berglund-Lake describes (p. 47) how it was typical that when there were six to eight men from the same village who decided to move, they usually took a maid, e.g. a sister, along with them to take care of their household. Furthermore he writes that the names of workers' dwellings usually described the residents in some way (p. 93). One hut was called Ljustorp, because the residents were mainly from the neighbouring parish of Ljustorp. Another was called Vasa (after the name of a Finnish town, Vasa), because at the beginning there were many Finns living there. It would have been interesting to read an analysis of the importance of relatives and people from the same village in taking place and getting by. There were previous contacts within the sawmill community, but from a different area.

It would have been impossible to interview the people under study, as they all passed away

decades ago. Nevertheless, lack of sources has not been a problem, because sawmill workers have often been of interest to outsiders. The newspapers of that day include detailed reports of circumstances in the sawmill communities, and Berglund-Lake uses these contemporary reports as ethnographies written by participant observers. Sawmill workers were also one of the very first industrial occupations that were of interest to ethnologists. Already in the 1940s it was thought that sawmill workers were in between the agrarian and industrial way of life, and therefore worth studying. In addition to written autobiographies, recorded life stories and newspaper articles, the sawmill managers' correspondence, judicial records, estate inventories, official records and reports from rural law officials, enforcement officers, priests and district medical officers are used as source material in this study.

In his study Berglund-Lake begins by describing how the first-generation workforce was recruited to the sawmills and sketches the workers' social and geographical background and their patterns of settlement in the area. Next he analyses the ways the workers got on in their new surroundings. The work in the sawmills was seasonal and therefore even the permanent workforce had no work and no salary for the winter months. However, they had free housing and firewood for the whole year. The permanent home actually offered the basis for a good life. Sawmill workers' families' chances of managing consisted of a complex pattern in which wage labour was only one source of livelihood. Usually men had two alternatives for the winter months, either to be unemployed or to work as a lumberjack away from home. Some had skills that kept them occupied through the winter, e.g. shoemaking. Wives, on the other hand, had to support their family on savings and buying on credit from the local shop. This system indicated that women had to be very careful in their consumption. Women who were skilled at cooking, conserving food, housework and needlework were better off than those who were less competent at making nutritious food and warm textiles for the body and the house.

In the logging camps men were paid only after the work was done around Easter, and therefore the family had to live in debt until that. Summer was the time of the year when the wages were good and therefore the economy of the families was mainly based on earnings from the summer. There was a certain male dominance in the sawmills. However, during summer months even women and children were employed for short periods of time. Women's wages were about the same as young boys'. Children were recruited to work in the sawmills when they were around 8 and 9 years old. It was natural that the wages were given directly to the mother. Children were aware of the significance of their contribution to the family economy, also in housework. Men's role in housework was of minor importance. For them the time when they were not working was a time to rest.

Håkan Berglund-Lake has the gift of bringing things to life. It is as though the reader can see the homes of the sawmill workers, and has a picture of what life was like for them. One can even sense the smellscapes and soundscapes of the sawmills. It is rare to read ethnographies which have succeeded so well in the task of describing a community.

Hanna Snellman, Helsinki

At the North Pole of the Cultural Landscape

Olav Christensen, Absolutt Snowboard. Studier i sidelengs ungdomskulturer. Unipub forlag, Oslo 2001. 368 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-7477-093-5.

Absolutt snowboard, kampen mot kjedsomheten. Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo 2001. 176 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-05-30352-5.

■ According to sociologist and ethnographer Paul Willis in his theoretically important book *The Ethnographic Imagination* (2000), we have a romantic view of a previous organic community, in which people related directly, utilizing local products of their own making. And he adds: perhaps that organic community never existed as such. What has happened in the last decades is of course, he states, that the intensive commoditization, allied with electronic mediation, is destroying any last material trace of this notion of organic community. But the whole point of Willis's

argument in this particular historical moment that we call late modernism or postmodernism is for us as cultural researchers and ethnographers not to relapse into an almost tautological and dichotomic lament that the world is at the same time fragmented and globalized, and then we just go on doing our research as if nothing has happened after all. What Willis does in his book is to construct an original and important theory, which in shorthand reads as a notion of what he calls the ethnographic imagination. In Willis's view what is characteristic of the current state of being is that there exist in the intersection area between commoditization and symbolic work still taking place in different groups, not least among so-called subaltern and low-status groups, an abundance of creative possibilities but also dangers and problems which it is the researcher's duty to observe. This liminal space, where the mental and the material aspects of culture and cultural products meet, lies at the intersection between the commodity as fetish and as an inspiration for liberating cultural praxis, between our lives as social and aesthetic beings.

The most radical and innovative feature of Olav Christensen's thesis *Absolutt Snowboard: Studier i sidelengs ungdomskulturer* on a Norwegian snowboard subculture is the fact that this major study of a small group of Norwegian snowboarders living in a ski centre some 220 km north of Oslo utilizes the same type of doubleness that Willis is analysing in his book, a doubleness which is so characteristic of cultural production and consumption today. Christensen thus rightfully acknowledges the strange mix of passivity, subordination, consumption, influence and creative opposition taking place in the group he has studied. The type of groups which both he and Willis seem to be interested in, groups of young men or boys with a working-class background, seems in this particular cultural time and space to create subcultural systems which are at the same time traditional, e.g. with a traditional construction of gender hierarchy, and at the same time quite innovative, upgraded, which is the term Christensen applies to his informants/collaborators.

The group he is studying is a small nuclear group of maybe 20–30 persons all in all who lived more or less permanently (in the winter season) in a camping area called Totten at the ski centre in Hemsedal in the 90s. Christensen did his fieldwork here in three consecutive winters 1996–1998. A central point of his study seems at first to be the acceptance of the quite populist claim made by John Fiske that there indeed exists a youthful, creative resistance within the domain of the popular and that this resistance is articulated in the way in which this group marks both its geographical and its symbolic habitat in relation to other groups, in this case both other skiers in the area (who are looked down on by the group), other snowboarders and boarders (surf and skate), the snowboard industry, and last but not least the surrounding mainstream society. Metaphorically disposed as he is, Christensen uses the metaphor of sideways, characteristic of the stance of the snowboarder on his vehicle (something that also has given name to his dissertation studies on sideways youth cultures). He states that the snowboarders he has studied tend to turn their back on contemporary mainstream culture, especially in its national, regional, local and ethnic aspects. The notion of this blindness of the snowboard subculture is an indication that the offensive populism associated with John Fiske's name at best only covers a small area of the "truth" about this group and its various cultural habits, practices and traditions. The situation Christensen pictures is actually far more complex than what the populist variant would indicate. It is this richness, complexity and diversity in the relations taking place between the narrow and the broad perspective, between high and low, traditional and avant-garde which makes this thesis so exciting and meaningful to read. As stated on the back of the cover of the book the thesis is a balancing act between something that the group under study is also balancing between, a number of borders and potential border crossings which the group constantly seems to actualize. Let me discuss some of these acts of balance and see how Christensen is able to describe and analyse them.

A central device he applies is the division of the book into two main parts. The first part of the book thus consists of an intensive, very well researched and sometimes almost hyper-realistic description of this Totten subculture complete with quite ritualistic and collective privy sessions which also the researcher is forced to take part in

as a kind of initiation rite into the Totten clan, to breathtakingly beautiful, almost lyrical descriptions of the virginal places in the backcountry of Hemsedal. Here these youths take part in snowboard sessions, which for some of them has an almost spiritual meaning. This latter activity, which is quite central to the snowboarder group, the sessions in which they collectively ride down the mountains covered with new snow, called "powder", is also something which the ethnographer must abstain from because his "courage", or rather his experience in this kind of extreme snow riding is lacking.

The book is constructed in a clever way to introduce readers both to the group in question and to the central themes of the thesis. With Christensen as our guide in the text one can almost experience the book as an example of travel literature into an unknown and exciting cultural milieu and order, because both the milieu and the group have traits which make them exotic. Christensen is well aware of this exoticizing tendency of his own responses to the subject matter, and in a way he reflexively warns himself in the text not to be too exoticizing, not to overstress the transgressive and oppositional qualities in the praxis and the cultural values of the group. Still it is not possible to avoid the impression that in the text there is a clear fascination and even admiration on the part of the researcher, especially for some of his central clan informants/collaborators. This emotional involvement is revealed as textual traits showing how some of the persons of the Totten clan are especially exemplary. The exemplariness of these persons concerns something which is one of the main points of the whole thesis – and in the context of youth culture research this point is quite important – namely, the fact that it is not primarily questions of taste and style which are central to the group and define the group, something which much youth-related research has been repeating for years. Instead Christensen in his ethnographic analysis emphasizes that the guiding principle of the group and its members is the praxis-related knowledge, a knowledge of the various codes and values central to the group, something which the individual group member can demonstrate in both a mental and a bodily manner. This knowledge is not just something superficial, not some kind of cultural pose or adapted style or fashion, but a fully integrated, "thick" and believable adaptation to this particular cultural form in all its smallest details. This also means that there is a specific ethos in the group, something that Christensen describes in a fine way. This ethos can be described as a strange mix of camaraderie, individualism, and a youthful, often flamboyant masculinity. But at the same time there are a couple of young girls in the group, girls who come from the same cultural background as the boys, or as Christensen would call it, from the same cultural or symbolic universe. The notion of universe which he applies quite often to his objects of investigation is a metaphor which in my reading tends to make this group into too much a self-sufficient and closed entity, which I think his research as a whole does not support. Instead this type of youth culture is like a leaking vessel and this cultural leakage is something which makes this group interesting and, I would think, post-modern.

Christensen also notes that the sexual dimension, the fact that so many things in this subculture seem to be constructed from a male point of view and as an adaptation of globalized and mediated models, icons, stars with masculine attributes, is central to the subculture. The sexual dichotomization which in Christensen's view lies at the heart of both snowboard culture in general and this specific snowboard subculture forces the girls of the group to adapt to these male-oriented models of behaviour and outlook, either by their being subordinated into the male discourse or by creating pockets of proto-feminine resistance, this latter option practised mainly in the form of girls wearing more or less ironizing female clothes in this manly dominated sport (which Christensen of course does not see as primarily a sport, but as a subculture). But the problem with this dichotimizing view held by the researcher on the gender issue arises from the fact that this tendency is countered by another: according to the researcher the boys (a) never acted in a sexist way towards the girls of the camp and (b) the boys themselves took part in many activities which are supposed to be more "feminine" (according to a sexist ethic), things like cleaning, cooking, sewing their own clothes etc.

The gender topic in snowboard culture is, I think, something Christensen does not manage to analyse and deconstruct thoroughly enough. The question of a cultural adaptation of male discourses coming from the outside world into what seems to be a more egalitarian Nordic gender variant could be seen as an aspect of Nordic egalitarian thinking in general. A major factor in his inability to get hold of this gender aspect is the fact that he never confronts the vast male majority of the camp with these questions of sexual power and/or powerlessness, at least not as shown in the text. And is there actually a possibility that the question of gender in the final analysis does not hold quite the importance Christensen attributes to it. Could it be that the aggressiveness and adventurous spirit which the clan, in a typical youthful male disposition, demonstrates, something which Christensen reads as traditional, is just that, but that this fact still does not have any absolute relevance to questions of power relations in the group in this case?

We are here in an area in which the important but at the same time quite difficult discussion of homosocial discourses in Western narratives is emerging, a critique conducted in feminist and queer theory on these kinds of social relations. From the Odyssey to the two recent movie adaptations of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* cycle, a view has been put forward in the discussions about those narratives being strong examples of male bonding and homosocial practices where the position of women is reduced to minor roles and as beautiful fairies or frightening monsters on the margins of the stories.

Christensen's description of the Totten clan raises similar concerns. The point is that male and masculinity versus female and femininity as stable configurations are being undone all the time through metaphorization and a transgression of the concepts' own content. Therefore Christensen is never able to address this question in a comprehensive way since this question might be one about cultural creativity – or is it just adaptation? – regarding these gender constructions and cultural models. But he still makes a valiant effort to encircle this field.

The question of sex and gender points here in a disturbing way towards an ethical problem which in my view is not fully solved in the thesis, i.e. the question of the anonymity of the informants, a way of thinking which has been guiding ethnological research up to this point. Christensen's move to let several of the central informants here act with their own names and thus become quite recognizable and easy to identify establishes a break, a transgression in this respect. As to the rather heroizing descriptions of the two main male informants, Marius and Lars, Marius as the bodily "ultimate" subcultural snowboarder and Lars as his mental, thinking counterpart, this naming may not be any overwhelming problem. But the problem becomes acute in the depiction of one of the girls of the group, because of her reported background as a rape victim. One can note that this ethical question has been on Christensen's mind for a long time, not least since he returns to this question in the concluding, more personal and probing chapter of the thesis. An intriguing twist is offered in the way in which the researcher here also positions himself as a victim of sorts, the target of some quite fierce verbal attacks made by the official Norwegian snowboard federation. What we see here could thus be described as the beginnings of the construction of an aesthetics and practice of cultural marginalization. Also the fact that two of the informants are almost killed by an avalanche during the course of his research will in this way put even more stress on the researcher. He becomes ill and concludes, I think quite wisely, that this shows how contingent the results of his (or any cultural and ethnological) research really are. The ethical problem concerning the question of publishing sensitive information about the informants is taken up again in the final chapter where Christensen, so to speak, gives the girl in question the last word and lets her state that she hopes that her daughter one day will read the thesis, with delight. This operation does not erase the hesitation one can feel on this point. But at least the gnawing question of the researcher shows that the problem is not easily solved and that the discussion of these kinds of problems must continue.

Since Christensen's thesis gets much of its explanatory power from the doubling of perspective I mentioned above, it is also difficult to describe the Totten clan as a very special subcultural group taking part in more or less exotic cultural practices,

without taking into consideration the second part of the thesis which shows the impact of the larger world upon the small one, in the form of actors and industrial processes, producers and "holy" places (mostly in North America) from the globalized and mediated snowboard culture. It is this complex cultural traffic, which consists more of pictures than of words, that is in focus in the latter part of the thesis. This part is the more subversive and innovative part of this study, which does not mean that the ethnographic part is less valuable, only that ethnographical explorations of this kind are far more established – but also today increasingly under attack from textual and post-modern critiques of ethnography for picturing cultural forms which can no longer be considered definite since the researcher's values, presuppositions and possible overinterpretations might distort the complexity of the culture in question. In this way Christensen's report stands somewhere in the midst of this whole crisis of ethnography and representation which that kind of methodology implies.

For my money the most intriguing aspect of Christensen's work here has to do with the question of cultural icons and mediated pictures of heroes and heroic adventures which he describes and analyses in part two of the book. Something of a trademark of his way of conducting a cultural research could be called a poetics of immersion (notable also in the ethnographic section of the book) in which he draws in influences, trends, theories, thoughts and from all these sources creates a fleeting picture in which it is difficult to say where the objectivity of the picture ends and where its subjectivity starts and vice versa. I think everyone who has done research on these kinds of cultural icons knows this situation. They are extremely dual by nature, not only overwhelming, attractive, imposing but at the same time, through their strong metaphoric quality, because they are culturally and symbolically loaded aggregates, they can also be viewed as disguises, false pictures, hallucinations. The researcher has here been able to grasp this double perspective in a fine way with his descriptions of the many heroes of this subculture (both locally and globally). This duality is mirrored in another duality concerning the pro riders (riders working for a company in the snowboard business), who are seen as the "real" heroes of this snowboard culture. These pro riders are situated in a liminal state between global and local, between product and culture, between the object as commodity and as a cultural symbol. Christensen shows in a convincing way how these phenomena – the product (clothes, the snowboard itself) and the artist (the rider, the pro rider, the team rider) – form a whole and reciprocally charge one another with cultural significance. He also shows convincingly how the advertisements in the snowboard magazines – which are constructed mainly in a visual manner – move the development of snowboard culture. Herein lies an aesthetic of contingency. The user or the one showing the brand is supposed to have credibility in the subculture and in the next phase this credibility is also attributed directly to the brand.

This kind of contingency is indeed a mark of cultural icons in general: commodities are associated with cultural models, heroes, and the heroes are regardless of cultural surroundings glued to the sponsor relations and commodities. This kind of identification takes place first between innovative producers and small subcultural groups such as the Totten clan, Christensen notes. This leads to the commodity being given a subdued or unstable position, which Willis has described as quasi-modo commodity. Another consequence of this cultural logic is that it is the advertisements that move this subculture forward with an increasing amount of visualization of the "sport" towards more and more extreme depictions of the activities and of the heroes.

A point Christensen does not make in this context of iconization is the specific word used in English for these heroes, and the many connotations inherent in that word: rider. The concept quickly expands by way of the connotations into a whole field with strong metaphorical and mythical implications. Think of e.g. *Riders of the Purple Sage* (the classic western novel and also the name of a rock group), *Easy Rider* (the rock movie using as its title an expression coming from black vernacular culture), *Riders on the Storm* (the song of the Doors which also is the title of a famous snowboard video, something Christensen mentions), *Ride the Wild Surf* (a classic surf song and also a surf movie) and so on. Christensen does mention both *Easy Rider* and *Riders on the*

Storm in other contexts but in this specific context about the pro riders there would have been room for a more comprehensive discussion of these kinds of connotations. This kind of critique can be extended to the question of locating the snowboard culture within the larger frames of rebellious youth cultures. On this particular point I think the researcher's stance is rather passive. He does describe the relations between snowboard, surf and skateboard fairly comprehensively, but the many obvious parallels between the board subcultures, punk and heavy rock are left mainly unused analytically. A standard work on rebellion and gender constructions in rock, *The Sex Revolts* (1995), by Simon Reynolds and Joy Press, with its many exemplifications of subcultural heroes, and heroines might have added depth and breadth to the thesis.

Since Christensen explicitly looks upon the Totten clan as a formation of subcultural resistance and creativity based on globalizing, mediated heroic stories and icons and at the same time stresses the rigorous praxis within the group which underlines the question of knowledge and internalization of the subculture by studying videos and magazines, his cognitive perspective produces a doubled picture, one laid upon the other, two cultural landscapes which strangely resemble each other. The first one is the "small" landscape in which the subculture builds its ritualistic order by way of transgression in different forms: the snowboarder is e.g. seen as an animal (bird of prey, lynx, cat, wolf), and the regions which marks out their "universe" with names such as Eventyrsskogen, Caravanskogen, No-Name, also emphasize the liminal and sublime status of the nature experience.

It is, I think, no coincidence that the *Lord of the Rings* movies mentioned above with their strong connections to youth cultures are also full of sceneries with heroes rushing, "flying", fighting in mystical, tumbling landscapes (the films were shot in New Zealand, which happens to be one of the most exclusive and attractive of the global snowboard milieus). The fact that members of the Totten clan in conjunction with various cultural productions that they have been involved in (videos and books) have drawn parallels to the gothic fantasy *The Crow* and to the mystical figure The Gripping Beast as possible symbols for this kind of snowboarding taking place in the forest slopes at Hemsedal shows how this subculture in its representations is continuously oscillating between realistic and fantasy modes, between playfulness and seriousness, between gonzo journalism and strict investigations of the credibility of the various visual representations of snowboarding. It would have been interesting if Christensen had investigated the traits of violent death and gothic, which are part of several of the cultural, references that the subculture uses (*The Crow*, *Riders on the Storm*, *Easy Rider*, a German World War II helmet etc.). As I see it, these traits point in the direction of the playfulness being staged in snowboard with a strong undercurrent of seriousness, angst, violence and death. On the other hand, it must be said in defence of the scholar that his scope already has been quite large and further expansions might have imploded his thesis.

The poles that which mark the borders of the symbolic field or universe that the group considers its own cannot always be fixed geographically or visually. We are here talking about an activity which is in constant flux and one with transgressivity as a keyword, a transgressivity which according to Christensen is matched against the will of the group to maintain a cultural stability within itself, something that e.g. the development of transgressivity on the global market all the time undercuts.

The other picture of cognitive landscapes and poles that the researcher draws on is the one showing the various subcultures inside the big, globalized culture. Why do these subcultures have this relatively dominant position in the overall cultural picture that they have, Christensen asks. How is it possible for such small groups to have this significance? He answers that this is because they are cultural signposts or markers. Just as one orients in geography according to the positions of north and south, east and west, and according to the meridians drawn from their positions, young people will be oriented in the cultural landscape that they are part of according to the cultural signposts which the subcultures create. Only a few persons go to the North Pole and become totally engaged snowboarders, he says. Only a few go to the South Pole and become techno

insiders. But the point is that it is in the outer zones – which of course are more than two in number – that cultural matrices are created which in their strongest and clearest form bear the radicalism of the times as their signature, he states. Keywords such as fun, childishness, playfulness are defined from an awareness of these positions into a form of cultural capital which youth relate to and which the commercial actors transform into economic capital.

This is the final opinion that Christensen expresses in this far-reaching and important study, an opinion which at the same time points forward and indicates how much work there remains to be done concerning investigations into the kind of cultural and mental landscapes that the Totten clan represents.

Christensen's thesis is written in an easy going, fluent prose which none the less is at times rather difficult to comprehend for a Nordic neighbour, since there is much slang in the text in the form of the sociolect represented by this youth group. The researcher's linguistic style has journalistic qualities and it comes as no great surprise that there is a shortened, popular version of the study published by a Norwegian commercial publishing house. His language is very metaphorical and especially well suited to the kind of descriptions in which he excels in the first section of the book. As to the analytical effort in the second section (the aesthetic/textual part) this portion of the book is executed with good knowledge of its subject matter through extensive reading, but perhaps written in a language that is more descriptive than strictly analytical. An extensive appendix section with pictures documenting the subculture adds information value and attractiveness to the book.

All in all, it should be clear that, despite some reservations, mostly of a minor nature, Olav Christensen's study on this small snowboard community in Hemsedal must be seen as a pioneering work in Nordic ethnology. Especially the skilful combination of ethnographic and textual analysis makes this a highly readable and innovative work.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Civic Self-Awareness as a Societal Duty

Tine Damsholt, Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd. Patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i sidste del af 1700-tallet. Museum Tusculanum Forlag. Københavns universitet 2000. 369 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-642-6.

■ In the middle of Copenhagen stands the Liberty Memorial as a monument above all to the abolition in 1788 of "adscription", the law that tied the peasants to the soil. It stands there as a trade mark of the Danish model with its characteristic features of democracy and peaceful revolution. This is the starting point of Tine Damsholt's book, which is a revised and elaborated version of her dissertation *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd* ("Patriotism and Civic Virtue"), which deals with the discussions about the defensive will of the population, a debate preceding the military re-forms at the end of the eighteenth century that created the foundation for general military service as a citizen's duty. Yet this is not a book about military reforms but about the conceptual world that made it possible in the first place to talk about military service as a citizen's duty.

In the patriotic discourse that took shape in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the concept of the fatherland was central, and love of the fatherland was the basic emotion from which all other feelings developed. The liberty that the memorial stands for was not unconditional; on the contrary, it also involved many duties that the free citizen had to fulfil. Liberty had its limits, and this made specific individual demands of the citizens who were entrusted with it. The aim of Damsholt's study is to examine how the cultural construction of the citizen emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century at the intersection between the national aspirations of the state and the ability of its individuals to have a correct understanding of their place in society. The central question she seeks to answer is how a specific subjectivity was consolidated in the citizenry at the end of the eighteenth century.

Through discourse analysis Damsholt believes that she can capture the central concepts, the statements in the public discourse that was carried on, but also how these statements were translated

into practical action and were thus used in particular spheres. She is more interested in the content and structure of the discourse than in how it relates to the broader political history and the economic development. In her chosen research field we see above all her close relationship to the historian Ole Feldbæk, although he has a different angle of approach. He is interested in placing the national arousal earlier in time, while she is interested in the patriotic discourse itself and especially what the idea of defence as a citizen's duty meant for the discourse. Damsholt stresses the discursive by underlining that she is not writing about either everyday life or culture. With an identity perspective like that pursued by Feldbæk, she thinks that the differences are reduced, creating far too homogeneous an "early national identity" instead of discussing from a qualitative point of view what distinguishes eighteenth-century patriotism from nineteenth-century nationalism.

The material used here is above all the magazines *Minerva* and *Det danske Krigsbibliothek*, as well as other periodicals and commission documents, military ordinances, contemporary textbooks, peasant diaries, and educational literature.

The book is arranged so that the first part deals with the theoretical and methodological premises and perspectives on patriotism, nationalism, and subjectivity in research on cultural history. In the second part comes the empirical investigation. The aim of this division, according to the author, is to make it possible for the reader to skip the theoretical part; this may be praiseworthy, but it is also risky since the reader can scarcely understand how things hang together without having read the first part of the book. The division also leads to quite a lot of repetition in the second part, which has a disturbing effect on readers who choose to read both parts.

In the introduction Damsholt comments on the extensive ethnological research that has been carried on in Denmark about the eighteenth century that is also her period. Previous research, however, has been exclusively about everyday life in the countryside and peasant society, whereas she focuses on the urban culture of the elite. There has also been a great deal of research on nationalization, but here too it has mostly been about the everyday life of ordinary people. Whether one studies phenomena from below or from above does not matter when one studies topics such as subjectivity and ideology, Damsholt says. Ideology cannot be distinguished from the ideal. After a quick survey of the more familiar scholars of nationalism – Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson – she dismisses them all since she thinks that they reproduce the difference between ideology and the population instead of problematizing it.

She quickly turns to historical macrosociology, as represented by Charles Tilly, for whom relations between states are of much greater analytical value than the explanatory value to be found inside the states themselves. He too criticizes earlier research on nationalism for having ignored this. For Tilly, war and military structure are significant study objects since he views the states' administration and internal structure as results of war. The entire formation of the European state system must be understood on the basis of the causal relations the different states have had to each other. With an understanding like this, it also becomes clear how the transition from a hired army to a national conscripted army gives the state much greater potential to use the population as a resource. But there were threats, such as that the citizens could put up resistance, and to counter this they were therefore offered civil and political rights. For Tilly the relationship between state and population is a matter of negotiation, of relative strength. Yet Damsholt criticizes his analyses as well for not considering the subjectivity and self-awareness of the population. Instead she turns to Althusser's old discussion of "ideological state apparatuses", which interprets ideology as a precondition for subjectivity. Then subjective choices are a result of the individual's subordination to ideology, or to put it in classical Althusserian terms, ideology interpellates individuals as subjects so that they themselves believe that they are making subjective, free choices. A development of this mirror metaphor can be found in Thomas Højrup's structural state analysis, and this is what serves as the starting point for Damsholt's analyses. The most interesting thing here is his assumption that

different forms of defence give rise to different societal formations depending on the different forms of organization they require.

In the second part of the book the reader is taken directly into the debate that was conducted in the public sphere at the end of the eighteenth century among Danish bourgeois academics, especially among military officials in the state administration, a debate about how the good of the state can be achieved, how the citizen can give his life for the common good. The aim is to show which key concepts were used to establish the discursive formation which determined what could be said and how it could be said. Certain themes are allowed to serve as a basis for the chapter division. Three themes are chosen to examine the basic notions in the patriotic discourse that took shape in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The problem in her discourse analysis, however, is that she equates the analytical concept of discourse with the concept of ideology, which makes her account unnecessarily deterministic. She ignores the processes and relations that in practice create what then holds society together. The reader is simply plunged into a context without knowing how this started or finished. The lack of processual and relational perspectives makes the presentation structuralist in a way that occasionally tends to become functionalistically homogenizing in precisely the way she criticizes others for in the introduction.

Damsholt regards patriotism as a very special form of self-awareness, which was regarded at the time as the chief of virtues and the most natural one. In her explanation of civic virtue, she leans towards what Simon Schama has called "the patriotic culture of citizenship". The cultural construction of the good citizen takes place with the aid of "the patriotic gaze", which is able to determine who this citizen is. The way in which the citizens are described in contemporary literature shows, according to Damsholt, how a civic subjectivity was installed as a response to this gaze. Interpretation is complicated by the fact that while the noun *borger* means "citizen", the adjective *borgerlig* is employed in the sense of "bourgeois" rather than "civic". In the newspaper sources on which she bases her analysis the concept of "citizen" is used (e.g., p. 89), but Damsholt reinterprets it as "bourgeois" and even uses the term *borgerlig frihed* "civic/bourgeois liberty" as a key concept without showing that it occurs in the sources.

The idea that the population's correct attitude and civic consciousness could be ensured with the aid of patriotism is confirmed in inner and outer movement, which shows how the emotional and patriotic citizens moved in the new English parks, how they learned to appreciate the memorial sites of the time, and how they could recognize themselves through the emotional language that was developed. Together with bodily staging by means of costume, military skills, and collective rituals, the conditions were formed for a new self-perception and self-mobility. Damsholt sums this up by saying that the rituals put patriotic words and movements in the mouths and bodies of individuals and at the same time symbolically created the imagined patriotic community. Here – without reference – she uses the same Benedict Anderson that she described in the first chapter as analytically useless, and she presents the entire course of events in precisely the deterministic way that she initially says she wants to avoid. The individual became a feeling subject through the training that was instilled by means of dress, dance, garden promenades, and political rituals. The patriotic citizen created in this way was a man. Women were confined to the child-rearing context of the home. The women were described at the time in contrast to the men. Women were emotional and weak and in need of protection, but they could also guide husbands and children in the right moral direction. Their civic virtue was to be realized through the family, where she was to see to it that her husband was happy and her children became good patriots. Within this framework Damsholt nevertheless claims to be able to discern statements which show that women could be shaped into self-aware individuals.

The question of how the army was to acquire the necessary people, that is, a sufficiently large, cheap, and skilled force, was the basis for the processes of military reform at the end of the eighteenth century, but it was also a search for an answer to how the defensive will of the peasant population was to be consolidated. Denmark was one of the first countries to introduce a system of

compulsory military service based on personal proficiency, described as the citizen doing his duty for the fatherland. Love of the native country and the hope of winning glory in war would give a new view of being a soldier. With the reform of 1788, military service became a personal duty. "Healthy, bold men" would now voluntarily become soldiers. Conscription had been detached from the feudal structure and attached directly to the individual in his capacity as citizen. With Foucault, Damsholt believes that this can be described as a crucial stage in the subjectivization process which meant that new forms of self-awareness could be envisaged. The citizens' subjectivity and the peasants' attitude to military service were central questions in the contemporary debate. Both the will to defend the country and national character were described as something given, something that just was, rather than normative, as something that ought to be. She interprets this as meaning that the right subjectivity was "installed" with the new instrument of government.

Under the heading "Patriotic Citizen Soldiers and Light Tactics" Damsholt describes the role of the infantry in the disciplining of the body. The development should also be seen as a transition from linear tactics with quick-firing units to more dispersed combat with individually fighting soldiers. The new drill, as Foucault has shown, required meticulous body control, as is also clear from the drill instructions that Damsholt has studied. She shows that the new tactics also required an independent soldier, her source being newspapers from the time which emphasize the need for self-reliance.

How were peasants made into citizens? What techniques were used? In military life they encountered the patriotic ideas in the form of the duty of defending the fatherland. Gymnastics and military training as play were also discussed for the peasants' children. With gymnastics the children could be brought up to be useful, happy members of society. The new citizen was to be shaped by military drill and bodily disciplining via gymnastic training, and the drill also became an ideal image of the peasant's place in society as a disciplined citizen.

Finally, Damsholt sums up her results in comparison with those of other scholars. She stresses that her topic is a specific form of civic subjectivity, whereas, for example, Feldbæk is interested in the history of the Danish sense of identity. She also criticizes Tilly for presuming a subject status among the population and for seeing ideologies as tools for steering people and as a result rather than a precondition. Here I think she makes her greatest mistake, in that she takes ideologies for granted and tries to show that they create subject status, in other words, the exact opposite of what Tilly says. Civic liberty consisted of fulfilling one's place in the whole, by voluntarily doing what one ought to, she observes. Public and individual were aspects of the same thing.

Tine Damsholt's basic aim in this book is to demonstrate that freedom and subjectivity are always dependent on the conditions in which they are created, and in this she has succeeded. Despite unnecessary repetition and at times impenetrable analysis, she has managed to create a credible picture of the patriotic discourse that preceded nineteenth-century nationalism. From a Swedish ethnological point of view, it is particularly interesting to be able to note that cultural history as a concept and as analytical practice can very well be combined with a solid discourse analysis. Unfortunately, however, the Althusserian ideology and the "ideological state apparatuses" get her into a mess and make an otherwise interesting analysis unnecessarily static, structuralist, and homogeneous. A time characterized by change, ambivalence, and paradoxes is made to seem like a clear ideological power apparatus which interpellates self-aware citizens without us being told why these citizens became so self-aware and let themselves be interpellated by the taken-for-granted ideology. If she had instead used Charles Tilly's relational analysis which she presents so lucidly in the first part and combined it with Foucault as a guide in the subjectivization processes, it would have been easier to understand how it was possible to create the self-aware citizen that took shape at the end of the eighteenth century. I would also have liked to see a discussion of what her material can actually say about the discursive practice.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

An Ethnological View of Rape Cases

Simon Ekström, Trovärdighet och ovärdighet. Rättsapparatens hanterande av kvinnors anmälan av våldtäktsbrott, Stockholm 1946–1950. Gidlunds förlag, Hedemora 2002. 220 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7844-612-0.

■ Assaults against women's sexual integrity are an issue of acute importance, even in the contemporary Nordic countries, although on the whole the situation in this respect is probably less distressing here than in some other societies. In Finland, for example, hardly a year passes without an incident where the sentence and the judicial reasoning of the law court in a case of sexual assault against women causes a justified public outcry. Writing this I recall the latest of them, in early autumn 2002, when the court regarded the male perpetrator's having a permanent job as a mitigating factor! The final words of the book I am discussing here suggest that in Sweden too the judicial system of today is not totally free of problematic presuppositions concerning incidents of rape.

This being the case, one can definitely say that Simon Ekström has taken up a relevant topic in his doctoral dissertation. He studies how the police authorities and the law court (i.e. the judicial system) in Sweden have previously dealt with women's reports of rape. It is a case study which focuses on the Stockholm police district, 1946–1950. The motive for the study can surely be formulated in various ways but one way to do it is to say that Ekström has wanted to understand and to explain why only a very small percentage of the women's reports of rape resulted in prosecution and, consequently, in very few convictions. The figures for Stockholm, 1946–1950, are 147 reports of rape, seventeen(!) prosecutions and eleven convictions.

The title of the dissertation encapsulates the essential concepts that were in operation in the judicial deliberation and negotiation of the rape reports: credibility and disrepute. These negotiations were not a simple matter of weighing up evidence of what possibly had, or had not, happened. The authorities in the judicial system were also assessing the credibility of the involved persons on *moral* grounds; in other words, the credibility of the woman's/man's account of the reported incident largely depended on whether the judicial authority considered them morally respectable or not.

The crux of the matter was that often the police only had the testimonies of the woman and the man, and understandably these were usually different from each other, if not outright diametrically opposed, in how they described the first encounter and its escalation. For the authorities the only way to proceed was to try to assess and, as it were, to compare the credibility of the accounts. So far there is nothing to object in this, but the unfortunate thing is that, as we will see in more detail below, the authorities' implicit guidelines for deciding which of the accounts was more credible were predicated upon notions of morality that were effectively unfavourable to the women's cause.

It is worth emphasizing that Ekström does not want to arbitrate who was speaking the truth and what had really happened in these cases. To find the right answer to such questions mostly lies beyond the powers of 21st-century ethnologists and historians. Instead, Ekström has focused his attention on what the police and the law court wanted to know, and what the women and the men wanted to tell. In a Foucauldian terminology: this is an analysis of the mechanisms of knowledge production in the judicial system, and its aim is to shed light on the social and cultural preconditions and strategies of this "mode of knowledge production".

To accomplish his task, Ekström analyses the dossiers of police interrogations in detail, first from the perspective of what kind of information the police considered relevant to collect and include in the dossier. Apart from the interrogation protocols there are, for example, testimonies of social work authorities, psychiatrists, and family members – all these contributing to the authorities' assessment of the personality of the women and men in question. Then Ekström looks at the dossiers from the perspective of what the women/men themselves wanted to tell and how they did it. Regarding the question whether it is the women's/men's "own voice" or that of the police authorities' that we hear in the protocols, the

author suggests, sensibly in my view, that also the interrogated parties could make their subjectivity heard in the interrogations and that the protocols (whose contents the parties had to confirm) do give us some idea of what the women/men themselves wanted to say about the matter.

Ekström then moves on to the documents of the law courts where the deliberations of the prosecutor and the defence counsel are visible. All the way through the substantial chapters he offers extensive quotations from the documents so as to let the reader see the material that his interpretations rest upon. One particular case is followed more closely throughout the study, which is a methodologically nice touch and helps connect the other, more fragmentarily emerging cases into the larger picture.

The outcome of the analysis is that the judicial authorities' implicit principles for making a decision whether to proceed to actual prosecution (and possibly to a guilty verdict) were strongly based upon cultural notions of gender-specific morality. In reality, the woman would usually find it difficult to qualify as a "woman who can be subject to rape", i.e. as a respectable woman. For the category of respectable woman was after all pretty exclusive, and for the working-class women, in particular, access into that category (or staying within it) was not at all easy. Suspicions concerning the woman's moral respectability would easily erode also the credibility of her statements. As Ekström notes, it is curious that whereas it was the woman who was accusing the man of assault, the roles would usually become reversed in the police interrogation and in the court: it would be the man who was, as it were, accusing the woman of sexual soliciting, and she would need to defend herself and refute any such allegations of sexual misdemeanour. And if the woman became regarded as "sexually loose", her individual right to protection of sexual integrity by the law was rescinded to a considerable degree.

For the man the suspicions concerning his sexual misdemeanours were not fatal in the same way, indeed the issue would not feature in the judicial reports and deliberations, unless – and this was the aggravating thing for the man – his sexual and/or mental characteristics appeared abnormal in some way. Such suspicions could be raised, for example, if the man had assaulted particularly young or old or helpless women, if he had been notably violent, or if he had had alcohol or mental problems in his own life or in the family line. Naturally the man's class status was also relevant: working-class and middle-class men would not be considered potential rapists in the same degree. In sum: it was not that easy for the man to qualify as a person who could reasonably be thought of as a rapist.

The women and the men learned quickly (if they did not know it before already) that they should give the police investigators as convincing an impression of themselves as possible. As Ekström also notes, the women and the men engaged in a kind of image management or a "presentation of the self", as the sociologist Erving Goffman would have called it.

In the end, then, the judicial authorities handled the reported/alleged cases of rape in a way that is problematic: the evidence of rape had to be very convincing indeed before the prosecutor would proceed (provided that the woman herself, as the plaintiff, wanted the case to go further). Ekström is careful not to blame the judicial authorities outright, however, because the core of the problem was the wider frame of cultural models and schemes of thought concerning gender and sexuality. The authorities were here drawing from a repertoire of cultural models of thinking about gender, and they were also reproducing it. In these schemes one may find, for example, the idea that the woman needs to feel conquered and "seized" by the man before she will become "turned on" and enjoy sexual pleasure. Faced with this idea, one may ask, as Ekström does, if there isn't in our images of heterosexual intercourse also something that closely resembles an act of rape. The question has been answered affirmatively by a number of gender and feminist theorists since the 1970s.

Against the background of Ekström's empirical material one can agree with those who have claimed that despite its seemingly gender-neutral language and its objectivist rules of reasoning, the law (and more particularly, the penal code) endorsed masculinist assumptions concerning individual rights and bodily integrity.

Simon Ekström has written a very readable

and well-structured doctoral dissertation which is also reasonably compact (220 pages). I think it is fair to say that the general remarks and conclusions on how gender and female sexuality were constructed and reproduced in the discourse and discursive practices of the judicial apparatus are not novel, nor is Ekström proposing that they are. In fact, his concise presentation of previous studies on law, women and female sexuality (pp. 24–30) is more a listing of interpretations and conclusions (but an informative list at that), and I think Ekström does not have any particular objections or modifications to make to them. Primarily the contribution of his thesis to this field of study lies in its ethnological approach: it shows in detail how the struggle for the witnesses' credibility took place, and how the cultural images of gender and sexuality made themselves visible in the intricate discursive details of police investigations and interrogations. I think this is how he himself would also formulate the aspiration that he has had (pp. 14–15).

Indeed, much of this overall picture of women, sexuality and the law has already been presented by dozens of sociologists and other social scientists and feminist philosophers in the last 25 years, and Ekström does not alter the content or colours of this picture. However, he focuses on the micro-level and shows, as it were, the material form of the prevalent assumptions about gender-specific conduct and psychology. My subjective judgment is that, unlike many researchers on this issue, Ekström has managed to carry out his analysis without making it look as if the empirical part has been pasted into the text so as only to illustrate the truths of previous research. Here, the documents and their actual contents have been given more space to breath. I might add that the possibilities for doing research like this are probably better in the Nordic countries than in many other countries, because of a more liberal availability of judicial documents.

Ekström has also tried to make a theoretical contribution by combining ideas from the work of the historian Joan Scott and the philosopher Simone de Beauvoir. Whereas Scott is more of a kind of Foucauldian and discourse-orientated and theorizes gender as a (re)productive category in the fabric of power relations, de Beauvoir wanted to transcend the sex/gender distinction and more bring forth the experience of the body as an integral part of one's social situation. It is this concept of situation that Ekström has wanted to mobilize, but, as he says, he does not take the whole package of meanings that de Beauvoir gives to "situation". In a sense, Ekström picks up the concept but then declares that he will not give the body the theoretical – or ontological – position that de Beauvoir gave it (pp. 16–22). I cannot claim to be a specialist on de Beauvoir, but it seems to me that here Ekström leaves out the crucial element in de Beauvoir's understanding of gender as socially situated and embodied experience, and thereby "situation" is pretty much diluted as a concept. It is noteworthy that half-way through his work he ends up conceding that perhaps, after all, the body cannot be explained away in the analysis (p. 91), and he then muses on how the female and male bodies are present in the police reports in the passages where, for example, the women described how they struggled against the assaulting man. Yet I think Ekström would have managed this without invoking de Beauvoir. The culturally meaningful body movements mostly remain unregistered, thus they are not easily accessible to posterity, and it is understandable that ethnologists and historians usually do not focus on them too much. But I think they could more tackle the issue of embodied subjectivity and experience. Joan Scott is probably not helpful to that endeavour as she does not seem to take seriously the possibility of the extra-discursive realities of embodied experience, but de Beauvoir probably would be helpful. I think Ekström has not, after all, risen to this challenge.

To end, I would like to compliment Simon Ekström for not having fallen into the trap where many sociological studies of gender and sexuality, at least in Finland, have fallen: because so much of the influential work on these subjects is being published in the English-speaking world, the authors often refer to it as if it served directly as justification for their conclusions, without any qualifying "cf." or other remarks. I find Ekström has been much more sensitive and careful in this respect.

Jan Löfström, Helsinki

The Rebirth of Birth

Tove Ingebjørg Fjell, Fødselens gjenfødelse. Fra teknologi til natur på fødearenaen. Høyskole-Forlaget, Kristiansand 1998. 192 pp. Diss. ISBN 82-7634-165-9.

■ This book about "The Rebirth of Birth" is a revised version of Tove Fjell's doctoral dissertation which she defended at the University of Bergen in 1997. Her point of departure is the change that has taken place in the arena of childbirth in the last ten years, when there has been a shift away from high-tech birth to more intimate scenarios, in keeping with a desire to make the delivery room more private and to emphasize the birth as an experience.

Fjell's topic is thus of great contemporary social relevance. People's perceptions of birth alternate, viewing it as an everyday, trivial matter or emphasizing the unique and existential. Birth rarely leaves anyone unmoved. For that reason alone, it is interesting to see the results of research into birth from a contemporary perspective. Fjell has succeeded in the feat of taking the pulse of today's society, and through her analysis she shows a change in the health service. The change is visible in the rejection of modern, efficient childbirth in favour of individually oriented, intimate maternity care – a change which is possible because infant mortality is so low. The critique of high-tech delivery is associated with ideas about nature and tradition. In this critique people seek to come closer to what is natural and to the past, which represents something unique and authentic. Women thus invoke both nature and traditions in their quest for natural and genuine experiences of birth.

Birth can be studied from many different angles. It may be a matter of focusing on the child, on the mother's encounter with the midwife, on the health service, or on the father. Fjell does none of this; instead she aims for a position where these can be combined. She concentrates on how the birthing woman and the hospital staff experience and interpret the negotiation that takes place in the birth situation, on the help the mother receives in childbirth, on how she perceives it, and on how her needs have furthered the development of today's maternity care. The relation between the mother and the health service is viewed by Fjell from a modernity perspective. It is a question of an orientation towards a reflexive attitude to life, a doability, and an individualization. She applies a constructivist perspective to birth, by which she means that she regards birth as socially, culturally, and historically constructed. The method used by Fjell as a basis for her analysis consists of participant observation and interviews with both birthing women and care staff. Other categories of material are magazines aimed at parents and various information folders.

After the first part in which the author presents her premises and material, the dissertation consists of three chapters. The first deals with variations in the institution of birth. Here Fjell presents the relationship between expert literature and expectations, and the actions of the midwife in the delivery situation. The midwife places herself in the centre with a vision of creating continuity, a public family. A development in which the care staff has a strong position is viewed by Fjell as a medicalization of everyday life, with the risk of increased helplessness among birthing women as a consequence. Fjell views this development as an alternation between increased passivity on the one hand and creativity and autonomy on the other. In addition, she wants to find answers to what constitutes variation in the maternity ward, with the aid of the terms "everyday medicine" and "the voice of medicine". One of Fjell's ideas is to look at the variation within a culture, getting away from the idea of a unified culture.

The third and fourth chapters are about the gaze being turned homewards and inwards. In my opinion, these two chapters are the best, demonstrating Fjell's excellent ability for observation and analysis. Her description of the maternity ward setting gives good insight into the design of the Norwegian system of maternity care, geared to creating a private, homelike environment, with the important desire to get the father to participate, not just to be present, and with an emphasis on the link between birth and sexuality. The chapter about how the gaze is turned inwards deals with the contact with the unborn child and the birthing body. Here Fjell dwells on the woman's experience of pain, from endurance to creative pain. The pain

is perceived as creative and positive since it leads to a child, and it is experienced as part of a "feeling" with its roots in the body. The Norwegian mothers whom Fjell interviewed pointed out that they do not want a birth without feeling. They avoid strong pain relief so as to retain control over themselves or because they do not want to miss the experience of birth. The woman is an active agent, it is she herself who gives birth. Fjell regards the experience of pain as something of a social demand and as a possibility for the birthing woman to have contact with the interior of her body, a bridge to her innermost self. At the same time there is an orientation towards increasingly biologically based interpretations, both among women giving birth and among health care staff. The biological gaze is gaining more and more force. Parallel to the biologizing tendency, however, there is an orientation towards bygone times, towards a historical continuity, towards nature, towards a primeval femininity with a notion of the primitive woman who gives birth with ease and without pain – which Fjell sees as a paradox. She interprets the reaction to high-tech birth as an expression of the eclecticism of late modernity: security and continuity are derived from earlier times, while consciousness of survival is derived from the present.

Fjell's dissertation is the result of very good cultural analysis. She makes nuanced interpretations and shows great variation and diversity within the field. She shows how both the birthing woman and the care staff alternate between different concepts in their interpretations. What I miss is perhaps a more detailed treatment of the interview material. A narrative analysis of the interviews might have given this material a more prominent place than it has at the moment. The strength of Fjell's dissertation is the result of her analytical ability, which is revealed in her way of describing and analysing the chosen setting.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo

The Enchanted Zone

Lotten Gustafsson, Den förtrollade zonen. Lekar med tid, rum och identitet under medeltidsveckan på Gotland. Nya Doxa, Nora 2002. 315 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-578-0409-5.

■ During a week in the beginning of August each year, thousands of enthusiasts gather in Visby in order to "play" and enact medieval history. The place is well chosen. Visby, the beautiful capital of the island of Gotland, was one of the most prominent cities of the Baltic world from the 13th to the 15th century. The period has left permanent marks in the form of a remarkably well-preserved wall, numerous church ruins and still standing medieval houses. Add the fact that Gotland is virtually flooded by tourists each summer, and the result is spectacular. The "Medieval Week", which started on a small scale in 1984, initiated by locals, has grown into an established institution, a gigantic tourist industry, and today constitutes the peak of the Gotlandian summer season. Approximately 100,000 visitors, Swedes as well as foreigners, participate by dressing in medieval clothes, playing appropriate music and eating with their fingers.

It was, of course, only a matter of time before this phenomenon became the object of an academic dissertation. The result is a book by Lotten Gustafsson, attached to the Department of Ethnology at Stockholm University, called *Den förtrollade zonen. Lekar med tid, rum och identitet under medeltidsveckan på Gotland* (*The Enchanted Zone. Playing with Time, Space and Identity during the Medieval Week on Gotland*). Gustafsson's dissertation is based on a considerable amount of field work. She visited Visby for this purpose from 1993 to 1998, interviewing participants and experiencing as much as possible of the series of events herself. Gustafsson has also made use of press cuttings, homepages from the Internet, video films, photographs and information and publicity material from the festival.

As suggested by the title of the dissertation, Gustafsson's main fields of interest are what she refers to as "enchanted zones", i.e. areas in which visitors perform various roles and assume real or imagined experiences. Most importantly, she

focuses on the annual "play" commemorating the fall of Visby to the forces of the Danish King Valdemar IV Atterdag in 1361, the big medieval market and the camp of Styringheim, a Gotlandian branch of the international organisation *Society for Creative Anachronism* (SCA). A considerable part of the book is devoted to analyses of various activities in a big camp outside Visby, attached to Styringheim but also frequented by members of other organisations. This specific camp only existed during a few years in the 1990s, but similar camps, although not as big, are still established each summer.

In formulating her research problem, Gustafsson maintains an overarching ambition to delve as deep as possible into our relationships with the past, our present-day connections to a lost reality. Which medieval images and ideals are acceptable to the playful eyes of modern man? Which specific aspects of the past are focused as we enter our own version of the Middle Ages in present-day Visby? How do we solve the problem of interpretative contradictions, inevitable as they are, within the realm of the "Medieval Week"? And, aside from all of this: *why the Middle Ages*? Why has the period from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Italian renaissance become the focus for contemporary interest? Why not some other long lost era? All over the Western world, there are numerous enthusiasts running around in *medieval* dress and arranging *medieval* parties. Why not the Renaissance? Why not Antiquity?

Gustafsson asserts that the fascination for the Middle Ages is ultimately to be explained as a kind of neo-romanticism. We mix history and fairy-tale, realism and fiction, into a pseudo-medieval fusion that meets our Utopian demands. We provide shape and content to a play that acts as a free zone for testing out solutions to existential and cultural problems, and it is up to ourselves to decide which roles to play. Thus, the past is transformed into the present and future tense. Through this illusion, we seek and sometimes attain medieval authenticity: the Utopian vision comes to life.

Den förtrollade zonen is an interesting work with several positive scholarly aspects. Many of Gustafsson's chapters contain thought-provoking analyses of phenomena connected to the "Medieval Week", such as the enacting of the events of 1361, the Danish invasion that acts as a temporal frame for the entire week, beginning with heralds announcing the approaching ships and ending with a big party. Gustafsson's studies of "medieval" scenarios constructed so as to facilitate the breaking of established norms (e.g. connected to weapons, clothes and sexuality) are also valuable pieces of research. She analyses the medieval market as a kind of catwalk of streets and venues, where visitors exhibit themselves and their medieval creations. Dressed in medieval clothes, the men and women of the "Medieval Week" take part in a Utopian play as objects and subjects of their own experience as well as that of others. Without being locked up or restricted, they can attire themselves in roles that respond to dreams about attractiveness and intelligibility. What is normally perceived as bizarre suddenly becomes tolerated and even encouraged. For example, during this specific week, it is not politically incorrect to emphasise social and gender-based differences. If you really want to be a sword-bearing knight dominating the street, go right ahead. Beggars are accepted, as are monks and wealthy widows. By performing in the "play", you enact a world that is longed for, giving it concreteness and reality.

However, analyses such as these are clouded by problems that tend to grow bigger and more serious as we view the book from wider perspectives. The dilemma is especially obvious on a theoretical level. *Den förtrollade zonen* contains an (admittedly fascinating) discrepancy between several complexes of ideas, such as theories concerning cultural heritage, theories on plays and rituals, and theories on the use of history. Unfortunately, Gustafsson fails to mould these theories into a common framework. As a consequence, the chapters branch out in several directions. My main objection, however, is another one: the very object of the analysis, the "Medieval Week" itself, actually does not come into analytical focus *per se*.

Why? It is, according to the title of the book, Gustafsson's explicit intention to study "time, space and identity during the Medieval Week on Gotland", but the week itself only functions as a point of reference, not as an object of study.

Gustafsson is apparently not fascinated by the week as such. She is interested in specific re-enactments of the past, not in the complex assortment of activities that together constitute the "Medieval Week" and thus makes it special. For example, the scholarly ambition to educate visitors in various aspects of medieval history, art, literature, religion and archaeology – chiefly by way of lectures, seminars and courses – has always been highly important to the organisers of the week, but Gustafsson completely neglects this issue in her dissertation. Another example: for a majority of visiting tourists as well as for the persons responsible for the financial budget of the week, the tournaments that are held immediately north of the medieval city wall of Visby are regarded as climactic events. Gustafsson, however, refrains from analysing them. And so on: the analyses are limited to a few carefully chosen events, leaving most of the week outside the book.

Gustafsson's neglect – or rather her conscious choice not to analyse – is hard to understand. Like Gustafsson, I have visited the "Medieval Week" during several years, but for a different purpose. I participated by giving lectures at the local museum, *Gotlands fornsal*. My ambition was, and still is, to combine a scholarly attitude ("popular history") with the same thematic enthusiasm that characterises the behaviour of many of the persons analysed by Gustafsson, for example by dressing in 14th-century clothes. Moreover, the "Medieval Week" usually coincides with the final week of our summer vacation, providing us with a healthy dose of last-minute relaxation. I stroll around the city walls in the morning, eat breakfast, visit friends dressed in similar fashion and, in the evening, give a lecture at the museum. At night, I might be found in one of the "medieval" inns that come to life during the week. All of this – the walking, the dressing, the visiting, the lecturing and the eating and drinking at the inn – function as a whole. Play and scholarly ambition become one. Without this specific sense of unity, the "Medieval Week" on Gotland would have been merely one of many events during the holiday season. It should be observed that this is my personal view of the week. To thousands of other tourists, the week is just an element of fun. The historical content is reduced to medieval clothes, music, song and food. Gustafsson, however, is just as silent on this attitude as she is on the one exhibited by persons like me.

In other words, Lotten Gustafsson chooses to disregard the "Medieval Week" as such, both with regard to time and space and with regard to identity. She deliberately cuts away every item that does not fit into her pattern of explanation. The average visitor/tourist in Visby would hardly recognise himself/herself, or his/her experience, in the descriptions and analyses in Gustafsson's dissertation. Why? Mainly because Gustafsson is not interested in the week as such but in various elements connected to ritualised "play", elements that admittedly do occur during the week, but also in many other festivals and gatherings. Gustafsson maintains (p. 33) that she has concentrated her efforts on explaining situations in which the acting persons attempt to create full-scale illusions of the Middle Ages. Do not misunderstand me: there is absolutely nothing wrong in this, but it would have been better for the dissertation if Gustafsson had dared let go of Visby as a spatial point of reference. Her research would have benefited if she had been able to focus entirely on the "play"-phenomenon, for instance in associations such as the SCA.

As to the question "why the Middle Ages?", I would argue that far more research is needed if we are to understand why this particular period so easily comes into focus for neo-romantic dreaming and for countless festivals all over Europe. Gustafsson would need considerably sharper theoretical and methodological tools, especially with regard to theories on the use of history (Klas-Göran Karlsson, *et al.*), in order to achieve a truly illuminating analysis on this particular issue. What Gustafsson writes about neo-romanticism is probably correct, but it is only a part of the explanation. After all, neo-romantic attitudes could just as easily be directed towards other historical epochs.

Nevertheless, despite my above-mentioned objections, *Den förtrollade zonen* remains an intelligent analysis of some phenomena that, together with others, constitute integrated parts of a contemporary version of the past. It is a colourful version that constantly, and successfully, competes with the various interpretations put forward by members of the academic community.

The "Medieval Week" provides a set of images of the Middle Ages not as it was, but as it should have been. It is important to study this pseudo-medieval Utopia, perhaps not for our understanding of the Middle Ages, but for understanding ourselves and our views of history. Lotten Gustafsson has made an interesting contribution to this field of research.
Dick Harrison, Lund

Elvis Presley, King of Carnival

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Elvis Presley – den karnevalistiske kungen. Åbo Akademi, Åbo 1999. 433 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-765-008-6.

■ Considering how significant press, film and the broadcasting media became as forms of communication in twentieth-century society, folkloristics has hitherto devoted rather little attention to mass-media phenomena. There is some irony in this, since it is through the media that we have acquired phenomena which are widespread and serve as a common frame of reference for the "folk" in the collective sense referred to in the name of the discipline. It is no longer controversial to study expressions of popular culture; the question is rather how to justify the choice of study object and to obtain meaningful results by folkloristic methods.

One way is to study the hero figures produced by the mass media. Several interesting studies in this field have been carried out by Sven-Erik Klinkmann, including one on Lady Di, and works on musicians who have created a mythical persona, such as Johnny Cash and John Fogerty. In his doctoral dissertation he tackles perhaps the greatest media phenomenon in music in the second half of the twentieth century, Elvis Presley. The choice of Elvis is in a way self-evident, but it is also a challenge: how do you tackle a subject that offers many different angles of approach? Klinkmann interprets Elvis in terms of Bakhtinian theory, regarding the Elvis that appeared in public as a mask (or, more exactly, in a diachronic perspective, as a series of masks) in the sense of the carnival: a figure that juxtaposes high and low, mixing categories, affirming corporeality. The analysis exposes how the Elvis mask was created on the basis of Presley's own background, of different musical traditions, and how it portrays different themes in American culture: white–black, male–female, religious–secular, youthfulness, etc., with the stylistic devices of the carnivalistic grotesque.

Klinkmann begins his dissertation with the task of justifying the relevance of the chosen topic in the field of folklore studies by discussing and deconstructing the dichotomy between the concepts of folk culture and popular culture. After a discussion of "the carnivalistic" comes the empirically based analysis. Klinkmann introduces this with an analysis of what he calls the carnivalistic roots of rock, that is, different traditions of musical performance which can be said to have preceded rock, and on which Elvis built directly or indirectly: New Orleans music, vaudeville, minstrel show, hillbilly comedy, and so on. After looking at the state of research on rock music and Elvis and giving a biographical account, the author analyses the construction of the Elvis mask in detail in the spheres of hairstyle and face, clothes, movements, gestures and poses, and verbality and practical jokes. Klinkmann gives a convincing analysis of the historical roots of the different features and their symbolic significance. The latter field, however, is chiefly based on pictures of Elvis in private, so it is uncertain how it belongs to the public Elvis mask. Moreover, the ethnomusicological concept of voice masking could have been discussed: in what way does Elvis's singing style go beyond conventional performances and become carnivalistic, crossing boundaries, commenting? The answer to that question can be found indirectly in the next chapter, which is an analysis of six of the "seven streams" of American popular music according to the classification by Philip Ennis, and how Elvis builds up his repertoire in relation to them: pop, country, black pop, gospel, folk music, jazz. Klinkmann also adds the stream of "fantasy music" to capture the streak of exoticism in Elvis. In the subsequent chapter Klinkmann analyses rock as an independent stream, pointing out that, besides being composed of earlier streams, rock also has a special carnivalistic and

boundary-crossing character. This is convincingly exemplified in the analysis of the songs *Hound Dog*, *All Shook Up*, *Heartbreak Hotel*, and *Jailhouse Rock*.

A special chapter is devoted to Elvis's relation to black culture, which is described both as boundary-crossing and at the same time detached, yet another carnivalistic feature. In the final chapter Klinkmann sums up his findings in a diachronic account, distinguishing four masks connected to different phases in Elvis's career, and discusses how the masks emerged in relation to the media and how Elvis as a private person became one with his mask.

Despite the scope of the dissertation, there are certain points where a deeper analysis would have been rewarding. Klinkmann's own experiences of writing for the media could have shed light on the material he uses, for example, through an outline genre analysis. A discussion of the receivers' side, the audience, and possible interpretative positions, would also have been appropriate.

With the aid of the folkloristic tradition, Klinkmann has in my view enriched our understanding of Elvis as a phenomenon and of phenomena in popular culture as a whole. He shows a profound knowledge of the history of popular music and research on the subject, which makes the dissertation a solid one, despite the fact that the topic might have invited a more facile analysis scoring easier points.

Alf Arvidsson, Umeå

Recorder of Oral Traditions

Tuulikki Kurki, Heikki Meriläinen and Discussions on Popular Culture. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2002. 234 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 951-746-397-9.

■ The subject of Tuulikki Kurki's dissertation is the northeastern Finnish peasant Heikki Meriläinen (1847–1939) and his activities as a recorder of oral traditions and a literary depicter of popular culture. The subject is an interesting choice as Meriläinen's mediating position between the populace and the scholars studying its traditions affords the opportunity to study the documentation of tradition from a variety of angles. Meriläinen, an uneducated peasant from the Kainuu region only learnt to read and write at an adult age. He nonetheless grew to be a prominent personality in Finnish cultural life as a promoter of the Finnish nationalist movement at the end of the 19th century. At the same time, Meriläinen's position in the hierarchy of researchers became somewhat problematic, as he did not fit comfortably into either the category of popular source or researcher.

The study comprises six main chapters, the first of which is Kurki's introduction to the background and subject of her study. This consists of the ethnographic study of an individual, mentality studies and microhistory. A presentation of the study materials and the theoretical framework follows in the second chapter. The main theoretical framework is symbolic anthropology with its related concepts such as *articulation* and *constructivism.* The author also presents her central research problems i.e. how representations of popular culture and tradition were produced in a dialogue and negotiation between folklorists, educated circles, Meriläinen and cultural practitioners as well as the role of amateur collector of folklore vis-à-vis academic scholar in the practice of ethnography. The ideohistorical angle and the significance of Fennomania for Meriläinen's activities, his personality, and the reason why he became a figurehead for the Finnish nationalist movement are left aside in framing main research problem.

The primary materials of the study are Meriläinen's records of folklore, his own literary output, and correspondence with various partners and interlocutors. Kurki presents the materials briefly in the text, emphasising above all their nature and the different modes of reading these materials. The proportions between the different types of materials and their scope are not given in the text, but there is a list of materials in the appendix.

The empirical part of the study is presented in the third and fourth main chapters. Kurki examines Meriläinen as a recorder of folklore in dialogue with the researchers in the former chapter. The theme of the latter chapter is Meriläinen's role as a literary author and portrayer of peasant life in

the Kainuu region, and thus includes any correspondence related to these activities. The research on the motivation behind Meriläinen's activities is mostly based on his correspondence with acquaintances and collaborators.

Kurki's study clearly delineates the co-operation that developed between Meriläinen, various researchers and the Finnish Literature Society. This co-operation was largely due to fortuitous meetings and the enthusiasm of the Kainuu layman. Meriläinen collected a wide range of folklore and distinguished himself in the area of magic, as he was sufficiently familiar with local culture to speak to cultural practitioners in confidence. At the same time, he was also reasonably aware of research problems, while his commitment to the ideals of the Finnish nationalist movement and popular education served as an incentive to his work.

The third main chapter is a presentation of the history of Meriläinen's family and his activities as a recorder of folk traditions, which also foregrounds the gradual changes in the principles of this work and his problems in squaring these changes with his own aims. At the same time, Kurki also presents Meriläinen's own intentions, which gradually became more and more of a problem for the researchers who received his material. Even the authenticity of the material was questioned, as it was deemed not so much an instance of recorded tradition but Meriläinen's own conception of tradition.

In the fourth main chapter, the author examines Meriläinen's literary output in terms of its quality, purpose, and reception. The multi-phased and problematic nature of Meriläinen's literary career became apparent once the tastes of the critics, publishers and general reading public moved away from a semi-documentary style toward a more aesthetically demanding direction, which Meriläinen's writings failed to match.

The treatment of Meriläinen's exceptional qualities in a constructionist way as a product of conversations is due to the dictates of the chosen research framework. Kurki acknowledges the importance of historical facts in a sub-chapter, but soon leaves objective reality aside as Meriläinen's uniqueness is examined purely as a rhetorical phenomenon. However, it is probably true that the contributions, which emphasise his uniqueness, are based on real qualities. As the introductory part of the study clearly shows, it is precisely the study of exceptional personalities that characterises the microhistorical approach, as for instance in the research of Menocchio by Ginzburg. This is probably because so much material has accumulated on these figures.

It may be overstating Meriläinen's significance to note that his collections of magic and charms were rarely used as research material after the 1930s. Research interest was later directed toward other areas and this folk tradition in its entirety fell by the wayside, not just Meriläinen's collections.

Kurki provides a summary of the results of her work in the last main chapter. The central characteristics of Meriläinen's activities were a certain problematic quality, his inappropriateness as a full-blooded representative of the "people" and informant, as well as his unsuitability as a researcher. In this sense, he falls between two stools. Kurki foregrounds the possibility that Meriläinen's material, which has often been labelled unreliable, could provide new information in the field of research precisely due to its holistic nature and uniqueness.

Pekka Hakamies, Joensuu

Prostitution in Stockholm around 1900

Rebecka Lennartsson, Malaria Urbana. Om byråflickan Anna Johannesdotter och prostitutionen i Stockholm kring 1900. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm 2001. 335 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7139-546-6.

■ Rebecka Lennartsson has written a dissertation which she defended for a Ph.D. degree in ethnology at Uppsala University. This is not just a dissertation that complies with the requirements for an ethnological dissertation but also a well-written, well-composed, and original monograph about urbanity and sexuality. Lennartsson has set herself the task of studying why prostitution was defined at this particular point in time as "the great social evil", and why it was so important to define, investigate, and amass knowledge about a

group of people whom society decided to call prostitutes. Her question does not concern why these women became prostitutes, but rather why they were defined as such. With the aid of a constructivist perspective, she analyses various representations of the prostitute through a diverse corpus of source material: from medical literature, government enquiries, and the archives of the prostitution bureau to newspapers, novels, and pornography.

Yet Lennartsson seeks not just to investigate what was said by the people with the power to define. She also has an ambition to write a history that acknowledges the will of historical subjects and the capacity for action that allows people who had a subordinate position in bygone society to speak and express their own perception of themselves. A theme running through the dissertation is the memoirs of the bureau girl Anna Johannesdotter, published in 1907, which, together with letters to the prostitution bureau from "regulated women", give an impression of the women's circumstances and their possibilities of relating to the stigmatized identity enforced upon them.

The dissertation consists of three parts, each of which contains several chapters. According to Lennartsson, this arrangement arises from her analytical ambition to show the relational character of power. In the first part of the dissertation, "New Order", the author takes the reader to the Stockholm that Anna Johannesdotter encountered when she arrived in the city in 1897. Here Lennartsson goes outside the framework normally imposed on a scholarly treatise and draws a vivid picture of city life, just as she has already set the scene in the prologue for Anna's life in the manner of a novelist. This is a genre that is difficult for a researcher with a scientific schooling to master, but Lennartsson does so with great skill, showing that writing in this style can be highly refreshing without detracting from the factual objectivity. In this first part we hear about the order introduced by the authorities in order to control prostitution. But instead of a classical historical account of the introduction of regulated prostitution, Lennartsson puts the city of Stockholm at the centre of this narrative. She tells about the modern city, characterized by constant movement, and with a spectacular external appearance demanding to be looked at. The urban gaze is a particular characteristic of modernity, and the gaze turns the female sex into an object. It is also with a supervising gaze that the city is made into a panoptic institution like other institutions of surveillance at the time.

The second part of the dissertation, "Disorder", paints a picture of how regulated prostitution was totally unable to fulfil the intention of establishing an ordered city, where the purchase and sale of sexual services was supposed to take place in a closed space. Instead the whole city became an arena for this commerce, which horrified the bourgeoisie. In this part Lennartsson approaches the stigmatized women, especially Anna Johannesdotter, and examines the strategies they used to evade power and to create scope for personal action.

In the third part of the dissertation, "Reordering", Lennartsson analyses three different views of the prostitute, that is to say, the three predominant discourses in the major effort to explain and define her. On the basis of different conceptions of the nature of female sexuality, Lennartsson analyses different explanatory models for the fall of the prostitutes. The fallen woman is described as a helpless victim, as a work-shy fortune-seeker, and as a degenerate being unable to escape her own destiny.

Through this original analysis, Lennartsson arrives at the assumption that prostitution is a construction and a highly modern phenomenon. "It is not a residue of an uncivilized past, not a barbaric tradition handed down from times long ago. On the contrary, it is the product of a great many factors, some of them admittedly with roots going very deep into the past, others emanating from the social and cultural setting for which the modern city provided the seedbed" (p. 269). *Malaria Urbana* is thus a contribution to the history of modernity.

But is this a scientifically trustworthy book all the way through? I would question that. Lennartsson herself is fully aware that she is moving on thin ice, and therefore in the section "The Narrative of the Dissertation" she has a discussion of historical truth. "It is not possible to find and agree about an objective starting point

from which we can identify 'true' historical knowledge", she writes on page 41. I agree in part with this, but I believe that there must be a shared point of departure regarding which sources can be used, and how they can be used. Source criticism is a scholarly requirement that can be expected of historians and ethnologists alike. I have nothing against Lennartsson using so many different types of sources, which paint a diverse picture and shed light on the problem from different sides. But not all sources can be used to say something about "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist". Lennartsson underlines several times that she is interested in discourses and constructions and thus in what is said about something and how it is said. Despite this, I have found examples at several places in the dissertation of how she uses sources to say something about what it was really like without critically relating to the situation in which the source was created.

On page 35, when she discusses her use of Anna Johannesdotter's life story, she writes: "Whether her story is 'true' or not is less interesting to me. What I wish to emphasize is her reflections, thoughts, and dreams." A possible objection to this is that Anna's reflections, thoughts, and dreams can be wholly fictitious. It is uncertain what made Anna Johannesdotter write her autobiography, but there is every reason to believe that she wanted to convey a specific picture of her reflections, thoughts, and dreams, so that they agreed with the picture she wanted to convey of herself.

On page 111 Lennartsson uses the English book *My Secret Life* from 1890 as a reliable source. Although she describes it as "somewhat improbable memoirs", she nevertheless declares that they are "a document of this man's erotic memoirs", a long catalogue of "the author's sexual experiences" with about 1,200 women. There is no proof that these memoirs record the truth about the author's experiences; they were published anonymously, and no one knows the identity of the author. They may have been written with pornographic intent and have nothing at all to do with reality. As a source they can be used to say something about erotic fantasies in London in 1890, but they cannot be used – as Lennartsson uses them – as a source that says something about the relationship of real men to the real prostitutes whose services they bought.

While *My Secret Life* is a source about erotic fantasies, *Sedlighetsvännen* ("The Friend of Morality") is a source that sheds light on the picture painted of the depraved city by abolitionists and other citizens who wished to put an end to prostitution. They saw immorality everywhere, because that was what they kept their eyes open for, but this does not mean that their picture of the city corresponded to what other citizens saw, let alone to what the city was really like. On pages 134 and 158 *Sedlighetsvännen* is stated as the source in a note after quotations describing scandalous conditions. Lennartsson, however, does not use the source to shed light on the world-view of the moralists but as a cool source to illuminate the truth.

In view of how elegantly written and conceived *Malaria Urbana* otherwise is, it is regrettable that Rebecka Lennartsson has not performed crystal-clear source criticism. Apart from this, the dissertation can certainly be recommended to all those interested in modernity, urbanity, and gender, and it will hopefully inspire other doctoral students to try non-traditional ways of writing. But I would urge them to remember the source criticism.
Karin Lützen, Roskilde

A Women's Discussion Club

Kerstin Lökken, "Alla dessa duktiga kvinnor" – om rätten att få representera sig själv i det offentliga samtalet. Etnologiska Föreningen i Västsverige, Göteborg 2002. 332 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-62-4.

■ This dissertation by Kerstin Lökken has a title meaning "'All These Competent Women': On the Right to Represent Oneself in the Public Discourse". It is a description of how women through time have demanded the right to represent themselves in the public discourse. The starting point for the account is an analysis of the discussions in the Göteborg Female Discussion Club (GKDK). This club was founded in 1911 with the aim of furthering women's interest in and knowledge of social and political issues. The aim

of the dissertation is to use to work of GKDK to shed light on the opportunities and limitations facing women when they wished to represent themselves in the public discourse. To discern greater overall continuity and change, Lökken views the club in a longer historical perspective. This is a very ambitious aim. In this way we can place the work of the discussion club in a broader context as regards both changes in society and the emergence of female emancipation.

In her dissertation Lökken seeks to analyse how women in various kinds of talk about gender and class are ascribed different characteristics. She does this by means of discourse analysis. By discourse she means specific ways of speaking about and understanding the world which are not necessarily unchanging and static. This is put in relation to Foucault's ideas about the discursive order. This concerns the exercise of power and sorting people both to include and to exclude. For the members of the discussion club it was important to challenge the prevailing discourses and to be acknowledged to have the right to speak for themselves. This choice of theoretical approach is logical and justified in every respect. What I miss, however, is a more detailed analysis of what this discourse analysis means on a methodological level. The reader is told very little about the author's concrete method for analysing the material. Discourse analysis is combined with theories about gender, ideas about masculinity and femininity, norms and ideals, conceptions, construction, various categories of women, and public and private spheres. All these theoretical angles no doubt have a great deal to contribute, but they make it difficult for the reader to get an overall grasp. Greater stringency in the choice of theory would have been appropriate here. At the same time, I feel there is something missing. In view of the fact that this is a dissertation in ethnology, I wonder where the ethnological or cultural perspective is. Perhaps it is self-evident both for the author and for many readers, but I would have liked to see the author stress which of the knowledge generated by the study is specifically ethnological. In connection with the presentation of conceptions and constructions of gender, Lökken gives "the ethnological definition of culture – that is, 'the total life situation in which people find themselves'" (p. 37). I think that this could have been developed in a more reflexive way.

The material on which the dissertation is based is presented in detail in the introductory chapter. There are several categories of sources: archived minutes of meetings, newspaper texts with comments on the lectures held by the club, and interviews with surviving members of the club. Lökken has undoubtedly done a great job with a huge body of material. However, I think that she could have shown more clearly what the different categories of material have to give the analysis. It is clear from the dissertation that neither the archival material nor the informants' narratives should be viewed as "facts" or "truths", but she does not problematize the levels of the sources in a wholly satisfactory way. A crucial question here is how knowledge is created in the interview situation and what kind of knowledge the minutes and the newspapers give. Are these categories comparable? Nor does she problematize the similarities or differences between the informants' narratives and the discourse and understanding put across by these and other categories of material. This problem with the different levels of the material is, in my view, also reflected in her analysis of the activities of the discussion club.

The dissertation is relatively long and wordy. The introductory chapter alone fills 60 pages. The second chapter, "Taking a Place in the Light", presents a broader perspective on the opportunities for women to claim a place, starting with the French Revolution. We are told above all about the efforts of Olympe de Gouges and Mary Wollstonecraft to gain a place for women in the public arena. In this section Lökken shows, among other things, how women begin to gather in voluntary interest groups in order to improve their chances of transcending the norms ascribed to women. In the third chapter, starting on page 100, we finally make the acquaintance of GKDK and how it came into being. The aims were to spread knowledge and to get women actively involved in public work. The idea was also to give women practice in public speaking. An interesting thing here is the class issue. The discussion club was intended for all women, but in the end it consisted largely of bourgeois women with

intellectual interests. Yet this was undercommunicated by GKDK. A large share of the members in the first half of the twentieth century were unmarried and many were in gainful employment, although the members themselves express the view that "they were all housewives". In this chapter we are also presented with nine women's narratives about housework, motherhood, and gainful employment – these crucial themes in the discussion club. The narratives are interesting and are good illustrations of these themes, but their connection to the analysis of the discussion activities is slightly diffuse.

The next chapter is the core of the dissertation, dealing with the discussion activities of GKDK. The focus here is on three themes: the demand for civic influence, marriage, and the question of housework in relation to work outside the home. These themes are presented on the basis of the proposed legislation that was being generally debated in society and in the discussion club, and on the basis of how the media reported on the GKDK activities. Here Lökken covers large areas in terms of chronology and different disciplines. There is also a great deal of movement between the individual and the societal levels. The reader learns how the act on maternity insurance came into being and how it was received, and the subsequent law enshrining the principle of equal pay. Lökken also shows how the discourse about women's economic independence was a protracted matter. This also raised conflicting ideals, as when the traditional female role contrasted with newer ideals. The question about maids and about what women's work was worth were topical issues. The fact that women's work was considered of less value than men's, even by women themselves, is regarded by Lökken as an expression of male norms and the men's preferential right to interpret the value of work. In the fifth and last chapter, "Who Speaks When the Floor is Open?", she sums up the strategies used by subordinate women in their struggle for a place in the public arena.

Lökken's analysis makes many interesting connections and shows that she is widely read. She certainly achieves her aim in this readable and instructive dissertation. However, a more stringent presentation would have been an advantage. As it is, many interesting points are drowned in the flow of text. This becomes particularly obvious in the introduction, where the author cites more scholars than is necessary. Here the text could have been revised to make a more cohesive unit by integrating the thoughts of the scholars that she presents. Another thing, although just a detail, is the author's use of italics every time she uses the phrase *talet om* ("discourse about"). This is slightly overexplicit and ultimately irritating.

Lena Marander-Eklund, Åbo (Turku)

The Singing Siblings from Majorna

Annika Nordström, Syskonen Svensson. Sångerna och livet – en folklig repertoar i 1900-talets Göteborg. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 39. Göteborgs stadsmuseum. Göteborg 2002. 380 pp. Ill. English summary. CD. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-60-8, ISSN 0283-0930, ISSN 1404-9546.

■ Annika Nordström has written an exciting, if theoretically somewhat uneven study of the singing siblings Allan, Astrid, Vera, Edith and Inez Svensson, born in the 1910s and 1920s in Gothenburg. The siblings, eight in all, grew up in Majorna, a proletarian district of the city in a time and a place when singing and oral traditions still had great significance. At the same time the siblings also were part of the first generation of consumers of new media and media products, such as movies, radio, phonogram records and later on television. A central concern of the ethnologist is to dispute the commonly held assumption among ethnologists and folklorists that the singing of the people had come to an end by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The thesis chronicles the siblings', mainly the three youngest sisters' life stories, by way of their song collections and singing practices through the rest of the twentieth century and casts light on the very mixed and quite fascinating repertoire of folk songs, ballads, tragic love songs from scrap books, lullabies and *schlagers* of the day which the sisters used in several different ways, thus also by and by creating new forms and practices such as singing publicly and writing poems of their own.

My estimation of this book is, as already

indicated, rather ambivalent. I strongly applaud the pioneering effort exerted here to document a rich repository of different oral or semi-oral cultural practices and artefacts. The reader gets a comprehensive survey of the various creative forms of expression which the siblings were engaged in during their long lives.

It can be said of this thesis that its perspective is distinctly emic, i.e. the researcher builds up a narrative which reads almost like a life story (rather than like a life history) or a biography of this poor but creative family and its later transformations into a close-knit group of interrelated units consisting of the siblings' own families.

Both stylistically and ethnographically the thesis is well executed and full of thoughtful considerations about the song genres and how they were used by the members of the Svensson family in various life situations and different social contexts. The text moves along quite well in a chronological manner, with certain reprises and repetitions, quite like what happens in the types of songs the thesis is studying. In this way the book takes the shape of the studied objects, and here my problems with the book also begin in earnest since this narrative to such a high degree reads like a sunshine story in which a kind of poetics of immersion on the part of the researcher tends to become very strong. This insider's approach that Nordström applies to her material has several consequences both for the narrative text and for the results of the research. Let me discuss some of the problems which this approach raises, since I believe that they might point to problems of a more general type in this kind of ethnographical research.

As the story unfolds it becomes clear for the reader that the mother of the siblings, Henrietta, and her three youngest daughters are the stars of the show. They are very much portrayed as a kind of ideal women: strong, creative, always quite efficient in coping with different problems. They are, to put it bluntly, socially extremely competent, which I do not doubt is a truthful description of these obviously quite remarkable women. But this way of presenting the main characters of the story, as if they were strong, solid subjects, always knowing what the right choice is in a given situation, means that a more complicated but at the same time more interesting reading of these life stories is denied. The silence in this case is a result of the researcher/narrator's choice to let the harder, darker aspects of these life stories remain largely untouched in the narratological darkness or shadow.

The kind of poetics of immersion that Nordström applies to her material tends to deny, I think, the reader the option of a critically apt, searching scope, one which would be more open to a registration of ambivalences, conflicts or even rivalries not only with the outside world – something which Nordström describes rather well – but also in the nuclear group of mother and daughters and later of sisters that one as a reader feels there also must have been in this case.

The omission of this kind of "unholy" narrative seems to be connected to a relatively strong nostalgic tendency in the thesis. Thus the exposition of the oldest subject matter, the singing of melodramatic songs from scrap books, which was an ordinary practice in the proletarian parts of a city like Gothenburg in late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, makes the strongest impression on the reader. This is due in part to this repertoire being scarcely studied and in part to the fact that an aestheticizing and nostalgizing effect is applied by the writer. This world of scrap book songs with their highly melodramatic narrative content seems to be lost, and therefore it feels more urgent and interesting, more exciting than the rest of the material in the book. At the same time this oldest subject matter in the book is made more concrete, more detailed, more filled with strong memory clues than the narrative on the sisters' later life experiences.

A sentimentalizing tendency is discernible, for example, in the detailed descriptions of the encounters between the researcher and the three youngest sisters, Edith, Vera and Inez. These scenes from the researcher's fieldwork in which we as readers can take note of the different types of sandwiches and snacks which the obviously quite hungry and later satisfied researcher is served gives these narratives a distinct flavour of women's magazines, as a "low" form of narrative, a kind of categorization which the thesis quite paradoxically at the same time is out to deconstruct!

Nordström quite correctly raises the question why certain genres, certain forms of culture be-

come low, dismissed, even despised, while others are canonized. On this crucial topic of high and low genres in music in this case Nordström at first becomes very insecure and vague. Her conclusion is still worth repeating. She states that what is studied as art or seen as part of a cultural heritage is a question of power and democracy. The cultural competence that she has studied belongs to women in their ordinary life in the past century. It is, she states, the total situation which can create a deeper understanding of the significance of these expressive forms. The sisters' knowledge of this whole repertoire of poems and songs, she notes, includes both a knowledge of form and a close connection to a lived life. Therefore, she concludes, their and others' songs, poems and stories should be a part of our cultural heritage, as memories of people and their creativity, of how we express ourselves and give meaning to our lives.

Well said, but the central problem of Nordström's thesis, as I read it, lies in the inability to see how today's claiming of such "new", or indeed "old", but unrecognized subjectivities as those expressed by the Svensson family cannot in this "age of the death of the subject" simply be restored the way Nordström proposes, anachronistically, as strong and mighty subjects without a sensitivity on the researcher's part towards the complex and often ambivalent nature of such subject constructions. By so decidedly focusing on the positive parts of these life stories and cultural products Nordström makes Henrietta, the mother, into an iconic mother figure, strong, always rightful and resourceful, a wife and mother who sings herself through all life's miseries. Hers is the Herculean task of (a) holding the family together, (b) being the rock-steady, safe haven in an otherwise often quite insecure world for the Svensson children, and (c) by way of her songs which she embodies, humming, singing, half-singing them, making the songs into a part of a bodily aesthetics, building an ethos of a highly complex sort, a kind of proletarian or proto-feminist resistance, something Luisa Passerini has described as a way of asserting one's own needs and desires within existing conditions, changing/innovating/challenging what others were resigned to accept as a given destiny.

It is as if this ethnologically oriented model of interpretation which Nordström applies to her material did not suffice to undermine the strong dichotomizing tendencies in the kind of cultural production that she studies. Instead the dissertation risks slipping back into what is mainly a positivistic notion of the world by re-establishing strong and rather one-dimensional characters in the narrative. Concepts such as everyday, local, formulaic, sentimental, melodramatic, romantic etc., which it seems to be only so "natural" to apply to these expressive forms and life stories, also quite automatically disqualify the texts and the cultural forms as important or artistically remarkable. Some sort of theoretical apparatus (drawn from any "subversive" theory in fields such as feminism, psychoanalysis, post-structuralism or other forms of critical theory) used more actively would have been needed for the researcher to be able to deconstruct and challenge these kinds of presuppositions.

As it stands this thesis is rather passive and slightly reductive when it comes to using theory (including conceptualizations and contextualizations) in connection with the ethnographic work carried out here. This also means that the results of the study are a bit vague and general in their scope. The sum of it all could perhaps be described, as the researcher herself does in the English summary, where she says that she sees the siblings' singing as a way of claiming space in life, which also can be related to class, gender and generational hierarchies in society. Singing of this kind, she states, can operate as an agent of change, and its narrative can offer a history of the twentieth century beyond that of the textbook, in which women have by and large been relegated to the margins. Despite my reservations, I still think this thesis must be seen as a pioneering effort, since it so eloquently presents and discusses forms of song, culture, history and memory knowledge that up to this point have been largely ignored. The value of this thesis is enhanced by the accompanying CD with a well-chosen compilation of the sisters' repertoire, sung mainly a cappella. The bulk of the songs on the CD are taken from a recording made in 1983, called *Så sjöng man i Majorna. Visor med syskonen Svensson från Pölgatan i Göteborg.*

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Timber-Framed Architecture in Oslo

Lars Roede, Byen bytter byggeskikk. Christiania 1624–1814. Context Avhandling 5, Arkitekthøgskolen i Oslo 2001. 387 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-547-0116-4.

■ Early on the morning of 17 August 1624, Oslo was hit by a fire that raged for three days and destroyed most of the city. Similar fires had happened many times before, but this was the last time, for the Dano-Norwegian king, the zealous city founder and planner Christian IV, decided immediately after the fire to move the city over to the other side of Bjørvika and rebuild it in regular form beside the Akershus fortress. The plans were accomplished quickly and efficiently, and Oslo became Christiania. To avoid new disastrous fires and to give the city greater dignity, the king prescribed that the more prosperous citizens should build their houses of stone or brick, while others could content themselves with building "in the Danish manner, with stone between posts", that is, timber-framed houses. In this way Christiania became Norway's only half-timbered town.

It is the architecture of this half-timbered city, Christiania 1624–1814, that is the topic of this dissertation by Lars Roede, head conservator at the Norwegian Folk Museum, which rendered him a doctorate from the School of Architecture in Oslo. There was a time when the study of vernacular architecture was a central part of Nordic ethnology, but now it has a place in the back row. Very few ethnologists today could be persuaded to tackle topics like this. So it is a source of pleasure that others – chiefly architects – indulge in the detailed study of building practices. The pleasure is particularly great when, as here, it is an architect who does not content himself merely with the outer framework but also, in good ethnological style, seeks to get close to the people who lived in the houses, and tries – with the houses and building methods as a starting point – to understand people's way of life and culture.

Lars Roede's ambitions go further than this, however. He wants to arrive at a theoretical understanding of the essence of culture, of the "laws" that can be discerned behind the cultural forms and processes. This ambition has sent him on an exciting odyssey on the many highways and byways of recent – predominantly structuralist – culture theory. He finds many fascinating angles, but also comes to some far-reaching conclusions, not all of which are equally tenable.

First, however, he lays a solid empirical foundation in the form of a detailed description of "building practices" and "dwelling practices" in old Christiania. The task has not been an easy one, as the study is about a form of building that has virtually disappeared. Only a few timber-framed houses are preserved *in situ*, while others have been given a second life as museum buildings on Bygdøy. It is a sad fact that the city of Oslo, in its period of vigorous growth in the last hundred years, has cared very little about preserving testimony to its own history and incorporating it in the modern cityscape. As a result, Roede has to a large extent been forced to base his study on work already done by others who surveyed and described now vanished houses, and that the empirical part of the dissertation is a reconstructed world, based on a large, diverse corpus of historical sources. The first main chapter of the book is about this material and the chosen approach to it.

After a chapter outlining the plan and structure of the city comes the core of the empirical part, a series of detailed investigations of eight selected buildings, presented as a series of architectural monographs which follow as far as possible the townspeople's changing use and arrangement of the houses. In a subsequent chapter the author draws more general conclusions connected with the two main concerns of the study: house construction and interior design. House construction is the more important; this is what the main thesis of the book is about. First, however, a few words about the author's treatment of interior design.

In the introduction Lars Roede writes: "How was the dwelling used? Where did the members of the household sleep? Where did they eat, where did they work, and where did they spend the rest of their time? Where did they receive guests? Sources that can provide answers to questions like this are fewer and more incomplete the further back in time we search." This is unfortunately true. A buildings researcher who goes back before 1700 to reconstruct the housing culture of a bygone era rarely has very much

evidence to rely on. Scholars are far too often confined to two types of material. One is the physical framework, which can be documented by buildings archaeology, and in many cases it is only the bare rooms without any sure indications of their function. The other set of material is the room concepts preserved in written archival sources. It is no easy task to combine these two sets of data. The historical designations of rooms are deceptive, since seemingly simple terms such as *stue* (living room), *køkken* (kitchen), and *kammer* (chamber) can designate very different phenomena in different periods and in different settings. The literature is full of examples of scholars reading meanings from their own times into bygone concepts.

Lars Roede's dissertation is not free of these tendencies either. In the concluding chapter, for example, the special bedrooms in the eighteenth century are viewed as an expression of privatization and individualization. But in those days the bedroom was very different from what we know, as the furnishing also indicates. It is still a long way to the sterile and tabooed bedroom that we recognize from bourgeois culture at the end of the nineteenth century.

The interpretation here is influenced to some extent by Norbert Elias's civilizing process and other studies of the long lines of development in the history of mentalities. The seventeenth century is regarded as "pre-modern", dominated by old features in interior decoration, whereas the subsequent century is considered the great leap forwards in a development characterized by key words such as *modernization, privatization, differentiation*, and *individualization*. Although it is good to try to put the development of housing into a more general culture-historical context, it can be unfortunate if such schematic generalizations are used uncritically as an interpretative framework for the sparse historical sources. I am not happy, for example, that "ten Danish and German books" in an estate inventory from 1710 are regarded as "possible signals of a desire for modernity". It is necessary to remember that recent studies have shown that literacy in the Nordic countries was much greater in the towns and the countryside in the seventeenth century than was previously believed. I could without difficulty find estate inventories from Danish towns in the first half of the seventeenth century with much larger book collections.

In his attempts to interpret the scanty material from Christiania, Lars Roede has included a large amount of comparative material from other settings in time and place, and here he rightly concentrates on towns in Denmark and north Germany. All these towns belong in a continuous German-influenced cultural sphere. Yet it was not totally uniform, and it can be dangerous to presume that all North European towns have basically the same conditions and the same development.

On page 312 the author notes that the open fireplace in the *stue* was replaced early on by a closed stove, and he continues: "It arouses wonder when one thinks of the display of splendour that the fireplaces invited, and of the influence that housing customs in the large Western civilized nations must have exerted. Throughout this period the British and French stuck to their open fireplaces, no doubt assisted by the slightly milder climate. The sense of cosiness now associated with an open fire was not shared with people of the same rank in Western Europe." What he is referring to here is, in my opinion, one of the most important cultural differences in Europe, the dividing line that can be drawn between the stove-heated, smoke-free *stue* on the one hand, and the living room heated by an open fire. England, as we know, is a good example of the latter tradition. Here the concept of *stue* is unknown, and the centre of the home today is still the fireplace, although nowadays the flames are often electrically produced. In earlier times this dividing line between the two forms of housing ran right through Denmark, at least in the country-side. It is the same regional variation that is referred to in the comparative part of the dissertation, when Roede mentions a difference in north Germany between an eastern area with a separate kitchen and a western area without one. Based on the material presented, Christiania should obviously be placed in the eastern cultural sphere.

With regard to the design of the stove, it is my impression that Christiania must essentially have followed Copenhagen in the development from the proper tiled stove (*kakkelovn*), via the *bilægger* (an iron stove fired from the kitchen), to the

vindovn (an iron stove fired from the living room). The words *kakkelovn* and *jernkakkelovn* are incidentally good examples of deceptive terms, as Roede himself says in a footnote. The word *kakkelovn* or "tiled stove" was used without further ado for iron stoves after iron had taken the place of ceramic products. There is thus no justification for imagining – as has been done – that the term *jernkakkelovn*, literally "iron tiled stove" must mean a device with both tiles and iron plates. The word is used about both types of iron stove, but in the Danish sources from the seventeenth century it mostly means a *bilægger*. The fact that this word is absent in Norwegian sources thus does not constitute grounds for assuming the absence of the type itself.

Let us now turn to the crucial and highly fascinating conclusions of the dissertation as regards building practices: the constructional principles of timber framing in Christiania, in comparative analysis. We can begin with a quotation from the conclusion on page 365, which is entitled "At the End of the Road". Here Roede writes: "It is perhaps presumptuous, but I would be bold enough to say that, by considering Danish building practices from outside, I discover aspects that the Danes themselves might have more trouble seeing." To this a Dane can reply: No, it is not a bit presumptuous, this dissertation has drawn attention to things that we ourselves have not noticed. This is the very strength of comparative research that emerges here.

By bringing in comparative material from Denmark and Germany, Lars Roede has become aware that there is a difference in principle or structure between timber framing in Christiania and what can be found in Denmark and north Germany. The former represents what he calls an "unbound" system, the latter a "bound" system. In unbound timber framing, the posts are placed without set intervals, and beams and rafters are placed independently of the frequency of the posts. As for the placing of the posts, there will always be a certain tendency to regularity, Roede writes, going on to say (p. 338): "An extremely bound system, however, is not established before the regular, strict range of posts is so effective that it pushes all other considerations aside, so that the system does not tolerate any discontinuity whatever. But the system is not completely bound until the beams and rafters are also placed at the same intervals. Total boundness of this kind characterizes early Danish timber framing."

This distinction between bound and unbound timber-framing systems is undoubtedly correct and important. It is also correct that the bound principle applies to what we normally call the fully developed Danish timber framing, or timber framing in the narrow sense. But when Roede tries to make this into something ancient and indigenous in Danish house construction, the argument does not hold. If we talk about timber framing in a wider sense and let the term comprise all Danish post constructions, including the forms that we call ridge-post houses and outshot houses, we obtain a different picture. For both these types, the later versions are influenced by the bound forms of timber framing. This does not apply, however, to the earlier forms, where the rafters and sometimes also the posts in the outer wall are placed independently of the bearing structures. The early Danish outshot houses are more akin to the west Norwegian stave barns than to regular Danish timber-framed houses.

The bound system in Danish timber framing thus does not seem to be an old folk tradition. In my opinion this is something that came in through German influence in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a period when we were exposed to massive influence from the south, both cultural and linguistic. In this connection we should remind ourselves that the terminology of the builder's craft is permeated with German loan-words, as Lars Roede also points out. Journeymen travelled around German-speaking Europe, and craftsmen can justifiably be seen as part of a German "common market". The question whether timber framing was introduced to Christiania by Danish or German craftsmen, as Roede discusses in the dissertation, is thus not so important.

What remains, however, is the interesting demonstration that timber framing in Christiania, as we know it in eighteenth-century buildings, does not follow the bound system of Denmark and north Germany at all, but created its own unbound system with free placing of the constructional elements. The explanation for this, according to Roede, is that the houses of Christiania

were built by craftsmen who had been trained in a completely different building technique, log construction. He writes: "During the planning they had to translate their mental images of the native log houses to the acquired technique. It was not difficult if timber framing was merely perceived as an alternative way of building a wall, and thus not essentially different from a log wall." I do not fully understand this argument. Surely log construction is something different from and more than a wall construction? As far as I can see, it too is a three-dimensional system, a kind of box construction, bound in its own way, albeit in a different manner than timber framing. But we are clearly dealing with two completely different construction systems – the box system versus a system of modular bays – which meet in Christiania.

Lars Roede has chosen to call the encounter between the two building traditions *creolization*. If this had been half a century ago, when diffusionism and the study of individual elements prevailed – it would no doubt have been called *acculturation*, and the question is whether it would have made any difference. Creolization is an "in" word, used in the 1990s by anthropologists who studied highly mixed cultures or the effects of globalization. Lars Roede, however, has not adopted creolization from anthropology, but directly from linguistics, where the term was first coined. It has to do with his desire to see building techniques as a language that can be analysed on structuralist principles. The way to linguistics goes via a couple of middlemen, primarily the American folklorist Henry Glassie and his structuralist analyses of early American vernacular architecture.

It is also this way that Roede has developed an interest in Noam Chomsky's theory of an innate "universal grammar", which could explain children's ability to learn a language with surprising speed. It is one thing, however, to accept this theory about linguistic ability, but quite a different matter to transfer it to a different cultural field. As he is quoted in the book, Chomsky himself was very sceptical about any such attempts. If we nevertheless suppose that humans not only have an innate capacity to learn a language but also an innate capacity to learn to build, it must be a phenomenon at a very general level, as with language. It is the capacity for speech as such that is relevant, not the ability to speak a particular language. A building competence would thus have a very general character, a sense for geometrical form and the like.

It is not always perfectly clear what conclusions Lars Roede believes that he can draw from the comparison with "universal grammar". In the section about "Mental Bonds" on page 350 he refers to Danish timber framing as a "mental steering mechanism" which becomes established through acculturation (here surely enculturation) and incorporation in a strong tradition, and he emphasizes that the parallel is not perfect because it is more to do with nurture than with nature. Here we are thus on the firm ground of cultural studies: culture is something that is learned and passed on socially, not biologically.

Roede then goes on to assume that the genetic inheritance in Danish carpenters is not "timber framing" but an inclination to order and structure things according to fixed patterns. But if this is so, is it not something that we are all equipped with, like a "universal grammar", rather than something that could create a difference between Danish and Norwegian carpenters? When Lars Roede then writes: "For several thousand years the basic unit in the Danish house was the *binding* [literally a "bond" or "join", which gives the word *bindingsværk* "timber frame"], and it is perfectly possible that such a strong and tenacious tradition engrafted *binding* into Danish minds as well", we find ourselves balancing once again on the edge of biological explanation. At all events, it makes me think of "national character" and feel that we are on the way back to the romantic concept of a *Volksseele*.

In this review I have presented some criticism both of the comparative conclusion and the theoretical considerations in the last part of the dissertation. Lest I be misunderstood, I would like to add that it is easy enough for a scholar to be absolutely safe if he sticks within a narrow field of research. If, on the other hand, one views one's subject – as Lars Roede does – in a broader context and dares to tread new paths and think new thoughts, one leaves oneself exposed in a completely different way and must be prepared to defend oneself. But the fact that new findings and

hypotheses can be discussed and criticized, and that perhaps not everything stands up to close scrutiny, is not necessarily negative. Exploring new angles and provoking debate about traditional truths is intrinsically important; it is people like this who take knowledge further, although there may prove to be blind alleys along the way.
Bjarne Stoklund, Copenhagen

Reindeer Herding in Transition

Helena Ruotsala, Muuttuvat palkiset. Elo, työ ja ympäristö Kittilän Kyrön paliskunnassa ja Kuolan Luujärven poronhoitokollektiiveissa vuosina 1930–1995. Kansatieteellinen arkisto 49. Helsinki: Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 2002. 472 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-9057-48-X.

■ *Muuttuvat palkeiset* (Reindeer herding in transition) is an ethnological study of reindeer herding, its significance and changes during 65 years in two different areas: in Finnish Lapland in the Reindeer Herders' Association of Kyrö in Kittilä and in Russia on the Kola Peninsula in the reindeer herding collectives of Lovozero. In both areas, reindeer herding has always played a vital part in the livelihoods of people living in harsh conditions. The study of these two areas, located within different economic systems, provides an interesting opportunity for comparison, which has been possible not only concerning working methods, but also in the preservation of ethnic structure and identity. At the same time, this comparative approach enables the study of the role of environmental features and of the economic and political system in the industry. What are the differences and similarities in these areas between the two research objects?

In her doctoral thesis, Helena Ruotsala sets out as her aim an exploration of the changes in reindeer herding and the strategies that the reindeer herders have had, and still have, to resort to as reindeer herding has moved from being a self-sufficient primitive economy to a profession carried out under the conditions of a market economy. She makes a formal analysis of what happens to the primitive economy when it merges with the national economy, and what this, as well as the changes taking place in the environment and the community, has meant from the viewpoint of a reindeer herder's family. Focussing on the entire reindeer herding family in her study is one of its strong points. As Ruotsala herself points out, earlier research on reindeer herding has not included, for example, the role of women in the industry, but has mainly been research on the work carried out by the men. However, all family members, according to their aptitudes, participate in the reindeer herding, and the coherence of the family is also of decisive importance for the continuity of reindeer herding as it provides an environment in which young herders are traditionally trained into the profession.

Ruotsala sets about her research questions by means of the ethnologists' basic concepts of culture, identity and ethnicity. Following the paradigm characteristic of contemporary ethnology, she understands these concepts as being diverse processes which are engaged in continuous movement and interaction with each other. With justice, Ruotsala also emphasizes the political aspects that these concepts have taken on in contemporary debate; discussing the ways in which the concepts are used differently in different contexts and to serve different interests. Within the framework of the subject of this study, the significance of these concepts, as well as the need to explore them above all pertains to the ethnic mobilisation that the Saami law on culture and autonomy inaugurated in Finland. Thus, Ruotsala considers who uses these concepts in the framework of reindeer herding and in what contexts, who defines the cultural significances pertaining to reindeer herding and what motivations underlie these definitions.

The study is hermeneutic in its approach, offering interpretations and aiming at achieving an understanding of its object. In addition, Ruotsala emphasizes the importance of a historical perspective in any approach to the subject. In her work, she has been able to combine a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. On the one hand, she studies the position of primitive economy in the current economic system, but, on the other, in order to understand this, it must also be asked what has been the long-term significance of the

primitive economy in the areas studied and what has its relation been at a given time to other cultures, population groups and methods of using land or industries in the area. As her theoretical framework, Ruotsala has chosen the combination of two perspectives, those of cultural ecology and of cultural economy. This is a justified choice, since she is studying both the interactive relation of the primitive industry and its actors to the environment, and the impact of economic changes on the industry, which, in turn, affect the environment and its use. In addition, Ruotsala applies an ethno-biological cross-disciplinary viewpoint, which she uses to explore the relation of the reindeer herders to the environment, their use of the environment and their knowledge and skills concerning the environment.

Apart from an extensive and thorough consultation of literature and articles in the field, Ruotsala uses her own fieldwork in her research. The main part of this material consists of free-form theme interviews, participatory observation and various field notes and photographs supporting the documentation. There are over 70 interviews, mainly with reindeer herders from Kyrö and Lovozero and their families. Helena Ruotsala has managed to cover the whole time-span of her project by interviewing reindeer herders of various ages. The differences in attitudes between the generations and, through these, the changed meanings of reindeer herding also emerge clearly. The frequent use of direct quotes from the interviews brings the research object close to the reader and enlivens the study.

Helena Ruotsala herself comes from the area of the Kyrö Reindeer Herders' Association, and has thus conducted her fieldwork "at home', within her own community. In scientific research, this can become a problem. However, Ruotsala is able to avoid this by careful self-reflection. Her extensive discussion on the theme of studying one's own community and the advantages and difficulties of this, must be regarded as one of the merits of the study. Helena Ruotsala also expertly presents and criticizes the change that has happened within our discipline pertaining to the understanding of studying one's own community and of the role of the researcher in this.

On the basis of the material she has collected, Ruotsala has analysed the change within reindeer herding by focussing on five different themes. These are: 1) forms of co-operation, ownership and organisation; 2) division and procurement of production; 3) the reindeer herder and his family; 4) control of the environment; and 5) ethnicity in the reindeer herding communities. The long-term transition of reindeer herding from a primitive economy to an activity governed by the modern market economy emerges through a detailed examination of these themes. Reindeer herding has had to adapt to the influence of other forms of land use, such as tourism, agriculture and forestry, and environment protection. Despite the changes, reindeer herding still carries many cultural and social values which cannot be explained from the perspective of mere economy. However, the future of the industry is ambiguous in both of the places studied, since the lack of labour and the low price of reindeer meat cause uncertainty. Reindeer herding is a traditional source of livelihood, which today, particularly in Finland, is a vocation based on enterprise and requiring advanced technical equipment. Despite these modern concerns, people nevertheless herd reindeer because it strongly influences their identity in terms of tradition. Reindeer herding is a strong symbol of identity, both for the reindeer herders themselves and for the members of their families.

Thus, Helena Ruotsala, through her chosen themes, finds answers to the research questions she has posed. Particularly the last three themes – the family perspective, the relation to nature, and ethnicity – are very interesting and bring out new viewpoints compared to earlier studies on reindeer herding. They provide insights on the transition and its significance expressly from the reindeer herders' own perspective. In addition, a separate mention must be given the different perceptions and images of Lapland, nature and reindeer herding of the various interested parties, which are dealt with in connection with the theme of control of the environment. Helena Ruotsala very skilfully presents the perceptions of the reindeer herders, which have emerged in situations of conflict, as well as providing the backgrounds and implications of these. Thus, many reactions become easier to understand.

In the chapters on these themes, however,

there is hardly any comparison between the two geographical areas under research. Instead, the subjects are mainly dealt with from the perspective of Kyrö and that of the Kola Peninsula in turn. Overall, the study lacks a deeper level of comparison and this is mainly left to the relatively short concluding chapter. When reading the thesis, one gets the impression that the role of the Kyrö reindeer herding association is more important to the work, while the reindeer herders in the Kola Peninsula are given less attention. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the fact that Kyrö is home ground for the researcher, or in the language barrier or some other factor?

Nevertheless, the study is fluently written and the interest of the reader is maintained throughout the book. The numerous quotes from the source material bring the object of study close to the reader, and the many photographs and drawings illustrate and enliven the text. The study contains a lot of reindeer herding terminology which is most likely unknown to somebody not familiar with the industry; luckily, Helena Ruotsala has compiled a comprehensive glossary of these terms. An attractive idea is also the use of a reindeer herding metaphor to describe the structure of the study: the main chapters are named after the enclosures used in the rounding up and sorting out of reindeer herds.

Helena Ruotsala's doctoral thesis falls naturally into the current focus of ethnology. The subject is, on the one hand, a very traditional object of ethnological research, but on the other, very interesting and topical today due to social changes. The definition of the research questions, the collection and analysis of the material are expertly carried out, leaning on the tradition of ethnology but, simultaneously, using a fresh approach. The consideration of the significances from the perspectives of the reindeer herders' families, ethnicity and environment makes this an innovative study. A comparative approach is common within our discipline, but a new feature in this work is the comparison of different economic systems using a given subject. Lately, the study of long-term transition has been popular in doctoral theses in ethnology, and Ruotsala's work joins this trend. Her thesis presents aspects of the reindeer herding industry and its actors in both Finland and Russia, which have not been explored before. It also provides new information and perspectives for the social debate on life in the north in our current times of transition.

Leena Hangasmaa Ryytteli, Mikkeli

The Future Now

Robert Willim, Framtid.nu – flyt och friktion i ett snabbt företag. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm 2002. 184 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7139-549-0.

■ Around the year 2000, all hell broke out in IT companies the world over. After almost ten years of explosive economic, organizational, and technological success, it became clear to the market that what it had witnessed was mostly "hot air". The media described it as "the bubble that burst"; share prices plummeted, companies collapsed, and a general despondency spread in business and industry. What was it that happened, and how could things go wrong so quickly?

Robert Willim has investigated these questions from the inside, in one of the IT companies that really experienced both greatness and fall, and his answers can be read in this excellent dissertation.

The book is about an IT company called Framfab, meaning "The Factory of the Future". Willim did fieldwork at Framfab with the aim of studying the Swedish IT environment, and in the process he was caught in the whirlwind that the place and the time proved to be.

The field brings us to Sweden, more specifically to Lund, at a time when the new economy and the electronic networks were propelling action and change. "The faster the better" seemed to be the secret to success, and the IT world was a prime representative of this logic. Framfab stood out as a child of its time, in that a group of big boys with an addiction to role-play and computers, led by the charismatic Jonas Birgersson, started a small business to sell digital services and strategic advice. Above all, however, they started the company to have fun while earning money; to be able to live off their hobby. The boys did not want to play with the old "respirators" – the established consultancies. They wanted to revolutionize their

own possibilities, they wanted to overhaul the old economy, organization, and communication with the aid of will-power, speed, and innovation. Their mantra was "success is change", and acceleration was to propel change, through centrifugal force, so to speak. They wanted to be spun away from all that was old, familiar, stable, and boring.

From the very beginning the work culture at Framfab was: Give your everything or stay away! Wasted time will never come again – it is lost. And losing time was the worst thing that could happen, because time was considered to be most precious thing in the new economy and the IT network. So people worked round the clock, or rather, they spent all their time at the office, letting work and spare time merge, both mentally and physically. The boundary between home and workplace became blurred. All the colleagues were friends, and they had a nice time in the café-like kitchen and slogged hard at the company's projects. This combination of hard work and fun was hard fun. The attitude to work was profoundly serious and highly committed. The rhetoric and the style of the founder and leader, Jonas Birgersson, was strongly inspired by the army – as it is described in the book, particularly by the hard-boiled American military culture: the discipline was tough, the work was its own reward, and the community was exclusive and excluding.

The norms for Framfab were determined by Jonas Birgersson, in his struggle for Framfab's survival and expansion on a merciless market. These norms were formulated in the form of smart slogans, often in the full publicity of the media. Inside the company, however, the culture and the norms were informal and self-discipline prevailed. Everyone was an expert and behaved accordingly.

Framfab rapidly became a success. In five years the business grew from five employees to a staff of two thousand; turnover rose from 3 million Swedish kronor to 355 million, and branches sprouted up all over the world. Willim calls this the snowball effect. Customers, employees, money, and media attention caused success to take off at incredible speed. Even the prime minister, Göran Persson, came to visit Framfab, was impressed, and took part in an open dialogue about how IT could strengthen Sweden at world level. At one point the rhetoric that arose was similar to that heard in the "people's home" (the welfare state), when Birgersson and Persson put IT, and especially broadband, on the political agenda. The message was: IT, for a faster Sweden!

When one reads Willim's splendid thick description of Framfab and simultaneously knows what happened, one cannot help wondering how they (we) could miss seeing that the success of IT in the 1990s was inflated. People evidently allowed themselves to be seduced by the new technology and their own immediate success. Willim calls it "a gigantic role-play scenario with real actors".

Someone should have paused to draw breath on the upward journey. But who? Who wants to destroy a system in which everyone is afraid to say that the emperor is wearing no clothes, afraid to send out negative vibrations that could spoil the fantastic trip? The book made me wonder – once again – about this.

Without adopting a normative attitude to the culture and the IT environment at Framfab, Willim gives us a very interesting close-up picture of something that we could otherwise only have followed in the media. Precisely because there has been so much discussion of the IT business in the media, one feels that one knows a bit about it, and on the one hand this is an advantage when reading this book, because it looks at the operations in great detail. On the other hand, at least this reviewer risks reading the story with more or less preconceived opinions. I was confirmed in some prejudices already acquired from the media, about the semi-fascist tendencies that exist or have existed in the business: "Submit to my vision and the work will be play", seems to have been the message written between the lines for the Framfab staff, and "we can't afford doubt and hesitation, for the time you lose is lost forever" was another dogma that resounded.

Willim describes how the staff merged with the computers, in a relationship that he calls hyperlinks. This is really what also happened between the business and the employees, for better or worse. Willim seizes on the cultivation process of what he calls sensitivity to anomalies, as he shows how an initially rather narrow, anarchic little business grew large and became extremely cultivated and structured. We thus follow

Framfab's change from a little office to a big business, but also from an independent culture to a norm-setting workplace, adjusted to the conditions of the market. An important point in this connection is that it is rather difficult to stir up the market and renew it while simultaneously reassuring the customers.

The book is structured like a ping-pong game going back and forth between empirical fieldwork and theory, but it is primarily the fieldwork that bears up the book. The theories that Willim presents on a running basis in the text are distributed in small pieces, which makes it difficult to get a clear grasp of any theoretical framework. In contrast, the empirical evidence is connected to different academic disciplines. In this way Willim makes a further contribution to the interdisciplinarity of the IT research field, but in doing so he also spreads his focus. This makes it unclear how specific or general the problems at Framfab were.

As I have said, *Framtid.nu* is a good book all in all, and I was inspired several times with regard to my own research on consumption. Yet there is something missing: primarily a discussion of the numerous fascinating conflicts and tensions presented in the book. The tensions in Framfab – in both the practice and the rhetoric – are between anarchy and elitism, between abnormal and normal, between work and lifestyle, but Willim does not really go into the way these tensions and conflicts were handled. His discussion of Framfab's Rosebud syndrome – the dream of the uncomplicated, complete, youthful, innocent happiness, the simple life – could also have been interesting to put into perspective in a larger societal or discursive context.

On the other hand, I think that Willim's integration of the empirical and the theoretical works very well. A significant factor in this is that he writes well, in a youthful style that suits the subject perfectly. His enthusiasm for the subject shines through and infects the reader.

I therefore recommend the book to anyone with an interest in the story of the IT environment which became overheated in the 1990s, and also to those who wonder about or work with present-day Rosebud-syndromes, in a broad sense.

Christine Sestoft, Copenhagen

By Charter to Estoril

Eva Wolf, Med charter till Estoril. En etnologisk studie av kulturell mångfald inom modern svensk turism. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 33, Göteborg 2001, 384 pp., Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-55-1.

■ The expression "charter tourism" has been applied only too often in the context of international tourism research as a synonym for the vulgar form of travel known as mass tourism. Tourists have frequently been described in this respect as mindless, consumption-oriented hordes, whose desires have been exploited unscrupulously by a greedy tourism industry. This culturally critical paradigm was particularly popular in the early days of research in the 1970s and 1980s. Above all in the social sciences, a distinction was made between "good" and "bad" tourism; good tourism was considered to be a journey planned by the tourist himself and arranged to take account of ecological and social factors, during which contacts were sought with the indigenous population in an effort to gain authentic knowledge of the country and its people. The contrasting side of this image was the mass tourist, who booked his chartered holiday without any activities of his own, resigned himself to the pre-arranged programmes of the globally active tour operators and spent these "most precious days of the year" in the tourist strongholds on the beaches of Southern Europe – all of this naturally without any contact with the indigenous population.

In her doctoral thesis, *Med charter till Estoril* ("By charter to Estoril") which was examined at the University of Gothenburg in 2001, Eva Wolf has distanced herself fundamentally from this myth. She is not the first ethnologist to argue against this antagonistic attitude, although – to the extent that it is possible to form a view at this time – she is the first ethnologist to dispel this cliché-ridden Good–Bad image on the basis of her access to a highly detailed case study.

In doing so, she applies the solid, classical ethnological methods of field research – participatory observation, in-depth interview, questionnaire – all of which are procedures which not infrequently help to overturn or at least to modify sociological meta-theories.

The author takes the reader to the coastal region near Lisbon and then to Estoril and Cascais, both "historical" holiday destinations, which possess a quite high degree of familiarity for Swedish charter tourists. At least 6 per cent of charter tourists – equivalent to 90 000 people – chose Portugal as a destination in 1992, and 20 per cent of these spent their holiday on the Costa de Lisboa.

Eva Wolf works on three descriptive levels in her ethnography: she analyses the holiday expectations of Estoril tourists on an individual level as the starting point from which to deduce cultural patterns on a collective level. Finally, she relates her results at a meta level to the familiar theories of established tourism researchers, such as Daniel Boorstin, Dean MacCannell, Jost Krippendorf, John Urry, Tom O'Dell and Orvar Löfgren. On the way, the reader is also provided with quite a large amount of profound background knowledge as the basis for the typology of the charter tourist: a detailed methodological reflection by the author, an up-to-date outline of international tourism research and a brief outline of the history of tourism in Sweden and on the Costa de Lisboa.

With her analytical grid, Wolf attributes five to some extent very different styles to charter tourists: *recreational tourists, activity tourists, cultural tourists, individual tourists and compromise tourists*. She succeeds in drawing clearly perceivable dividing lines between these categories.

Take recreational tourists, for example: seeking mental and physical relaxation with the notion of "escaping" from their everyday lives, having time for their partner, making full use of the lounger by the pool, taking a few photographs, enjoying culture, although not too much culture, experiencing peace and quiet away from discothèques and clubs, and abandoning themselves to the holiday routines in order to enjoy the luxury arranged for them in all "practical" details by other people. Cultural tourists are different: they come to Estoril well prepared, are interested in "authentic" Portuguese excursions and the timeless culture of the host country that is steeped in history, they search reflectively for routes away from mass tourism (the real charter tourists are the others) and pursue the objective of returning home with exclusive experiences ("education has its price").

Activity tourists are different again: they regard Portugal as a country full of adventure, the complete opposite of their own everyday lives: living unconventionally for a short time, drinking wine regularly in the middle of the week, getting involved in unexpected encounters with other people (who, as a rule, are also tourists or earn their living from tourism), finding themselves in exciting situations in spite of or precisely because of inadequate language skills, and participating in communal activities such as barbecue, folk dancing or casino evenings. "Experience rationality" – the expression used by Gerhard Schulze to denote the strategy of systematically and repeatedly amassing as many different experiences as possible in the course of one's life – manifests itself particularly clearly in the habits of activity tourists.

Eva Wolf's book is a very good example of the diverse and differentiated points of view that can emerge if one engages not in tourism research (as a science dealing with an abstract phenomenon, which produces abstract results), but rather in tourist research. A few, although not many, questions remain unanswered by this well thought-out and well-structured approach. Eva Wolf examines her own methodology with great determination (and in my opinion in too much detail for a doctoral thesis), for example the question of the time and place of the field interviews. The changing locations of the research subjects (that is to say the charter tourists) between their home country and their holiday destination do not have sufficient prominence in this discussion. To put this another way: the research subjects are constantly travelling, they are "moving targets", as the Frankfurt cultural anthropologist Gisela Welz once described them. The researcher should ideally remain on the trail of these targets: what do the tourists bring back home to Sweden from Portugal, how do they communicate their experiences, in what everyday context do they plan their next trip, and so on?

Questions such as these lead to a kind of research which is no longer tourist research in the stricter sense, but rather research into people who are travelling and, in the course of this, develop their own very different cultural (and touristic) patterns. Eva Wolf's book is a first important step

along this challenging ethnological road. We can only hope that similarly broad perspectives are opened up successfully in this venture.
Christoph Köck, Munich

Romany Song Culture

Kai Åberg, "Nää laulut kato kertoo meijän elämästä". Tutkimus romanien laulukulttuurista Itä-Suomessa 1990-luvulla ["See, these songs tell about our lives". Study of the Romany song culture in Eastern Finland in the 1990s]. Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology, Helsinki 2002. 255 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-96171-4-0.

■ Kai Åberg, who defended his doctoral thesis within folklore studies at the University of Joensuu in May 2002, has carried out field research among the Romany people in Finnish North and South Karelia since 1995. Åberg's fieldwork method has been very distinctive: he has gone to meet the Romany people and asked them to perform their own songs for him to record. Nowadays very few researchers of folk music any longer conduct collection work that so clearly moves within the sphere of private life – particularly within the Finnish borders. The singers have also explained the background of their songs and presented their perceptions of things connected to the songs. The interview situations have been very diverse and sometimes even difficult, but the patient and humane attitude of the researcher has carried the situations forward.

As a result of his work, Kai Åberg has gained a unique collection of songs that "whites" seldom have a chance to hear. In fact, such an extensive study of gypsy songs, that is, the singing tradition of the Romany people internal to their own group, has not been published before. Prior to this, Romany songs have not been this closely connected to the everyday formation of the ethnic identity of the group. Collection work has been carried out and songs have been classified before, but now the researcher has been able to directly analyse the significances of the songs for their actual performers. The shared moments of singing and playing that have been part of the research process, have created a bridge between the researcher's musical perceptions and the Romany people under investigation. This is based on the traditional idea within ethnomusicology of "bimusicality", that is, a process where the researcher learns the music of the objects of study. The role of the researcher is very visible in Åberg's work, so the readers get at least some kind of picture of how, with his guitar, he impinges upon the research object and the situations studied and does not merely record an existing tradition onto his tapes.

The strength of Kai Åberg's study lies in the way he combines songs, singing events and perceptions of these in his own work. He gets close to men and women of various ages in a natural way and the research object does not appear solely in certain forms defined prior to the study, but the process by which the nature of the object is revealed emerges well in the text. Thus, the Romany songs take on diverse shapes and situations in Åberg's material. It is therefore also natural to include a section on religious songs in the study as well as one on popular songs. These are a kind of by-product of the research situation and a response to the task set by the fieldworker, which was (presumably): "would you please sing me some gypsy songs". All research subjects have not been able to agree to this because of religious reasons.

The themes selected from the literature and presented in the introduction and the theoretical part of the study are based on an analysis of identity and the forms in which the tradition appears and is contextualised. It is not irrelevant who performs a song, for whom and in what situation. This is not only a question of folk tradition, but also of the tradition of different ages and social groups, and of the songs of men and women. Tradition is, in practice, part of the performer's own personal history, and his or her world of experience partly appears in the songs.

The third chapter, *on fieldwork and the dimensions of the empirical material*, is entirely devoted to a presentation of the material collection process and to source criticism. Although the function of this chapter is to present the collection of material, it also contains a remarkable number of elements for the interpretation of the results,

since the dialogue between the researcher and the researched is where the final forms of the material are *non-essentially* created. This is well displayed in the quotes from discussions included in the chapter. It is a matter not only of the presence of a young researcher, but also of the strict rules among the Romany people for respecting elders. Thus the same song performed by a young and by an older person does not take on exactly the same significance.

In his fourth chapter, *on the musical features of the Romany song*, Kai Åberg makes a musical analysis of the material he has collected, analysing separately the melodic features, modes of singing and guitar accompaniment of the songs. For this purpose, Åberg has written out the score to nine melodies (note samples 2–4 and 6–11). He justifies his choice of these songs in terms of their frequency and adherence to type (p. 80). However, there is a contradiction in that the melodies have been written out only for two of the twelve most frequent songs in the material (list on page 52): *Kutujensa kamajensa* (5 occurrences in the material) and *Ylätalon alatalon mäellä* (On the slope of the lower house of Ylätalo; 4 occurrences). The melody analysis examines the motifs, the melodic and harmonic movements and the modulations of the tones verse by verse. I think the tonal values of the Romany songs also display very distinctive features (compared, for example, to Finnish folk songs).

Åberg also studies features typical for the Romany people in his analysis of the style of singing (pp. 87–92). It is interesting, that, for example, the slow vibrato characteristic of the Romany people has marked the performance of Romany songs so strongly that it has also been transmitted to younger singers and has crossed genre borders into popular songs. In addition, Åberg examines the styles of guitar accompaniment and the stylistic transformation of Finnish folk songs into the Romany peoples' own gypsy songs.

The subject of Åberg's fifth, and most extensive and meritorious chapter is the *historical, cultural and social context* of the songs. By the use of interviews, the aim is to interpret the texts of the songs performed according to their subjects: how they illustrate factors that are typical for the life of the Romany people and distinguish them from the majority population.

The subjects include travelling and the negative attitude of "the whites" towards travelling Romany families. Åberg illustrates his text very well with excerpts from songs in his material that tell about travelling. Various families, such as the Nymans, are also dealt with in the songs. Other subjects are the rural environment, waterways, roads and the beauty of the landscape, as well as the close relation of the Romany people to nature. The emotions of the Romany people emerge in love songs, not in a directly passionate way, but covertly and often communicating the pain of betrayal.

The songs of horse dealers and market vendors hold a place of self-evident importance among the songs of the Romany people. Even if horse-trading is no longer central among the Romany industries, songs about horse dealing and horses are a significant transmitter of the past and self-confidence of the Romany people. They are used to maintain awareness of the difference and dignity of the group. Power songs seem to have a similar function; these can still be used to ritually pick a quarrel between Romany families.

The lament of drinkers conveyed in songs, as well as prison songs are, on the other hand, nostalgic and humble, and they, too, reveal the history of the Romany people and their position in Finnish society. Although prison can hardly be perceived as a place inspiring creativity, numerous Romany songs have, according to the interviews, come into existence behind bars.

Kai Åberg also refers to various contexts in his analysis of male and female songs, questions of age and gender and the tradition-bound respect of elders. In his examination of ethnicity, Åberg makes the interesting observation, which will probably be frequently quoted in future, that there are non-Romany born members in most Romany families, but the Romany identity of these is never questioned.

It is also interesting to observe how important songs in the Romany language are for the self-confidence and ethnic distinctiveness of the Romany people, even if there is only one song in that language in the recorded material (*Kutujensa kamajensa*). Despite the fact that the Romany language has dropped out of everyday use, its

mere existence signals the distinctiveness of the group. This aspect further emphasizes the significance of music for the Romany identity. The melodies and ways of signing are even more important builders of a feeling of community than language is. Kai Åberg draws the conclusion that Romany culture and the gypsy song tradition is not in any way threatened, despite, for example, linguistic assimilation. These songs are sung, but only among the Romany people. The code is internal to the group.

The sixth and final chapter on *the contexts of religious music and popular music* is an important addition to this work on a living song culture, although it diverges from the main theme of the study. The Pentecostal Movement has particularly attracted Romany people, and even if no ethnic differentiation is done within the movement, special meetings are organised for the Romany members. In addition to the words in religious songs, the interviewees are attracted to the strongly emotional music and the mode of singing typical for the form. In his work, Kai Åberg adopts a standpoint for the Romany tradition and expresses his worry about the fundamentalist tendency of those who have experienced a religious awakening to abandon the gypsy song tradition of their own ethnic group. He reminds us that religiosity has not totally excluded the singing of their own folk songs for all interviewees, even if this is common among those who have "started a new life".

Finnish popular music and dance music also hold a special position within the song tradition of the Romany people and they frequently go to dances and karaoke bars. In addition, being a popular singer is a veritable occupational orientation, which particularly attracts young male singers. However, the relation of the Romany community to popular music is not totally free of problems. The opportunities, especially for female singers, to perform publicly are strictly limited by the community: the respect for elders prevents female singing if there are older Romany men among the audience, the rules concerning decency restrict the subjects of the songs and, finally, the demand to dress in the traditional female Romany attire encumbers the opportunity of Romany women to become pop singers. Successful female singers are regarded as renegades who have taken on a "white" identity. However, women, too, can sing karaoke according to the traditions, unless there are older Romany people listening.

As a whole, I find Kai Åberg's work to be a very important addition to Finnish folklore studies and ethnomusicology. It is hard to imagine that anybody else among the contemporary generation of researchers could have conducted similar long-term fieldwork and material collection among the Romany people in Finland. The song material collected by Åberg forms an important whole, which supplements the recording work of earlier collectors such as Erkki Ala-Könni. With the exception, however, that Kai Åberg has used his work for a considerable study for his doctoral thesis.

Pekka Suutari, Joensuu

Book Reviews

Hoary with Legends

Sagnomsust. Fortelling og virkelighet. Arne Bugge Amundsen, Bjarne Hodne & Ane Ohrvik (eds.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2002. 206 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7099-355-7.

■ Legends are a classical genre in folklore studies. However, in the Nordic countries, interest in them has been fading, unless they are modern urban legends. The Oslo folklorists Arne Bugge Amundsen, Bjarne Hodne and Ane Ohrvik were quite courageous when, in 2002, they conducted a project on legends. The interest in a folkloristic view on history has for some time been central at the Oslo department of folklore studies. The perspective of how to connect folklore from rural society collected at the time when the nation of Norway needed a national tradition to justify Norwegianness with today's industrial, globalized and international Norwegian society has been cherished very much by Oslo folklorists. This book demonstrates that, at least in Norway, pre-industrially collected folklore still plays an important role in everyday life.

The subtitle of the book is "Narrative and Reality", which reminds the reader of Lutz Röhrich's classical study *Märchen und Wirklichkeit* from 1956. However, the two books do not resemble each other. In this case, the eight authors concentrate on legends about historical matters. The reader is introduced to the problems of doing research with historical legends, a type of texts which has had quite a bad reputation within the circles of students of history, because they are not "true". This problem was elucidated already in the 1960s by Brynjulf Alver, who stated that "truth" is relative. In his introduction, Arne Bugge Amundsen points out other important perspectives that have emerged during the last few decades with a wider and changing understanding of central concepts, such as context, source criticism, or function. However, a central feature in all articles remains the concept of legend.

Andreas Faye (1802–69) was one of the first collectors and publishers of legends. Arne Bugge Amundsen asks why Faye was not fully accepted beside P. C. Asbjørnsen or P. A. Munch. On one level the author acquaints his readers with quite a lot of nineteenth-century Norwegian scholars and men of culture; this is a piece of Norwegian cultural history in a nutshell. On another level he shows how academic intrigues, nationalistic goals, personal advantage and ardent individual interest are combined into stories about the collection of legends that Faye drew up and published. We see how the legends in Faye's book started a discussion that lasted for decades and that still influences the value that we, today, ascribe to the book.

Knut Liestøl (1881–1952) was a grand old man among Norwegian folklorists, a member of the government, an eager advocate of the new Norway, and an important figure in introducing the wireless into the country. Bjarne Hodne investigates how he was able to combine these roles. On a concrete level he asks about the intentions of the folklore scholar Liestøl. His premise is that they are reflected in his other tasks as well. Hodne finds that Liestøl had a general idea about the Old Norse being repeated and refound in the late Norwegian rural culture; he allotted tradition a great role in Norwegian culture and in Norwegianness by means of language. Hodne, too, makes his readers acquainted with several contemporary folklore scholars. He shows how Liestøl and Reidar Th. Christiansen, an internationally famous folklorist, analysed the same tale of "Kjætta på Dovrefjell" according to the Finnish method, but how they reached contrary results. How was this possible? According to Hodne, the answer lies in the intentions of the scholars. In his mind Liestøl had his overall idea of the axis Norse–Norwegian folk culture and, therefore, he read his material in a corresponding way. Concretely, and by the use of the concept of "situated knowledge", Hodne demonstrates how it is absolutely necessary for a serious scholar to make clear who the original author was and what his intentions were. Liestøl is a perfect example of how research can both steer and be steered by cultural politics.

Ørnulf Hodne gives his readers a piece of Norwegian history. He examines the legend about the Battle of Kringen in Gudbrandsdalen in 1612. He uses several categories of material, such as folk legends, letters, patriotic writings, historians' works and monuments, when he tries to show the

power of tradition. He states that folklore contains a store of mechanisms that can be reused for different purposes. These mechanisms are, for instance, heroization and mytification. Norwegians have repeatedly returned to the Battle of Kringen to meet contemporary needs, be they in favour of the Nazis or of Norwegian feelings of national pride.

Birgit Hertzberg Kaare analyses legends on modern technology and shows that there are some recurrent patterns or motifs no matter whether the texts are about the introduction of the steamship, the railway, the car, the aeroplane, electricity, the telephone, the wireless, the television or the computer. The legends express people's attitudes toward innovations, such as exaggerated fear or enthusiasm, and they are modelled on legends about earlier innovations. They are nostalgic and, moreover, they express a dichotomy between nature and culture. According to the legends, new technology is regarded as an enemy of mankind or an extension of man. When new technology grows old, the legends show that people talk about it in neutral terms.

Ole Marius Hylland concentrates on personal legends, in this case about Elvis Presley. He shows that there are four voices speaking about the person, the more or less historically correct biographies, the voice of the fans, the voice of the parodies and the voice of the scholarly analysts. Hylland's perspective is intertextual. So is also Anne Eriksen's study on the medieval Alv Erlingsson. Her statement is that there is no Tradition on this person, although he is mentioned in several sources. What she means is that there are many voices about Alv Erlingsson and that they differ according to what the purpose was when he was mentioned. Therefore, the question whether the sources are true or not is redundant. Eriksen finds that the knowledge on Alv Erlingsson has been used in order to demonstrate morals, historical "facts", heroism, villainy, and local consciousness. In this way, he plays a part in the history of the Kingdom, in local history, in life history and, after Eriksen's article was finished, in the history of folklore studies.

The last article, by Line Esborg and Marit Eide Uthem, concerns the problem of time and space in legend. The authors start with material that they have gathered in Frønningen, but which takes them back eight hundred years, when King Sverre moved around there. The legend of King Sverre is not the central theme in the article, but how people nowadays connect legend motifs and legend traits when they tell about themselves and justify their lives in this place. Today, when it is complicated to earn one's living in the countryside, the narrators make use of the legends' content in order to find ways out. In this way, legends function as guides into the future.

The book is cleverly constructed. The reader learns a lot of Norwegian history, while also acquiring great knowledge on the history of folklore studies, both in the form of scholarly names and biographies, and in the form of the history of how folklore methodology has changed during some two hundred years. The articles are constituted of different layers of stories, i.e., the classical folklore legends, the stories told by former scholars as well as the stories that the reader is just reading. However, should the book be used for academic teaching, a skilful and experienced instructor is needed to make sure that the young students penetrate all the different levels in this fascinating text.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

Encounters with the Orient

Där hemma, här borta. Möten med orienten i Sverige och Norge. Åsa Andersson, Magnus Berg & Sidsel Natland (eds.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2001. 262 pp. ISBN 91-7203-355-X.

■ There has been a dissolution of the terms West and East as regards their geographical basis. This is due partly to developments on the international labour market (e.g. post-colonialism), partly to cooperation between states (e.g. global refugee policy). The Orient is present in the form of people from the countries normally associated with the Orient, but it is also symbolically present in that the media provide us with daily knowledge and information about the Orient, in the form of pictures, books, etc. It is this dual presence that the three authors of this book proceed from when they discuss how the discourse of Orientalism (in

the sense of Edward Said) is expressed in everyday life and popular culture. A significant delimitation of the three studies in the book is the focus on images of the Orient created by the majority population and on how people come into contact in different ways with the Oriental world of knowledge. In addition, the authors mainly relate to post-colonial theory and the multicultural situation in Sweden and Norway.

The book has five parts, consisting of three studies framed by a joint introduction and conclusion. The first study, by the folklorist Sidsel Natland, starts with the criticism expressed in the media about publications from Det Norske Forlag in the series "The World of Reality" and other books describing the Orient. The criticism is that the often negative pictures conveyed by these books give the readers negative attitudes to the groups described. She begins her analysis with the book *Not Without My Daughter* by Betty Mahmoody.

Natland seeks to arrive at an understanding of the meaning and utility value of this popular literature and to investigate why it is so popular despite the fierce criticism it has provoked. In her analysis she has engaged in dialogue with the texts and has examined the books and how the readers perceive what they have read. Here she is particularly inspired by the American folklorist Sandra Dolby Stahl, who ascribes great significance to the reader's personal background for the interpretation and creation of meaning in a text. As for Natland's other theoretical foundation, she draws on the French sociologist of literature Robert Escarpit, who has studied the relationship between text and reader, whereas traditional scholars of literature have focused solely on the author and his works.

Summing up, Natland's material shows that readers are not necessarily concerned with the political dimension of the books. It is the reader's personal background that is crucial for the way he or she uses and interprets the books, and the books are used to reflect on one's own identity. The readers thus focus on the small narratives from everyday life rather than on the more political grand narrative.

Against this background Natland concludes that the books, despite the media criticism, cannot be said to provoke increased xenophobia. Natland does believe, however, that the grand narratives function as a framework for the small ones, and her point is that popular literature in general is an important frame of reference for everyday life.

However, the article does not describe in detail how the popular literature as a genre in relation to other genres plays an active part in individuals' identity formation. For that one has to consult Natland's master's thesis. This is thus not a full analysis but rather a taster of what genre analysis, with the focus on the reader's personal background, can say about identity processes and everyday life.

In the second study in the book, by the ethnologists Åsa Andersson and Magnus Berg, the encounter with the Orient is more direct. Here notions about the Orient are created by living and working in a multicultural context where Oriental people are a part of one's everyday life. The study is based on fieldwork planned by Magnus Berg and carried out by Åsa Anderson in Åkerby, and on a number of subsequent visits and field observations in the area by Magnus Berg. Åkerby is a suburb of Göteborg characterized by its multi-ethnic population composition and a minimum of ethnic Swedes.

Popular Orientalism in Åkerby has two subcategories: (1) formalized Orientalism, as expressed in the mass media; (2) everyday Orientalism, which is oral and text-based, and which proceeds from direct experience. It is in this opposition of narratives and counter-narratives that images of the Orient are created. This means, among other things, that the so-called realistic images of the Orient presented in the media are always being challenged by actual experiences of having immigrants as neighbours and workmates. This leads to a certain scepticism about the formalized popular Orientalism. This scepticism, however, is rarely a subject of any true dialogue across ethnic boundaries, which could create a foundation for mutual understanding and tolerance. The problem, as Andersson and Berg point out, is that this dialogue would shake people's defences and challenge the boundaries drawn by secure identity constructions.

In the third and final study, by Magnus Berg, we follow how Swedish belly dancers actively

seek out the world of Oriental symbols and use them in an identity-political project. The analysed material consists of interviews, observations of Oriental dance, contributions to debates and Internet chat pages and e-mail correspondence.

The dual presence of the Orient is manifested in this study in two rival perceptions of Oriental dance. The first focuses on the act itself and uses the designation belly dance. The emphasis is on sexual undertones leaning towards female submission, which corresponds to the popular Orientalism conveyed in the media. The second is an essential/ideological perception of Oriental dance as an expression or a release of femininity. The latter understanding is particularly emphasized by practitioners of dance under the auspices of the Scandinavian Oriental Dance Association. For them dance is a way to find and reinforce their female identity. In practice, however, the boundary between belly dance and Oriental dance is fluid, in large measure determined by the situation.

Berg's theoretical inspiration comes from Stuart Hall and his concept of cultural identity, which includes both an essential and a situational side. In Hall the essentialist narrative plays a part in relation to attempts by various movements to create an identity-political platform, and Berg argues that the ideological narrative of Oriental dance can similarly be viewed as an expression of an identity-political project.

In the conclusion, Magnus Berg brings the three studies together and puts them in relation to a broader scholarly and public debate. In this connection he draws up what he calls a want list which should be regarded as an attempt to point out things that could improve relations between East and West and build bridges to counter the segregation that prevails in society. This initiative brings us away from the scholarly to the political level, which is unusual in ethnological studies, although historically there is a rich tradition of ethnological knowledge being used politically.

In terms of style, the book has an ambition to take an active part in the reflexivity debate by constantly shifting between nearness and distance in the description, so that the author's own reflections during fieldwork are present. This balancing act between internal and external perspectives is successful, and the authors resist the temptation to put themselves in the centre – a tendency that has been noticeable in various studies in the wake of the representation crisis and the Writing Culture debate.

Rune Ottogreen Lundberg, Odense

Bridge Building as an Event

Öresundsbron på uppmärksamhetens marknad. Regionbyggare i evenemangsbranschen. Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen & Orvar Löfgren (eds.). Studentlitteratur, Lund 2002. 266 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-44-04078-4.

■ The Öresund Bridge connecting the Danish capital of Copenhagen with the Swedish region of Skåne was opened in July 2000. This event was accompanied by a number of activities that were designed to mark the opening in a special way. These activities, their design and management have become topics for a collection of essays written by a group of authors and published as a book co-edited by Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen and Orvar Löfgren under the title *Öresundbron på uppmärksamhetens marknad.* In this volume ethnologists from Lund University as well as economists and philosophers from the Copenhagen Business School have analysed the event arising from the bridge opening in the Öresund with the tools typical for their disciplines while the general ethnological framework has been adopted to provide these essays with a cohesive interdisciplinary framework.

It must be admitted that this effort has been a successful one, especially when regarding the short time between the analysed events and the date of September 2001 placed under the introductory chapter. It might appear that the authors wrote the book almost simultaneously with the events of June and July 2000 when the bridge was opened. This has allowed them to catch the spirit of the event with eyewitness accuracy while the scientific background of their observation made them keep at a distance from the described subject matter.

As a matter of fact the book is, as the authors rightly remind the reader in its beginning, a continuation of their earlier volume (Per Olof

Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen & Orvar Löfgren (eds.): *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis. The Making of the Öresund Region.* Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), which tackled the developments until the opening of the bridge on July 1, 2000. Thus, ideally it should perhaps be recommended to start off with this earlier volume before reading the current one. While the earlier book focused more on the political dimension of the bridge opening as an element of a more spectacular project of region building, the current volume covers more of the aesthetic phenomena invoked by the actors of this event. Written already after the event, this volume shows the bridge opening as a media episode during which images and wishes of the inhabitants and officials in the Öresund region come true. As in a theatre, the public is just as important as the performance itself, the agreeable reaction of the public tells the director if the money has been well spent and if the props properly distributed and utilised. Thus, the present volume is not about a bridge as such, not even about opening the bridge in its physical sense. Celebrated as a very important event the real value of the bridge lay in its symbolic form, in what the public thinks it is and what the public and the constructors want it to be. The central theme is about bridges that are of mental nature rather than of steel and concrete. Looking at the bridge opening as a performance the authors study how these mental bridges are built (where is the real stage?), who builds them (who are the directors and the actors?) and how this process constitutes a continuous regional event (what does the public come to remember?).

With this performance-focused point of departure the authors intend to demonstrate how the bridge opening event was *planned, designed* and *managed* in a way similar to business management. The *event-management* perspective makes authors ponder on the "return of the event" as a phenomenon typical for the media-driven, post-modern world. Without events, dully and unduly celebrated and constructed by the mass media, the public would have problems structuring the chaotic flow of information. Managed events provide focal points and nodal points for the structure of the public sphere. Undoubtedly, the return of the event as a managed phenomenon draws attention, markets and mass-mediates the political, cultural and social goals.

Indeed, the editors mention (p.11) that celebrating Öresundsbron should be interpreted in the context of a long-lasting tradition of opening official constructions, which often has been transformed into an event of a very practical cultural and political nature. One of the best illustrations of such practices is included in the chapter by Anders Linde-Laursen (p.187–202), in which he demonstrates the similarity of cultural constructions and political discourse accompanying other bridge opening ceremonies in different parts of the world in different times. Be it a bridge over Black Umfolosi River in Natal (South Africa), the monster bridge between New York and Brooklyn or even the legendary bridge over the Kwai River, they all demonstrate how a dream has become reality and how impossible it is to criticise such big constructions which connote human unlimited capacities and better future. As for the Öresundsbro, for the authors it remains clear that the political goal of the event was to be found in the development of the region as a single unity while the social dimension could be seen as a great initiative in the "glocal" economy of the Öresund region. Alleged better future and overcoming the limits of national capacities makes the project be celebrated in a particular manner.

Opening the bridge in Öresund is suggested to be a post-modern event as opposed to other events when opening bridges or motorways was done in a tradition of classical modernity embodied in Sweden by the *folkhem*. The post-modern society that generates such events today is named here *oplevelsesamhellet* to mark the dominating role of the media in the society. But as the authors notice, the individual experience cannot be pre-programmed and individual spectators, even if standing side by side and observing the event, are mentally and physically in different experience time-spaces.

By turning around on Reinhart Koselleck's categories established in the social science research tradition, such as "space of experience and horizon of expectation" the authors introduce "horizon of experience" (*upplevelsehorisonter*), which in turn enables them to use both macro and micro perspectives. In this way they overcome

the practical problem of how to deal with the parallelness of events, data and information collected at different sites by the whole team of authors. It seems to be one of the authors' most original contributions on the side of mythology, although juggling with such terminology as "the cultural grammar of a ritual" (p. 206) also opens up for new connotation patterns.

A critical remark on the book concerns the language in which it is written. While the first volume on the Öresund bridge edited by the same authors was in English, it would seem only natural to continue making use of this *lingua franca* and make the book available to a greater public. Publishing in Swedish limits the access significantly to only Swedish, and to a limited degree, Danish or Norwegian-speaking academic community. Indeed, publishing in English would in a fitting way contribute to the event the book is describing, inasmuch as the book would realise the "glocalisation" strategy that the region builders in Öresund are aiming at. This was probably one of the main reasons why the earlier volume was published in English. It is a pity that this track has not been followed.

The concentration on the bridge completion and opening as an event makes this book a good record of ethnological research and clearly demonstrates the ethnological background of the editors. Still, there is more to the book than just an interesting case study approached from different angles. The book has been divided into four main parts, which may seem to follow some definite, almost teleological order of events connected with the bridge opening ceremony. Indeed, at certain point in the fourth part the summarising entry is called *Liturgiens lockelse* (Attraction of the liturgy), which explicitly demonstrates parallels to a religious event. Thus perhaps the comparison with a religious event, a mass with a wedding in the end, after which something new is borne, is more fitting than the association with a theatre performance. It is a book, which, if not for the language, should easily be competitive on the academic *uppmärksamhetens marknad.*

Kazimierz Musial, Greifswald

People and Resources in an Island Community

Bo på Bergö. Människor och resurser i ett ösamhälle. Anne Bergman *et al.* Meddelanden från Folkkulturarkivet 19. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsinki 2001. 215 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-585-073-7.

■ When Finland was about to join the EU, it was perceived as a threat in many rural parts of the country. What would membership mean? What changes would joining entail? Were there risks that centralization would depopulate the countryside? These questions were the starting point for the present study. Bergö was chosen as a study object – a local study of life in a demarcated geographical area. Bergö is in the municipality of Malax, south of Vasa in Swedish-speaking Österbotten. The study reflects the 1990s and thus documents a specific period. The authors mainly use fieldwork as a source of material, collected during the years 1995–98. They wanted to illuminate Bergö from the angles of ethnology, folklore, history, and language.

At the time of the study there were two projects to build bridges to archipelago islands in Finland: one from Vasa to Replot and one from Borgå to Emlingen. The question was whether a bridge was the only solution to guarantee the survival of life on an island. Bergö is an archipelago island which now had ferry connections with the mainland. (From the point of view of the permanent inhabitants of Bergö, the island is not the archipelago; they use that term to refer to the smaller islets around Bergö.) The study shows that it is sometimes difficult to see differences between countryside, archipelago, and town. It describes how the people of Bergö lived by pursuing many different occupations, and how occupational categories have been altered and organized through the ages. When pilots and lighthouse keepers came, it meant a new occupational category (state officials) and class divisions became more prominent. We follow the lives of the Bergö people, from seal hunting and trading, fishing and hunting to agriculture and animal husbandry, and we see how the circumstances affected living standards. There is a span from the

sixteenth-century seal-hunting boat to today's cars and ferries. In a recording from 1972, one inhabitant of Bergö told about seal hunting in the early and mid twentieth century. Today it is extinct as a source of livelihood. The informant takes us on troublesome hunting trips on the ice.

The development of communications has modernized the living space. Proximity to the mainland, thanks to the ferry link, gives new opportunities for communications which are no longer dependent on the weather. This means that Bergö has been able to survive as a living archipelago community, so that the inhabitants can continue to live there and others can move in. Even Finnish speakers have moved to Bergö. How is language affected when the distance to other people is reduced? The study shows that the people of Bergö have an ability to alternate between different linguistic models and have retained their own dialect as a basis for community and identity. The village shop and an annual market have become symbols for cohesion and quality of life.

This book gives an exhaustive description of modern Bergö, how it has developed and changed, while still maintaining its distinctive character as the island that it is, between the mainland and the archipelago. The findings here ought to be applicable to similar communities. Thanks to the rich and illustrative photographs and lucid maps, it is not difficult to imagine what Bergö is and was like.

Rauni Janser, Ystad

Children as Consumers

Det konsumerande barnet. Helene Brembeck (ed.). Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsvergie 34. Göteborg 2001. 240pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85838-54-3.

■ The child as consumer is an important area of study. In our money driven society children of all ages are increasingly targeted by sophisticated forms of advertising. *Det konsumerande barnet* is a product of the major research project on Children and Parents in Consumer Society at the Ethnological Institute of Gothenburg University. This book places particular emphasis upon the opening decades of the 1900s and follows the earlier work *Postmodern barndom* (Brembeck and Johansson 1996) which focused on later contemporary society.

Det konsumerande barnet is the work of Helene Brembeck in co-operation with Viveka Berggren Torell, Marie Falkström and Barbro Johansson.

The authors hold that consumption as a way of life and of being has become the prevailing ideology of modern society. A change having taken place from one generation to the other in Sweden where children now see their right to consumption as self-evident while their parents seem taken by surprise.

What lies behind this development? By examining advertising related to children during the 1900s the authors focused on conceptions of children and consumption throughout the period applying a constructivist perspective. They question how these conceptions have been constructed, formed and how they have changed.

The empirical sources used are *Allers Familj-Journal* (Allers Family Journal); *Göteborgs-Posten* (a major Gothenburg newspaper); *Husmodern* (The Housewife, a weekly); and *Kalle Anka & Co* (Donald Duck) as well as advertising handbooks and journals plus the discourse on child rearing in papers and journals. This is a new area of research in Sweden, particularly when it comes to children and hopefully the work will be the pioneer of further studies.

Adverts are seen as representations in the sense of representing contemporary sets of ideas underpinning their creation. The authors have chosen to apply a discoursive view, inspired by Foucault, and see the advert as a product of discourses. At the same time it is emphasised that these do not exist in a vacuum. As a result, the analysis cannot be limited to representations only but also question why they have turned out in that particular way and not least what is omitted in the representations.

The adverts featured are for toys, clothing and electronic media, thus leaving much scope for further study. Helene Brembeck examined the period 1885–1940 focusing mainly on marketing of toys sold in department stores, for example American Bazar in Gothenburg. She points out

how the angel-like child of the 1800s turns into an actively demanding child of the 1900s while the parents are encouraged to be "modern" by providing their children with toys according to current educational and psychological ideas.

The discourse on children, teenagers and clothing from the 1940s to the 1960s was chosen by Viveka Berggren Torell. Here the state played a major role in educating people, the housewife in particular, aimed at promoting a rational household economy. This was reflected not least in informative brochures from the state funded *Aktiv hushållning* (Active housekeeping) which form a major part of her source material. Concerning teenagers she shifts the perspective from the state to advertisers where she detects an emerging perception of the child as consumer.

Presentations of consumer durables, like radios, TVs and computers, as "family members" from the 1930s to the 1990s sparked the interest of Barbro Johansson. She demonstrates how these devises have changed the routines of everyday life and consumption. The adverts reveal hegemonial patterns between parents and children as well as gender structures.

The gender issue is the main perspective used by Marie Falkström to analyse adverts for Lego in *Kalle Anka & Co* (Donald Duck) from 1960 to1997. The gender and age neutral lego building blocks developed into a boy line range of products followed by a girl line of Lego in excessive pink. There are separate adverts for boys and girls with specifically age related products. The marketing strategy changed from a play and learn approach to play itself as a children's right.

These are only some of the many aspects covered in this book on advertising targeting children directly or indirectly throughout the 1900s. Altogether it is a most interesting and useful piece of work not only for those engaged in the study of childhood but also for the general reader who seeks a better understanding of the changing status of children.

Erika Ravne Scott, Oslo

Old and New Cultural History

Palle Ove Christiansen, Kulturhistorie som opposition. Træk af forskellige fagtraditioner. Samleren, København 2000. 243 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-568-1556-5.

■ Roughly thirty years ago, the term "cultural history" began to acquire overtones of something antiquated and passé, perceived as the name of an unexciting, theory-less pursuit which members of an older, dusty generation of scholars indulged in. It was now contemporary fieldwork or structurally oriented social history that mattered. Since then, however, quite a lot has happened. The "linguistic turn" in the humanities and social sciences and the critical discussion of the hegemony of fieldwork have opened the disciplines of history, ethnology, and anthropology to new theoretical and methodological approaches to the object of study. Rigid old distinctions between present and past, between culture and power/politics have begun to be questioned and dissolved. In this situation "the new cultural history" has become an umbrella term at the international level, chiefly for a growing number of historians who are trying to renew their subject, but above all for ethnologists and anthropologists. In addition, the museums of cultural history are fumbling for a new, life-giving formula for their core subject. What is now needed is a survey and discussion of the new direction in cultural history, a critical examination of both old and new approaches which can indicate the course to be taken in the future. Palle Ove Christiansen has now given us that survey and critical scrutiny in this book.

The author begins with an account of various earlier attempts to write cultural history. He counts the hundred-year period 1840-1940 as the classical era of cultural history, framed by the publication of Gustav Klemm's *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte* in 1843 and the appearance of Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* in 1938. Between these years came the great scholars of cultural history: Jacob Burckhardt, Karl Lamprecht, Huizinga, and Lucien Febvre. What characterized German-language historiography in the nineteenth century was the historicizing division into eras and the

attention paid to cultural institutions, literature, and the great complexes of ideas that dominated thinking during the eras described. Everyday life had still not become the central topic.

A crucial boundary for the development of cultural history was set by the way that the discipline of history was defined in the nineteenth century by Leopold von Ranke and his pupils in Berlin. German unification in a strong and expansive state dictated the agenda for historians, who focused their studies on the state and its central spheres of politics. A new combination of research and teaching was the seminar, with its concentration on exercises in method and source criticism, to establish what really happened in history. Cultural history was pushed aside as being too vaguely defined. When the Dane Troels-Lund began to publish the first volumes of his great work on everyday life in Scandinavia, *Dagligt liv i Norden i det sekstende Århundrede* (14 vols., 1879–1901) he was attacked by representatives of the "scientized" German historical research. Troels-Lund developed cultural history in the direction of the cultural forms of everyday life, searching out new categories of source material to describe Scandinavian housing, food, clothes, and annual festivals in the sixteenth century. Historians in Berlin fulminated against these excessively "low" topics with their roots in the "animal sides" of man. The result was a lasting division of the discipline of history: the "proper" historians concerned themselves with the great events in the lives of states, leaving "the little life" to museum staff and ethnographers. Politics and culture were thus separated.

Perhaps Christiansen could have put even more emphasis on the fact that cultural history around the turn of the century was not just marginalized in relation to the professionalization of history but was also sustained by a different kind of scientization, proceeding from archaeology and ethnography. These were shaped by evolutionistic outlooks, took the view that even the non-educated classes had culture, and focused on material culture, as Troels-Lund also did. As regards material culture, the author highlights the international industrial exhibitions in the second half of the nineteenth century, where the smaller states in particular used their folk culture as a support in their launching of industrial products. Folk culture as a national trade mark, in other words!

The tradition started by Troels-Lund engendered a series of successors in Denmark. In evolutionistic spirit, they proceeded from the basic similarity of the human species, which gave life to their holistic pictures of bygone cultural eras. Some of them inspired Swedish scholars as well; for instance, Hugo Mathiessen, with his works on existences on the margins of society, no doubt stimulated Lars Levander's books about criminals and beggars, *Brottsling och bödel* (1934) and *Fattigt folk och tiggare* (1934). One trail that Christiansen does not follow is how evolutionism among folklife scholars was overlayered by diffusionism, which when it was launched in Swedish academic journals at the end of the 1910s went under the name "the culture-historical school". Also left out of the account are the large joint Nordic projects, *Nordisk kultur* (30 vols., 1931–1956) and *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (22 vols., 1956–1978).

In the second part of the book, Christiansen shows that the emergence of historical anthropology and the new cultural history in recent decades should be viewed as a reaction against tendencies that had come to dominate anthropology and history after the Second World War. What happened was a showdown with scientistic tendencies in social history and functionalism. Humans beings and lived life were to be reconquered from abstract structures and statistical tables. The method that felt natural was anthropological fieldwork, although applied to historical material. History was to be anthropologized. Several paths opened up. One was to go back to the anthropological tradition of community studies. The author shows here in an interesting way how the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, in his famous study of the Pyrenean village of *Montaillou* (1975), in practice reuses outlooks from the functionalistically inspired village monographs when he focuses on the village as a combination of a number of social institutions (from a Swedish point of view one thinks of how Sigurd Erixon and John Granlund initiated the study of the formation of social sodalities in their local studies from the end of the 1930s). Also

interesting and important is the account of how researchers in the community tradition tried to break free from the restriction and delimitation of the local that had formerly characterized the tradition.

One question that might deserve more attention is what the new historical anthropology and cultural history do with the heavy concentration on everyday material culture that was such a prominent feature of Troels-Lund's work. It looks as if the great influence of Clifford Geertz and symbolic anthropology have given the new way of writing history a mainly non-material direction. When it comes to the new cultural history, moreover, it is obvious that it must be viewed against the background of the linguistic turn in the humanities and social sciences a couple of decades ago, which has taught scholars to regard their study objects as a discourse or as texts to be interpreted. Christiansen describes how researchers in historical anthropology (to which he himself belongs) grapple with questions and problems which post-modern and post-structuralist critique has placed on the agenda.

The author's basic thesis is that cultural history has always appeared in opposition to and as a reaction against dominant tendencies, chiefly in history. But is this true? One can point out, for example, that ideas about a general history of culture or humanity were clearly formulated as early as the end of the eighteenth century, that is, before Ranke and Prussian source criticism. Without doubt, as Christiansen shows, political history and cultural history at the end of the nineteenth century defined themselves against each other. On both sides this led to a reductionist definition of the study object. Perhaps one of the positive things we can expect of the new cultural history is that it throws out a number of rigid old dichotomies and recreates a holistic picture of society and history, in which culture, politics, and social structure are viewed in dynamic interaction.

Palle Ove Christiansen's book is a well thought-out and welcome contribution to the discussion of dominant trends in today's and yesterday's history and anthropology. One can always ask questions about the points not considered by an author. One such question that could be put to the author of this book is what theoretical and methodological premises he himself used when drawing this picture of the development of the discipline of history. Regardless of this, I would emphasize the impressive breadth of the author's reading and his ability to sum up and analyse large amounts of evidence. This applies in particular to the series of brief biographies of central scholars and their works, including the critical discussion of the works and Christiansen's own well-balanced comments. This makes the book an important and indispensable textbook on the topic of new and old cultural history.

Bo G. Nilsson, Stockholm

Women's History in Source Texts

Indefra. Europæiske kvinders historie belyst ved kildetekster. Nanna Damsholt (ed.). Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Københavns Universitet 1999. 267 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-555-1.

■ This book by the Danish historians Eva Maria Lassen, Nanna Damsholt, Grethe Jacobsen, and Bente Rosenbeck is a collection of source texts intended to shed light on women's history from ancient times until the present day. The authors all have women's history as the main orientation of their research. The focus is on Western Europe and on social history, cultural history, and the history of mentalities. Learned texts from bygone days, diaries, letters, cookbooks, paintings, poetry, and folk texts are analysed for what they reveal about women's conditions, and it is the women's own voices that are prominent. Sometimes, however, we hear what men have had to say about women.

The title, which means "From the Inside: European Women's History Illuminated by Source Texts", alludes to the fact that women's lives are generally enacted within the four walls of the home. The book is divided into four chronological sections: ancient times are reflected through Greek and Roman culture; the next section deals with the Middle Ages; then comes the period 1500–1750; and the book concludes with the time from 1750 until the present. In each chronological section the texts are arranged according to the following themes: (1) religion and ideology; (2)

education, upbringing, and socialization; (3) marriage, love, and sexuality; (4) work; (5) women's liberation. These themes have been selected because they have always been a part of women's lives, and the long temporal perspective makes it possible to follow the women over more than two thousand years. Each section begins with an outline presentation of the period, and the texts are also supplemented by a list of works for further reading. The source texts are all excerpts from larger wholes and translated into Danish.

I think that the texts in the book are well chosen and that they provide interesting insight into the periods described. In the section on classical antiquity it was an amusing surprise that texts by Aristophanes, Aristotle, Plato, Sappho, Pliny, Ovid, Cato and other greats were followed by a text from a Roman cookbook! Apicius' *De re coquinaria* tells how fish and fowl can be cooked, and the section ends with Pliny the Younger's account of a dinner. These particular texts had very little to do with women, but they were pleasant reading. The food was presumably cooked by women.

In the medieval section we find texts by the great teachers of the church, such as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Jerome, with an analysis of a mural painting from around 1325 from Kirkerup Church between Roskilde and Frederikssund, and much besides. Jerome is represented with a letter about how a girl should be brought up. A girl who was destined for life in a convent was not supposed to hear or learn anything that did not have to do with the fear of God, according to Jerome. The songs she sang should be hymns, and the toys she was given should be letters made of boxwood. It was important that the little girl learnt to read! The pedagogy sometime feels modern; it was important that the girl should learn with pleasure and be encouraged, so that instruction in reading did not feel like coercion. Hildegard of Bingen is of course represented in this section, with the poem *O dulcissime amator* (O sweetest lover), as are Heloïse with her first letter to Abélard, and Chaucer with an extract from *Canterbury Tales*. One fascinating text is an excerpt from the record of an interrogation from Montaillou, in which the priest assures his lover that she cannot become pregnant if she takes a herb that he has with him and places it between her breasts when they have intercourse! Christine de Pisan, the remarkable woman who wrote works pleading for women's rights and human dignity, contributes an extract from her book *Trésor de la Cité des Dames*. She has been called Europe's first feminist, and she was engaged in the debate about women and their essence which was carried on in France at the start of the fifteenth century.

When we reach the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there are more personal letters to quote from, and there are also records of interrogations of suspected witches. Educational literature is included, such as *An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues with an Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education*, first published in 1673. This declares that women are the weaker sex and that they should not strive to be men's equals, much less their superiors, but women should nevertheless be given an education. A modern audience can now read a widow's petition from the same century, asking for permission to continue her deceased husband's trade, so that she would not become destitute, or the oath of a midwife from Aachen, dated 1537, which shows that the midwife was subordinate to the parish priest and had to report the birth of all children to him. The Countess of Lincoln's advice on breastfeeding can then be consulted, where we are told that it is the mother's duty to nurse her child herself! Martin Luther's sermon on marriage is included, as is King Christian III's letter about loose women in Copenhagen, and much besides. This period concludes with texts by Marie de Gournay, Anna Maria van Schurman, and Mary Astell, who propagated for equality between men and women and for women's right to education. The latter asks rhetorically why it is that women have become slaves to men when all people are born free.

In the selection of sources from modern times we find texts by Hannah More about philanthropy, by Ellen Key about motherhood, and several texts about upbringing from the nineteenth century. We gain a poignant insight into the life of a female textile worker in *Parliamentary Papers* from 1833, where one women testifies to long, heavy working days; work began at six in the morning and ended

at seven in the evening. Women's liberation is illuminated by texts by Olympe de Gouges, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, Betty Friedan, Simone de Beauvoir, and Shulamith Firestone.

This volume contains a wealth of material. Despite the brevity of the texts, they provide a quick survey of women's conditions from ancient times until modern days. The introductions to the texts are good, explaining the context to the reader. The bibliographies at the end of the book, linked to the different sections, allow anyone who so wishes to further explore the material which the book presents in an inviting and thought-provoking way.

Eva Helen Ulvros, Lund

The Landscape of the Danish Farm

Peter Dragsbo & Helle Ravn, Jeg en gård mig bygge vil — der skal være have til. En kulturhistorisk-etnologisk undersøgelse af lange linjer og regionale kulturforskelle i gårdens landskab: Byggninger, haver og omgivelser ved danske landbrugsejendomme 1900–2000. Landbohistorisk Selskab, København 2001. 488 pp. English summary. Ill. ISBN 87-7526-175-8.

■ This book by the Danish ethnologists Peter Dragsbo and Helle Ravn is the result of a study they conducted during 1999. The title means "A farm I will build me – and a garden there'll be. A cultural-historical/ethnological study of long lines and regional differences in the farm landscape: Buildings, gardens and surroundings on Danish agricultural properties 1900–2000". Their study was part of a broader joint venture, "The Agrarian Landscape", sponsored by the Danish research councils. The participants were Peter Dragsbo, curator at Middelfart Museum, and Helle Ravn, curator at Langeland Museum, together with Ebbe Kald Pedersen, architect at the Forest and Nature Agency, one of the collaborators in this study together with a couple of local museums.

The aim of the study was to renew and to develop research and knowledge about the history of Danish farms. For the first time the farm was to be treated as one unit where dwelling house, outbuildings, kitchen garden and flower garden, yard, backyard, windbreak plantations and drive all were parts of the farm landscape. The period covered was from the 1880s until today, and 65 farms from three areas were chosen for the field investigation. The three areas were the Viborg area in the north of Jutland, Als in the south, and the south-west part of Fyn. Together they were supposed to give the widest possible variation of natural landscape, economy, cultivated landscape and patterns of farm layout.

A tour of these areas was followed by a study of literature and archive material. The records and inventories of farms at the National Museum and the local museums were important sources. During the field investigation the farms were documented in plans, drawings and photos. Building materials and plants were also surveyed. The owners were interviewed and private archives were copied. Other local players were interviewed, for example garden and building consultants, builders, plant nursery owners and other entrepreneurs. A last tour of the three areas was made, supplemented by a tour of other areas for reference.

The results of the study are presented and analysed in the book. The target group are the owners of farms and the professionals they consult, scholars in building and garden history and those who work with conservation issues.

The book begins with a survey of the historical development of the farm landscape between 1800 and 2000. Since the study had shown that buildings and gardens partially had followed different lines of development and each had been influenced by specific functions and cultural patterns, the authors treat buildings, gardens and other areas separately. That division is kept in the second part about the development in the three geographical areas, both in general and with single farms as examples. In the last part of the book the farm landscape is analysed and discussed from different angles: the garden culture of farms, the gardens as folk art, the question of urbanization or rural culture, the concept of building tradition as opposed to architecture, farms as language, innovators and inspiration for buildings and gardens, continuity and change, regional differences in the past and present.

The book is richly illustrated with drawings, plans, old and new photographs, paintings, old

advertisements and cartoons. The large horizontal format allows space for an airy and varied design with good-sized pictures.

At the beginning of the twentieth century ethnologists in Scandinavia mainly studied the culture of farmers. Great interest was shown in building traditions and agriculture but seldom in gardens, perhaps because they were thought to be nineteenth-century innovations. Even now, only a few systematic studies have been made of vernacular gardens. While the garden history of the upper classes can be studied through archive material this is seldom the case for vernacular gardens. Field investigations with meticulous plant studies are the only possible way to improve our knowledge. Peter Dragsbo and Helle Ravn's careful study and detailed presentation fills a part of this gap in ethnological knowledge. This method, studying the gardens in connection with the farm area as a whole, should be useful for all kinds of properties, in both urban and rural areas.

It would be valuable to further develop their discussion in the analytical chapters. Obviously the authors have wanted to show the usefulness of their material by illuminating it from as many angles as possible. This has led to rather summary and in some cases simplified reasoning. In the chapter on gardens as folk art, the view of the stylistic development of gardens is too superficial, which leads to faulty conclusions. This is a recurrent problem in descriptions of garden history in literature, museum exhibitions and catalogues where an old-fashioned linear concept of history is used. European garden history must rather be seen as several simultaneous lines of development with local variations depending on climate and landscape as well as economic, social and cultural factors. The models for the vernacular gardens must be sought in other contemporary gardens, perhaps of other categories or in other social classes or even in other countries, but not in gardens that disappeared several hundred years earlier.

In this book, Peter Dragsbo and Helle Ravn have shown the continuous interaction between how notions of the ideal farm influence and change the farm layout, at the same time as the new buildings, gardens and other arrangements influence the ideas of what a proper farm should look like. The analysis of the ideas and the practical documentation complement each other, since we cannot understand the objects without knowledge of the ideas, as little as we can understand the ideas without knowledge of the objects.

Maria Flinck, Stockholm

The Swedification of Ethnology?

Billy Ehn & Orvar Löfgren, Kulturanalyser. Gleerups, Malmö 2001. 180 pp. ISBN 91-40-63486-8.

■ With the so-called "cultural turn" in the social and human sciences, cultural analysis is no longer a method reserved for trained ethnologists and anthropologists. Sound and inspiring introductions to the ethnological observation of society's tranquil everyday life and rapid changes are therefore welcome. For a subject with very few basic textbooks, they are also much needed. Ethnology today, like the society around it, is constantly developing, so it feels natural that the two Swedish professors Ehn and Löfgren have chosen to rewrite their *Kulturanalys – ett etnologiskt perspektiv* from 1982. And it is relevant that the cultural analysis in the title now appears in the plural, for even though some of the approaches and themes are the same as in 1982, the diversity of angles and suggested themes has increased.

The empirical field covered by ethnology is immense, judging by the examples presented here: everything from routines for washing clothes to the communication revolution ushered in by the Internet, from romantic strolls round gardens to the taming of children in day nurseries, can be studied by ethnologists via cultural-historical perspectives and creative angles. Quotations from fictional works flow smoothly in and out between the challenging observations and surprising angles. Ethnology here is unbridled, playful, and light.

The book is divided into a number of themes: "thick description", the power of classification, identities, spatiality, time and tempo, learning processes, and finally suggested strategies for cultural analysis. Each chapter is spiced with countless empirical examples – they are empirically "embedded", which makes the angles of approach concrete and inspiring, but they also

make the presentation seem somewhat superficial. The tempo is fast, and there is rarely a thorough, let alone critical examination of the many theoretical premises which inform the fascinating analyses of which they are appetizing samples. The ethnological approaches are like a smorgasbord from which one can choose freely. But can all the ingredients be combined with the same success?

I shall refrain from a full-scale comparison of the two editions and content myself with a single aspect of the revised version. Many of the foreign sources of inspiration mentioned in the new book are the same as in the first (e.g. Berger & Luckmann, Douglas, Geertz, Foucault) although a couple of new names have been added. The renewal of the book has primarily involved the addition of an incredibly large number of recent Swedish dissertations and other studies, which the authors manage to use examples from or at least refer to. It is impressive and of course a good marketing of Swedish ethnology – no one seems to have been forgotten. Many of the cultural features and processes dealt with in the examples are general Scandinavian or European phenomena, and in this sense the book is also relevant far beyond the borders of Sweden, particularly for Nordic ethnologists. Yet in a review in a Scandinavian journal one must at the same time deplore the fact that only a few works from the other Nordic countries are represented. Despite the general problems considered, this gives the book rather a local character. It is to be hoped that research is carried on outside Sweden as well, work that is relevant for new generations of Swedish and Nordic ethnologists.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

History of the Port of Hanko

Birgitta Ekström Söderlund & Marketta Wall, I begynnelsen var hamnen. Hangö hamn 1873–2001. Hanko Museum No. 21, Ekenäs 2001. 527 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-95950-8-2.

■ Hanko celebrated the opening of a new ferry line with an exhibition and a book. In this case, the book is not only a regular exhibition catalogue, but also a comprehensive history. Both the Finnish and the Swedish versions of the work pay tribute to the significance of Hanko in the seafaring and trade of Finland, a significance that has varied over time. The first period of grandeur for the port of Hanko was created by winter seafaring. In its time, Hanko was the only winter port in Finland. On the other hand, the twentieth century for its part was a time of success as well as disappointment. Investments were made in new passenger ferries, car transport ships and train ferries and the expectations raised by these developments were high. However, in many cases the realization of these expectations proved to be short-lived.

The authors state that they were apprehensive about writing a history of a port. Luckily for the reader, these museum experts dared to take on the challenge after all. The result is an expansive and interesting book, of which the authors have reason to be proud. It is richly illustrated and it provides an excellent presentation of the history of the port from several perspectives. Apart from the pictures taken from the archives of the Hanko museum, attractive pictures have also been found in private collections, some of which remain unidentified. There are a gratifying number of ships in the pictures.

In addition to presenting the actual port, the history includes chapters on shipping lines and companies, migration, port towing, fishing, shipping, workers, customs – and even the cafés of the port. If nowhere else, in connection with the cafés women become visible as participants in the activity of the port. If the port authorities had commissioned the history merely as a business enterprise, it might have become a chronicle of cargo lots and important people. Now, at its best, it is a presentation of the relationship of a small town and its inhabitants to the sea. As is stated in the foreword, it is still the case that you cannot be considered a true inhabitant of Hanko unless you love the port. Thus, the inhabitants of Hanko now get the book they have been waiting for. A ship-lover from Helsinki might experience some sorrowful jealousy here, since the inhabitants of the capital of Finland seem to think it is better to be as far as possible from the port. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of both places might be happy if the port of Helsinki moved to Hanko.

Petri Sipilä, Helsinki

Women and Food in the Far North

Phebe Fjellström, Kvinnoliv och måltidsglädje. Kosthåll och resurser inom det nordliga rummet. Norrlands universitetsförlag, Umeå 2002. 115 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-88466-45-0.

■ The aim of the author, Professor emeritus Phebe Fjellström, is to study food, eating habits, and diet in the North. This is thus a familiar ethnological research field, a study of food and diet within a defined geographical area. It feels secure to know that studies of this kind are still done today, as older "traditional" research fields are continued with new research methods. While this work gave me a sense of being carried back to my first years as a student of ethnology, when I first made the acquaintance of topics such as cultural boundaries, I feel glad that new generations can have the same opportunity, and that older research is followed up with new approaches.

The geographical area in question stretches from the Atlantic in north-west Scandinavia via North Norway, over northern Sweden, eastwards to northern Finland and then towards the White Sea and the adjacent areas of northern Siberia. The text is supplemented by a map of the area, which is certainly necessary. There are boundaries of various kinds in the area, national frontiers, local and regional lines dividing ethnic groups, and lines marking different resource areas. In addition there are mental boundaries dividing gender and class or different interest groups. Within the North there are a great many languages, some of them of great age. Language differences, however, have not prevented cross-border contacts, as the author points out. Trade, exchange of services, marriage, and cooperative labour have taken place irrespective of language boundaries.

While this work is important for new generations of ethnologists, it is also a refresher for older generations and for others who are interested in a thorough history of research into diet, foodways, and household work. The author's point of departure is modern social science, and she presents the state of research and theoretical aspects. She notes that there is a large body of literature on the subject, both national and international. Many disciplines are involved, such as nutrition, medicine, psychology, socio-economics, biochemistry, etc.

Phebe Fjellström observes that the last few decades have given ethnological food studies completely new perspectives and problematized the research material in a whole new way. Her intention is therefore to shed light on how diet and foodways are part of a social context. It is partly a matter of symbolic action and partly a matter of communication between people. She explains this in the form of a kind of language with a grammar of its own, the grammar of food, a term coined by Roland Barthes. In addition, she considers the aspect of the history of mentalities and includes a gender perspective.

Housework and the housewife's role are analysed to see how they have changed, with an examination of tradition, modernity, and gender roles. When the modern outlook on society spread in the second half of the twentieth century, a new problem entered the picture. Phebe Fjellström notes that the modernization of the North meant a radical transition from cohesive local communities on the coast, inland, and in the mountains, to a society heavily influenced by information technology. Fjellström sums up this chapter by stating that "a central position in this cultural analysis and process of change is occupied by food, dietary habits, the household pattern, and the associated women's life and 'northern mentalities'".

I have deliberately given a rather full account of Fjellström's introductory chapter and the aim of her study. In a short review it is not possible to examine every point in detail, so it is important to explain to the reader the author's premises. The next chapter deals with resources, environments, and dietary variables. Fjellström proceeds systematically, starting with an account of North Norway and the Arctic coast, followed by the area around the Gulf of Bothnia, including coastal fishing in Norrbotten, Västerbotten, and Finland. She also considers the salmon rivers of Tornedalen and Finnmarken. Fishing was important throughout the area, and the author describes the different types of fishing and how the fish were preserved. She goes down to a highly individual level of detail, for example, quoting the recipes that the housewives followed. As a result, we

come very close to the Northern housewife, since we learn, for instance, that boiled Baltic herring with onion sauce was one of the most common dinners in Norrbotten. We are told exactly how the housewife prepared the dish: "The fresh herring was boiled in salted water until the fins came loose. A mild sauce was made of flour, milk, fish stock, shallots, and butter. The shallots were chopped and allowed to boil in the sauce." The recipe was recorded in 1898 from a farmer's daughter in Svartbyn beside the Lule River.

As regards fishing, the author discerns three large fishery complexes in the western Barents Sea region. To the far west was the Lofoten fishing, which was carried on for several months. In the north, the people of Finnmarken fished in the Arctic Sea, and this too required the fishermen's wives to spent a long time in preparations. In the north of the Gulf of Bothnia this fishery complex had its counterpart in the hunting of seals. Lasting two or three months, this hunt likewise had to be carefully prepared, not just the food but also the clothing. The author points out that one must constantly be attentive to the regional difference within the extensive area studied here.

The next chapter deals with the responsibilities of the housewife in the North and the organization of meals. The housewife had to arrange her chores well and be capable of long-term planning. Her responsibility varied somewhat in the different regions, depending on the resources. Her work was not governed by the clock; the rhythm of the work was built into the course of the day. Fjellström finds that the housewife had a powerful position in determining the arrangement of meals: "everything suggests that she took the decisions in this sphere, and the men complied." The work done by the housewife in the north of Norway, Sweden, or Finland was the foundation for the survival of the farm and the home.

The shared resources of Lappmarken and the forms whereby they were used is the subject of the next chapter. The Sami diet and its special resources differ from what is presented hitherto in the book. The Sami settlement area extends over Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and eastwards to the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, the habitat of the Russian Sami. These groups have different regions, representing different resource environments. The power structure can vary, but many basic features are similar. Among the Sami who owned reindeer herds, the diet had a large element of meat and milk from reindeer. For other Sami, fishing was most important.

During the nomadic period, when the Sami lived in cots and moved with their reindeer herds, meals were eaten communally. Fjellström points out that the good bits were given to the man of the house, and there was thus probably a specific symbolism concealed in the pieces that the women were allowed to eat. "The grammar of food in Sami society in early times and in the nomadic period ... shows a noticeable male authority in the preparation of meat meals and the distribution of the meat," says Fjellström. The housewife's female role is not prominent at the meat pot, but in the preparation of milk foods and often in the preparation of fish. The work with reindeer milk was important. The women milked the animals, strained the milk, and stored the small quantity in a reindeer stomach.

Until the start of the twentieth century, Swedish settlers in northern Sweden lived according to the principle of self-sufficiency. The settler families tried to maximize the resources derived from hunting, trapping, and fishing, along with simple agriculture. "Cooperation between the settlers and the Sami was natural and taken for granted," Fjellström notes. Boundary-crossing activities can be shown to have existed between these different households.

Chapter six is about the division of gender roles in housework, farm work, and other outdoor work. Fjellström says that the housewife indirectly controlled the working rhythm of the day through the meals. Communal meals were the norm, and the men of the North had to comply with this. A fantastic body of evidence is available for studying the division of labour. Domestic science teachers in training were given the task of selecting a family of fishers, farmers, or factory workers near their home. They had to observe the chores performed by the man and woman of the house and by other family members. Fjellström presents some of the records, which are really detailed. Once again the reader comes very close to the women, and also the men, of a bygone era. The daily programme for a freehold farmer dated 8

July 1903 shows that the day was filled with work and that everyone had specific tasks. The women looked after the housework and the old grandmother did not have to do heavy outdoor work, but she cooked all the food. The farmer's sisters spend several hours weeding the potato patch, they milked, separated the milk, looked after the pigs, and mended clothes. The men dug drains. No one in the household rested during the day. From other records, however, we see that the men often rested after the meal, but the women did not.

"Modernity and the Female Collective" is the title of the following chapter. New role patterns emerged and the woman's housework was completely changed. Fjellström asks which factors contributed to this cultural, social, and economic change. When did it take place and why? External changes in society which exerted an influence were movements of people, times of crisis, new styles of clothing, and new ideas about food. New technology and innovations influenced the work of the housewife. We may mention the iron range, electric light, the milk separator, the sewing machine, the telephone. The transition period was rather long, from the turn of the century until the middle of the twentieth century. This reminds me of my own investigations of women of the Åboland archipelago in Swedish-speaking Finland during the twentieth century. The shared feature of the women's work and sphere is that they are influenced by similar phenomena, regardless of whether they live in the north or the south. This can be said to create a sense of community for women.

Regional foodways and dietary patterns are deeply rooted in people's world of experience, as this work clearly shows. If foodways are to be changed, the cultural and social patterns associated with food have to be analysed. Otherwise there is a risk that the message will not reach the people. Phebe Fjellström has sought "to show how food is part of social interaction and communication". Her aim was to emphasize the role of the housewife and her significance in the North. She has succeeded in doing this within the framework of this study.

Monica Nerdrum, Åbo

Female Entrepreneurship

Pia Götebo Johannesson, Våga vara egen. Om kvinnligt företagande. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 36. Etnologiska föreningen, Göteborg 2001. 136 pp. ISBN 91-85838-57-8.

■ Ethnologist Pia Götebo Johannesson has chosen an interesting and many facetted theme for her research. As she points out herself in the introduction of the book, the female small entrepreneurship has gained a lot of attention among politicians and massmedia during the past decade in Sweden. Small entrepreneurship is considered to have an important role in the growth of Swedish industrial life in the future. Special measures are focused on women to encourage them to start their own enterprises. Female entrepreneurs get visibility in the massmedia through interviews of successful female entrepreneurs and different organisations deliver nominations like the female entrepreneur of the year. Female entrepreneurs have, however, en-joyed such an attention only a short time in Sweden, mainly from the 1990s onwards.

The purpose of the study is, according to Götebo Johannesson, to give different female entrepreneurs a possibility to tell their own views of entrepreneurship and through that evoke further debate of the presuppositions of female entrepreneurship in the Swedish society. Research material consists of interviews of 28 women in the city of Gothenburg in Sweden. Two interviewees are business counselors, the others have business of their own. Those who had got a public launching aid for their enterprise were interviewed twice at intervals of one year. Description of the research material is divided into seven chapters including such themes like the meaning of childhood experiences for entrepreneurship, motivations for starting an own enterprise, coming across with business economy and bureaucracy, marketing, taking part into different networks, the different stereotypes of female entrepreneurs in massmedia, women's own constructions of female and male entrepreneurs and entrepreneurhsip as a part of women's identity formation.

Götebo Johannesson has divided her interviewees into three different groups according to

what kind of entrepreneurship their business idea represents. The first group is named as Shopkeepers and Craftswomen, the second as Freelancers and the third group as Entrepreneurs. The two business counselors form one group. Interviewees have been given pseudonyms that begin with the alphabet of the group they belong to. It makes it easy to follow in the text to which group an interviewee under question belongs to and what are the characteristics of the group according to interviews. Götebo Johannesson does not, however, give explicit reasons how she has chosen these three groups and what is more important, what the ultimate purpose of the division is. The question is: do we get more knowledge with help of this kind of division? I think that the answer is yes, because the division makes it clear for the reader that female entrepreneurs are not a homogenous group but they differ in many ways from each other. But on the other hand, the division raises up new questions, e.g. do the interviewees themselves notice these kinds of groupings and if yes how do they regard the female entrepreneurs of other groups? One may also ask, whether the styles of the entrepreneurship of these three groups are based on the social class in the society as the author suggests or whether there are other possible interpretative factors as well?

Götebo Johannesson does not mention how she takes into consideration the fact that the Shopkeepers/Craftswomen's and Freelancers' groups represent the most typical female way of entrepreneurship, namely a lone enterpriser. Women in the third group named Entrepreneurs have taken a big step and become entrepreneurs with several employees. It was quite striking to read how the attitudes of these Entrepreneurs differed from the two other groups. I think here we have a point where it is worth to stop for a while and to use all ethnological theoretical tools to understand how women's attitudes in these different groups are formed. As far as I have studied research literature concerning female entrepreneurship in Europe, there is no complete answer to this question yet. In a profound way we are here dealing with the understanding of gender: what is an enterprising woman like and why it seems that it is very difficult for women to change their way to do business – or should they change it? For Götebo Johannesson the answer lies mostly in the society and social class. What the author does not tell is how she as a researcher regards different types of entrepreneurship but implicitly it can be interpreted that she herself sees them all as different parts of one large phenomenon. It is though somewhat inconvenient that she has chosen Entrepreneurs as a name of one group because it easily creates an impression that in the researcher's mind these are the real entrepreneurs, though she does not say it directly.

I tried to imagine what kind of division of male entrepreneurs could be done if we used the same categorization that is used here with female entrepreneurs? Would we have gas station keepers and private construction workers as an example of Shopkeepers/Craftsmen, would the Freelancers be most like their female counterparts and would we see the group of Entrepreneurs to be the largest? Or would we find out that males couldn't be divided in the same way? This imaginary play reveals what risks there exists in genderbased research. We need studies of women that are made to make women visible, but we also need to increase our knowledge of the males' ways to work as entrepreneurs so that the aspects of gender could be put in relation to each other and the situation could be seen as a whole. From this aspect Götebo Johannesson's problematisation of the social class is very interesting: would the analysis of male entrepreneurship from the social class point of view give the same kind of interpretation than in the case of women? Or do men have a different attitude and belief of their possibilities as enterprisers regardless of the social class?

Pia Götebo Johannesson is a very fluent writer and she can very well formulate the contents of the interviews in a way that is enjoyable to read. I am, however, mildly disappointed with the way she formulates the research as a whole. What I miss most of all is a more effective relation between the interview material and other research literature published in the same research field. Götebo Johannesson introduces in the first chapter some research related to the subject but that is in a very general level. As her study is a kind of a pioneer ethnological study of female entrepreneurship I would have expected her to give the reader a more

thorough overview of the problems related to the research theme in other scientific disciplines. Neither does she give any example of research done in other Nordic countries concerning female entrepreneurs. In Finland we have e.g. in the field of economic sociology Anne Kovalainen's study of why female entrepreneur-ship has stayed small scaled and in the margin of the economy in 1960–1990 and in the field of history Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen's study of the continuity of the characteristics of female entrepreneurship from 18th century to 21st century. In Nordic context I would like to mention Elisabeth Ljunggren's and Pernilla Nilsson's studies of the image of the notion entrepreneur in the context of business counseling from the gender point of view.

Götebo Johannesson defines the notion entrepreneur only in the second last chapter. Although the chapter is well written, I think that the definitions of central notions should be done already in the beginning of the report. The difference between notions "*företagare*" and "entrepreneur" did not come quite clear to me. I cannot avoid mentioning that there does not actually exist such a notion entrepreneur in spoken Finnish. We only have one notion "*yrittäjä*" that is to cover both "*företagare*" and "entrepreneur". May be it would be worth analyzing even more what these notions include in every day discussions and in research use.

Despite of some critical observations Pia Götebo Johannesson's report on female entrepreneurs in Gothenburg is with no doubt an important opening to approach entrepreneurship from an ethnological point of view. I hope that she will soon publish a third book where she puts together the knowledge, which she has gathered in her two previous researches (one of these deals with male entrepreneurs' marketing strategies and the other with these female entrepreneurs' own views of entrepreneurships) and which includes understanding of the entrepreneurship of both sexes and lets her own voice as a researcher to be more present when analyzing the research material in relation to other research literature.

Katariina Heikkilä, Turku

Comparing Swedish and German History

Norbert Götz, Ungleiche Geschwister. Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim (Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Gemeinschaften in Modernisierungsprozess. Band 4). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden 2001. 598 pp. ISBN 3-7890-7410-1.

■ A debate which aroused international attention dealt with the Swedish policy of eugenics and sterilization 1935–75. There were hardly any new facts in the discussion that arose in 1995. Instead, it was the assumption that the Swedish and the Nazi German policies on racial issues were similar which attracted the attention of the mass media, both in Sweden and in other parts of the world. Even in 1995 there were those who claimed that the similarities were greatly exaggerated. New research on the subject, primarily Mattias Tyden's dissertation, presented last year, on the Swedish eugenic laws, also shows that this standpoint is correct. However, it is obvious that there were close ideological and cultural bonds between Sweden and Germany from the late nineteenth century up to the 1930s.

In this extensive and ambitious study, *Ungleiche Geschwister*, the German historian Norbert Götz studies the latter part of this period. He focuses especially on the Swedish and German meanings of the conceptions of "people" (in Swedish *folk*, in German *Volk*), *Volksgemeinschaft* (something like "The People's Community") and *folkhemmet* ("The People's Home", the common name for the Swedish welfare state). His point of departure is linguistic. It is closely related to the research of Reinhart Koselleck and to what is known in German research as *Begriffsgeschichte*.

Götz shows convincingly that *Volk* was widely used in Germany between 1914 and 1945, and well known before the Nazi era. However, the use of the word increased after 1933. Subsequent to the *Machtübernahme, Volk* was combined with numerous other words. Furthermore, *Volk* and race became synonymous conceptions. This extensive Nazi use of *Volksgemeinschaft* meant

that the word was hard to use after 1945. It then became a conception associated with the extreme right in West Germany.

In Sweden too *folk* was a word with positive connections. But when *Volk* was dismissed by the left in Germany, which paved the way for the Nazi monopolization of the concept, in Sweden there was a fierce battle between left and right over the words *folk* and *folkhemmet*. Especially the latter was fought over from the early 1910s to the early 1930s, when it became a concept associated with the increasingly powerful Social Democracy.

Götz does not only discuss the terms. He also studies how the German Nazis tried to realize a people's community, and how the Swedish Social Democrats strove to succeed in implementing the People's Home. Those in power, both in Germany and in Sweden, worked with youth projects, social legislation and population policies. Götz also compares the organizations *Hitlerjugend* and *Unga örnar* (Young Eagles). This comparison is problematic, however. While there were strong incentives to join the Hitler Youth – both youngsters and parents ran the risk of being harassed if the young ones did not join the organization – the situation was different in Sweden. The Young Eagles were closely connected to the Social Democratic Party, but the organization was only one of many, and there were no obligations whatsoever to take part in its activities. A more interesting and fruitful comparison is that between community as a *konkrete Ordnung* in Germany and as a provisional utopia in Sweden. This comparison, and other results of this study, show that there was a major difference between the German and the Swedish conceptions of the people's community. There was a strong tendency in Germany to exclude minorities from the community. The People's Home was, with some exceptions, inclusive.

With few exceptions, Götz's comparisons are interesting and well substantiated. As a Ph.D. in Scandinavian history, he is well acquainted with the research in the field and has a thorough knowledge of both German and Swedish history. Altogether, this is an important book for those who want to know more about both differences and similarities in German and Swedish politics during the 1930s.

Ulf Zander, Lund

The Dialectic of Education

Thomas Højrup, Dannelsens dialektik. Etnologiske udfordringer til det glemte folk. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 2002, 741 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-785-6.

■ To contribute to a theoretical and empirical discussion of the canon of human and social sciences is the main purpose of this large volume, the title of which means "The Dialectic of Education: Ethnological Challenges to the Forgotten People". Here the dialectical discussions of the canon are mirrored through the development of Western Europe during the twentieth century. Some specific sectors such as fishing and the building of fishing boats are used as empirical examples, and they are connected with economic development in the European Union and the structure of the Danish state, which is analysed in depth. The nineteen chapters contain discussions, lectures, seminars and radio programmes on this theme. All in all, the ethnologist Thomas Højrup has engaged about twenty researchers representing different professions. Authors, journalists and academic professionals from several disciplines, such as philosophy, ethnology, sociology, history and ancient Roman history have contributed to this extensive piece of academic work.

In the first part of the volume different scientific theoretical designs and definitions for disciplines such as archaeology, history and ethnology are presented and critically discussed. The focus is mainly on positivistic and culture-oriented epistemologies. These two main perspectives have often formed the conceptual backgrounds, in one or another way, for the museums' practical work with exhibitions. Some specific theories, e.g. the Marxist materialistic theory of history, have been considered. Its assumption of changes in the mode of production as prime movers during transformational phases in history is still an interesting approach when analysing changes. Other important theoretical perspectives derive from the ethnological discussion of lifestyles and sociological theories of modernization.

One very special theory re-explored and discussed during the 1990s was Carl von Clausewitz's theory of war, developed in the

study *Vom Kriege,* which was formulated and published from 1816 onwards, eventually resulting in eight books. Clausewitz's concept of "the survival of superior defence" seems to be a major guideline for several of the authors, and it is presented as one possible, fruitful, general and lasting principle of the problem of war through the ages. But is it at all possible to draw any general principles and conclusions concerning war and warfare over the ages, while taking different preconditions and circumstances into consideration? Is it possible to use the thesis of superior defence in other fields of society as well? Relevant examples could be the defence of the welfare state, the defence of the superiority of citizenship, whereas the state, at least since the Enlightenment, is seen as a means and not a goal *per se.*

Clausewitz's thesis is also discussed in the light of theories of rather violent state-building processes as the ultimate goal and purpose of a state. By recapitulating, rereading and interpreting Aristotle's concept of the role of the household, *oikos,* from the viewpoint of the interest of the state, a top-down analysis is discussed as highly relevant and interesting. By emphasizing the coercive purpose of the state and its interests related to the function of the *oikos,* an alternative to analysis from below – bottom-up – or from within – from interior driving forces – is rejected in this context. Aristotle and Clausewitz could rather be analysed together with modern theories of state building, e.g. the historian Charles Tilly's work. He has also emphasized violence and war as crucial, external and settling major functions for state-building processes in Europe in early modern times. Even basic definitions of the state debated in *Dannelsens dialektik* stress military aspects as fundamental. A definition is formulated like this: "a state in function is characterized by its developed capacity and forms of defence, which makes this state capable of defending a territory, a domain whose potential and size are the prerequisite for the reproduction of those conditions of life which are necessary for keeping the defence of the state intact." Consequently, the state and the defence of its existence become its basic function; it is in the long run its fundamental *raison d'être.*

Other aspects of the development of Western European societies are the sociological theories developed by, among others, Max Weber and Émile Durkheim, whose functionalistic organic theory, theory of ideal types, and the sociology of acts/behaviours, are important contributions to the general canon of the human and social sciences. Economic interpretations of development formulated in physiocratic and mercantile theories are seen as related to the states' purely economic interests that have grown over the ages.

The basic idea of this volume is to use and reinterpret the whole canon of theories and concepts in the human and social sciences. Its purpose is to critically examine whether we can develop, in a dialectic way, our state of knowledge and the ability of our academic craft to develop true knowledge, *episthémé*, further. Herodotus discussed this problem, conceiving historiography as true knowledge, *episthémé,* in contrast to mere opinion, *doxa*. Several philosophers have previously made a similar contrast between true knowledge, as represented by philosophy, and the *doxa* of everyday thinking. I find the ambition of giving the reader of the volume an insight into the dialogues and critical discussions sympathetic. Rather extensive and tentative discussions from seminars are published in the volume in several of the chapters, e.g. "The Theoretical Science Workshop"; "Subjectivity – Discourse or Issue"; "Conversations at Nørregade 3 – with Reflection". Although the ambition is set high, at times it is difficult to follow and understand the point of publishing all these extensive and endless discussions on classical problems such as the tension between static structures and dynamic processes, or historicism versus sacrosanct conceptual general positivistic theories. Questions will still remain. Which are the weighty contributions to the canon of today, and which are preliminary, tentative and open conclusions? My point is that more effort should have been expended on summing up, concluding and discussing what can be gained from these voluminous theoretical discussions of the canon of human and social sciences. What can be thought of as true knowledge and what still belongs to the field of mere opinion, *doxa*? There is a need for stringency and clarity, especially when we turn to the connection with concrete

issues, which also are presented very broadly and at great length in the volume.

On the concrete level, different aspects of changes in economy, technology, state and society in the European Union are analysed from various points of view. Often the authors draw on arguments and discussions of fundamental principles formulated in ancient times. One basic discussion concerns the question of state and people. It is an old issue, which, in the long run and on a general level of principle, deals with the state structure and the question of citizenship. From a modern viewpoint of *civil society*, attention is paid to the manifold and multicultural forms of lifestyles. In the course of time and in the last century it is obvious that different lifestyles are creatively alive. They exist parallel in society, which means that a variety of attitudes towards engagement in the democratic constitutional and civil state are expressed. A transformation of attitudes is also observed in terms of an increasing commercial mentality. We are all becoming customers and users, e.g. consumers of medical and social welfare. But have we nowadays also become customers buying democracy?

One very interesting debate in this volume concerns basic questions of the Danish welfare state and the new demands from the heterogeneous group of citizens on our public institutions. The demands can be noticed at different levels, from the local community, to regional, state and supra-state levels. What are the perspectives from the citizens' points of view? Do they differ from the interests of the state and from the supra-state institutions in the European Union? How are these new demands connected with technological and economic development? For example, do we still need a social welfare state? What should be challenged? What should be defended?

The rapid development of technology, the expanding economy and its influence on local societies are empirical themes which are described and discussed. One sector that is penetrated is fishing. Especially the mode of production in long-distance fishing, in the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, has obviously changed with domination of the "industrialized" fishing fleets, whose boats often depart from Hamburg and Bremerhaven. Technological development has brought enormous harvests from the sea. One can speak of ruthless exploitation, which both in short and long run threatens the whole fishing industry and the local coastal fishing population. The interest of the industrial corporations, shipping companies and banks has been to develop a system of individual negotiable fishing quotas/allotments, while the European Union and the nation states have to take into consideration other aspects than the purely economic and quantitative ones.

The interest of the different states in the European Union is to achieve a maximum economic profit from the fishing industry in the long run. Another goal is to ensure the fishing industry and secure the ability of local coastal communities to survive. It is also necessary to take care of the ecosystem and in the long run guarantee the survival both of the fish and of the fishing industry. To achieve these goals it is also necessary to create and support regulations and to be able to supervise compliance with the rules, even when the fishing activities take place far out in the North Atlantic Ocean. At the moment, when the Commission of the European Union has rejected a Swedish ban on cod fishing, it is obvious that different interests and opinions on how the fishing industry is to develop in the future are clashing. By analysing this concrete sector, the tension between the interests of individual actors, regions, states and supra-states and the whole complexity of the power structures is illuminated very clearly.

Despite the economic dominance of the industrialized fishing fleets, the art and craft of building fishing boats in the coastal fishing villages is still flourishing. The fishing village of Nørre Vorupør on the Danish west coast is one example of a surviving local lifestyle, thoroughly studied and described in the volume. The main point seems to be to stress the *superiority of form*. Complete perfection of a functional form for fishing boats (as pointed out for other tools as well, e.g. ploughs), shows an impressive *continuity*, even in times characterized by rapid economic changes and complexity. That is indeed a consoling hypothesis, just as the idea of the superiority of defence can be said to be a comfort in times when dominating aggressive international superpowers are formulating the international political agenda of war or peace.

The thesis of the superiority of form and defence could be translated to other fields than artisan crafts, material production and war. By analogy with the domain of discourses and thoughts in human sciences, it may be noted that *logically complete forms*, *explicitness* and *explorative structures* are communicative and continuously superior when taking care of and defending the dialectics of a shared canon and the ongoing dialogue.

Kerstin Sundberg, Lund

A Local Community in Movement

Niklas Ingemarsson, Inte som förr. Hembygd i rörelse. Gidlunds förlag i samarbete med Kulturen i Lund, Hedemora 2002. 206 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7844-608-2.

■ For ethnologists and folklorists in recent decades, "documentation" has meant dissecting the world around us by cultural analysis. Descriptions of the local community have often been left to groups of local historians who have written, or created, the history of their home district in their own subjective way.

Niklas Ingemarsson, ethnologist at the Kulturen museum in Lund, proceeds from the fact that "objective holistic documentation" is impossibility. With his book, the title of which means "Not As Before: The Home District in Movement", he wants to highlight subjective narrative as a mode of presentation. He also hopes to be able to inspire others – both ethnologists and ordinary readers – to go out into the field, to listen to stories that have not yet been told, to discover new ways to depict everyday life in rural villages. In addition, Ingemarsson wishes to shed light on the mechanisms of fieldwork: often the most rewarding fieldwork builds on meetings where one thing leads to the next, where one fragment is joined to another.

Works by people like Annette Rosengren and Sune Jonsson have inspired Ingemarsson, but he finds an independent narrative style in his description of the village of Billinge near Eslöv. Subjectivity permeates the book, both via the author's own voice and via the people of Billinge whom he allows to speak. Billinge is examined through the detached gaze of the author, and it is portrayed by the inhabitants, through their lives and memories.

The major part of the book consists of chapters in which Ingemarsson's informants – each in a separate chapter – tell their life story and thereby recount fragments of the post-war history of Billinge. These voices include those of the primary school teacher, the bus driver, the postman, and the Dane. We hear both older and younger people, both people born in Billinge and newcomers who have acquired legitimacy in the village. Each chapter reflects the transformation of the village in the last few decades. Through the narratives of these individuals, Ingemarsson shows how the network of social contacts, the business life, and cultural patterns have changed.

These chapters focused on individual persons are sandwiched with Ingemarsson's own observations and reflections. In these sections he raises the discussion to a general level: What is the home district for today's inhabitants of Billinge? What do their narratives say about how the future will be shaped in the countryside? Whose story do we tell, and what form do we choose for the narration? Ingemarsson also considers the time dimension in fieldwork. Among other things, he discusses the effect of the seasons on the researcher's relationship to his or her research object.

The story of Billinge is to a large extent about depopulation, closed shops, and empty buildings. Ingemarsson describes this transformation in a way that is almost poetic: "Houses were emptied while the evening air was coloured blue by the television light. [...] The road noise of the commuters lay like a carpet over the village" (p. 185). Yet his basic tone is positive, his texts and the informants' narratives exude optimism about the future. The author brings out the tension between movement and rootedness, the fundamental paradox that characterizes rural reality today: "The present-day conditions of living in the countryside are based [...] on a desire for mobility, a desire to move beyond the bounds of the village" (p. 156).

In my opinion, Ingemarsson succeeds well in his endeavour to arouse interest in new perspec-

tives on fieldwork and documentation. He is unerring in his use of language, with graphic expressions which can be used in the debate about both local history studies and cultural tourism. For example, he talks about "lifestyle-related knowledge of the local community" (p. 114) and "the countryside as an antiques store" (p. 146). However, the text feels chatty in places, although my impression may be due to the fact that I come from Finland, where we are used to a more austere style of written Swedish. As a whole, the book is nevertheless a fresh contribution to the discussion of fieldwork, documentation, and contemporary history.

Heidi Hummelstedt, Vasa

The Roots and Branches of Locality

Paikallisuuden juuret ja versot. Jatkuvuuksia Judinsalon maalaismaisemassa [The roots and branches of locality. Continuities in the rural landscape of Judinsalo]. Pekka Junkala and Jari Määttä (eds.). Atena kustannus, Jyväskylä 2002. 124 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-796-240-1.

■ Towards the end of the 1990s, a group of ethnologists from Jyväskylä took off to do fieldwork on the island of Judinsalo in Luhanka near Jyväskylä. This fieldwork and its consequent observations resulted in the production of eleven articles, which have been compiled in this book. The contributions collected here, and the articles they are based on form a description in miniature of a full range of research tools available to ethnology. Accordingly the project has made use of, amongst other things, archives, photographs, interviews, observations and literature. Apart from Judinsalo, the book provides a description of ethno-logy itself and its research object, human life, in all its physical, mental and social dimensions.

The central themes of the book are continuity and locality. The articles are divided into three groups, the first of which explores concrete continuity and locality on Judinsalo from a material and a biological perspective. The second group presents the cultural dimensions of tradition and continuity from food to summer inhabitants. The articles in the third part are of a more general character. They use material from outside of Judinsalo, but still discuss the same themes of locality, continuity and tradition.

From a Finnish perspective, the settlement on the island of Judinsalo is old; the first permanent dwellings date back to the sixteenth century. In his article, Risto Koskinen provides a narrative of the phases of the buildings of one farm, Vanha-Lehtimäki, indicating the styles hidden within them as well as describing their relative positions around the yard. The placement of the buildings as a functional whole on the farm is described in great detail. This article represents Finnish ethnology in its most traditional form: it provides a historical-regional description of both permanence and change. The text reflects the basic training that almost all Finnish ethnologists have received during recent decades.

Jorma Hytönen's article puts concrete meat on the bones. His text presents the history of the inhabitants of two houses on Judinsalo, as compiled from documentary sources. All these inhabitants have, in their time and for their own purposes, also moulded the material environment of which the previous article gave a detailed description. The evocation of a continuum from the seventeenth century to the present prompts the reader to think not only of the perishable nature of everything, but also its permanence!

The section containing a series of thematic articles begins with Maarit Knuuttila's description of food culture on Judinsalo. The article presents with ethnographic accuracy a method of smoking meat which is typical of Judinsalo. The article also explores food culture from a wider perspective: food culture displays some kind of ethnocentricity, an emphasis of distinctive features. The author also takes into account changes in food culture, as well as regional and temporal harmonisation. On the one hand, Finns eat Italian or Mexican "traditional" food, on the other, "traditional" Finnish Easter *mämmi* (sweet rye and malt pudding) appears in the shops as early as January. Improved transport networks and conservation methods have increased the pace of change in the food industry during the last decades.

Eeva Uusitalo studies two unofficial financial and social centres that belong to the recent past of

Judinsalo: namely, the boat pier and the dance pavilion. The location of the island on the boat route through Lake Päijänne (Lahti–Jyväskylä) makes the pier a natural central meeting point. Thus, the pier was, for over a century, the most important feature of the island. It functioned not only as a place of transition for goods and people, but also as a social arena for the inhabitants of the village. The dance pavilion, for its part, is a phenomenon confined only to a few post-war decades, which already has existed as a mere memory for a longer time than it did in its original function. Here, the author stops to consider what makes certain places remain in the memory, while others are forgotten. This is an issue for personal contemplation.

The summer cottage is integral to middleclass Finnishness. Antti-Henrikki Puustinen slightly caricatures this fact in his article on the summer inhabitants of Judinsalo. The Finnish summer cottage life exists in a tension between pairs of opposites. Various people – sometimes even the same ones – in their summer cottages seek, on the one hand, solitude, on the other social interaction; on the one hand they seek wild nature, on the other, a domesticated environment and comforts they are used to. Puustinen also makes an interesting suggestion about this ideal cottage life: perhaps people only go to their cottages because everybody else does so. In any case, the summer inhabitants and their cottages are an ongoing and essential part of the island on today's Judinsalo.

On Judinsalo's neighbouring island, Onkisalo, a conflict concerning nature conservation emerged in the 1990's, involving the local inhabitants and "nature conservators". The object of conflict was the building of a bridge and a road to the island, which would probably have affected a colony of white-backed woodpeckers nesting in the area. In her article, Tuija Veintie describes the feelings this debate – which received widespread attention and interest from outside Judinsalo – gave rise to among the inhabitants of Judinsalo. The article also considers the situation which arises when the opinion of central government is at variance with that of the local community, leading to a conflict which is then aired and worked out at the national level. As such, the existence of a strong central government and the tendency to ignore local opinion are not new phenomena; this book, too, describes how the islanders have paid tax to the crown for centuries. Most probably these taxes have not been used to directly benefit the local inhabitants. The article also clearly reveals a paradox of the depopulating Finnish countryside: when "development" results in, for example, better communications, other services and the number of inhabitants continue to decrease.

In their article, Sara Heikura, Maarit Knuuttila and Eeva Uusitalo, present the two (!) families that still raise cattle and farm the land on today's Judinsalo. The article notes how tradition and change are exhibited, for example, in buildings. They are changed over time and according to new needs, although in a way that leaves the past and "the roots" somehow visible. One important observation of the article is the strengthening of family-centred individuality. A few decades ago it was still common in the country that neighbours visited each other uninvited, and social gatherings at the dance pavilion and Midsummer celebrations were customary. These features are disappearing or have already disappeared. At least partly they have been replaced by television watching.

Since the end of the twentieth century, Judinsalo has been perceived as a sparsely populated area, contrary to what was the case in the beginning of the previous century, when the island was even thought of as the most central place in Luhanka. The island has remained in its place, but the world has changed: roads and an increasing number of cars have permanently included the island in a larger network, the centres of which are now more easily reached. Pekka Junkala describes in his article the paradox created by the increased pace of movement: even as space diminishes, it also enlarges. That is, even if the speed of travel enables people to act within a larger area, the world expands still further. The article also points out how the landscape is perceived differently depending on, for example, the speed of travel. Similarly, a local inhabitant observes various physical elements differently than somebody passing through. For the locals, for example the milk stand is not just a milk stand, but it is connected with concrete memories and associations. Junkala also notes the fact that cultural relics often survive in place names.

Finland joined the European Union in 1995. Farmers in particular opposed this, since they, to some extent justifiably, were apprehensive of the upheaval that EU membership would mean for Finnish farming. In her article, Leena Hangasmaa describes how the farmers have adapted to this change. This article no longer deals with inhabitants of Judinsalo as the interviews are conducted in the south east of Finland. The author discusses the change brought on by the EU membership in relation to continuity. She also relates it to the fact that farming has experienced other "upheavals" too. Change and continuity are not, after all, mutually exclusive, but phenomena that support each other.

Jari Määttä's article deals with various ways of commodifying tradition and local culture for the use of the Finnish tourism industry. Reading strongly between the lines, the article is also a symptom of the present state of things: absolutely everything must be put into a form which may be valued monetarily. The projects described in the article have encountered the problem of defining concepts: What is culture? What is tradition? Certainly people react in very different ways, for example, to the project description quoted in this article: "The project will take into use an old drying house where glass showcases will be erected. Within these showcases, the inhabitants of the area can tell about their own lives in the old days by using the objects they find there."

In his concluding article, Bo Lönnqvist seeks, among other things, to specify and at the same time criticise the concept of locality in the light of the study of history. Defined from a top down perspective, the concept has a rigid and static character, which does not correspond to reality. Lönnqvist also regards various attempts, led from the top down, to make use of "distinctiveness", for example at EU level, as doomed to fail. The article contains a very clear set of criteria for locality. These show that locality and tradition are, above all, a process.

As a whole, the book is an excellent show of strength from the relatively small Department of Ethnology at Jyväskylä University. The vividness of the articles, particularly those based on interviews with inhabitants of Judinsalo, show that concrete fieldwork forms an essential part of ethnological research. Compared to fieldwork consisting of interviews only, this kind of method unfolds a larger whole; one which is the setting of human life itself.

Aki Hyödynmaa, Helsinki

European Ethnology

An Adventurer in European Ethnology. Pirjo Korkiakangas & Elina Kiuru (eds.). Atena, Jyväskylä 2001. 243 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-796-266-5.

■ On his fiftieth birthday, Bo Lönnqvist received a *festschrift* entitled *Kring tiden* ("Concerning time"), edited by Anna-Maria Åström and Ivar Nordlund. Ten years later his next *festschrift* has appeared, this one edited by two younger colleagues at Jyväskylä where Lönnqvist was appointed professor in 1995. This last publication, *An Adventurer in European Ethnology*, focuses on Europe as does Lönnqvist himself. Of the book's thirteen chapters, five have been written by Finns while three others have Scandinavian authors including one from Estonia. Two contributions come from Germany and one each from Holland, Switzerland and Hungary. Prominence is given, in other words, to Central Europe, the area in which Lönnqvist has most of his contacts. Except for two contributions written in German, the language of the book is English.

Elina Kiuru presents Bo Lönnqvist both as a personality and by means of an overview covering his scientific development over many years. She bases her portrait on interviews with him conducted on the pretext that this information was necessary for her ongoing dissertation. The personal tone in the paper is accentuated by the title, "How did Bosse become Bosse?", "Bosse" being, of course, the Swedish nickname for "Bo". This gives us interesting insights into the history of recent ethnological topics. The concluding impression imparted by the younger scholar, Elina Kiuru, after these exchanges with "Bosse" are expressed in these words: "I suppose that in order to be a proper ethnologist, you need to have, above all, a big heart, love for people, and an endless amount of curiosity" (p. 16ff.).

Anna-Maria Åström from Åbo, one of Lönn-

qvist's former students, discusses one of his major fields of enquiry, namely the Swedish minority in Finland. This group of people, whose history reaches back to the Middle Ages, lives for the most part in the rural areas and towns of Finland's coastal regions. Åström studies this minority in a Central European perspective. She compares it with equivalent minorities in Europe, taking existing literature on the subject as her point of departure. One example she cites is the Poles in Lithuania, another the Germans in Rumania, Czechia and Hungary. Her object is to reveal similarities and differences when contrasted with the Finnish–Swedes.

The issue for the Poles in Lithuania centred on whether they should retain their Polish language or begin speaking Lithuanian during the period of the 1900s that saw the rise of Lithuanian nationalism. While the Polish language then became a distinguishing characteristic of representatives of the intellectual elite, the Swedish language in Finland has been preserved among a broader social segment. Finland has until now remained bilingual in that the Swedish language enjoys the same status as Finnish.

The Sudeten Germans of former Czechoslovakia lived both in cities and in the countryside, as did the Swedes in Finland. The Sudeten Germans became, however, far more isolated than the Finnish–Swedes ever were. Opposition to the Swedes in Finland has never been especially strong except during the 1930s. The Germans' situation was, on the other hand, negatively influenced by the Pan-Germanic movements of Central Europe.

As far back as in mediaeval times, another German minority has been located in Siebenbürgen, Transsylvania. This region once belonged to Hungary but has been part of Rumania since 1918. Here, too, Pan-Germanic ideologies were manifest during the latter part of the 1800s and the group's status as a minority population became even more pronounced. After the communists came into power in 1947, the German position as a minority within the state of Rumania became increasingly vulnerable, leading many of them to emigrate.

Gàbor Barna from Szeged has carried out field work with Lönnqvist in Transsylvania. In the *festschrift*, Barna concentrates on cultural dimensions, in this instance on folk religiosity in churches and religious movements in Central Europe as considered in an extended historic perspective.

Silke Göttsch, Kiel, who is the leader of the organisation Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, has shared interest in studies of estates and manors with Lönnqvist. As her contribution to the book she considers conceptions of unchastity in past times. Morality and immorality are important terms. Adulterous sexuality was criminalised but unchaste behaviour by women was penalised differently than were similar activities by men. Göttsch bases her account on judicial sources in the form of court rulings.

In her contribution to the *festschrift*, Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Münster, discusses tradition and cultural identity, and the quest for historic truth. The examples listed relate to the seafaring city of Papenburg in north-western Germany. Here there is at present an intense interest in the city's former prominent position during the period 1770–1870.

Bjarne Rogan, Oslo, shares with Lönnqvist a strong interest in a European focal point for Scandinavian ethnology. In his essay, Rogan considers fundamental issues concerning consumption, a subject that has become a prominent field of study in European ethnology and its sister disciplines. Rogan takes a vivid interest in the urge to collect various material objects. To exemplify, he discusses and analyses an Italian violin collector from the 1800s and a British stamp collector from the early 1900s. Taking consumption theories borrowed from sociology and psychology as his point of departure, Rogan discusses the motivation on which collecting is based, indicating cultural factors rather than biological needs. According to one theory, "The theory of distinction", collecting is a scheme for determining individual status. Using Bourdieu's terminology, one *invests* in a symbolic capital. With a basis in his own empirical examples, however, Rogan expresses criticism of "The theory of distinction", arguing that "Collecting stamps means much more than distinction and positions in a hierarchy" (p. 102). His ensuing question is thus: "Is there any other explanation than the rather vague term passion?" In this the scholar considers psychological motivations for

collecting. Collectors are never satisfied but instead strive constantly to add to their collections. This can be interpreted in terms of mental hedonism, according to the theories of the English scholar Colin Campbell. A third way in which to understand collecting consists of the idea of play and pleasure: "In short, collecting is fun, collecting is play, collecting means creativity" (p. 105). Rogan's conclusion is to the effect that collecting is an exceedingly complex phenomenon. It cannot be explained by one single theory but requires instead the linking of several different interpretations.

Ueli Gyr, Zürich, presents a historical research portrayal of the importance of field work in Swiss ethnology. Field work has long had importance in this field but it is only in recent years that methodological issues have also come under discussion.

Elle Vunder, Tartu, describes modernisation and cultural change in Estonia during the 1800s and 1900s. The modernisation of agriculture in the 1900s was part of this process. New and previously unfamiliar middle-class values also gained popularity among the rural population. Mentality was further influenced by the secularisation and dechristianisation that affected peasant culture, leading to a relinquishing of older forms of popular folk beliefs.

In the wake of modernity, a national sentiment arose in which Estonia became regarded as a nation and a culture separate from the Baltic German elite (aristocracy) and the Russian. The elite began to distance themselves from the peasant masses and their culture. This meant that the search for one's historic roots became important. The Estonian language was emphasised as a connecting bond while a vast campaign for the collection of folklore developed toward the end of the 1800s. This all acted as a preparation for ethnic independence from the Russian empire.

Päivikki Suojanen, Jyväskylä, studies the Finno-Ugric local culture of the 1900s and its position in relation to the pressures of globalisation in our own day. There are tasks that should be carried out in local environments but which lack funds for financing. In order to rectify this situation, Suojanen emphasises the need for a local currency system in addition to the Euro. "The situation would change dramatically, if in addition to hard currency, every locality had its own local currency, which would be maintained by a municipality or village committee" (p. 158). This local currency would be linked to local independent banks. In this way capital would not flow out of the local economy. Local production of energy is also necessary, not only for the local culture but also from the point of view of environmental protection in the larger society. Suojanen's contribution is characterised by a socio-political and socio-critical fervour. The emphasis is on the safeguarding of local culture and physical environment in the struggle against environmental destruction.

Gerard Rooijakkers, Amsterdam, considers questions of identity and cultural heritage as related to contemporary culture and art. He takes his examples from a local museum project, a so-called Eco-museum in southern Holland. This many-faceted project, which has been named the "Identity Factory", has been built up to cater to the varying interests and desires in culture tourism. It presupposes personal activity on the part of the local populace.

Orvar Löfgren, Lund, analyses "The New Economy" of our own time, seen as part of the globalisation process and the post-industrial world. By way of introduction, he indicates some of ethnology's basic elements or virtues. Ethnology's historic objectives are regarded as an analytical option. Another distinctive feature is the ethnologist's interest in daily life and material objects. In addition, ethnology is characterised by openness concerning the choosing and combining of theories and methods. "The New Economy" has tended to become "a grand narrative" (p. 183). All of daily life is required to be affected by increasing speed. An impression of creativity is vital. The world of fantasy has become popular once again, just as it was when ancient folk beliefs prevailed. This in itself is an example of the importance of carrying out historical comparisons in order to understand the events of our own time.

Ilmari Vesterinen, Jyväskylä, presents cultural differences and similarities between three East Asian cultures, those of Japan, China and Korea. The author sets these cultures in contrast to one another in a lengthy historic perspective. The

nearer one approaches our own time, the more Japan and Korea differ from China. Rice cultivation is a basic trait that still characterises the three cultures and one that presupposes co-operation between people.

The book is concluded with an extensive bibliography, compiled by Pirjo Korkiakangas, over Bo Lönnqvist's scientific publications from 1963 and on.

This publication affords insights into current research at several European institutes of ethnology. The contributions have been written by leading scholars in the respective countries, all of whom belong to Lönnqvist's circle of colleagues. The book constitutes an important reminder to us that Scandinavian ethnology must focus its interests and contacts on Europe. Scientific dialogue must become more international in scope. The contents of this *festschrift* are a valuable aid to the furthering of that purpose.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Handicraft Tradition in Denmark

Minna Kragelund, Det gode håndværk – Tråden i dansk tradition. Hoveland, Højbjerg 2001. 203 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7739-509-9.

■ Domestic crafts have been the subject of considerable research in the last twenty years, and a fair number of books have been published, in Sweden and elsewhere. The focus is on organizations, associations, and individuals who have worked in various ways to further good taste and handwork, as a counter to all the ugly, mass-produced machine goods. These flooded the market in the latter half of the nineteenth century, slowly but surely forcing out products made by hand for domestic use and sale. The intellectuals of the day mobilized and launched a counterattack. Training was started, associations were formed, sales outlets were opened, and the factories were urged to employ designers. Domestic crafts and decorative arts were displayed at the large exhibitions of art and industry in the capitals of Europe, and the products from the Scandinavian countries were justifiably appreciated.

In Denmark too, the authorities in recent years have stressed the significance of "good" craft, especially in building and interior decoration. In 1998 the Ministry of Cultural Affairs published a report entitled "Strengthening Good Handicraft: Ideas and Suggestions". Developments in Denmark are the subject of this book by Minna Kragelund, lecturer at the Danish University of Education. The pattern differs slightly from what happened in the rest of Scandinavia, where crafts were still a living tradition. This was not always the case in Denmark. Weaving in the home, for example, had ceased in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was practised by only a few professional weavers in the countryside. When support was started for female domestic crafts, the art of weaving had to be brought from outside, often through studies in Swedish weaving schools.

Through her work for the Danish dictionary of female biography, as an expert on textiles, decorative arts, teaching, and information on culture, Minna Kragelund has come into contact with women who have worked actively with handicraft and issues concerning domestic crafts in Denmark. Their history is the starting point for this book. Kragelund developed a special interest in the skilled hand weavers and their feel for quality, which was to be so significant for Danish design. Her stimulus was Margarethe Hald's book on the history of bedclothes, *De bolstre blaa: Bidrag til sengetøjets historie*. When it appeared in 1940 it provoked enormous interest and was reviewed in all the newspapers. Kragelund's explanation for this is that the book, despite its title, also dealt with women's history and the history of textiles, manufacturing, and trade – topics which were highly relevant in the 1940s. Materials and commodities were in short supply during the war, and a drive for home production was viewed as one way to solve the problems. The ground had been prepared, according to Kragelund, by the work already done by individual weavers experimenting with new materials.

Minna Kragelund sheds light on the work of the weavers from both international and Danish perspectives, giving insight into the efforts around the turn of the century to define what was specifically Danish. Here she highlights two examples: the Copenhagen City Hall, designed by Martin Nyrop, and Klunkehjemmet, a flat designed for a

rich wholesaler and his family, now belonging to the National Museum. She has experience of both places through her work of cataloguing the textiles in the buildings. Her choice is very personal, and she points out that, although she likes both, they affect her differently. The City Hall is distinguished by good planning, good materials, and great concern for every detail, which contributes to a harmonious and exciting whole. It is a splendid example of craft at its best. It makes Kragelund feel happy and light-hearted, whereas too long a visit to the overloaded Klunkehjemmet makes her feel slightly depressed. The flat is packed with all the industrially made ornaments that a successful and wealthy citizen in the 1890s felt he needed. Heavy furniture abounds, and the place is full of ribbons and tassels. The whole flat is redolent of narrow-mindedness and confinement. Kragelund is not happy until she leaves the place.

Martin Nyrop represents Danish identity in the book, not just as the designer of the City Hall but also as one of the most important cultural personalities of his day, a very active member of the associations founded around 1900. He was a companion of the architect Anton Rosen, who also played a major role in furthering domestic handicrafts and the decorative arts. Through their work with associations and exhibitions they served as links between the Danish Cottage Industry Society, the Danish Women's Union, the Danish Handicrafts Society, various associations of craftsmen and decorative artists, the Industrial Association, the Danish Folk Museum, the Museum of Decorative Art, and the artists and architects of the time. Some of these associations are also given a detailed presentation in the book. Hedebo needlework, a form of folk embroidery with its roots in the drawn-thread work of the Renaissance, was dear to Martin Nyrop's heart. He was active in a society for the promotion of Hedebo needlework from its start in 1905 or 1907, and he used motifs from the embroidery as a model for the stucco in the City Hall. Hedebo needlework was to remain a symbol of "the most Danish", and it is given a penetrating presentation in the book.

Together with Nyrop and Rosen, the author Emma Gad occupies a central position in the book. She was a trend-setting figure in Danish society, a member of many trade unions and women's societies who took an active part in the political debate. Her home was a meeting place for industrial magnates, politicians, court people, artists, writers, actors, and journalists. Emma Gad had a busy social life and an ability to bring the right people together to further her many different projects.

Apart from these three main actors, we make the acquaintance of a great many other people and phenomena of importance for the development of Danish crafts and applied arts.

Minna Kragelund is fond of her topic and she communicates her knowledge with a joy that is reflected in the fluid language and the personal touch. The reader may find this a stumbling block. For me it felt at first like looking into a kaleidoscope in which the whole was broken up into shiny, intangible fragments. I was confused by all the information flowing over me in an unstructured way. I wished that the author had contented herself with describing the times and the trends viewed through one of these pieces. After reading through the book several times, the picture has become clearer, and I now see how fully the author masters her topic and how well she has in fact succeeded in painting a living picture of a fascinating time. The book is an important piece of the large jigsaw puzzle of Scandinavian crafts that is currently being put together, and anyone with an interest in cultural history will derive benefit and pleasure from this book, not least as a reference work.

Britta Hammar, Lund

A Century of Swedish Handicraft

Gunilla Lundahl, Karaktär och känsla. Ett sekel med Svensk Hemslöjd. (Character and Feeling: A Century of Swedish Handicraft). Raster Förlag, Stockholm 2001. 288 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-87214-970.

■ Gunilla Lundahl is an author whose specialist area is decoration, design and architecture. In this work she provides readers with an introduction to handicrafts, a movement dedicated to maintaining the values of quality and beauty in traditional and

craft skills. The book is built on factual information that is clearly illustrated with a well-chosen selection of pictures. The author has studied a wide range of archive material and is thus able to apply impressive detail to her narrative, which is a fascinating recount of the development of *Föreningen för Svensk Hemslöjd* (the Swedish Handicraft Association) from the nineteenth to the twentyfirst century, focussing on some key themes that arise from the material. So although the book is based on facts it is, of course, the author's own impression of the course of events as seen from her position at the beginning of the twentyfirst century.

Gunilla Lundahl does not disclose a personal theory of historical research methodology, but on the basis of this book, it can be assumed to be based on a thorough study of documents. These documents are then included in the telling of a story whose events are discerned at a distance in time. This particular story proves to be a narrative that includes a strong cast of characters each with a strong belief in their own cause as well as in engaging with the spirit of their own time.

Lilli Zickerman was the founder, driving force and strategic planner of the Swedish Handicraft Association. She founded it in 1899 and worked as its leading figure for several decades. Her basic idea was to preserve the handicrafts rooted in the skills of the Swedish peasants. She saw as her mission to act as a mediator, bringing peasant style objects to the bourgeois consumer. The activities of the association included, amongst other things, collecting folk culture items and supplying patterns as well as organising exhibitions and business opportunities and these activities continue today. There were precedents for the birth of the association, including among others, the Arts and Crafts movement, which sought its inspiration from nature.

There was and still is, another handicrafts movement in Sweden in the establishment of which Lilli Zickerman was also instrumental. This organisation is made up of a network of societies and consultants working in various parts of the country as well as a central organisation, *Svenska Hemslöjdsföreningarnas Riksförbund* (The National Association of Swedish Handicraft Societies), and a state funded office *Nämnden för hemslöjdsfrågor* (the National Swedish Handicraft Council). Gunilla Lundahl has written about this organisation in her book *Den vackra nyttan* (Beautiful Utility) (1999). These books provide the reader with a very good overall picture of Swedish handicrafts. An additional interesting work in the field is the collection *Lilli Zickermans bästa* (The Best of Lilli Zickerman) (1999) edited by Katarina Ågren. The Danish crafts tradition is presented in Minna Kragelund's book *Det gode håndverk* (Good Handicraft) (2001). There are also parallel texts in the other Nordic countries. However, regrettably little research has been done in this field in Finland, although a history of the association of crafts and industrial art is in the process of being written.

It was when the Swedish Handicraft Association was established in 1899 on the initiative of Lilli Ackerman that the word *hemslöjd* (handicrafts) entered the language. This word is still current, although the word *slöjd* (crafts) is more common today.

As Gunilla Lundahl shows, the handicrafts movement and industrial arts have an intimate relationship. The crafts tradition has been one of the sources of inspiration for industrial arts and artists have contributed to the renewal of the handicraft collections. The connections between crafts, handicrafts, art and industrial art have also continuously been the subject of various discussions. The handicrafts movement has been seen to be a national project, which was used to build a sense of national identity.

Lilli Zickerman wanted to save the Swedish handicrafts. However, her object was not only to save and preserve, but also to develop, renew and establish it as a full or spare-time occupation suitable especially for women. A crucial element in this project was the organisation of courses through which the handicraft skills were spread. The Association also took a strong stand on questions of quality and taste. Exhibitions functioned as an important means of education in these matters. The Association organised permanent exhibitions at its own premises and frequently contributed to other exhibitions. Lilli Zickerman was an energetic leader, and for her, ideological work and business were inseparable: one and the same thing. The Association has had

many directors since Lilli Zickerman and they have all left their imprint on its history, but the ideology of the founder is still very much present.

A handicraft, which has been developed and preserved for coming generations, is an interesting phenomenon. It has functioned as a kind of aesthetic ideal, reflecting quality. However, at the same time, it has also renewed itself. The so-called original objects had been used for certain purposes that at a later point in time did not necessarily any longer exist or had changed. Thus, many of the objects were transformed from their original purpose into symbols for Swedish identity.

On the whole, Gunilla Lundahl's book is an important work and provides many insights into what the tradition of handicrafts is actually about, as well as on what it means for an object of use to be genuine and original.

Marketta Luutonen, Helsinki

How Economics Colonized Everyday Life

Mats Lindqvist, Is i magen. Om ekonomins kolonisering av vardagen. Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 2001. 120 pp. ISBN-91-27-08553-8.

■ We all recognize the situation. You see an extract from an early television news broadcast and find the diction, the black and white pictures, and especially the content very different and old-fashioned. Even though it is from a short time ago, it seems like a completely different world. And perhaps it is?

This is what Mats Lindqvist, professor of ethnology, has undertaken to study in a systematic analysis of what he calls the colonization of everyday life by economics in the last thirty years. His premise is that there really have been great changes. In this book he has examined a series of Swedish television news broadcasts from four selected years: 1968, 1978, 1988, and 1997. The analysis revolves around how television deals with topics such as the economy in its news programmes. The aim is not to perform a media analysis, but to detect the spirit of the age as reflected in the news rhetoric and to describe the shift from modernity to postmodernity.

The news broadcasts are subjected to a discourse analysis, where discourse positions and different interests define the scope of what is possible to say at different times. In 1968 the news broadcasts were aimed at the sphere of society that Lindqvist calls the world of work, in contrast to the world of economy. Workers or wage earners were the target group, and their interests were viewed as being opposed to those of the economic powers, the companies, and the principle of the greatest possible return on invested capital. Economics was thus a question of industrial production, labour, and employment, linked to a collective project for the good of the Swedish nation, but still under threat from the narrow individual interests of capital owners. Wages were spent on just a few things: food for the day, a small savings account in the bank, the lottery, and so on. The work done for the nation, the production of goods and services for export, was regarded as the basis for the country's welfare. The dream of a change of political system was based on a socialist ideology, aiming to expand the political democracy to achieve economic democracy. The media were thus interested in events that damaged or promoted employment, such as external threats. In the 1970s the news reports were critical of the ability of capitalism to ensure the welfare of the citizens.

There has gradually been a shift of focus in the news broadcasts, and the whole news rhetoric has changed. In 1988 capitalism went on the offensive, and a new group of investors became the modern-day heroes by virtue of their ability to make fortunes through currency speculation. "The Money Mandarins" in the form of stock market advisors, unit trust administrators, and finance journalists have increased in numbers. Their duty is to assess the viability of financial operations on behalf of the general public who want to participate. Despite this, the market is totally unpredictable, which is of course the precondition for speculation.

In 1997 the difference between workers and capital owners is absent from the news programmes – they are all living in the same world. The workers have been invited in out of the cold. Everyone now has the same interest, for example, in share trading and the upward and downward

movement of stock market indices. The dividing line no longer runs between the working class and capital, but between individuals. Everyone is to be trained to be a qualified player on the market. Knowledge and information are seen as the keys to a successful move from a lower position in the social pyramid. Expertise and responsibility are what distinguishes the players on the market, and the problems have now been individualized; for example, the crises of the 1980s are now explained as the result of individual persons' wastefulness and incompetence. In the 1990s we were told to invest our assets in unit trusts, shares, bonds – so that they would grow. Whereas the big windfall used to come from playing the lottery and doing the football pools, monetary activities were now viewed as a way to achieve this. A large proportion of the population has been transformed into finance capitalists in their thoughts and actions, and there is tough competition for customers between banks and finance companies. The customer (as the designation is) has become a player on the market, where Lady Luck is a major factor.

Ordinary people have thus conquered the stage of finance capitalism as equal actors – work has been replaced by private economy! Financial transactions are described as a way to provide for oneself. This idea has permeated ordinary people's way of thinking and their whole everyday life. It is not that we were not interested in our private economy before, but now there has been a cultural change, according to the news rhetoric.

The division of the economy, whereby the financial economy acquired a hegemonic position, began in 1971, when Nixon cut the link between the gold reserves in Fort Knox and the dollar. This opened the way for a development which gave the opportunity to make money without creating real value. The split between the real economy (where work generates value) and the financial economy (where speculation creates value) gradually increased, and today the latter is 20–50 times greater than the real economy in the global finance market. Productive work is now discussed in terms of employment.

Finally, there is what Lindqvist calls the naturalization of capitalization, that is, capitalization as an expression of human nature and not a specific external economic system. The sharp breach between two periods does not necessarily mean a radical change of the content, but rather a restructuring of a number of elements, and properties which were formerly subordinate can become dominant, and vice versa. It is this type of change that is described here. Historically these changes took place parallel to the fall of the Soviet Union – the ultimate end point in a dismantling process.

Mats Lindqvist has written a small but very thought-provoking book which is part of a major research project, "Late Capitalist Culture – On Rhetoric, Power, and Postmodernity", financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (where some people must surely have wondered whether it was a profitable investment!). The book is fascinating and very thought-provoking reading. Besides extending the potential for an ethnological perspective on the present day, it has a critical discussion of the international literature on economics and culture studies. What changes have taken place, and where? How are these changes spoken about in the media? How should we relate to the media-created reality, and what analytical tools should we use? We can only look forward to continued publications.

Lykke L. Pedersen, Lyngby

A Women's Stronghold

Bo Lönnqvist, Kvinnoborgen Högvalla – en civilisationsprocess. Schildts Förlag, Helsingfors 2001. 213 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-50-1117-5.

■ Bo Lönnqvist has presented a most interesting piece of women's history in this book, whose title means "The Women's Castle – a Process of Civilisation". This is a beautiful book illustrated with a great many expressive photos. The castle in question is Högvalla, a seminary for domestic economy and housework, which existed between 1918 and 1996; from 1927 it was situated on the Boe farm near the city of Borgå in Finland. The seminar was led by the upper-class ladies Elsa Bonsdorff (headmistress 1919–1950) and Runa Melander (originally from Sweden, headmistress until 1961), who gave the institution a touch of a girls' boarding school.

The main material of Lönnqvist's study consists of the written memoirs of 107 former students at Högvalla (collected 1993–1994 with the aid of a questionnaire), a sample that covers the period from 1929 to the 1990s. There are also about 60 old photos, which are used as source material. As a complement the author conducted fieldwork and participant observation at Högvalla in 1988 and 1990. This material is presented and analysed in the book, which consists of a prologue and an epilogue enclosing six chapters, entitled: "The Memory and the Legend", "Ethnology and Woman", "Food as Knowledge", "Two Women's Work – 'Bonsa and Melona'", "The Ritualization of a Style – from Cavaliers' Ball to Christmas" and "Högvalla Culture – a Colour Scale in the Pattern of Civilization".

According to Bo Lönnqvist, the Högvalla seminary constituted a specific women's culture and an institutional female world that lasted for several decades. This culture was to a high degree designed by Elsa Bonsdorff and Runa Melander (nicknamed Bonsa and Melona, or "the foreign minister" and "the secretary of the interior"), who were esteemed for their personal charisma as well as their pedagogical competence and leadership. Their management was strict and the hierarchy rigorous. The difference of rank was revealed in the place of the houses at the school, in everyday rituals and in the evaluation of the students in relation to their origin.

The school's profile was unique, according to the author, with a combination of bourgeois and rural lifestyles and as Boe was a farm with cattle and garden, the students learnt farm work as well as a variety of household techniques. Central parts of the cultural capital that they were taught were the ideology of the hard-working woman, the practising of strict economy, the principles of orderliness and the ritualization of practical work into customs. They were also taught a special style in manners, comradeship, self-discipline and self-respect.

Among the festivity rituals that were central at Högvalla one can mention Lucia Day on 13 December, which was introduced in 1919 by Runa Melander and another Swedish teacher. Later this custom was spread by former Högvalla students to many Swedish-speaking homes in Finland and today it is regarded as a typical custom of the Swedish-speaking Finns. The celebration of Christmas and the so-called cavaliers' ball were other important events at the school. This ball was also the only event at which men officially were accepted at Högvalla. (The exceptions were the steward and the caretaker with his family.) As a consequence the students felt that there was an aura of mystery around manliness.

This is one of Lönnqvist's main points: the absent man. According to the author, Högvalla was a strong women's castle, where the students were taught an autonomous position as women. Although the education had a "female touch", the girls were not initiated to subordination to men. On the contrary, Lönnqvist says, by eliminating the males the Högvalla culture promoted a specific model, expressing the strengthening of the woman's sovereign position as a competent housewife, teacher and a lady of the world. Remarkably, motherhood was non-existent in this ideology, whose cornerstones were knowledge and autonomy. I fully agree with Lönnqvist in his description of the Högvalla seminary as a "women's castle" with a specific women's culture. However, it may be questioned to what extent the students in their future lives had the possibility to create sovereign positions for themselves as women. Elsa Bonsdorff and Runa Melander were the true empresses of Högvalla – Bonsdorff was even a member of parliament in the 1930s and 1940s. No doubt these ladies could serve as good examples, and the Högvalla education, emphasizing the autonomous position of women, had an emancipatory potential for those who were sensitive to the message. But it is difficult to say how many of the students really lived up to this.

Finally, one can say that with this book Lönnqvist has added an important piece to research on women's history, and also to the Swedish-Finnish cultural history of the twentieth century. The perspective is mainly that of dignity, and the discussion about gender roles could have been even more problematizing. Nevertheless, the book is a good example of a solid empirical study presented in a way that could – and should – be read by people both inside and outside "the ivory tower", and that is the hallmark of good ethnology.

Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

The Construction of Europeanness

Europe. Cultural Construction and Reality. Peter Niedermüller & Bjarne Stoklund (eds.). Reprint of *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology.* Vol. 29:2 (1999), Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2001. 138 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-686-8.

■ Two eminent stewards of the ethnological scholarship of the old continent, Peter Niedermüller and Bjarne Stoklund, present here a collection of articles focusing on current problems in bad need of discussion, concerning the (re)manufacturing of the identity of European-ness to be shared by Eurolanders (to borrow Reinhard Johler's term) in their land, Euroland(e), of continued aspiration for novelty. The majority of the articles are papers given at the conference at the European Academy in Berlin in September 1998, arranged by *Ethnologia Europaea* in cooperation with Südosteuropa Gesellschaft (Munich) and the Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin.

The book itself presents a wide range of papers illuminating recent ethnological research performed as a response to transitional processes visible throughout Europe during the last decade. The authors of the articles are challenged to show their expertise in the field of current Euro-ethnology by adopting either general theoretical and/or historical approaches (Michael Harbsmeier, Jonas Frykman, Thomas K. Schippers, Konrad Köstlin, Klaus Roth, Cris Shore, Reinhard Johler) or through case studies reflecting region/national contexts (Ueli Gyr, Ullrich Kockel, John W. Cole, Christian Giordano, Ants Viires).

The Introduction poses an ambitious framework of inquiry for the guild of European ethnologists, with a central role to play in research on "the change of conceptual geography", based on East vs. West, in the new symbolic geography of Europe which is witnessing how political conflicts are being culturalized, and "the ways new images and realities are produced in and of Europe" (p. 3).

What is particularly good about this issue is that not only the challenges indicated above are met, but they are tackled from different perspectives, representing current debates on identity processes going on in the increasingly borderless and post-conventional Europe.

It starts with Harbsmeier, who urges us to focus neither on reality nor on the construction of Europe "but to look more closely at the many processes through which Europe and Europeans have identified themselves in contrast to others while at the same time themselves being identified by these others as others" (p. 11). Instead of a close look at the latter he gives a very dense picture of the former, thoroughly illustrating the paradigmatic difference between *national character* and *national identity,* and their roles in the identification strategies of Europeans, and arguing for a "relational understanding of European identity" (p. 11).

Frykman follows, shedding new light on the understanding of identity as "an endless interpretation process of belonging to the local". As he proved together with Orvar Löfgren (in their historical anthropology, *Culture Builders*), the inventedness of any usual path of action is based on the traditions and mentality of "romantic hopes about how great things start in the small and local" (p. 22). He also emphasizes how "important it is to understand people as culture builders, as actors" (p. 20) and inventors of places in which to act and to belong. Moreover, instead of deriving the force of *local* just from current processes of globalization (glocalization), he argues for ethnology's emic perspective, enabling us to understand "why people find it so doable, so rewarding to tackle the local" (p. 22).

Schippers focuses in his article on the fragile common ground between identity and space. He argues that "spatial taxonomies", such as "being of" and "belonging to" are essential ingredients of self-identification for many Europeans, "intimately related to a spatial/cartographical perception of inscription and identification" (pp. 27–28). Subscriptions to certain bordered territories are marked by official cartographies in respect to the dominant identity politics. With a particular emphasis on Europeans (who, I believe, are no different from people in other continents), the author warns us that this kind of identity politics can produce "pseudo-homogenous ideological fictions" of which borderlines are supposed to be

the limits, and also that any modifications suggesting the redrawing of a map may be considered as challenges to these limits and could eventually end up in "ethnic cleansing".

In Köstlin's contribution on the issue of vanishing borders in the new Europe we can find quite another perspective, arguing that there is a desire to harness the overwhelming power of culture. Especially such powerful ingredients of folk/regional culture as "historical rootedness", "authenticity", and "tradition" are primarily and particularly seen by author as producing "timelessness in an ocean of temporality" (p. 35), thus being able to provide the new Europe with a balance of *similarities* vs. *differences* via opposing homogenizing processes as well as replacing state (and other vanished) borders.

Roth, in an example of applied ethnology (with quite a provocative subtitle, "Can Europe Learn from the Multiethnic Empires?") based on the recent findings of Intercultural Communication (a new discipline of which he is a strong advocate), strives to show, if not to teach, new Europeans about good old modes of interethnic coexistence established in the empires that used to rule the Balkans for centuries until nation-states came into being. He is certain that "some of the elements of the traditional system of interethnic coexistence are not outdated" and can be adopted and applied in contemporary societies (p. 47). Are these elements of the past not similar to *traditions of the glorious past* so widely used in periods of nation-state building as well as being charged with the neo-romantic zeal of revivalism during the period of perestroika in the former communist Eastern Europe? The difference is that the latter proved to be efficient for the regaining of confidence and strengthening of national identities. But I doubt that the former can be effective in the contemporary Balkans consisting predominantly of nation-states, unless post-nation-state European cultural politics take it seriously as a *common* heritage and unless this attracts Balkan people more than nationalism did and still does.

A similar problem, the role and impact of European cultural politics, critical for the advancement of a shared European identity, is profoundly discussed in Shore's contribution, where, after having carried out an impressive ethnographic study of the work of EU institutions in Brussels, he points out the lack of *shared* and *mutual* Euro-cultural modes and elements for the concrete European cultural policies to be built upon. Even though attempts are made by EU policy-makers "to invent Europe at a level of popular consciousness" (p. 53) and, for example, to mobilize history and memory by rewriting the history of Europe, the result is failure. Moreover the "cultural deficit" goes hand in hand with the "democratic deficit". The failure to achieve a shared European identity is obvious, because the EU political elite believes that a "European identity" can somehow be engineered from above and injected into the masses by an enlightened vanguard of European policy professionals (p. 63). This results in the creation of a new kind of political subject – Homo Europaeus – rather than a person able to share European identity.

Johler also scrutinizes the core of identity framing to which "Eurolanders" are currently exposed, and the logic of how national identity functions. The national identities of the nation states used to function in juxtaposition with each other, although nowadays they are acquiring a new neo-nationalistic strength from opposing unifying processes in Europe. *Europeanness,* as a very novel template for identity which lacks cultural, political and legal authorization, is immediately countered by still powerful, legitimate and even growing identity politics (guided by Euro-scepticism), which can offer influential identity narrations to "native country", "home", "patria" and the like (p. 70).

The part of the issue devoted to regional/national case studies opens with Gyr's contribution focusing on contemporaneous identity formation processes in Switzerland. "Heidi" is exemplified as a pattern for a new commercially grounded regional and even national identity. "Heidiland" is the region between Sargans and Bad Ragaz. Originally a literary figure, "Heidi" eventually becomes increasingly established as the image of Switzerland, both as a nation and as a tourist destination.

How can a new Europe be constructed if tensions between "citizenship" and "nationality" as well as between "equality" and "multiculturalism" are so vivid? Isn't Northern Ireland an example of

this? These and similar questions are investigated by Kockel. In his impressive account of the interplay between the key terms "nationality", "identity", and "citizenship", in the context of European integration, he shows that neither "nationality", ultimately falling into ethnic nationalism and ethnic chaos, nor "citizenship", which threatens to appear as the civic nationalism of the majority or even as imperialism, works for the new Europe. The negotiation of nationality, citizenship and identity in their territorial context, as witnessed by the author himself in Northern Ireland, he believes is a possible window on the future of Europe (p. 107).

Cole's article on reproduction of identity in South Tyrol is based on the results of his extensive fieldwork, which provides us with profound data about economic and political change in the region. Assuming that the processes of resurgence of regionalism going on in South Tyrol under the impact of the EU are not unique, the author argues that a fascination with identity politics should not lead us to neglect the "material concerns" of people or the "institutional frameworks" in which they act (p. 114).

In a broad contribution with extensive quotations from historical literature, Giordano draws upon the historical anthropology of "essential components of the socio-historical framework of "ethnic discourses" in Italy" (p. 117). By thorough analysis of the two main "ethnic" movements in Italy, *sicilianismo* and *leghismo,* the author concludes that the most important issue which is hidden under "ethnic discourses" is an "anti-State" attitude, based on the continuity of the conflict between "legality" and "legitimacy" as well as on the construction of a "historical right", used to interpret the gap between the north and the south of the country. Giordano concludes that national identity in Italy is "somewhat fragile", but at the same time it is quite "fixed", and "ethnic difference" can obtain only temporary popularity (p. 131).

In the concluding chapter, Viires exemplifies the configurations of identity in post-communist Estonia by focusing on ethnicity and identity processes, addressed as "identity problems" and "identity feelings", "hardly understood without historical background" (p. 133). Actually the historical perspective is the real merit of the article, which reveals statistically proven processes of change in the composition of nationalities in Estonia since 1934. A particularly precise account of Russians in Estonia is given. These are culturally heterogeneous and of different identities, from the "old small Russian minority" to former "Soviet" Russians who turned into "Baltic Russians". Viires also gives a picture of current identification processes going on among the Estonians themselves. Besides the national and historically traced local identities, trans-national identities, such as "Estonian-Finnish", "regional Nordic", "European" but not "Baltic" are gaining popularity.

To sum up, one can only appreciate the work done by Niedermüller and Stoklund in providing a splendid forum for a prominent group of scholars to discuss issues of current interest. The result is rewarding and inspiring for forthcoming forums and discussions, and possibly focused also, I believe, on discourses and practices of cultural construction and reality in the post-communist and future EU, Central and Eastern Europe.

Vytis Ciubrinskas, Vilnius

War Films and Illustrated Classics

Carsten Tage Nielsen & Torben Weinreich, Kulørt historie. Krig og kultur i moderne medier. Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg 1998. 180 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 87-7867-048-9.

■ *Kulørt historie* ("Coloured History") is part of a series published by the Centre for the Presentation of History, affiliated to the Danish University of Education. The book contains two long articles. In "The Vietnam War on the Posters" Carsten Tage Nielsen studies popular films about the war and tries to consider the films as a way for Americans to handle memory and identity. In "The Immortals" Torben Weinreich writes about adapted classics. To a large extent both articles apply the perspective of educational policy.

Nielsen writes about how he, like most Westerners, easily slips into an American outlook but does not attempt to put himself in the Vietnamese position. He also mentions the unusual

fact that the losers of this war have written and continue to write history and have the prerogative of interpretation. He describes how the Vietnam War, as a result of the political demonstrations in the 1970s, and because of the films themselves, has been important for the entire Western world. The Vietnam War and the Holocaust are extremes when it comes to crimes against one's own values in the form of the democracy and human rights that the West claims to represent. Nielsen describes how, from the end of the 1970s – when the Vietnam veterans started to attract attention as victims too – up to the present day, new films about the war have never stopped appearing. After Nielsen's introduction comes a run-through of eight Vietnam films. Nielsen devotes considerable space to a summary of and commentary on the plots, sandwiched with a certain amount of analysis and historical comments on the situation in the USA and the rest of the world. There is also some consideration of reviewers' opinions and the reception by audiences after the premieres. The article ends by putting the films in a historical and societal perspective, and by expanding the analysis and relating it to the discussion in the introduction of identity and memory work at individual and societal level. Nielsen points out that films of this type are a commercial product but simultaneously a part of historiography. Nielsen stresses the importance of understanding popular culture on its own premises and in terns of its functions; he emphasizes its value and the need for a dialogue between elite culture and popular culture, and between popular history and academic history.

Weinreich begins his article by discussing the concept of classics. He also states that his article concentrates on classics for children and young people. This is followed by a discussion of the motives for adapting texts. Weinreich deals with artistic, educational, and commercial interests, and ends by describing in greater detail some adaptations of classics for children. A great deal is about what an original is and how much can be changed if it still to be possible to regard the classic as the work of the original author. Relatively large space is devoted to a summary of the debate that has been carried on in the Danish media. The discussion of adapted classics is exemplified by a long section about the Classics Illustrated series imported from the USA, which according to Weinreich is the largest attempt in Denmark to present the great classics in adapted form. Between 1955 and 1976 a total of 227 classics of world literature appeared as comics. This form of adaptation is exemplified with the issue of *Hamlet* after Shakespeare's drama, along with a briefer comment on the edition of *Robinson Crusoe*. Weinreich's article ends by noting that there seems to be great agreement about the importance of presenting classics of literature, but there is less agreement about how this should be done. The article ends with a postscript on "the politics of memory", where Weinreich argues warmly in favour of passing on the classics to new generations, even if this is initially done in popular form.

Nielsen begins his article in an autobiographical way, partly to show the relevance of the Vietnam films even for the people of Scandinavia. Weinreich is more strictly objective, beginning his article by citing a literary parallel to his topic. Perhaps this is a matter of taste, perhaps a generation difference. Nielsen retells the content of the films in detail, and for this he uses the word *scene* in a rather imprecise way. How much space should be devoted to plot summaries is always a question of balance, but in general I think that commentary is better than summary. The selection of films feels appropriate in that they probably are the most frequently seen and thereby have had an opportunity to exert the most influence on people's views of the background events. Many of the films portray war in a way that is universally applicable, which facilitates identification. After the end of the section on each film, however, one notices a tendency to less analysis than for the preceding film. Perhaps Nielsen could have avoided this by weaving the analyses together more. His article nevertheless deserves praise for showing how popular culture can be an important part of the process of coming to terms with the Vietnam War, at both the individual and the national level.

Weinreich writes in a captivating way about the problems of adaptations, but his text tends sometimes to lean towards a too narrow consideration of language and sentence structure. My earlier

comment about the amount of summary is highly relevant here. I find the summaries of plots far too long, taking up space that could have been used for something else. For instance, I feel a desire for an analysis of more titles in the series Classics Illustrated; the examples in the article are very interesting, showing that popularization does not need to be synonymous with distortion. Weinreich's article lacks a discussion of translations in general as a kind of "distortions". I also wonder whether the subject could not have been illuminated from more angles, through greater use of other people's research. Of ten titles in the bibliography, four are by the author himself.

Weinreich and Nielsen both carry on discussions involving many significant points of contact. Their interesting articles are in large measure about how popular culture, often coming from the USA, is regarded. Both authors succeed in convincing the reader of the usefulness of popular culture when it comes to spreading knowledge about our literature and history, and the value for everyone in society of being familiar with the intertextual connections of expressions of culture.

Dennis Peterson, Göteborg

Research as an Archipelago Project

Carina Sjöholm, *Moderna skärgårdsbor i gammal kultur*. Bohusläns museums förlag, Uddevalla 2002. 136 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7686-185-6.

■ Carina Sjöholm has done fieldwork on four islands in the archipelago of south-west Sweden. Her book on "Modern Islanders in an Old Culture" is based on these interviews and observations. The book consists of four main parts, each of which describes life on the different islands and archipelago areas during the fieldwork period. In Sjöholm's study, the encounter of different groups surfaces as the main theme. Different groups of inhabitants live in the archipelago, and also tourists make visits of varying length to the area. Sjöholm examined the cohabitation and tensions between these different groups. In the introduction, she presents the background, problem and material of the study and the ethnological method used. At the end Sjöholm summarizes the themes of the book.

The research project was conducted in the Bohuslän Museum with partial funding from the local LEADER association (Västra Götalandsregionen/LEADER II Västkustens skärgård). The duration of the project was set at ten months. It is admirable that the LEADER association has decided to direct EU funds to this kind of project, where the focus is an ethnological study of the basic circumstances of contemporary life. This kind of knowledge and understanding is needed for local development. EU projects rarely concentrate on basic research; their aim is usually to apply existing information and develop new economic possibilities in a very concrete manner.

Archipelagos have been thoroughly examined in Sweden and other countries. Some of these studies are carried out for development work. Sjöholm ties her work to the earlier studies in an excellent way. As a central starting point she has had the study by the ethnologist Agneta Boqvist (*Levande skärgård*, 1979), which is also connected to local development. Sjöholm asks what has happened in the archipelago since Boqvist's research and make comparisons between her own and Boqvist's findings. Sjöholm raises the question of differences in the manner of life and in habitations. She also asks if there is anything that is specific about the archipelago. These questions lead to the above-mentioned theme of encounters. Sjöholm finds tensions between local inhabitants and tourists as well as between inhabitants with and without an archipelago origin. The past and the future are present all the time in Sjöholm's work. This is a fact in contemporary archipelago life as well. Fishing is a diminishing livelihood, but it is still very important today, mainly in a symbolic way. Old buildings and the cultural landscape are significant, and they function as a part of realized dreams among those who have moved to the archipelago from other localities. The secure, traditional communities are very valuable to the islanders. The wide orientation in time from the past to the future, presented in an explicit way, is one of the merits of the study.

Occasionally it is slightly vague as to time is meant, for instance, in some quotations in the text (e.g., pp. 18–19). It would have been easier for the reader to orientate in the changes if time frames in

question had been expressed more clearly. Orientation in the area in question would also have been easier if the book had included a map marking all the islands and other localities mentioned in the text. A map with the borders of municipalities would also have helped the reader to outline which administrative units the islands in question belong to. The pressed timetable, which is usual in various projects, is seen in this study as unfinished editorial work. As examples one can mention missing references (pp. 101 and 130) and misprints (e.g., pp. 123 and 124).

The research is mainly ethnographical. The reader finds a lively description of Sjöholm's visits to the islands and of her mental trips to the archipelago and to the life of islanders, which she did not know previously. Through this description the readers become acquainted with the area almost as if they had visited it themselves. The timing of the fieldwork periods partly affected the themes that Sjöholm brings up on different islands. She visited the island of Koster during the holiday season and presents phenomena concerning tourism. In the archipelago of Fjällbacka it is autumn etc. In the book Sjöholm compares the islands with each other. Some phenomena are described in depth in the presentation of the first island. On the subsequent islands she does not stress these phenomena any more. This partly methodological and partly rhetorical matter may in some way misrepresent the picture of the islands. The central interest in the study has been the identification of special features of different islands in comparison with other islands and with the mainland. This is typical of our time and fits with the needs of local development, in which the aim is to elevate local characteristics to local resources.

In the study the analytical level remains thinner than the descriptive level, which certainly follows from the nature of the project. In the summary Sjöholm discusses the tired islanders in the face of the numerous projects. The analysis of this phenomenon does not extend to self-reflective analysis of the writer's own project as a part of archipelago life. The aim of the study is to examine the contemporary situation of the archipelago, and it is successfully fulfilled. But still, what concrete meaning does this study have? This is a question the writer does not take up. All in all, however, it is clear that basic study of archipelago life – like this study – is needed as a basis for successful local development work.

Katriina Siivonen, Turku

Changing Smallholdings in Denmark

Gunnar Solvang, Husmandsliv under afvikling. Udvikling og forandring i et sønderjysk landbosamfund 1975–2000 med hovedvægt på de nye tilflyttere. Landbohistorisk Selskab. Historisk Samfund for Als og Sundved 1999. 304 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-87153-41-6.

■ This study of the phasing out of the smallholder system in Denmark is the story of how the little "state smallholder colony" of Rønhave was transformed in the period from 1975 to the present day. The book is a follow-up to Gunnar Solvang's previous study which examined this little community from its foundation in 1925 until 1980. The Rønhave colony is located on the Kær peninsula, which stretches into the Augustenborg Fjord north of Sønderborg on the island of Als.

The establishment of smallholder communities began around 1900 under the auspices of the Danish state. The aim was to improve the conditions of agricultural labourers and thereby to prevent migration and socialism. The Rønhave community was established on land which the state had bought from former German crown lands and divided into small farms. The prospective smallholders were given state loans to get them going, for instance, by building dwelling houses and outbuildings. Most of the houses were build according to standard plans by a national association for better architecture (Landsforeningen Bedre Byggeskik). Swedish readers will find here a great deal to remind them of the efforts to encourage the own-your-own-home movement in Sweden.

Within one year a completely new community was established in Rønhave, consisting of small farms, with modest but intensively used land holdings and simple but modern buildings. The families had large numbers of children, and a population peak was reached by the 1930s. During this time Rønhave was a stable community with

strong solidarity *vis-à-vis* the outside world. With the first change of generation, however, which took place just after the end of the Second World War, the first signs of crisis appeared: only a few farms were taken over by children of the original farmers. Some were taken over by other farmers in the community, but many farms were closed and the land leased to active farmers. One of the problems was that the land that had initially been allocated to the farmers was too small to give a competitive income in the rapidly growing welfare society. To try to remedy this situation, the state increased the allocation of land in the 1950s. This was not enough, however, and the number of active farmers in Rønhave has constantly decreased. In this respect the history of the community is typical of the development in much of the European countryside in the last fifty years. What makes Rønhave different from many other settlements is that people have moved in. As a result, the population has not fallen as drastically as in many other places. It is these newcomers who are in the spotlight for most of Solvang's book. By conducting interviews and spending time in the area, he has surveyed why people have chosen to move there and what they appreciate about the setting. Most of the newcomers are from nearby towns and have kept their jobs there. Unlike before, the population of Rønhave now consists mainly of commuters with important contacts outside the local community. Not surprisingly, Solvang arrives at the conclusion that being close to nature is of crucial importance for the decision of most people to move there. The possibility of having a hobby farm has been important to them as a way to fulfil a dream of life in the country. The move to Rønhave has also allowed them to highlight other sides of life. Contacts with nature and a more environmentally conscious lifestyle, the opportunity for a local sense of belonging, for a richer family life centred around the home, and more varied leisure time are all arguments put forward by the newcomers. Physical work with gardens, crops, house improvements, and other things are held up as a contrast to and a relaxation from their paid work.

Because of the new population composition, most social activities in Rønhave now take place at weekends, to a large extent revolving around practical tasks, which has created new networks among the inhabitants. One difficulty pointed out by the author was the integration problems that arose when the newcomers encountered those who had been living in Rønhave before. He says, however, that the suspicion that initially greeted the newcomers declined as contacts increased, and when the earlier inhabitants realized that the new people were not competitors for the agricultural land. Instead, a broader understanding of each other's circumstances has developed.

To this detailed account of the life of the newcomers, illustrated by numerous quotations, Solvang has also linked a discussion of issues of cultural heritage management, and the latter part of the book develops into a plea for the consideration of preservation in physical planning. While it is true that the influx has meant that Rønhave is still a living community, being so close to Sønderborg also involves a threat to the rural environment. As the town expands, both physically and in the form of an increasing hinterland of commuters, many villages are under threat of becoming suburbs. Since the 1970s, the Kær peninsula has been subject to different forms of physical planning, but it has been difficult to gain a hearing for aspects of preservation. Instead, the growing town's needs for areas for the expansion of industry as well as for leisure and recreation have been given priority. The Rønhave community has been set aside as an agricultural reserve, but, as the author emphasizes, it is now others who dictate the agenda for development. Solvang argues forcefully for the importance of viewing the environment as a whole consisting of landscape, infrastructure, and settlement, and he claims that here we can regard the landscape as a historical narrative.

There is actually very little in Solvang's detailed and penetrating account of Rønhave which can be considered new. On the contrary, the reader will often nod in recognition, if not at the local details, then at least at Rønhave as an example of a very common development in rural areas close to towns. This is at the same time the strength and weakness of the book. The weakness is chiefly that much of what he tells us can scarcely be said to be of interest other than as local history. The strength of the book, on the other hand, is the

wealth of detail and the profound knowledge of the local that makes the book into a rich and valuable case study.
Kjell Hansen, Lund

A Limestone Quarry as a Neglected Cultural Heritage

Gunnar Solvang, Kalkudvinding på Køgeegnen. En kulturhistorisk skildring af egnens kalkværksindustri og dens kalkværksarbejdere. Køge museum, Køge 2002. 184 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-90299-09-4.

■ An often repeated argument today is that the industrial society belongs to the past. In the latter part of the twentieth century we have noticed that many factories and other industrial plants have closed down. Buildings have been torn down and grass and bushes take over the space. It will not take long before we lose reference to the physical objects in the landscape, because we have never lived with them. Threats about loss and oblivion occur. For modern man this process gives rise to a wish to have the traces of the past documented, collected and mapped for posterity. In many decades, when ethnology was consolidated as a scholarly discipline, ethnologists were occupied with saving the disappearing remains of the pre-industrial peasant society. Nowadays it is the traces of the industrial society in the twentieth century that have been put on the agenda for rescue work. The cultural heritage of the industrial society is today regarded as a neglected field, to which most of the culture-historical museums give priority in their preservation projects. One example we find in a recently finished investigation of limestone production and its workers in the area of Køge, south-west of Copenhagen.

On the edge of the plain of Hedebo in eastern Sjælland, south of Karlstrup village, we can discern a wide and extensive crater filled with water. It is the last visible remainder of an industrial activity in the area. The Kagstrup lime works was once located in this place. From the end of the 1890s the company developed the production of quicklime, which had been running at the place since the end of the 1850s, into more large-scale industrial production. The lime works was then running until around 1960, when a cement works took over the production. When the cement works closed in 1975, an over hundred-year-old industrial activity based on the lime deposit in the area ended at the same time. Since then another twenty-five years have passed and the history of the lime works was falling into oblivion. These circumstances were noticed by the local museum, which decided to carry out an investigation of the cultural history of the lime works in the area. This is reported in a recently published book by the ethnologist Gunnar Solvang.

Despite the author's express ambition to portray the people involved in the production of the lime works, the book mainly has the character of a company history. Through records, mainly in the archive of the company, the author shows the development of the lime industry in the district, with focus on the Kagstrup lime works, changes of owners and biographical information about the owners and the managers and their families. The ethnological tradition, however, appears in the wealth of details in the descriptions of the manufacturing process – the work organization, the phases of work and the tools – from the quarrying of the limestone to the marketable products: quicklime and flint. The description here is based on interviews with surviving relatives and others among the local population that have the ability to retell the experiences of work and life among the workers of the lime works and their families. The interviews mainly cover the period from 1930 to the mid-1950s. Through these memories we get a glimpse of life among the workers outside the workplace. In long quotations from the interviews we are informed that the workers lived with their families in narrow economic circumstances with recurrent periods of unemployment, that most of them lived in their own cramped dwelling-houses, that the women had extensive and heavy chores, that the food was simple, that there were a large number of children, that the wages were supplemented by self-sufficient housekeeping (they grew vegetables, fruit and berries, kept pigs, rabbits, hens and goats), but also that during the period they experienced an increase in the standard of living. These are circumstances we already have a good

knowledge about from other working-class environments during the same period. The question is: does this description need to be recapitulated once again? The description is universal and detailed, without any attempt at ethnographical close readings and interpretations. This characterizes the book as a whole: description without any analysis and interpretation.

Nevertheless, we have to consider the work that the museums carry out in their work of documentation and investigation as valuable, not for the public at large on a national level or for scholars, but for the people living in the area, that the tax-financed museums have their commission from. With access to data from different sources presented in this book, and kept in the archive of the museum, the investigation has created opportunities for the residents in the municipality of Køge, today or in the future, to make their own interpretations and shape their own stories about the limestone industry in the area and its workers. And this is something magnificent.

Håkan Berglund-Lake, Härnösand

Finns in Florida

Päivikki Suojanen & Matti K. Suojanen, Retulaatsissa Miamissa. Kasvokkain amerikansuomalaisten kanssa. Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, Turku 2000. 205 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-9266-69-0.

■ Päivikki Suojanen teaches folkloristics at the University of Jyväskylä, and her husband Matti K. Suojanen teaches the Finnish language at the University of Tampere. Together they have researched the topical subject of Finnish immigrants who have migrated to Florida. Matti K. Suojanen has analysed language processes and Päivikki Suojanen has studied the process of acculturation. The subject of study is a universal one and very inspiring.

Outi Tuomi-Nikula has previously studied Finnish people who have migrated to Germany. She has also used the concept of acculturation. In this book, however, Päivikki Suojanen has found many theories for explaining the acculturation process. It consists of many points, because it contains mental and physical transformations that the researcher can observe in a home environment, social events and communication. She has approached her informants in many ways. She has studied photographs and video cassettes, in which the informants represent their homes and community sense. She has gone to Finnish society events to see and observe how the Finnish-American people in Florida behave. She has asked what kind of identity they have. When people immigrate to an unfamiliar country, they encounter a language, a thinking and a lifestyle that differ from their own. The interaction and the encounter between two cultures are called an acculturation process. According to Päivikki Suojanen, there are four different alternatives: some people have rejected the American culture and always want to remain Finns; some have adopted American culture and speak American English; a few have become assimilated to American culture; and a few feel Finnish and American at the same time, having American citizenship. Usually the informants have a dual identity.

The language question is one of the determining factors in acculturation. It is also a very important factor reflecting how people think. The two researchers together have given a very large perspective for this research. They consider the interaction between Finnish and American culture as material and mental. They have documented artefacts and symbols in the homes of the informants by video and camera. From the video cassettes and the photographs they have interpreted what kind of messages the symbols have. They have a very large research population, since the investigation material contains 84 interviews, video cassettes and more than a thousand photographs. The authors observed the Finnish-Americans in dozens of events, because they wanted to examine their customs and how they use the language in various situations. The Finnish associations are the indicators of identity, but they also pass on the Finnish traditions.

Matti K. Suojanen has become acquainted with changes of the Finnish language in America. According to him, "Finglish" has many variations. It is like a dialect into which many words had been borrowed. People in different occupations use their language in different ways.

It is a very interesting point that many immi-

grants still have their original dialect, though they have also borrowed expressions from English. Apparently the language is changing slowly, though the interior furnishings were in American style. The immigrants have to seek a balance between their background and new effects.

The Finnish-Americans in Florida thought that three of the most important values are good living, health and good relations with family and friends. The material values were the most important ones, in the second place were the individualistic values and in the third place were the mental values. In my opinion it would be easier to read this book if there had been tables of values.

It is inspiring that Päivikki Suojanen explains the influences of immigration with many theories. She thereby pays attention to the fact that there are many variations in the acculturation process and in the expectations of immigrants.

In Finland the encounter of cultures has been a popular topic in ethnology and general history, especially at the University of Turku. Nowadays so many people move abroad that the subject is highly topical. It is useful to know the phases of the process by which people adapt to a new environment.

Methodologically the authors have relied primarily on interviews, observations and questionnaires. It is valuable that they have used the multistrategy methodology. They conducted interviews which were divided into themes such as life story, relationships and friendships, forms of salutation, and language. They also asked about ethnicity and identity, for example.

One questionnaire included questions about, for instance, associations of Finnish-Americans. The majority of the informants thought that these associations were necessary to strengthen ties of nationality and establish contacts with other immigrants. The other questionnaire dealt with values. The informants classified values according to how important they found them. There were also tests about ego image, and the last method was to draw and write about the native locality.

I think that it is very troublesome and demanding to use so many methods. Naturally the subject extends in many directions when the apparatus is so huge. If there had only been other sources of information such as newspapers and archives, the results could have been a little different. In the newspapers in Finland there have been many articles about immigration. Some newspapers have been opposed to immigration, while the informants in this research were in favour.

We Finns are receiving cultural influences from many foreign countries, and if we want to explain *being Finnish*, we must examine the processes of interaction. This research may give answers as to how *being Finnish* changes on another continent and it has references to how we are changing in Europe as well, where many people adore the Anglo-American lifestyle.

Kirsi Hänninen, Jyväskylä

A Dog's Life

Liv Emma Thorsen, Hund! Fornuft og følelser. Pax Forlag A/S, Oslo 2001. 382 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-530-2324-3.

■ Some people like dogs. Others cannot understand why an animal should be locked up in the home and literally become a member of the family. Because of the shared destiny of humans and dogs, this "European cultural history of the dog" is interesting for dog lovers and dog haters alike, as it follows the threads far back in history and explains development up to today's situation, when billions are spent on dog food, dog accessories, and dog cemeteries.

In reality, very little is new under the sun. Renaissance princes and kings shared their tables and beds with their favourite dogs (which served as hot-water bottles in bed), adorned them and dressed them in a way that no pampered poodle today can match. Their dogs were closer to them than their own children were. There has evidently always been a market for jewelled dog collars.

A dog's living conditions reflect those of its master. Until the nineteenth century dogs were primarily utility animals, employed to pull carts or machines, trained as watchdogs, sheepdogs, hunting dogs; the exceptions were the few dogs that were luxury articles for the top stratum of society. Then they became a widespread commodity, and the growing bourgeoisie needed to know what kinds of dogs they were keeping, to

distinguish between pedigree and non-pedigree. The Kennel Club was founded in London in 1873, inspiring the foundation of similar clubs in the Western world. The aim of the activities was to separate mongrels from pure-bred dogs and to further healthy breeds. One example is the terrier, which was transformed from a rat catcher into a pedigree dog.

At first sight it may seem excessive that almost a quarter of this book deals with dead dogs, including the use of the dog's skin and hair, but the actions surrounding death are a clear indicator of the close relationship between humans and pets. The dog owner wants the dog to have a painless and peaceful death. We humans are the only living creatures who know that we will die and recognize it. We are aware that we are a part of time and that one day we shall leave it. Dogs live in the present and cannot place themselves in the past or the future, which is a comfort for people who help dogs to die through euthanasia. People also determine what is to be done with the dog's dead body. Some are part of the ecocycle of nature or of industrial society, a few are stuffed and end up in museums, but with the growing commonness of family dogs, it has become customary to bury them in the garden or in the dog's favourite place in the countryside. Dog cemeteries have become the solution for today's city dwellers, who want to have a place where they can remember a faithful friend, whether pedigree or not.

It was from the pure-bred dog of the nineteenth century that "lady's dogs" developed. These canine companions led up to the modern dog and the human attitude to it as a pure pet – a relationship which is in reality a question of power. The author devotes a gruesome chapter to a description of how dogs' masters, with knife in hand, have adjusted the exterior of dogs to match human wishes as regards appearance, conforming to "standards", in the terminology of the breeders. Since the 1970s and 1980s it has been illegal to cut tails and ears in the Nordic countries, the UK, and Canada, but the practice is maintained for a number of breeds by the American Kennel Club, among others. This is concrete testimony to how humans have power over dogs. Just as obvious, but perhaps not acknowledged to the same extent, is the power over the dog's whole life situation: people decide when specific actions are permitted or prohibited, what a dog may do outdoors or may not do indoors. Lots of dogs live in areas where they have to be kept on a leash, either because this is dictated by the authorities or because their natural habitat has disappeared and it would be deadly dangerous to let a dog go where it wanted. The conclusion is that humans have changed the dog's living conditions to such an extent that we have a duty to it. In the words of Saint-Exupéry in *The Little Prince*: "You become responsible, forever, for what you have tamed."

The extensive source material used in the book includes interviews, 130 responses to a questionnaire (the questions are printed in the book), archival material, museum objects, observations, and a visit to a large number of dog cemeteries and boarding kennels. Detailed notes, a list of sources, a bibliography, and an index make the book particularly useful as a reference work after the first reading. For all those with the same love for dogs as the author, the list of common dog names is an excellent finishing touch. The book is richly illustrated and written with a profound knowledge of the subject and a good dose of humour. It is a pleasure to read this well-organized and well-written book, and it is guaranteed to teach the reader something about both animals and humans

Anne-Lise Walsted, Copenhagen

Christian Domestic Art in Norway

Himmelen i kvardagen. Religiøse og folkelige trykk. Eva Warne and Ragnhild Thu (eds.). Kulturetaten i Hå 2000. 70 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-90813-22-8.

■ "Heaven in Everyday Life" is the contrastive title of a Norwegian exhibition – and catalogue – about Christian domestic art produced by "Kulturetaten i Hå". For hard-pressed working people, mass-produced pictures of this kind brought heaven down to earth, giving comfort and guidance in life. For many of us of pension age, these pictures are part of our cultural heritage. They therefore deserve to be highlighted regardless of their artistic quality.

More often than one might suspect, they prove to be modelled on the works of Renaissance masters. The copperplate engravers played an enormous role for the transmission of pictures in bourgeois culture. Woodcut engravers had a corresponding role in popular culture. Towards the end of the nineteenth century came the factory-produced oleographs which spread works of art to the common man in their original form, without simplification or rectification.

The production of graphic pictures is closely associated with urban culture. For Norway this means that the mass-produced pictures are mostly imported. Despite the lean result of Randi Asker's survey of chest-prints in the 1940s, however, Reimund Kvideland shows that production in Norway was larger than has been thought. In the exhibition catalogue, as in other contexts, he gives examples, but he ought to be the right man to provide us with a total survey of the Norwegian production of chest-prints.

The artist Jørn Nilsen gives a new example of how Raphael is the ultimate origin of one chest-print, printed in Denmark. An important part in the transmission was played by the Italian copperplate engraver Raimondi. His depiction of the Three Marys bewailing the dead Christ (1515/16) is evidently the source of the chest-print "The Burial of Christ" by the Jönköping printer Nils Eric Lundström (Bringéus, *Kistebrev tryckta i Jönköping*, 1999:208). Nilsen also reproduces a Swedish bridal chest from 1840 with an unusually well-preserved collection of prints printed by N. P. Lundberg of Lund in 1839. He is mistaken, however, about the background to the chest-prints, which were in fact printed with blocks once used by Johan Rudolph Thiele in Copenhagen (Bringéus, *Skånska kistebrev*, 1995:217, 228f., 234f., 250ff.).

Kvideland shows that Lundberg's "Biblical Travel Map" has a Norwegian counterpart published by J. D. Beyer of Bergen, based in turn on Borup's version from Copenhagen. The sheet is an addition to my inquiry into the migration and transformation of the motif in Scandinavia (*Blekingeboken* 1985). The version of the broad road and the narrow road that Kvideland reproduces from Horten 1883 is obviously copied from a print from Neuruppin.

Eva Reme analyses the world of religious imagery in oleographs. Here it is not the problem of the original models that is in the foreground but the connection between the pictorial motifs and changes in piety in the nineteenth century. She sensitively illuminates how the religious oleographs reflect both nineteenth-century pietism and familism. The motifs from the childhood of Jesus now enjoyed a renaissance, but there were also innovations. A widely dispersed picture in Norway is "Jesus at Prayer", by the Swedish artist Bertha Valerius. Conversely, the Norwegian artist Axel Ender's picture "The Women at the Tomb" is one of the pictures that I remember from my own childhood home (Bringéus, *Folklig fromhet* 1997:74ff.).

The editors Eva Warne and Ragnild Thu have achieved an attractive and well-illustrated book. Unfortunately, the print is so small that I was forced to use a magnifying glass to read it.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

The Process of Fieldwork, Archiving and Research

Input & Output. The Process of Fieldwork, Archiving and Research in Folklore. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts (ed.). NNF Publications 10. Åbo 2001. 191 pp. ISBN 952-12-0848-1.

■ Through correspondence, the use of questionnaires and fieldwork folklorists for more than one hundred years now have collected material for archiving and for different research purposes. Methodological questions concerning this work are discussed in the recently published anthology *Input & Output*, the result of a co-operative project between Nordisk Forskeutdanningsakademi (NorFa) and the Nordic Network of Folklore (NNF). The contributing authors, some of them still quite young and all in different ways connected to folklore institutions, represent the Nordic countries, Estonia and Latvia.

For decades collecting folklore was mainly considered a simple question of saving information from the old peasant society. Collectors functioned as some sort of cultural heroes whose work would provide the different nations with dignified

heritages. Turning to the oldest informants, preferably in what was regarded as "remote" areas, scholarly researchers, as well as enthusiastic amateurs, traveled round their countries collecting facts and stories from the past. To fulfill this task, i.e. to save as much information as possible for the future, archives were founded in all Nordic countries. There collected material could be stored for future use.

During the 1970s and the 1980s serious discussions on methodological issues in folklore research began. Scholars realized (or admitted?) collecting was not just a simple question of saving valuable knowledge from "research objects", but a complex matter concerning encounters between analytical subjects. Collecting, archiving, and research, they argued, were also closely connected to ideology, politics and to power, since the relations between the scholars and the informants had always been unequal. Without exceptions researchers had set the rules, deciding not only when and where to travel, but also what to investigate and who to ask for information. The informants had little, if any, possibility to affect this situation.

From the 1970s on power relations between scholars and informants have changed. Fieldwork (and other forms of collecting material) is nowadays considered as a creative process, in which both parties are involved in interpreting reality. During fieldwork scholars and informants are busy constructing a mutual understanding of culture. Knowledge is no longer collected but created by the participants as a result of their encounter. There is no eternal truth to be discovered, no objective facts to be found, only subjective and situational constructions to be made. Considered in this way collecting, fieldwork, and archiving must be understood from new angles. *Input & Output* is an example of how the methodological problems are being discussed and analyzed today.

Some of the authors, among them Charlotte Hagström and Fredrik Skott, discuss these unequal power relations between institutions and informants. Hagström deals with the Folklife Archive in Lund and its collaborators in the field, while Skott focuses on the interrelations between the scholars at the archives in Gothenburg, Uppsala, and Lund. Inspired by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu Skott analyzes the scientific field as a battlefield, as an ongoing competition for power and dominance. The scholars in Lund and Uppsala, with intimate connections to the universities, considered themselves superior to their colleagues in Gothenburg. The former, who dominated the field, regarded the latter as less skilled researchers whose interest mainly concerned quantitative collecting. The researchers in Uppsala and Lund however had the capacity to distinguish, i.e. to select valuable information from useless trash. This capacity to recognize quality at the expense of quantity was highly valued.

As a result of the researchers' self-assumed ability to distinguish valuable information from useless trash, the collections created became rather standardized. The informants were supposed to deliver objective facts, not subjective interpretations, i.e. they were asked to tell stories, anecdotes, or legends that could be sorted in accordance with the so-called genre system. Researchers were mainly concerned with the texts themselves but had little or no interest in the contexts surrounding them. As a result of this, narrated life experience was transformed into items to collect, sort, and publish as "beliefs".

This problem is discussed by the Latvian researcher Dace Bula in her article on fishermen's narratives. During fieldwork in Riga during the late 1990s Bula found that her informants were familiar with many old beliefs, but they always used them in narratives in order to suit the interview situation. Beliefs were never presented as isolated items. Instead the fishermen used them in an active way when narrating their contemporary lives. Sometimes they wished to distance themselves from traditional knowledge sometimes they affirmed it. But, Bula concludes, old beliefs "were treated as a background against which their up-to-date knowledge and skills can be distinguished".

Input & Output deals with important questions on folklore methodology. Though some of the articles discuss stale stuff they nevertheless are of great importance, since methodology is an integral part of all science. Researchers always have to be reminded of what unintended consequences their findings might lead to. Such questions are dis-

cussed in ethical terms in an article by Tiina Mahlamäki & Pase Enges and another one by Pille Runnel. Mahlamäki & Enges focus upon problems connected with the use of the Internet when digitizing archive collections. They especially emphasize the importance of protecting informants and information from being used for other purposes than research and education. Runnel on the other hand is concerned with how fieldwork could be conducted on the Internet and the specific problems with this media.

On the whole the anthology *Input & Output* is an important and interesting contribution to the methodological problems of folklore research. It is certainly useful for educational purposes at the universities, but also for internal use at museums and archives where methodological aspects are permanently present. It also raises ethical problems from the past and from the present, indicating that research is always a political act where power and integrity are constantly at stake.
Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

The Children of the Border People

Anna-Maria Åström, Bo Lönnqvist & Yrsa Lindqvist, Gränsfolkets barn. Finlandssvensk marginalitet och självhävdelse i kulturanalytiskt perspektiv. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2001. 478 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-583-068-0.

■ This book looks at Finland-Swedes from the viewpoint of cultural analysis and cultural anthropology. The purpose is to highlight the situation of Finland-Swedes as divergent and how they look upon themselves as such.

Through their interesting research the three Finland-Swedish scholars have explored how "Finland-Swedishness has been created and is created in everyday life and in contact with others". The book is divided into seven chapters. Each chapter starts with a description of the anthropological and theoretical basis. The phenomena described could be regarded as belonging to the field of cultural anthropology rather than Finnish ethnology. The purpose is to point out the processes and mechanisms which determine when one characteristic becomes more influential and how this happens in different ways. The main difference between Finns and Swedes is the language, but there are other differences. The language may be elevated to a symbolic level and given a sense of feeling at home and belonging. The authors move between mythical and ordinary levels.

The significance of time is emphasized. The importance of the Finland-Swedes in relation to the majority language has fluctuated a great deal. By using different source materials the authors can apply a temporal perspective. The sources used include historical documents, interviews, inquiries and observation notes. The studies are frozen at a particular time and in a particular historical era. This frozen material also includes the questionnaires, in connection with which it was emphasized that it is important to consider the life-sphere of the informants and the context where the answers were recorded.

Lönnqvist has written "The Rhetoric of Ethnic Mobilization". We get to know how the dominating upper-class brings the Swedish-speakers together into "one people". They started from the culture of the elite and through active political awareness they created a culture where even the rural people felt at home. Later the separatist, culturally creative process accelerated. It followed a well-known pattern within nationalistic movements (literary high culture shapes the people, the territory – which did not succeed in Finland – to play the role and take the responsibility in politics and culture). The family is emphasized as the unifying factor. The language and the people become the essence. They have their own Swedish folk songs, folk dances and folk music. It was between 1890 and 1920 that this ethnic group acquired its designation – Finland-Swedes.

In "The Linguistic Border as a Cultural and Ideological Phenomenon", the basis of Lönnqvist's investigation has been to find out the factors that made the linguistic border appear. He speaks of how the language had a separative function in the countryside as well as in the cities, how the Finns experienced Swedes and Swedish immigration and assimilation in Finnish districts.

In "Symbols and Ethnic Dramatization", again by Lönnqvist, a section analyses the pictorial world formed by Swedish-speaking students and

cultural circles in Helsinki. They had begun to take an interest in the Swedish-speaking country people along the coast and had a conception of themselves as being descended from the Vikings.

"The Island in the Ocean" is about Ålandic patterns of identity analysed by Lönnqvist with the emphasis on lifestyles and life-patterns, everyday culture, language and symbols. The self-image is continually tested through a vigorous identity. The common interests are considered important for the survival of Åland as a community with a culture of its own with its distinct identity and the Swedish language. A thematic and chronological analysis of pictures on the calendars of the association Friends of the Swedish Elementary School reveals the symbolism presented to the Swedish-speaking coastal population. In the 1980–90s the fight for the Ålandic culture focused on the ethnic aspect. Weapons and torches were replaced by humane, soft values. Famous Finland-Swedish writers, philosophers and others were now portrayed, people who play a central role in the cultural life of Finland as well. The country of Finland is chosen, strictly balancing between ethnic and national, instead of the people and the language.

In "The Visual Shape of Finland-Swedish Song Festivals" Lönnqvist shows how the major visual element, singers in national costumes and in student caps mixing with each other, visualizes the shape of the Finland-Swedish musical movement, the close association of bourgeois and rural culture.

"Is a Dual Identity Possible?" Åström asks. Can one profess both one's distinctive character and a sense of belonging to the nation as a whole? She speaks of identity at an individual and a collective level. Culturally the two language groups are close. There are differences, but the language is the most important one. The everyday life of Swedish speakers is often split into an official side with two languages or just Finnish, and a domestic or leisure-time side with only Swedish. The Swedish language never creates the background to identity alone, it always takes place in relation to the majority language, Finnish. Linguistically the Finland-Swedes are closer to the rest of Scandinavia, but nationally and culturally the individual is committed to Finland. In Nordic cooperation the question arises whether one should claim the national perspective or make an individual choice.

The double identity is studied by analysing students from Savolax studying at the University of Helsinki in the 1830–40s – the identity (Swedish), native place (Finnish) and the language issue as a whole in Finland (national level). At the beginning it was mainly people of lower rank within the aristocracy (vicars' sons and people with wider interests in education), who started to show an interest in folk culture and the language. Even if the students from Savolax did not show any major interest in the Finnish language and national issues, they did not work against them either. Their background in the Finnish Savolax made them prepared for the Finnish language, even if they just knew some Finnish phrases and sayings. When the Finnish language later became more important in the official world, they were better prepared to use the language than those who lived in Swedish-speaking areas.

In "The Social and Linguistic Structure in Three Small Towns", Kaskö, Ekenäs and Lovisa, Åström takes her material from ethnologic publications and unpublished interviews. She analyses the social and linguistic structure of the towns, looking at local identity, regionalism, club life, leisure, how the social structure is upset and finds a new balance, and processes of changes. Each town has a distinctive culture. The study shows the development up to industrialization and the consequent immigration of Finnish-speaking citizens. Swedish speakers are now in a minority in Kaskö and Lovisa, while Ekenäs still has an unmistakable Swedish stamp.

In "The Herring Market as Symbol of Identity" Åström uses the semiotically charged dualisms of high and low, central and peripheral, urban and rural, modern and traditional, when studying newspaper reports on the Helsinki fish market in different periods. In dealings between Swedish-speaking buyers and Swedish-speaking sellers, a special relation developed. The meeting at the personal level makes the periphery central (the square in the capital) and the low becomes high (herring, the cheapest fish, and fishermen). It was a system not based on economic or political realities. Here the Swedish language became an

important official language for a short period of time.

In "The Relay Carnival as an Event – Youth as Actors" Åström analyses an athletic event involving Finland-Swedish schoolchildren and asks how important this is for their feeling for the Finland-Swedish identity. The carnival becomes both a social fact and a cultural construction. How important is the location of the carnival? Is Vasa as good a location as Helsinki for the arrangement? Should the Finland-Swedish be accentuated at a national level, to compete in Helsinki Stadium and thereby declare one's nationality, or should regional aspects be given priority (where perhaps the best results are achieved)? Running in the relay-race gives the participants a role out of the ordinary, a collective abstraction. The experiences of one day can be important the whole year.

In "Cultural Bilingualism and Personal Strategies" Åström says: historically the Finland-Swedes are politically loyal to the nation, Finland, and Sweden is not regarded as the motherland. The Swedish mobilization addresses all Swedes in Finland. This has been going on for a hundred years. A picture is created of what belongs to the group.

"On the 'Inner' and the 'Outer' in the Finnish Mental Landscape", also by Åström, is based on a number of essays published during the last ten years, where she looks at how the Swedish has influenced the Finnish. She wants to see the Swedish and the Finnish in relation to each other and to see the Swedish element as "a dimension in the formation" of the Finnish identity and national sentiment.

In "The Finland-Swedes Compared to Central Europeans" Åström investigates the special minority conditions of Finland-Swedes, compared to similar conditions of minorities in the rest of Europe: Poles in Lithuania, Germans in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and Siebenbürgen Saxons in Romania.

In "The Social Background as Mouthpiece" Lindqvist builds her analysis on questionnaires about "Finns and Swedes" collected in 1978, with aspects such as: background, marriage, differences, contacts, confrontations, disputes, expressions, contemporary perceptions. He analyses cultural encounters, contacts and transgressions, such as coastal and inland populations, encounters in different environments, the importance of social position, Finnish in a Swedish environment, gentlefolk and servants, linguistic and social group marking. If they came from different social circumstances this could be strengthened if they also used different languages. Urbanization took place earlier in the Swedish-speaking group, so they had been able to establish themselves and take the lead. Finnish urbanization started later, so social differences could appear in spite of the class aspect being the same.

In interaction it was not the language itself that people reacted to, but it could trigger vigilance, suspiciousness and contempt in both groups against aliens. There were borders which could not be crossed, as this was condemned. This was experienced by Finnish women who went into service in Swedish families.

In "Memories of the Language Dispute in the 1930s: Individual Stances on the Language Issue" Lindqvist says that the dispute is often associated with something that happened at a national level. Students, teachers or others active in the language issue were among those who could act at a local level as well. Lindqvist analyses the language and the national identity, the linguistic engagement of the young, propaganda for the Finnish language, language shifts and the "Finnicization" of names, the choice of language at school and in the family. The Finnish national movement, which was initially a national concern, became an agrarian popular movement in the 1920s. Radical intellectual students were active at the universities. They waged the language polemic in their own media and listened to lectures on the importance their own language. The language dispute died down during World War II and is considered to have ended after the war.

In "How 'The Others' Have Been and Are Perceived as Different", Lindqvist describes the discrepant Swedes, the kinds of social markings they use, how they display their material culture with Swedish symbols, and how they confirm their own identity. Here she discusses the material in terms of source criticism. Finnish-speakers describing Swedish-speakers use words like superior, proud, egotistic and wealthy. Differences between the groups could be that Swedes were

thought to have a more active social life and that families and relatives stuck together. The Finnish craftsmanship consisted of hooked rugs, carpets, simple and tasteful, while Swedes had more embroidery with fringes and frills, looking more stilted. Even the shape of the student cap has a linguistic dimension. The Finnish ones are more angular than the Swedish ones. The lyre is bigger on the Swedish cap. During the language dispute in the 1930s there was yet another one with an even smaller lyre, worn by the most radical students.

In "Nature and Culture" Lindqvist analyses stereotypes about average Swedishness, such as playing with words, connections with evil, spatial and social boundary drawing, man and beast, linguistic misunderstandings, the picture of the Others, and natural allusions. Lindqvist exemplifies how one group could assert itself at the expense of the other, through demarcation, using misunderstandings, distortion of words and pronunciations to create comic situations. Many of the linguistic misunderstandings are funnier if one can understand Finnish.

"The Genuine Finland-Swede?" is the title of Lindqvist's analysis of pictures from advertising campaigns in the press (*Hufvudstadsbladet*) in relation to whom they are addressing. She shows how pictures strengthen, explain or deny the stereotypes. The picture of the Finland-Swede being wealthier and more refined than the Finns is a common stereotype that has existed unchanged for decades. In advertisements the Finland-Swedes are portrayed as being free of prejudice, urbane, moderate, while the Finns are the opposite. Since Finland joined the EU, advertisements aimed at the Finland-Swedes have been accentuated to try to create a European identity. However, the language is the major symbol of the community of the Finland-Swedes, marking a boundary that either includes or excludes people.

"The Sauna and the Finland-Swedes", again by Lindqvist, compares Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking people's use of the sauna, in the countryside as well as in the towns in the past and the present. She uses earlier research and questionnaires from 1993. She wants to see how each group apprehends the use of the sauna in the other group and how the self-image differs from the image of the Other.

In "The Swedish Dimension" Lindqvist investigates popular music and dance music, where influences from Sweden are important in Finland-Swedish contexts. The major disseminators are Swedish television, radio and weekly magazines. The material used is earlier research and Swedish-speaking newspapers in Finland.

"The Stundars Project and the Parties" is about expressions of sentiment for the local Finland-Swedish community in Österbotten. Here Heidi Hummelstedt discusses how people try to confirm their historical and geographical affiliation. She also talks of a constant defensive position to preserve the collective identity as a minority. This takes place, for example, through museum activities at the Stundars craft village outside Vasa or at the "parties" (*kalasen*).

In "Discourse and Unarticulated Being" Lönnqvist sums up: "In our analysis of Finland-Swedishness as a cultural construction we have highlighted discourse and performance as being of vital importance. Our intention has been to point out the tremendously strong role of predestination and hierarchy of cultural discourse. To a lesser extent we have been able to elicit reactions to the Finland-Swedish self and collective Finland-Swedishness as an elixir of repetition."

The book gives answers to a wide range of questions concerning bilingualism in Finland and the position of the Finland-Swedes there. Their identity problems *vis-à-vis* Finnish-speakers are analysed from many new aspects and closely investigated. The results have mostly been presented in an exciting and interesting way. Each chapter can be read separately. The illustrations complement the text nicely. Finally, I would like to quote Åström's conclusion regarding dual identity – a conclusion that ought to be of interest in many countries today, including Sweden: "A multicultural future, building on respect for other cultures, can only be achieved in an effort for peaceful coexistence between cultures. The rights of language and culture must be guaranteed."

Rauni Janser, Ystad

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 issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is totally devoted to research on material culture. Researchers in the Nordic countries have contributed studies or surveys which reveal their fascination with the field.

Assembled here are ethnological essays about vernacular architecture in Schleswig, the cutting edge in digital media, seductively packaged hamburgers from McDonalds, tight-fitting sports clothes in Lycra, magically working ski wax, washed and unwashed clothes, ethnographica from Karelia in the Second World War, a rhinoceros horn from China, and a complex wall hanging with folk paintings of scenes from biblical history. The creativity and diversity of contemporary Nordic ethnology is striking – and this is only in the study of artefacts. Different empirical fields and perspectives also meet here: from Foucauldian discourse analyses to studies of tradition, Science and Technology Studies, and close-up phenomenological analyses. All this invites the reader to unexpected meetings and surprising connections. In that respect, this year's issue reflects both the state of research and the time in which the ethnologists are working.

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