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THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE

Cover illustration: With the demolition of the big silo, the harbour of Ringkøbing was finally released from its industrial past. An event of great symbolic significance watched by many of the townspeople. In the article "Cultural transformation of a cityscape" this elimination of the past is discussed as one of more process' of cultural transformation in post-industrial harbour areas. Photo: Erik Rasmussen, 1999.

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Editorial
By Jonas Frykman

Last year's *Ethnologia Scandinavica* looked at the new interest in the study of material culture. As a result of the response, this year's issue looks at this field from a variety of theoretical and methodological angles. Signe Mellemgaard starts by taking us back 200 years, to the Copenhagen Natural History Society, as a basis for discussing Bruno Latour's actor-network theory. She shows the methods that were used then to produce "truth" and how collections of naturalia were part of a network of collectors, scientists, institutions, and lecture audiences, who together produced knowledge about the world. Objects were something observed in an attempt to understand the world, but they became actors which in turn aroused other actors. Her analysis shows how difficult it is to view things as reflections or as isolated objects, and the study is as applicable today as when the collections were formed.

Ragnar Pedersen follows a similar theme in his survey of how things – and material culture in general – can be used to give access to deeper knowledge of the culture to which they belong. His inspiration comes from the tradition also used by Latour in his sociological analyses: Martin Heidegger's phenomenology. Pedersen proceeds from the user's situation and regard objects as tools rather than representations. The activity of using or making is a far better approach to objects than the activity of studying or knowing. Objects are things *had* before they are things cognised, as John Dewey once said. Things almost always belong to a context of use, opening the world in a special way for those who use them. If you have a hammer in your hand, the world is full of nails. A researcher must thus risk dare to become a part of the boat-builder's, hay-mower's, or weaver's life-world and give up the demands for strict objectivity. The information gathered can then be tested by the normal distancing practices of science. Here we get methodological and theoretical guidance for such analyses.

Marie Riegels Melchior takes us back to the museum world, this time to Queen Ingrid's carefully preserved dress collection, to show what makes clothes different from other types of material culture. Once again, we see the importance of viewing things "from the inside", in a context of use; they are more than symbols of power and influence. Clothes are embodied history, situated bodily practice, showing a corporeality that is contextually defined. The queen's dress collection illustrates how active things are in shaping identity. People who dress in keeping with the situation feel satisfied, simultaneously making themselves into a whole person through the clothes.

With a genealogical perspective, Astrid Oxaal shows how the student cap in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark marked belonging to the academic world. This could be justified when social mobility was high, with education as a means to it. Although the traditions in the three countries vary, there is also a sense of community, shaped by student Scandinavianism in the mid-1800s. In the radical 1960s and '70s the cap became the reprehensible sign of belonging to something no one wanted to be, but all became: the bourgeoisie.

Parts of material culture are dispensable in the life-world, others are not. When Håkan Berglund-Lake describes industrial workers on the Swedish gold coast, he focuses on things that enabled survival: a

potato plot, berries and firewood from the forest, fish from the sea, a household pig. With such simple means, fluctuations in production and the market could be smoothed out. The industrial workers' familiarity with these nearby things gave them a different perception of the future – much closer to experience – than that of the pioneers of modernism, the entrepreneurs and capitalists. Citing Alfred Schutz and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, he discusses how this world based on experience was tied together.

Another way to turn the immediate surroundings into something familiar and manageable is discussed by Nicolai Carlberg and Søren Møller Christensen. In their analysis of the transformation of Copenhagen's harbours we see how the prosperous middle class makes the material environment correspond to their own values and lifestyle. Harbours are liminal areas, on the edge of society's normality and order. Once filled with sailors, parrots, dockers, and prostitutes, they are now transformed into "nice" residential areas. It is fascinating to see how defunctioned warehouses are filled with creative activities, art, kinkiness, happenings, and music. Energy and joy flow out of emptied buildings.

How things, attitudes, and activities are incorporated in larger contexts, merged in a style, is then discussed by Riita Hänninen in her study of Finnish snowboarders, focusing on a number of disparate people, places, and cultural features which all share the fact of turning playful snowboarding into a lifestyle. There is great emphasis on things, since the style can only partly be communicated verbally. Hänninen uses the Birmingham school's research on subcultures, but she questions their search for meaning, resistance, and context among the young. This is not a conscious counterculture; it is used by the media but it also uses the media for their own purposes. "Snowboarders ride on the edge of two systems of meaning."

Ethnologia Scandinavica aims to reflect important developments in ethnology. Two essays on current topics deviate from the theme of objects. Magnus Öhlander looks at the multicultural society and shows how the discourse in health care leads to marginalization and exclusion. In the desire to understand the patients' health status, immigrants are viewed as bearers of "culture" and "religion", which Swedes lack, being modern, rational, and cooperative. Staff try to understand Other patients, using books and articles about how best to approach those who are different.

Tom O'Dell closes this packed issue with a study of restlessness as a state in modernity. The *cultural kinesthesis* that he highlights in empirical examples is something which produces identity, not just for those who take part in the travelling – the tourist, the vagabond, the travelling salesman, the refugee – but also those who know that they stayed put. This is a central aspect in a time when much of research and the public debate is about the importance of belonging and nearby things. Movement is perhaps the most important cultural heritage in modern society. As Salman Rushdie wrote, people have feet, not roots.

Collection, Knowledge, Network

The Copenhagen Natural History Society (1789–1805) as a "Centre of Calculation"

By Signe Mellemgaard

As elsewhere in Europe, in Copenhagen at the end of the eighteenth century there were a considerable number of natural history collections, owned either by institutions or by private persons. It was such a common tendency that it has been described by historians as something of a fashion or fad, although this does not do justice to the phenomenon (Mellemgaard 2001). In this article I want to look at just one of these collections; the aim is to see why it looked the way it did, but also to examine what kind of collective practice it reflected: the network of people and things of which it was part. My intention is to ask about the meaning of the objects: are they expressions of a specific urge to classify or can they be said to mean something in themselves: acting?[1]

Natural history collections in the period with which I am dealing – the last two decades of the eighteenth century – consisted either of minerals, dried insects, shells, zoological or anatomical preparations, or dried plants, but most often were composed of more of these collections. Cabinets varied in size from very small ones that could be housed in a single cabinet (*Naturalskabe*) to those occupying rooms (*Naturalkamre*). Classification was at the centre of these collections. As it were, everything depended on the correct placing of each natural object according to its class, order, genus, species, and variety. In fact, the ambition seems to have been to create as complete a collection within a certain field as possible, with everything represented, down to the varieties.

One of the greatest collections in Copenhagen was the one that belonged to the Natural History Society, founded in 1789. It "contains a good collection from all three realms of nature, including a very great collection of birds", Rasmus Nyerup declares in his description of Copenhagen (1800:329), but it was well known for its insects as well. The society had been founded by some of the leading Danish-Norwegian naturalists of the time and had several related objectives. It was supposed to give public lectures on different aspects of natural history, to establish a botanical garden and a natural history cabinet (both with free admission), to acquire a library, and to send out naturalists to different parts of the Danish-Norwegian kingdom every few years, one task being to send back specimens (*Love for Naturhistorie-Selskabet* 1790). The collection of the Natural History Society contained numerous specimens preserved in spirits, stuffed animals, skeletons and crania, horns, teeth, beaks and shells from different animals. What the collection looked like in its entirety is not known, but inventories of different parts of it are preserved, and from these it appears that at least the zoological part was ordered according to the Linnaean classification of the animal kingdom into mammals, birds, amphibians, fishes, insects and reptiles.[2] It is not apparent from these lists where in the world the specimens had come from; they are simply enumerations of every single order, class, family, and species. And even though there seems to have been little order on the shelves of the collections – at least a couple of scholars, employed to assist in the transfer of the objects to the royal museum at a later date, complain that "because of its small rooms the collection was not arranged in any systematic order"[3] – the collection of the society, like those of the period in general, seems to be an accurate picture of the ordering science of an era of classification.

One can also get an impression of the science produced in the Natural History Society by looking more closely at the records of its monthly meetings where members took turns presenting a scientific paper. Generally, each presentation takes as its point of departure a single species or family, aiming at its description and classification. There are very few descriptions of forms of life or the interdependence between animals or plants.

The Natural History Collections as a Science of Classification

The collection of objects could be said to be readable as a text on equal terms with systematic enumerations and scientific works. Late eighteenth-century collections were a sort of objectified classification or taxonomy. They were intended to represent as many parts of the natural world as possible through the species and preferably through the varieties as well. From inventories and catalogues it is obvious that what is of interest is the precise systematic identification and classification, rarely the geographical origin (here, however, minerals seem to constitute an exception), and there seems to be a complete absence of references to forms of life or any discussion of the animal as an organism. The specimen appears as form only. Nor does the living animal as an organism appear in the literature or in correspondence between collectors. Nowhere is this more evident than when it comes to discussions on shells, which form the basis of many a taxonomic consideration but whose former inhabitant is practically never mentioned. This is buttressed by the fact that collections primarily contained the parts of animals most resistant to decomposition: shells, skeletons and crania, beaks, and teeth.

The central status of classification is evident in the natural history literature of the period. The vast majority of books proceed systematically, introducing natural history by explicating the existing realms of nature, classes, orders, families, and species and often the very principles of such a classification. Hence, in C. G. Raff's *Naturhistorie for Børn* ("Natural History for Children", 1784), which was probably very widely spread in Denmark, the child-pupil at the beginning of a fictive dialogue asks how it would be possible to know all the animals (that is, to have knowledge of natural history), to which the author-teacher answers that scholars "classify them in different groups or kingdoms, and in classes or orders, to wit, those which resemble each other, they assemble in their ideas, or count them as one class, and give them a common name; next they state certain characteristics of each group, and of each class and order, whereby one can precisely distinguish those animals which belong to it from any other animal".[4] Knowledge of natural history, it seems, must begin and end with taxonomy: the activity of grouping together natural objects possessing identities and differentiating those with differences. Natural history is about the knowledge of the existing species, but also of the principles of their proper classification. Christopher Hammer's *Norsk Natur-Historie* ("Natural History of Norway") will serve as other example although, admittedly, it gives priority to the first: the systematic enumeration and ordering of the realms of nature. Starting with mammals (and with *Homo*), Hammer laconically explains that in Norway there are three

different kinds: Norwegians, Finns, and Lapps. Without elaborating on this, Hammer goes on to the bats, as they, like the humans, belong to the primates.[5] The book contains no more thorough characteristic of the outer appearance of the animals, and as in other introductions to natural history of the time, there is no space left for the way of living or their form of life.

As systematics was so central in the natural history of the time, catalogues of natural history collections were not just mere enumerations of their contents as a by-product of scientific work, but represented knowledge itself. Years of qualified work were invested by natural historians in the preparation of the most extensive of them, which were then commended for their scientific value.

In the portrayal of the eighteenth-century natural history and its rationale, Foucault's analysis of the form of knowledge, or as he calls it, the "episteme", of the classical age (1989) has become practically inescapable. *The Order of Things* proceeds by arguing that there is, historically, a discontinuity in human knowledge. Until the early seventeenth century, the Renaissance condition of knowledge prevailed, which consisted in drawing together the most heterogeneous things to show the resemblances beneath the dissimilarities; resemblances inscribed in things from the beginning of the world. The world was a great game of symbols, with everything folded into everything: the earth was an echo of Heaven, the forms of the body and the landscape were reflections of each other. Relations of significance were thus relations of resemblance – crossing realms of nature, geographical spaces, or types of objects. Restated in the naturalia and artificilia collections of the period, it meant that their task was to represent resemblance; to represent the macrocosm in the microcosm of the selected objects of the collections.

In the early or mid seventeenth century, this order was replaced by what Foucault calls the order of the classical age. Now, it was no longer a question of knowing by interpreting signs of resemblance inscribed in the things, but to find an order capable of expounding the world. Instead of searching for more or less hidden relations of resemblances between the most diverse things, it was now a question of creating order by establishing systems of differences and identities. What makes the difference in this process is the "character"; the property used to differentiate, e.g. between different species. It is not a difference existing in things themselves in advance, but a difference constituted in the analysis (in botany, e.g., one of the characters was the number of stamens). What is aimed at is to create ordering taxonomies. To know is no longer to draw things together but to differentiate between them. The relevance of Foucault's analysis to the natural history literature as well as to the collecting activity of the time is striking. In fact, *The Order of Things* makes natural history one of three domains through which the changes in the modes of thought are explained, and Foucault puts classification in the very centre of it (the heading simply reads "Classifying"). Natural history was about taxonomy – the science of the principles of ordering in species, families, etc., as well as the very description of natural objects, placing them in systems of identities and differences. The natural history of the classical age was indeed about living creatures, but unlike the biology that replaced it

from the early nineteenth century; it was not about life, that is, the inner structure of organisms and the functional connections between the characters of organisms. Classification was so central to the form of knowledge that Foucault chose to call it "the age of the catalogue" (1989:137) – what gives much meaning to the literature and collections of the time.

Natural History as "Science in Action"

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault writes, although briefly (1989:131, 137), about herbariums, natural history collections, and gardens as "inevitable correlatives of this patterning" of knowledge at the institutional level. By doing so, Foucault remarks that the significance of these collections lay not so much in what they allowed one to see, but in what they concealed from the gaze: anatomy and function (both centrally placed in the episteme to come), hinting that collection was not just formed by the gaze but also in a way formed the gaze. Apart from that, however, collections are not given any attention, and it is obvious that, in Foucault's book, they are seen as expressions of a certain way to know.

However, collections are not just results of a certain way to know. They also make up the material for the production of knowledge. The mode of thought is represented in the selection of objects, but this selection also frames what can be said and done. Collections, therefore, are not just texts, but also practices – or rather: each of them is part of a practice; a specific handling of objects. That perspective enables us to see a number of contributors of different kinds without whom the collection would not exist. It is part of a network of what could be anachronistically called "serious amateurs", dealers in natural objects, correspondents and collectors in exotic as well as domestic places, donors, exchange partners, visitors, etc. But collections and natural history knowledge do not enter into human relations only, but into conglomerates of humans, objects, books and theories, ships and shipments, finances, preservation techniques, etc.

This is perhaps where we could make use of the inspiration from Latour's sociology of science, including its idea of such a network. As presented in the book *Science in Action* (1987), Latour claims that to understand science and its construction of facts, it must be seen as a collective practice (that is, "in action"), in which a series of human and non-human agents enter. Statements (i.e. knowledge), however true they may seem, become valid only through the support of others who will incorporate them in other statements and, as it were, build them into instruments, machines etc. The statement or knowledge becomes valid (i.e. true) through the network into which it enters, a network of allies, finances, institutions, arguments, natural objects, and instruments.

Scientific knowledge will not survive without some "actants" capable of enlisting other actants, human as well as non-human, in the process. What matters is to make others interested in the production of science. By "actant" Latour means everything or everybody that must be considered as a source of action, which either acts or gets its activity from others (Latour 1996).

One of the points implied in Latour's model is to break with the common conception of the relationship between subject and object, between human and thing. In

the actor-network theory the actant is not defined as an intentional actor, endowed with a will and a conscience, as is normal in the actor perspectives of social and cultural theory, but is everything or everybody that participates in the construction of knowledge. It is precisely in this dissolution of the dichotomy between the subject and the object, the human and the thing, that Latour's model has been seen as potentially fruitful in different sorts of material culture studies, as it opens up a new way of understanding the material world as co-producing cultural phenomena. Latour stresses that it is not society on the one side and technoscience on the other. Only larger or smaller networks exist.

That the strength of the statements depends on the size of the network is the reason why some explanations appear more scientific, rational, and modern, while others appear superstitious, subjective, and primitive. This is where Latour's model touches upon different kinds of collections (Latour 1987, chap. 5 & 6). The point is that what has a tendency to appear as the difference between science and popular or primitive beliefs is not a difference in forms of rationality, but in the strength of the network. If Western science has acquired a dominant role in relation to other production of knowledge, in each case it is due to the fact that science has been able to enter a cycle of accumulation. When, for instance, the statements of the explorers on the eighteenth-century voyages of discovery could become more valid than those of the locals, it was because they first had their impression of the coastline transformed into a map that they could bring home, their impressions of the animal and plant world transformed into zoological or botanical descriptions that by virtue of the network (including certain ways of classifying) could be compared with specimens from all over the world or to stable and mobile specimens in spirits or in dry form that could be incorporated into collections and compared with other specimens. One thing was of greater interest to explorers than the local nature: to bring it home with them. The difference between the explorer and the locals was the ability of other explorers to build on the former voyages and hence the possibility to incorporate statements into other statements, while the locals' impression of the coastline, animals, or plants was kept within a confined network. A prerequisite for the cycle of accumulation is that observations are made stable, mobile and combinable, or in other words that they are fixed – so that they will not just disappear like the drawing of the coastline in the sand that the locals could have drawn, that it is possible to transport them home, and that, there, they will be combinable with the observations of other explorers.

This is where the collections come in. Latour makes it an example of what he calls a "centre of calculation", that is, a centre for the cycle of accumulation, either in the form of a menagerie, a natural history collection, or a botanical garden, in which living, dry, or otherwise preserved animals, plants, or stones are stored and displayed, painted, and described. A centre of calculation differs from, e.g., the local knowledge of nature, only by a question of scale – by being connected to a larger network. This is what makes it possible to "act at a distance", as Latour puts it: by virtue of ships and expeditions, collections and observations, the centre eventually develops a tendency to dominate the periphery.

The Natural History Society as Network and a Centre of Calculation

The Copenhagen Natural History Society could be said to be one such "centre of calculation". If looked upon as a network, quite another part of the activities of the society becomes visible. The society was, as it were, envisaged from the beginning as a kind of network for the financing of a library, a collection, public lectures, etc. The first step was taken with the publishing of an invitation (Abildgaard 1789), supported by a group of prominent persons in the scholarly environment, which led to the enlistment of a greater number of members. But it also enlisted a good many others than members in its activity. Correspondents were important, and civil servants placed at different localities in the kingdom sent in observations, obviously a way of "acting at a distance". The natural history collection was initially conceived as built up of "gifts from nature lovers", and throughout its life it seems as if it was presented with most of its specimens by explorers, shipmasters or noblemen on their grand tour who would donate entire collections, or by missionaries or civil servants in different parts of the kingdom who would send back a flow of specimens, just as collectors in Denmark would sometimes donate great numbers of specimens (cf. note 2). Having educated and examined them, the society would also send out explorers to different parts of the kingdom, something that really enabled it to "act at a distance". But persons going away for other reasons could also get free training in natural history and especially in methods of preservation, if they promised to send back specimens to the society. One such person who was about to travel in the "unknown Guinea" was taught ways to stuff birds and fishes, and to handle crayfishes and crabs.[6]

Nor could the society function without a series of other actors: the stable audiences of the lectures, the participants in the weekly excursion to the surrounding countryside in the summertime, the workman who was paid nearly four rigsdaler yearly to join these excursions to "collect plants for the garden" (*Om Regnskabsvæsnet 1791*) or the delivery man who was engaged to bring the minute book to the members of the board, but who also had extraordinary skills in taxidermy and knowledge of minerals, and who was the one to teach the voyagers to "act at a distance".

The Copenhagen Natural History Society thus serves as an example of science as a collective process, and points to the fact that collections are not just ways of knowing, but a practice, too, and a practice functioning through the building of networks. But to follow Latour means to claim that the network consists not only of persons but of things as well. In the science production of the Natural History Society, specimens, spirit, cupboards, ships, instructions for travellers, texts and descriptions of natural objects join forces. Like the human actors, they are something that "acts or gets its activity from others", that is to say: actants. They and many others must all act in order for science to come into being. The point in Latour's model is that humans and things are connected in ways that alter what they were before, and in ways that make them act in a certain manner (Latour 1991). The exhibits not only enter into classifications, but also in a structure of other things. In other words: the collections are not only the expression of a form of classification, but are in themselves a classifying practice.

The thing is in no way an isolated object, it is connected to an oral or written scientific description, to pictures, to the lecturer, to theories and systematics, to the interests of other actors (e.g. in new crops), dealers of natural objects and collectors. But in its textual representation (in *Skrivter* e.g.) those actants have been cut away. Here, it looks as if it is Nature that speaks directly to the reader. The text could, following Latour, be termed an "inscription device", as it pretends that Nature is just beneath the text, although it is so only indirectly and mediated. The exhibit, too, pretends to represent Nature directly, as it were, it acts as if Nature speaks through it, concealing that it is carefully selected and worked upon, precisely with the intention of speaking about Nature, and being mobilized to support certain statements and to act as a sign of their truthfulness. The statement needs the thing, and the thing is therefore not only an illustration, it shapes the gaze as well. In other words: the thing acts.

Who or What Acts?

It is not so straightforward, however, to claim that things act. Latour's concept of actant has often been criticized, because things do not act the way people do: in a considered, conscious, volitional, active way. If this is a problem, however, it is because we have a priori ascribed certain properties to humans, which we then criticize other actants for not having. If we discuss who is acting, we have to consider what resources the actants can act with. The solution is not to furnish things with so-called human properties, nor to turn human beings into things. There may be a tendency towards the former in certain Latour-inspired studies (e.g. Callon 1986), and the situation is not made any easier by the asymmetrical (and hence anthropomorphizing) vocabulary available to us (Callon & Latour 1992). There is also a tendency among those who have allowed themselves to be inspired by Latour's idea of "centres of calculation" for analyses of museum collections, to make the network into a social network.[7]

What the network idea makes clear, however, is that there is a series of things and people involved around the collection, whose histories must be part of the history of the collection. And the network idea shows that things are more than just expressions of knowledge; things hang together with and cannot be viewed in isolation from the collector, the lecturer, the scientific description, the taxidermist and his techniques, and so on. In this article I have not shown what things mean in concrete terms in scientific production; I have rather hinted at different types of scientific practice. This could easily lead us to question whether the society board, the correspondents (who submitted descriptions of the natural objects), the delivery man or the master painter Jens Nielsen Raahede (who painted a couple of the society's cabinets and who had a little collection of naturalia himself) were all working for the same science at all. In a study of the scientific practice and the role played by the correspondence between natural historians at the start of the nineteenth century, Anne Secord (1994) has shown that the naturalia could have completely different meanings for "artisan botanists" than for the gentlemen with whom they corresponded, and shared observations and nomenclature. She thus criticizes Latour's idea of centres of calculation for not drawing attention to the

fact that the different actors, although they cooperated in science, could have different interests. It is perhaps here that the differences between sociology of science and cultural history come out.

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Notes

1 The background to this article is last year's theme issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavia* on material culture, and in that connection the collections of naturalia give pause for reflection on the relations that can be said to exist between knowledge, objects, and people.
2 Untitled list and data as an appendix in Naturhistorie-Selskabets deliberations-protokol, 1792–1803, archives of the Zoological Museum, Copenhagen.
3 Kommisionen for Museet for Naturvidenskaberne, Journalsager 1796–1829, No. 29: Redegørelse fra Prof. Wad og Hr. Holten d. 14.12.1805.
4 "inddeele dem i adskillige Hober eller Riger, og i Klasser eller Ordener, nemlig dem, som ere hinanden lige, samle de i Tankerne, eller regne dem til een Klasse, og give dem et fælles Navn; dernæst angive de visse Kiendetegn paa hver Hob, og paa hver Klasse og Orden, hvorved man nøie kan skielne de Dyr, som høre dertil fra ethvert andet Dyr" (p. 3).
5 As they did according to the early Linnaean classification; cf. Stemerding 1991:57.
6 "Behandlingsmaader at udstoppe Fugle og Fiske samt at omgaaes Krebs og Krabber og [blev] underrette[t] om de Haandgrebe som dertil er fornødne". Undated entry (Dec. 1792), Naturhistorie-Selskabets delibera-tions-protokol 1792–1803, archives of the Zoological Museum, Copenhagen.
7 This is the tendency, for example, in Miller's (1996) study of Joseph Banks as a centre of calculation.

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Studying the Materiality of Culture

Reflections on Some Fundamental Issues

By Ragnar Pedersen

Angles of Approach

Every theory of science is based on a series of basic premises. These determine in large measure the scientific legitimacy of a research field. The basic premises also exert an influence on the concrete research practice. This applies to the choice of perspective, to source criticism, and to methods of analysis. This is also the case with the study of material culture. Perhaps this research field could be described more precisely as an interest in the materiality of culture, that is, artefacts, and the man-made features of our physical surroundings.

Interest in material culture has had a fluctuating position in Nordic ethnology. Until around 1970 its status was indisputable, and it played an obvious part in constituting the discipline. Since then the interest has largely been shifted elsewhere, so that the study of material culture has lost its dominant position.

As there are many reasons for this development, it is difficult to single out one decisive factor. Many separate circumstances may be mentioned. One is the heavy contemporary orientation that is typical of today's ethnology. For that reason the source aspect of artefacts becomes of minor significance. Another important explanation is that so much inspiration and theories are derived from the social sciences. The growth of cultural analysis had also had a powerful influence. It is worth noting, however, that there is a desire for a new orientation and revitalization. Among other things, there is a distinct interest in the material culture of consumer society. There are also new frameworks for understanding which invite the discovery of original and exciting connections. One example is the focus on the symbolic meaning and visuality of artefacts, which are regarded as a system of signs. Moreover, material culture as a field of study plays an important part in the more recent analytical cultural history to which some ethnologists have turned.

The discussion here, however, will not consider the thematic and concrete aspects of the study of material culture. My aim is to reflect on a few fundamental theoretical issues. The necessity of such a discussion can be justified for several reasons. Generally speaking, it concerns some basic theoretical premises which have a strong influence on research into material culture. Reflection of this kind could be an aid to legitimizing material culture in the ethnological understanding of culture, so that this field of study can be firmly rooted in the overall theoretical profile of the subject. A greater degree of reflexivity when it comes to the materiality of culture could also have a positive effect on methods of analysis and frameworks of understanding. There is a palpable lack of a theoretical platform for continuous methodological professionalization.

Usually little attention is paid to the theoretical premises that govern concrete research practice. Particularly important are those premises which concern our understanding of reality and which create specific positions in terms of theory of science. These theoretical positions are not infrequently opposed to each other, leading to polarizations. As a rule they derive from completely different philosophical contexts and traditions.

I will argue below that we ought to be more aware of these positions in the study of material culture. The discussion will look at some positions and theoretical dichotomies of this type. In this way we can

discern whether the established theoretical orientations narrow this field of study in an unfortunate way. Such an awareness and critique can give greater freedom in research and allow flexibility and dynamism in scholarly practice. One question that I will ask is whether it is possible to transcend any of these polarizations or resolve any of these dilemmas.

Artefacts: Source or Study Object?

In the argumentation for the importance of the study of material culture, the source value of artefacts has been held up as something positive. This view is of course indisputable when it comes to studies of pre-industrial societies. The reason is that there is often little written evidence; this is particularly true of the everyday life of the common people, a subject of special interest to ethnologists. The Norwegian ethnologist Bjarne Rogan (1991) has argued on several occasions that in studies of the present day, artefacts lose their status of source and represent just an object of study. This discussion seems to indicate that there is a theoretical polarization in the ethnological research environment between study object and source.

The precondition for operating with a clear distinction between study object and source is a perception of a clear subject–object relationship in the research process. To put it another way, artefacts can be understood as representing something external and secondary in cultural terms. Artefacts thus acquire an independent research status in relation to culture.

Another view is that material objects are an integral part of culture, and that together they make up an indivisible whole. From such a premise, the discussion of the relationship between study object and source is of less practical interest; this would only be an abstract difference. One's outlook on these issues depends on one's basic theory of science and view of culture. To begin with, this problem will be discussed from a research position.

A common interpretation of the concept of source is its function of providing information, that is to say, the data it yields. In such cases the amount and relevance of the data in relation to the selected problem is a mark of quality. With this outlook, artefacts have a conditional value. In qualitative terms it is largely a matter of features which are related to the form, exterior, material, construction, and design of the artefact. It is often difficult to use such data in a broader scientific context because the features of the artefact are not rooted in language but connected to signs of a visual, tactile, and motor kind.

If we look more closely at many of the studies of material culture in ethnology, however, we see that artefacts often play a different part for research than that of a source, understood as a purely information-yielding element. The usual research practice, to put it in extreme terms, is that researchers do not read *off* the data or extract knowledge from it. They generally read things *into* the artefact. In other words, they try to construct a scientific context which describes the cultural connections of the artefact. Such a description is built up with the aid of all available and relevant data, both what can be read directly off the artefact itself and relevant contextual data, such as written and oral information. The function of the artefact in this case is that it substantiates our descriptions and makes them concrete.

Here artefacts have a special value for research by virtue of being regarded as historical relics. They represent the material remains of the past. This is because they were once part of a specific cultural, historical situation. From this point of view, the artefact has in principle an unshakable truth value through its direct historical foundation and its concrete existence here and now.

Even though artefacts can be described as a direct historical survival and have a good scientific capacity for correction and justification, the contexts in which they are placed and constructed will always be an interpretation of something that once was and cannot be directly observed. And, like all interpretations in the humanities, it will always be unfinished because other, better interpretations can come later.

In this connection it is natural to touch on the discussion of representation. This concept expresses the relationship between the reality of the past and the reality created by the researcher's descriptions. An extreme viewpoint is that objective science is impossible. The grounds stated for this view are that a researcher cannot represent anyone but himself or herself. The researcher's description is therefore influenced by a personal (pre-)understanding. According to this view, there will always be new and totally different descriptions of the past, and this must of necessity be the case. The dilemma of a desire for an objective description of reality clashing with the researcher's subjective and personal stance can easily lead to scientific relativism. It is more fruitful if this attitude instead leads to greater insight into problems of scientific representation, and if one tries as far as possible to overcome them.

Maximum yield from the role of artefacts in research as a corrective to the pictured reality presupposes that the investigation is conducted on the level of cultural practice. To use a philosophical expression, one can say that artefacts are a more "lifelike" past than types of sources such as written data, which say something beyond themselves. Studies at the level of cultural practice are in opposition to works characterized by strict data selection and conclusions at a high level of abstraction.

Another way to counter the critique of representation is to work systematically with scientific methods which try to bring the temporal distance under control, that is, to reduce the cultural distance between the past about which we want to know something and the researcher's own position. This may be called a kind of cultural translation, and it dictates certain requirements when it comes to the study of material culture. This is a theme that will be considered later.

Thus far the topic of discussion has been the information potential and quality of artefacts when it comes to substantiating concrete historical reconstructions. The final aspect of the role of artefacts in a scientific process to be discussed is their ability to generate questions. Through their materiality and existence, they not infrequently provoke our curiosity.

In terms of theory of science, there is a dialectical process between question and answer. This is wholly crucial for the course of the research process and the quality of the research findings. The researcher's ability to see and discover new questions is therefore of fundamental importance for the results of the research.

Artefacts can trigger many types of questions. Obvious ones are problems concerning the study of cultural variation and

the scope of human technical and aesthetic potential. The concrete form of artefacts reveals similarities and differences in a way that is relatively easy to grasp. Such properties are valued highly in a positivist research tradition. But since artefacts do not provide a basis for other types of questions, they are of limited value as a field of study in modern cultural science.

The potential of artefacts to raise interesting problems can be much higher if one perceives them in terms of cultural relations and structures. As an important element in cultural processes and functional contexts, They acquire an indicatory role. They ask questions that extend beyond themselves. From this point of view, artefacts can be regarded as important pathfinders or angles of approach for revealing aspects of culture that would not otherwise be noticed. People's physical surroundings and materiality are then regarded as an important point of departure for revealing the blank spots of research, and represent alternative knowledge in established cultural research. This broad view of the potential of artefacts to ask questions is based on an outlook which presupposes that material things are an important precondition for the existence of human culture.

I have argued above that the discussion of the significance of artefacts as a study object or source should be conducted against the background of a theory of science. If our perception of the significance of a source is confined to its direct information value, then artefacts have a relatively restricted role to play. However, if we interpret the concept of source more broadly and include more stages in the research process, the situation changes. From this point of view, artefacts can be said to have their special strength in two fields. One concerns their ability to trigger questions, and the other is that they can correct and corroborate historical reconstructions. From this perspective, the customarily claimed dichotomy between study object and source becomes less relevant. They can all be regarded as aspects of the same thing.

To bridge this division completely, however, it is necessary to discuss some questions to do with perception. A main question on which one can reflect is whether material objects play a secondary role in relation to culture or if they are an integral part. This has been a central question in philosophy through the ages, and opinions, as we know, differ greatly. Here I shall consider types of philosophical perception which give the material an obvious role in human culture. They simultaneously create meaning for a great deal of the ethnological research practice.

No Culture without Materiality

Phenomenology is a specific tendency in modern philosophy. It cannot be described as a uniform and coherent system of thought. The different philosophers in this tradition have formulated their ideas in rather independent ways, but there are shared features. The ideas presented below to shed light on the relation between humans and things are mainly borrowed from the philosophy of Martin Heidegger. A fundamental starting point for his reflections on this topic is that people cannot be understood by themselves, but through their concrete and actual being-in-the-world.

Human behaviour is based on specific structures. These help to constitute people's concrete existence. Heidegger calls structures of this type existentials, and human

behaviour is recognized through such existential structures (Fløistad 1968:133ff.). An example is the world perceived as a collection of things we use, or, to put it another way, practical life. For Heidegger the term "practical" has a very broad meaning. It refers to actually using something, whether objects or language. The practical use of things reveals essential features of human behaviour (Fløistad 1968:146). These contexts of use are not perceived by Heidegger as an abstract structure; they reveal themselves through their concrete existential expressions.

One of the main points of Heidegger's philosophy is his profound and radical holistic view of the world. This can be perceived as meaning that the world is neither subjective nor objective. As the historian of architecture Christian Norberg-Schulz (1995:7) puts it, people are transformed from observers into participants. The world is a whole once again. Nor does Heidegger seem to distinguish between subjective and objective research positions. He thus tries to bridge the divided view of the world. This outlook has prevailed in Europe ever since Descartes in the seventeenth century propounded his philosophy of a distinction between spirit and matter, between thoughts and emotions. Heidegger's ideas mean that the discussion of an idealistic versus a materialistic perception of culture and the difference between study object and source is less significant in scientific practice.

These ideas from Heidegger's philosophy, which are summarized very briefly here, could serve as a fruitful and relevant point of departure for the study of artefacts and people's physical surroundings. This ontology can provide arguments for a view of culture which includes the material, or to express it differently, a view which declares: no culture without materiality.

Culture as Practice – Some Subsidiary Methodological Consequences

A crucial premise for Heidegger's philosophy and view of culture is that he recognizes human behaviour on the level of practice. From this stance one can claim that he has a structural and dynamic view of artefacts. A life-world is constituted around it. A basic philosophy like this supports the argumentation above, that artefacts are an important cultural pathfinder and generator of questions. They therefore have a high indicatory value for research.

Heidegger distinguishes between "things as they are or appear when they are *used*, and as they are or appear when they are *observed* or *described*" (Fløistad 1968: 144), or in his own words, *zu-handen* and *vor-handen*. He expands on this reasoning by claiming that objects are not something that humans stand above, but something that we "under-stand" in the sense of standing among everything else (Norberg-Schulz 1995:6). This concept means that people participate in the world. We live with things rather than standing above, analysing them.

With this view, Heidegger shows a distinctly phenomenological approach to the world. This philosophical orientation must be understood as a counter-reaction to tendencies in some human sciences in modern times, to make things highly abstract and general. Scientific development is characterized as the loss of closeness to reality. The aim is to regain the human life-world by explaining things as they are

immediately, directly and concretely. This aspect of phenomenological theory legitimizes many of the research findings of ethnology, especially those of earlier date. Those studies were often strongly oriented to action and showed a culturally inclusive view of artefacts.

In connection with the serviceability of artefacts and their place in a context of use, Heidegger claims that one is usually absorbed in the use; there is no distinction between objects and their use. These aspects merge. People reflect very little on what they do. A person is *in* the context of use (Fløistad 1968:145).

A precondition for this way of reasoning is that Heidegger must implicitly regard artefacts as elements of knowledge and experience. He also presupposes that their cultural role is as a mediator of action. From this point of view, artefacts can be regarded as, at bottom, a means of communication. They make the world tangible, they reveal and convey experiences, values, and norms in a culture.

Heidegger's philosophical argument, that an object is absorbed in its context of use and that it serves as an important means of communication, gives grounds for some reflections on research.

For further clarification it is necessary to bring up the concept of "totality of reference" (Pedersen 1990:268ff.). This means that objects, through their ability to communicate and mediate action, refer to all aspects of culture. This means, for example, that the study of the materiality of culture cannot be limited solely to technological/economic and visual/aesthetic problems. Like all culture, artefacts are polysemous and ambiguous.

Heidegger does not directly discuss the communicative role of artefacts in a culture. As far as I understand it, this is something he implicitly presupposes. But there are a number of research findings which provide empirical documentation of this view. A few examples may be mentioned. The Russian sociologist Pitrim A. Sorokin regards artefacts as "vehicles" for cultural systems of meaning. A similar view is put forward by the Norwegian ethnologist Knut Kolsrud, who writes that "artefacts speak a symbolic language which lies in the comprehensible form" (Pedersen 1990b:246ff.). The American anthropologist Michael Brian Schiffer describes artefacts as "interactors" in his textbook of material culture (1999:12).

Clear consequences for research result from Heidegger's assumption that an understanding of action and the constitution of use contexts largely lies in the objects themselves. His view means that an understanding of action is not just supported by linguistic expressions as a form of abstract information independent of the artefacts. Or to put it in a more philosophical way: understanding an object in the context of its use is not always a matter of having a consciousness *about*; in many cases it is a matter of having a consciousness *in*. Empirical studies show that in practice there is no absolute dichotomy between the capacity of artefacts for non-verbal communication and an association with languagebased information. A user of a boat, for example, must understand how it works in terms of both these forms of communication. They complement each other, and both are equally necessary. This view of the understanding of action and the role of artefacts in a context of use makes great demands of method in cultural science, with regard to both analytical technique and documen-

tation. This is a broad issue, so I shall confine the discussion to a single problem of a critical kind. It is about research approaches. This dichotomy in the theory of science will be considered later in connection with the problems involved in the description of reality and cultural translation.

The Form and Content of an Object – Are They in Opposition?

As previously mentioned, Heidegger claims from his phenomenological stance that people's understanding of the world primarily consists of perceiving meaning-bearing wholes. He reasons on this in greater depth in his reflections on the concept of things; these ideas can also be applied to artefacts. Things, in Heidegger's opinion, are something which establish something and accumulate a manifold content (Norberg-Schulz 1995:75). This must be understood as meaning that things establish, maintain, and reveal the world in a total way. When it comes to the concrete study of artefacts, this outlooks raises several questions. One of them will be considered in some detail, namely, the link between form and content or the relations between the various traits of an object and its total external form. In the European philosophical tradition this problem has been discussed ever since ancient times.

The Danish ethnologist Thomas Højrup has recently discussed the concept of form from both an empirical and a philosophical angle. He distinguishes between two completely different perceptions of the concept of form (Højrup 2002:373). One interpretation builds on the tradition of Aristotle. From this point of view artefacts are perceived as a material structure. The structure of an object is determined by its intention and use. This is the basis for a functional form. It is understood here as something rational, logical, and intentional. To use a concept from Greek philosophy, the crucial thing about the form is its *eidos*, its idea. A typical reflection of this way of thinking is the classification system for tools developed by the French anthropologist Leroi-Gourhan. The classification criteria are based on what is called the tendency or idea of an object, to which the form is subordinate.

Another understanding of the concept of form is of a morphological character. An essential characteristic of this perception is that it operates with a distinction between form and content; in other words, these aspects are not in a state of mutual dependence on each other. The form is thus regarded as an external quality of the object, which is in principle detached from its functional content. In the orientation to cultural history that was common in earlier ethnology, great analytical significance was attached to external traits of form. Once they were deemed to be independent of the use of the objects, data of this kind were regarded as important elements enabling scholars to trace processes of evolution and diffusion. The background to this way of thinking was that the external form was claimed to be culturally conditioned, whereas the construction and content of the object were based on given natural and mechanical conditions.

In his discussion of the concept of form, Højrup concludes by saying that "we therefore have two forms of ethnology, both of which proceed from the statement that culture is forms, but which mean diametrically and mutually irreconcilable things by this, because their concepts of

form invalidate each other's theoretical purpose" (Højrup 2002:378).

Here again we have an example of conflicting theoretical positions and a polarization in research into material culture. On the basis of the boats he has studied, Højrup claims that neither of the above definitions of the concept of form gives a full understanding on its own. This type of empirical analysis thus underlines the importance of having a dynamic and holistic view of the concept of form.

As pointed out above, it is an important philosophical point for Heidegger to regard the world as it appears to us, immediate and whole. This also has consequences for how we should relate to artefacts in a scientific way. With the aid of modern communication theory it is possible to consider artefacts as an interacting cultural totality. This can be done without operating with an independent distinction between form and content and the consequences this has for the workings and cultural function of artefacts. From this communicative perspective, artefacts are viewed as being composed of different traits, each of which represents different codes and signs. These correspond and relate to different cultural structures. One and the same artefact can refer to a great cultural diversity. The total quantity of an object's traits creates a form of hierarchy depending on the kind of role each trait has in its uses and its cultural context. For example, the main form of the scythe is built up on the basis of natural physical laws. The more varied external formal features of a visual character can be traced back to individual and personal characteristics. They largely express status and prestige (Pedersen 1990b:268).

This understanding of artefacts contains a methodological dualism. If we follow Heidegger's phenomenological philosophy, the world should be observed from the perception of the actor; this is thus a form of understanding which can be characterized as empathetic and hermeneutic. A structural and comparative approach to artefacts, however, presupposes a different form of understanding, of an abstracting and analytical kind. These different forms of understanding belong to different scientific paradigms and have different philosophical backgrounds. To conclude this essay, I shall discuss this problem from the angle of "cultural translation". In this way one can achieve a more complete view of these two forms of understanding.

Cultural Translation, Nearness or Distance in Cultural Research

Artefacts can be regarded as potentials of cultural meaning. To release the scientific potential, interpretations are necessary. That is the core of the study of material culture. An understanding of artefacts from this position has a built-in theoretical tension. On the one hand there is an alienating distance from the object of study which makes it possible to pose unexpected questions. This increases with the distance in time. On the other hand, empathetic familiarity with the uses of artefacts and their cultural context makes it possible to perceive data which conflict with the researcher's own understanding. This requires a form of nearness.

Angles of approach based on the intentionality and context of a culture are among the crucial tasks of cultural science. In this respect linguistic texts and artefacts are similar. An understanding is required of the intentions behind the phenomenon one is

studying and later changes in the cultural context. An important aspect of this research task is to interpret the field of study so that it becomes accessible and understandable to the researcher's audience. The alienation has to be overcome, whether the cultural distance is temporal, spatial, or social. This can be described as a kind of "cultural translation".

Being open to what is alien and reducing cultural distance takes place through an understanding approach. This scientific method represents a kind of empathy with the actor. After protracted acquaintance with the matter, it becomes possible to reveal the actor's values, aims, and rationality, up to a certain level but never completely.

When it comes to the study of artefacts, broad cultural translation is often required. This is necessary for several reasons. The meaning of artefacts is conveyed more or less non-verbally; that is to say, it is associated with visual, aesthetic, motor, and tactile features of the artefact. Such properties have to be converted into linguistic expressions to be perceived and understood. From this point of view, it can be a demanding scientific task to describe, for example, the association between a user and a specific type of tool, or the content and meaning of a painting.

Increasing distance in time between the situation in which an object came into being and the point at which it is studied means that the need for cultural translation also increases. Detailed descriptions are often necessary if the past is to be made comprehensible for us. For example, the farming methods and tools of pre-industrial society are totally alien and incomprehensible for many today. Meaningful cultural translation is essential if this field of study is to be understood by people today.

The capacity for empathy is dependent on the researcher's (pre-)understanding. If a researcher lacks knowledge about the significance of the wind and the current for the performance of a boat, it can lead to erroneous conclusions. For the maker of the boat, knowledge of this kind was elementary. When describing a piece of decorated furniture from the eighteenth century, incorrect interpretations can easily arise. Often the researcher lacks the visual training and sensitivity inherent in the maker's pre-understanding. Many relevant features can thus be overlooked. The maker and the researcher probably have completely different aesthetic outlooks as well. The researcher often brings along his or her own aesthetic preferences.

It is thus impossible to put oneself wholly in another person's position. This applies as much to the informant interviewed during fieldwork as to the maker of an object far back in time. Even the best possible empathy is never complete. It gives only a partial understanding. The empathy must always run up against the limitations of the researcher's own (pre-)understanding.

A scientific analysis breaks down the total understanding that the actor has of an artefact in its cultural context. The researcher thus has a more or less distanced relationship to the object of study. The approach can be characterized as a form of scientific objectivization. Here the term is understood in the sense that one uses categories that go beyond the user's own experience and life-world. This leads to a new, and different type of knowledge from that obtained by an empathetic and understanding approach on the level of

cultural practice. The form of a scythe can be understood to a certain degree on the maker's and user's terms. A scientific analysis can disclose knowledge unknown to or unnoticed by the actor. In addition, the interpretation of the form of the scythe through scholarly analysis can build on epistemological paradigms which are far beyond the user's understanding, for example, that of the natural sciences.

It is thus necessary to apply scientific methods based on both nearness and distance. Nearness to the research field requires self-reflexivity of the researcher, and an ability to penetrate something alien. But perspectives based on scientific distance and generalization can easily lose their foothold in human practice. The chosen angle of approach may be relevant and have explanatory power in relation to the section of reality one is studying.

Some Concluding Reflections

There is no completely objective humanistic science. The reason for this lies in science itself. Every science is an abstracted section of reality. From this point of view, Heidegger's phenomenological philosophy represents a useful corrective and reminder. His ideas help to point the searchlight at the tension between people's understanding of their life-world and the scientific description of reality.

The investigation of a field of study from several angles is a way to overcome this dualism to some extent. In the multiplicity of perspectives, the scientific truth emerges. With this outlook, research has to be flexible and dynamic, not normatively stuck in fixed positions and directions. An attempt to transcend the many dichotomies and polarizations that exist in the study of material culture is grounded in this view of research. That has been the aim of this article.

A flexible and open use of research perspectives can be perceived as a relativist outlook on science. But some interpretations are truer than others. Many are subsequently falsified because they cannot be reconciled with new theories and empirical evidence. Research on cultural history should therefore carry on as rational as possible a discussion about how the past can be understood, a discussion that can never be concluded.

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With a Sense of Body and Style

Some Thoughts on Dress as a Collector's Item with the Example of Queen Ingrid of Denmark (1910–2000)

By Marie Riegels Melchior

Identity is what people are supposed to have, but also what they are building in some kind of bricolage as an individual response to the demands of a complex society (Frykman & Gilje 2003:9).

In the late summer of 2002, the Royal Danish Collections at Amalienborg (De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling) received a large donation from the estate of Queen Ingrid of Denmark. It consisted of the queen's wardrobe, collected during a long life with the intention that it should be left as her only bequest to the museum at Amalienborg immediately after her death.[1]

Six months after the transfer of this large collection to the museum, it served as the basis for a special exhibition: "En Kronprinsesse kommer til landet: Glimt fra Dronning Ingrids unge år" (Denmark Welcomes a Crown Princess: Glimpses of Queen Ingrid's Early Years).[2] Based on the dresses that Queen Ingrid had used in the period 1910–1940, the exhibition presented a chronological picture of a distant chapter in Queen Ingrid's life, unknown to most living Danes. This chapter was about Queen Ingrid's childhood and adolescence, about how she met and married Frederik IX (1899–1972, King of Denmark 1947–1972), and about her first years living in Denmark as a Danish Crown Princess (Petri 2003).

In connection with the preparatory research for the exhibition,[3] the problem considered by this article took shape. Being faced with this large collection of dress kept raising the same questions: Why collect dress? Why collect clothes of such different kinds as in Queen Ingrid's case, ranging from a richly embroidered court train to a pair of worn jersey-knit knickers for everyday use? Why did Queen Ingrid not pass on other types of objects from her private collection to the royal museum, such as her embroidery work, furniture or ceramics? And what can dress say at all in a museum context?

In this article I wish to investigate and discuss the phenomenon of collecting dress, partly against the background of theoretical reflections about dress as a collector's item, viewed in the light of, among other things, analytical perspectives on collecting in cultural research, and partly against the background of a concrete analysis of Queen Ingrid's dress collection. The points that arise from this will then be put in perspective in relation to dress as part of a museum collection and what it can say as a type of museum source. The interaction between the concepts of style, body, materiality, and self-perception will thus be central to the article.

Perspectives on the Practice of Collecting Dress

In Western cultures, collecting things, broadly defined, has been a tradition over the centuries among nobles, royals, and the prosperous bourgeoisie. In the course of the twentieth century, however, with the emergence of the consumer society, the practice has become a mass phenomenon. The ethnologist Bjarne Rogan (1996c:20) estimates that about one adult in three at some point in life is a collector.

In culture studies there has been a growing interest in the study of collecting things, as the practice itself has spread. These studies have focused on such things as the collector's motivation, collecting strategies, and the life-historical significance of collections (Pedersen & Otto 1998). The shared feature of these studies is their perception of the significance of collecting things. The practice is viewed as a way to

Front cover of the exhibition catalogue showing Queen Ingrid, as Crown Princess, disembarking in Copenhagen on 26 May 1935, two days after the great wedding in Stockholm, Sweden, as she is greeted with a kiss on the cheek from King Christian X (1870–1947). In the background Crown Prince Frederik (IX) in the uniform of lieutenant-commander of the Danish Navy. The dress Queen Ingrid wore that day is part of her dress collection donated to the Royal Danish Collection at Amalienborg in the late summer of 2002.

collect oneself. In other words, collecting things, however small and insignificant a collection might be, and regardless of what type of items are included in the collection, is understood as a kind of identity creation (Pearce 1994; Pedersen & Otto 1998; Clifford 1994; Rogan 1996 a,b,c).

Collections of a biographical kind, like the type of dress collections on which I focus in this article, are characterized by being a personal narrative of an individual's life. This type of collection is not necessarily amassed with a view to being preserved for posterity, but often comes about like other types of collections, as a result of a mixture of memory, nostalgia, and a wish to document oneself. Through the material presence of the things, the collector's history is narrated. Things in a collection like this are thus perceived – with the inspiration of semiotic cultural analysis – as symbols, or meaning bearers, of the lived life that the things represent. In recent years, however, interactionist cultural analysis has broadened the perception of the cultural significance of things, as is evident, for instance, from the ethnologist Lene Otto's (2001) study of biographical collections and tech-

niques of the self, with the *active* role of things in relation to the collector's identity creation. Through *interaction* with the things, that is, when they are touched and physically perceived, both mental and practical memories of past situations and experiences in the collector's life are aroused.

In an article on the potential and meaning of artefacts as source material in ethnology, Bjarne Rogan (1992:106) has stressed that things cannot be studied independently of the medium through which they are expressed. In the present context this point calls for closer examination of the medium of dress, so that we can understand what it means to collect dress.

In a recent English study of the tendency of women to keep old clothes they no longer wear, Maura Banim and Ali Guy (2001) show how collecting clothes is a practice, albeit often unintended, that most people are familiar with. This especially concerns clothes with high sentimental or genealogical value, such as christening robes or wedding dresses. There is a tradition of keeping this type of clothes, which are handed down from generation to generation, as an expression of an awareness of family identity, close ties of kinship, and solidarity across time and place (Pedersen & Otto 1998:86). Yet even ordinary everyday clothes are kept at the back of the wardrobe, which is shown to be due to the identity-creating function that dress has for the individual collector (Banim & Guy 2001: 205ff.). Through their material character, clothes arouse memories of bygone times, past experiences, and situations, and they do so in a way that differs from other kinds of collector's objects, since clothes carry a recollection of a corporeally perceived visual image in time and place.

The Joanne Entwistle, the English sociologist in her book *The Fashioned Body* (2000), has defined clothes as *situated bodily practice*. The point of this definition is to combine the phenomenon of fashion and clothes in one and the same concept, as a recognition that fashion exerts a structuring domination on the modern person's experience of dress (Entwistle 2000:7). If we have the *right* clothes on a particular occasion, we feel confident and at ease with our body. In the opposite kind of situation, when we are wearing clothes that are in one way or another *wrong* in a given situation, we feel ill at ease. In other words, dress, from Entwistle's point of view, should be understood as an intimate bodily experience in interaction with a public presentation of the body. The function of dress is to be the body's boundary with the social surroundings.

This illuminates the difference of a dress collection from other kinds of collections. It is in much larger measure founded on bodily experience, materially expressed through wear, sweat, and other physical markings left in the fabric from which the clothes are made. At the same time, a dress collection represents a contextually defined corporeality, since dress enclosing the body, from Entwistle's perspective, should be understood as subject to social conventions, expressed, among other things, through the fashion styles of a given period. Dress collections are embodied life-historical narratives, while also giving a glimpse into the cultural history of dress – different ways of materially expressing the dress style of different eras.

Before I turn to show from this point of view how Queen Ingrid's dress collection can be interpreted and understood, and

regarded as a potential statement about her self-perception and understanding of her identity, I shall first present Queen Ingrid the person. This is done against the background of the many biographies written about Queen Ingrid, as a natural consequence of her being a royal person (e.g. Bistrup 1997; Sabroe 1970; Østlund 2000; Thomas 1986).

Queen Ingrid: Conscientious Modern Royalty

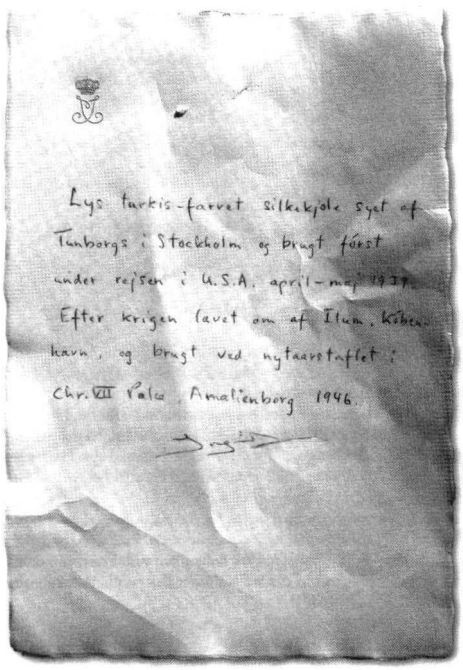
Queen Ingrid was born on 28 March 1910, the third child of the Swedish Crown Prince Gustav (VI) Adolf (1882–1973) and the English-born Crown Princess Margaret (1882–1920). At her christening Queen Ingrid was given the names Ingrid Victoria Sofia Louise Margareta, all of which, with the exception of Ingrid, had been borne by previous members of the royal dynasty into which she was born, as the great-granddaughter of Queen Victoria (1819–1901) and great-great-great-grand-daughter of Karl XIV Johan of Sweden (1763–1844), the first Bernadotte on the Swedish throne.

Queen Ingrid grew up in the Royal Palace in Stockholm but spent many summer holidays at the castle of Sofiero, just north of Helsingborg in southern Sweden, and with Crown Princess Margaret's parents, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, at Clarence House in London.

Queen Ingrid's childhood was a loving, secure one. It therefore came as a shock to her when, at the age of ten, she lost her mother, who died suddenly as a result of inflammation of the ear which developed into blood poisoning. This loss at such a young age left its mark on Queen Ingrid for the rest of her life, when she tried in many ways to live up to her mother's socially oriented, progressive ideals, and also to keep up her mother's interests, for example, in flowers and embroidery (Petri 2003:4).

Queen Ingrid had an education intended to give her insight into social conditions, along with more practical subjects such as domestic science and nursing, before being married on 24 May 1935 in Stockholm Cathedral, at the age of 26, to the Danish Crown Prince Frederik (1899–1972), and going on to spend the rest of her life in Denmark.

All the years Queen Ingrid lived in Denmark, she was well liked by the Danish people and acknowledged for being the member of the royal family who brought a new style to the royal house while simultaneously maintaining a powerful sense of responsibility for her hereditary royal identity (Lindgren 1996). The ability to balance between tradition and modernization was also expressed through Queen Ingrid's dress style, which was characterized by tasteful, royal elegance while simultaneously keeping up with the prescriptions of fashion. Queen Ingrid's dress was therefore never showy or dominated by impulsive caprices of fashion, but found a place in between, corresponding to her royal status, as neither an autocrat nor a celebrity, but as part of a representative monarchy in a modern society. Queen Ingrid thus understood that belonging to royalty was a privilege which involved certain responsibilities. She managed these, for instance, by continuing the dynastic idea through royal marital alliances – as her own marriage was an example of – but also by ensuring the future popular support for the royal family through a modernization of their way of life. Significant initiatives in this context were that Queen Ingrid made sure that the Danish


Lys turkis-farvet silkekjole syet af Tunborgs i Stockholm og brugt først under rejsen i U.S.A. april-maj 1939. Efter krigen lavet om af Ilum, København, og brugt ved nytaarsaftalet i Chr. VII Palæ Amalienborg 1946

A page from the exhibition catalogue.

state broadcasting was invited into Amalienborg for the first time in 1949, so that the general public could get a glimpse of the everyday life of the royal family, which served as a model for the welfare-state family in the years after the Second World War (Bistrup 1997:160ff.). Another example is Queen Ingrid's idea of expanding the royal collections with a museum for the Glücksborg dynasty in one of the palaces at Amalienborg, which was realized by 1977.[4] The initiative thus established a foundation for the natural participation of the public in the life of the country's royal house, while also giving everyone the chance to experience being in one of the homes used by the royal family at Amalienborg (Melchior 2003:18).

Queen Ingrid's Dress Collection

It is not known exactly when Queen Ingrid took active part in collecting the dress she no longer wore. No source indicates when or why Queen Ingrid found selected items from her wardrobe to be worth collecting and preserving. However, the chronological spread of the collection from the end of the 1880s – over three decades before her birth – until around 2000 shows that the foundation for the collection was laid even before her birth. Other people – relatives or chambermaids – had chosen to keep the items Queen Ingrid could choose later on to add to her collection. These include, for example, the two dolls in the collection with their accompanying clothes, Queen Ingrid's own baby garments and children's clothes, and three court trains which had formerly belonged to her paternal grandmother Queen Victoria of Sweden (1862–1930) and her maternal grandmother Duchess Louise of Connaught (1860–1917).

The actual collection consists of more than a hundred articles of dress. When the collection arrived at the Royal Danish Collections at Amalienborg in the late summer of 2002, each item was neatly packed in silk paper and placed in cardboard boxes with the words *To museum* written on them. Moreover, small handwritten paper notes were placed next to the garments or sewn into them, with information about the material, how the garment was made, and on what occasion Queen Ingrid had worn it. All these numerous small notes had been written by Queen Ingrid herself, and in several cases also signed by her. One example is the note that accompanied a light turquoise silk evening dress from 1939: "Light turquoise-coloured silk dress made by Tunborg's in Stockholm and first used on the trip to the U.S.A. April–May 1939.

After the war it was altered by Illum, Copenhagen, and used for the New Year's portrait in Chr. VII Palace, Amalienborg, 1946. Ingrid."

This systematic way in which Queen Ingrid collected testifies that a reflecting subject was behind the collection. The fact that it was dress that was collected seems to have been based on a conscious and well-considered choice. But what meanings had these garments had for Queen Ingrid?

From a closer examination of Queen Ingrid's dress collection with the focus on the difference nuances in collecting practice combined with the meanings encapsulated in the accompanying handwritten notes, it was found that the collection could be divided into three categories. I have chosen to call these categories: *everyday dress*, *dress with personal affection*, and *status-manifesting dress*.

The category of *everyday dress* includes underwear, nightwear, shoes, hats, a pair of riding boots, gloves, handbags, skirts, blouses, jackets, and dresses, all of which were worn continuously through Queen Ingrid's life, but which are not stated on the accompanying slips to have been specially used in connection with any particular event or to have had any associations with Queen Ingrid's immediate family or dynastic history. These garments might at first sight seem illogical and out of place in this royal collection, since royal everyday life is traditionally reserved for the royals themselves and the few people close to them. But by choosing to collect this kind of dress, Queen Ingrid showed that royal life also consists of a quotidian dimension, which she found natural to have in the presentation of her self-image to posterity.

Dress with personal affection, in contrast to the everyday dress, comprises the dress that Queen Ingrid described on the handwritten notes with emphasis on the personal relations symbolized by the garments, visible to her but not to others. This category is especially represented in the early years of the collection, up to the years around her wedding in 1935, but a few later items are also included. Examples of clothes belonging to this category are the three richly embroidered court trains which had formerly belonged to Queen Ingrid's grandmothers. Another example is a lightblue, bell-shaped felt hat decorated with light-blue dyed bird-of-paradise feathers. The hat had formerly belonged to Queen Ingrid's mother, and Queen Ingrid chose to wear it on her official arrival in Denmark in May 1935. A third example is a swagger of gold brocade from the early 1930s and typical of that time, three-quarter-length, broad-shouldered, and loose-hanging. It was made by the tailor to the Swedish court, Fr. V. Tunborg, of material which had previously been used in Queen Ingrid's mother's evening dress, which she had worn in connection with the wedding of her sister, Lady Patricia Ramsay (1886–1974), in London in 1919. Photographs of Queen Ingrid show her wearing it when, a few days before her wedding at Stockholm Castle, she recorded her farewell speech to the Swedish people.[5] A fourth example is a black pinafore frock of wool, made at the Magasin du Nord in Copenhagen at the end of the 1960s, which Queen Ingrid described as follows on the accompanying note: "Black long woollen pinafore frock which I wore with a blouse or jumper under. When Daisy [Queen Margrethe II] was going to Christiansborg on 15 Jan. 1972 to be proclai-

med queen she borrowed it from me and that is why I have kept it."

This part of Queen Ingrid's dress collection showed the importance that she attached to her family background, both for her own self-perception and, as the last example demonstrates, for the establishment of her eldest daughter's identity as Queen of Denmark.

The final category, *status-manifesting dress*, includes the garments that have epitomized for the Danish people over the years the external public image of Queen Ingrid. This is the dress which manifested her royal position and the expression of her style. An example of this in the collection is Queen Ingrid's cream-white silk satin wedding dress, cut on the bias in keeping with the slim, elegant, and feminine couture of the 1930s. Another example is the suit, today consisting of a pink silk crepe dress and accompanying jacket of the same material and colour, which Queen Ingrid wore on her arrival in Denmark on 26 May 1935. At that time the dress was light blue and the jacket was rounded off with arctic fox fur. From the handwritten note we know that the dress was dyed in the new colour in 1937 and the arctic fox replaced with dark-brown mink when Queen Ingrid wore the dress again for the silver jubilee of the reign of King Christian X (1870–1947) and Queen Alexandrine (1879–1952).

Interpretation of Queen Ingrid's Dress Collection

The strength of the dress collection lies in its all-round biographical character, along with the breadth in the selection of different types of dress, from everyday to official, displayed by the collection. The collection shows the corrected self-image that Queen Ingrid wished to leave to posterity in the clothes from her wardrobe that she chose to include and those she chose to exclude. Surprisingly, this self-image is much more nuanced than might have been expected. By collecting such a broad excerpt of her wardrobe, Queen Ingrid has left the public a glimpse into her personal life, which comprises more than the ceremonial side of royalty. She has left us a holistic picture of what it means to be a royal person.

The question why Queen Ingrid chose to collect dress will always remain unanswered, unless supplementary sources appear. However, a closer historical look at how earlier royals handled their wardrobes allows it to be seen as a continuation of a centuries-old tradition at the courts of both Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden the tradition can be traced back to Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632), who introduced this practice in 1627 during a campaign through Poland; after a ferocious battle the king's blood-stained clothes were deposited in the Royal Armoury in Stockholm, as a historical and political manifestation of his heroic exploits and his willingness to give his life for his people (www.livrustkammaren.se). A few years later the same tradition arose at the Danish court, with inspiration from Sweden, when Christian IV (1577–1648), after the Battle of Koldberger Heide in 1644, left his bloody clothes to the royal collection at Rosenborg.[6]

The fact that Queen Ingrid chose to collect dress should thus be understood as a continuation of a royal tradition that she may be assumed to have known of from both Sweden and Denmark. Unlike the earlier dress collections, however, Queen Ingrid's collection is unique, primarily

because it belongs to a queen and the secondly because of its size, the all-round biographical picture it paints, and the systematic collection practice. Earlier queens' dress collections are very limited, which can be explained by the minor political significance of queens, which is why it was not considered necessary to hand over clothes to the royal collections. Instead we know from estate inventories that queens' clothes were often given to their servants (Johansen 1990).

To find out why the keeping of clothes became a tradition in royal circles, one must consider the significance that clothes have had and still have today for the relationship between royals and their subjects.

In the light of history, royal dress has been a crucial way to manifest power, wealth, and royal position to the surrounding world. The more richly and more voluminously the royals dressed, the clearer was the claim of birthright, the signal that they occupied a special elevated position which no one else could attain. Being able to signal power was much more important in the past than today, when absolutism has been abolished and the royal family no longer exercises any power. This does not mean that the visual impression of royals is without significance today; on the contrary. Through their ceremonial duties, their visual image is important in relation to the public perception of them and their significance for cultural history.

In Queen Ingrid's case, then, it might have been expected that the dress collection delivered to the museum would have consisted exclusively of garments from the category of *status-manifesting dress*, the dress that the public would be able to recognize in a museum exhibition and thereby receive confirmation, through the Queen's style, the image of herself that she painted during her life in the public sphere. Instead, the dress collection opens up the great potential that used clothes as a collector's object have to make a statement about the person who collected them. Because of the significance that Queen Ingrid attached to her clothes, by collecting in such rich and varied scope, and by describing in writing the relation of the individual garments in the collection to her life, she has broken down an expected division between a royal person's private and public identity and self-understanding, as earlier royal dress collections have been conceived. Her collection is a result of a whole person's life, which gives posterity an insight into royal everyday life and into a personal history where it is clear that dress has a palpable significance in the form of a way of, literally, dressing up in one's own family history and thus having a bodily experience of one's family ties, while simultaneously the clothes through their stylistic cut testify to the times in which Queen Ingrid lived.

Concluding Remarks: Dress Collections and Collecting Dress from a Museological Perspective

Through both a theoretical discussion and a concrete analysis of collecting dress, I have tried to show how dress differs from other collector's items, and how an understanding of a collection of material objects requires obtaining knowledge of the characteristics of the collected objects as a medium. In the present context, where the focus is on dress, Entwistle's definition of dress as situated bodily practice is crucial

for grasping the potential of dress to say something about both the fashion styles of a period and the personal practice of wearing and using these clothes.

Queen Ingrid's dress collection is undoubtedly unique, but precisely by virtue of its uniqueness, it has given inspiration and an opening to explore in greater depth what a dress collection is. Apart from providing insight into Queen Ingrid's dress collection itself, it has also given input for new perspectives on dress collecting in a museum context. With its breadth, the collection is able to show a life-course in clothes, everyday life and its internal clothing contrasts, and different phases of life viewed through dress. Apart from this, Queen Ingrid's independent documentation and way of registering her collected clothes is a testimony that gives us opportunities to cite an example of an individual person's relations to her clothes – the significance they had besides satisfying a physical need and cultural norms for dressing in specific social contexts. Together this knowledge is of great value for cultural history, and in this case also for royal history.

When clothes that are no longer worn are chosen as collector's objects for a museum of cultural history, the result is a body of source material which can tell us not only about the desired self-image of the owner, but also the style he or she adopted in social contexts, and the significance the clothes had for the person. At the same time, dress is a document of the bodily presence of a lived life, which can be measured to the millimetre, as is the practice of museums when registering new accessions, to give an exact cast of a body.

However, as Queen Ingrid's dress collection has also shown, dress as an isolated type of source does not contain the full potential as a statement that is relevant for a cultural historian. Supplementary sources are necessary, for example, Queen Ingrid's handwritten notes, if clothes are to be able to say something over and above what can be ascertained by documenting sewing and cutting techniques, the form and function of the garments. Collecting dress must therefore be urged to be proactive, so that supplementary sources can be obtained about when they were worn, about the bodily experience of wearing them, and about the everyday significance of clothes in relation to the wearer's self-perception and outward identity creation.

As the quotation from Frykman and Gilje at the start of this article puts it, identity is something that people are expected to have and simultaneously something that people create through their individual response to the world around them. This article has shown and discussed how dress is a material artefact that can express this, by virtue of the character of clothes as situated bodily practice. Queen Ingrid appears to have sensed this dimension of dress, for which we may be grateful to her. This means that posterity has been given a collection of source material which, when put in its framework of cultural history, can tell us not only about a royal position but also tells us in detail about a royal person.

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Notes

1 The Royal Danish Collections are divided between the palaces of Rosenborg and Amalienborg in Copenhagen. At Rosenborg visitors can see interiors and objects belonging to the Oldenborg dynasty, up to and including Christian VIII (1786–1848), while Amalienborg displays in its permanent exhibition the studies where the Glücksborg dynasty kings from Christian IX (1818–1906) to Frederik IX (1898–1972) worked.

2 The exhibition was open from 28 March to 7 October 2003.

3 I took part in these preparatory studies and the execution of the exhibit in collaboration with the curator of the museum, Gerda Petri, as a project employee at the Royal of the Danish Collections at Amalienborg.

4 In the period 1977–1982 there was a small exhibition about the Glücksborg dynasty in Christian IX's Palace, home of the present monarch, Queen Margrethe (1940–). In 1994 the museum was finally established in Christian VIII's Palace, where the present Crown Prince Frederik (1968–) has his residence.

5 On 20 May 1935 Queen Ingrid made a farewell speech to the people of Sweden by means of a recorded broadcast on Swedish Radio. The recording was made at the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The handwritten note accompanying the swagger states that it was worn during the time around the wedding. What we know about the specific use of the swagger comes from research in the Scanpix photographic archives in Copenhagen.

6 Christian IV's blood-stained clothes have been part of the permanent exhibition since the royal collections were opened to the public in 1838.

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The Norwegian Student Cap
With a Look at Student Caps in Denmark and Sweden

By Astrid Oxaal

It is often claimed that the use of student caps in Scandinavia is a tradition that arose in connection with the Scandinavian student meetings, or "student processions", as they were known, around the middle of the nineteenth century. The student processions were a part of a movement called Student Scandinavianism. The student cap with its distinctive national features was a symbol that allowed Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian students to be distinguished easily from one another. It could be said with some justification that the students' massive support for the wearing of the student cap at these meetings led to the consolidation of the practice in the Scandinavian countries in this period, which has been called the era of student Scandinavianism. As a mark of being a student, however, the student cap is older.[1]

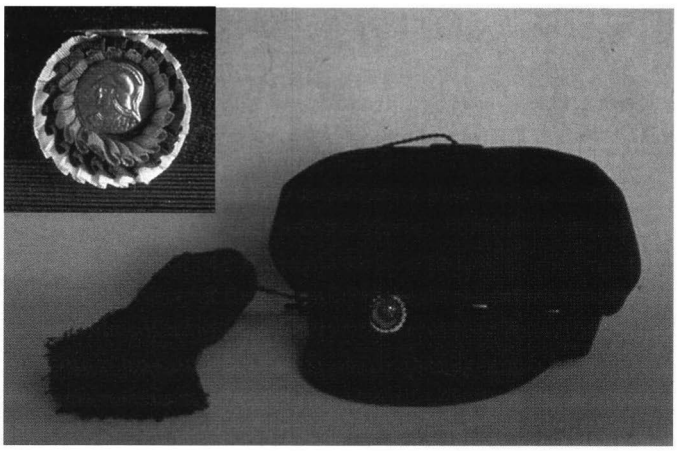
A student cap was the insignia of those who had passed the *examen artium*, the university entrance examination. Until 1883 all candidates for the *examen artium* in Norway took the examination at The Royal Frederik University in Christiania (Oslo), and in the period between having passed this examination and the Second Examination, or the "preparatory tests" as the later term was, a student was known as a *russ*.[2] The student cap became an important symbol of the new status as student, not least in the public sphere. The art historian Lorents Dietrichson (1834–1917) writes in his memoirs in 1913 of how he took his *examen artium* in 1853:

> One's heart scarcely beats as loudly the first time one treads on the broad steps of the Domus Academica, as that time when the examination rooms were the Rubicon that had to be crossed before one entered the student's Holy Roman Empire through the often all too narrow doorway of the Latin composition (Dietrichson 1913:168).

The student cap was perceived as a fraternity sign for newly recruited citizens of academe, with its classical and national emblems, which primarily represented ideals of knowledge from a humanist classical education. At the same time, it signalled an academic community which ensured the wearer's future, and for a very long period it became a symbol of hope in the future. The position of the student cap has been debated continuously among students themselves, and between students and other people, throughout the period it has been in use. The debate has concerned the ideal of knowledge of which the student has been a bearer in different periods, and the question of whether it was necessary for a *citizen of the inner world* to wear external insignia, as students in the 1820s put it.

Norway acquired a new student cap "in keeping with the latest model" in 1852; it has been called the *duskelue* because the *lue* or cap has a *dusk* or tassel, a long cord with a large silk tuft attached to the centre of the crown.[3] The term *duskelue* was used as a synonym for the Norwegian student cap. It has the emblem of Minerva's head in profile, made of silver and set in a Norwegian cockade at the centre of the forehead. In the 1850s the tasselled cap was the insignia of members of the Norwegian Student Association, and it was frequently worn during the period of student Scandinavianism. But Norway had a student cap before student processions began in 1845.

In this article I want to put the Norwegian student cap into a historical context from the time it came into use at the start of the nineteenth century, when those with an academic education represented hope for the future, until it fell out of use as a result of the democratization processes and the



A Norwegian student cap with tassel (*duskelue*) from 1955. All parts of the cap are made of black cloth, and the peak is also covered with black cloth. The crown is folded and finished towards the middle with a small, circular, cloth-covered plate. Attached to the centre of the circle is a 50 cm long black silk cord ending in a tassel of black silk threads. The tassel is 25 cm long. Between the edge and crown of the cap there is a narrow white braid. At the centre of the forehead is the head of Minerva stamped in silver on a circular badge set in a Norwegian cockade. Photo: Astrid Oxaal.

emergence of the mass university at the start of the 1970s. In Norway student Scandinavianism was a force promoting the wearing of the student cap, while this movement seems to have been the very foundation for the use of the student cap in Sweden and Denmark. But what were the similarities and differences in the use of the student cap in the Scandinavian countries?

Norwegian Student Caps before 1852

A royal resolution in 1820 decreed that Norwegian students, as a voluntary arrangement, could wear a student uniform with a bicorne (Wallem 1916:32–45; Isaksen 1910). There had been extensive discussion of the student uniform beforehand, both internally among the students and between the students and the university board. The board did not want the students to wear a uniform, but the king, Karl Johan, sanctioned the students' wishes. The bicorne, however, did not appeal to the students, who preferred to wear a cap with the uniform. It is difficult to say what this cap was envisaged as looking like, since it is not described. It is probable that the romantic and patriotic enthusiasm of the German student (*Urbursch*) for "altdeutsche Tracht" was a source of inspiration when the first Norwegian student cap was designed in the 1820s. The cap the students wanted was probably the same cap as is seen in the pictures of the Norwegian poets Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845) and Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807–1873) as students. They both took the *examen artium* at the Royal Frederik University in Christiania in 1825.[4] Both caps have a peak and a relatively large crown, and on Welhaven's cap there is a badge on the forehead which may be a Norwegian cockade.

There are few sources which say anything about how the students themselves viewed the use of the student cap. In 1831, however, the future lawyer Peter Jonas Collett (1813–1851) wrote in his diary that:

> Now the artium is finished, and my head is anointed to receive the student crown; I do not intend, however, to don it immediately, even though I have been given a student cap by my cousin Johan. [...] It seems a little foppish to me to wear such external insignia straight away (Collett 1934:12).

Henrik Wergeland and Johan Sebastian Welhaven as students. The drawing by Wergeland is from around 1825, reproduced from Ynvar Ustvedt, *Henrik Wergeland: En biografi* (Oslo, 1994). The picture of Welhaven was painted in 1827, reproduced from Francis Bull, *Norske portretter: Forfattere* (Oslo, 1956).

Collett describes it as a ritual act to put the cap on one's head and thus manifest one's new status as a student. From having been an *arbiturient*, that is to say, a candidate for the *examen artium*, Collett had now become a student. He was a freshman or *russ* according to the contemporary definition of the term. Since Collett himself thought it slightly foppish to don the cap immediately, we may assume that the student cap was a symbol of high status. There was a conflict between showing oneself in public with a status symbol and the implicit ideal of being a citizen of the inner world.

Collett had probably received the same type of student cap as Wergeland and Welhaven wear in their portraits. A few years later the student cap could be recognized from the back, and one may assume that it is still the same type of student cap that is depicted. This happened in 1845 when Henrik Wergeland published the story "Love at a Distance" in the book *Hassel-Nødder* ("Hazel-Nuts"). The story is about when Wergeland as a student fell in love with a girl living on the peninsula of Bygdøy outside Christiania, and how he spent a whole summer following all her movements through a telescope from Skarpsno on the city side of the fjord. The illustration accompanying the story, by the painter Adolph Tidemand, shows Wergeland with the cap indicating that he was a student. Tidemand, who was the great depicter of folklife in Norwegian national romanticism, is particularly known for his authentic portrayals of contemporary dress in his sketches. There is therefore good

reason to take notice of his drawing of Henrik Wergeland as a student. The student cap has a peak, the crown is rather large, and it has a little tassel at the back. This cap also agrees with the description by the linguist Ludvig Maribo Benjamin Aubert (1838–1896) in his record of early Norwegian student society. He writes that the large student cap came into use from 1826.[5] This big student cap is assumed to be the first. We see it from the front on the portraits of Wergeland and Welhaven and from the back on Tidemand's drawing of Wergeland as a student.

In 1846, in connection with a new proposal for a student uniform, a new cap was also proposed. It was to be made of black cloth in military style. It would have a dark blue braid, a black lacquered leather peak, and a Norwegian cockade on the forehead. Under the cockade was to be a round silver-plated badge of Minerva's head. Like her Greek model Athena, the goddess Minerva, clad in armour, represented art, wisdom and learning. The proposal was not discussed among the students, but it seems to have been the first time Minerva's head was mentioned as an emblem on the student cap (*Journal-samlingen* 1846).

The *Duskelue*, the Proper Norwegian Student Cap

The *duskelue*, a student cap with a large tassel, goes back to when the editor of the handwritten *Samfundsbladet*, in the issue of 1 May 1852, encouraged members of the Norwegian Student Association to debate whether the students should procure identical caps in which to welcome the students from Uppsala who would be visiting Christiania in the summer.[6] A cap committee was set up, consisting of the students Johan D. Behrens, Harald Holst, and Richard Petersen, and two weeks later the cap was debated in the Student Association.[7] The discussion was to concern two main points put forward by the committee:

Point 1) The Association should accept or reject the form of student cap with a cockade proposed to the meeting.

Point 2) The Association should give the cap committee the authority to reach an agreement with the cap maker which restricted the sale of the caps to academics and *others* who were members of the Student Association. (Members of parliament, among others, could be members of the Student Association without being academics.)

In the debate that followed, one voice in particular stood out: that of Ole Richter, later the Norwegian prime minister in Stockholm (Norway and Sweden were united at this time). Richter claimed that it was unfortunate and dangerous during the 1848 revolutions in Europe for the students to have outward signs or symbols which isolated them from other classes of citizens. The student's task was instead to become a part of the people. Richter argued that, during the revolutionary movements in Europe in 1848 it would not have occurred to anyone to equip the students with uniform caps, and he viewed the proposal as reflecting a reactionary tendency. A distinctive cap for the members of the Association would not serve its purpose, in his opinion, since it was impossible to guarantee that it would be worn only by students. Several speakers supported Richter. Others wanted a common student cap, like that worn at universities in other countries, and some attached special emphasis to acquiring a Norwegian student cap before the next

student procession to Copenhagen. When it came to the vote on point 1, it was rejected by 72 votes to 29, so point 2 never came to a vote. According to the minutes of the meeting, later that day a petition was circulated about the private acquisition of "caps of the latest model", and 80 people signed it the same evening.[8] The tasselled cap was thus not adopted by the Norwegian Student Association, but it nevertheless became popular at once. The drawings of the cap which were presented to the meeting have not survived, so we do not know exactly what it looked like at first. Nothing is said about the tassel, the pleated crown, the peak or the emblem of Minerva in profile, but the regulation Norwegian cockade is mentioned.[9] As we have seen, the student cap drawn by Adolph Tidemand in 1845 also had a short tassel, and in the proposal for a cap from 1846 the emblem of Minerva's head is mentioned. Perhaps the new model for the cap had the crown in strict pleats radiating from a central point, instead of the earlier large baggy crown, and with the short tassel replaced by a cord with an extended tassel at the end.

In a drawing in *Samfundsbladet* two years later, the tasselled cap appears in an illustration entitled "War Negotiations" (Krigsforhandlinger 1854). This shows a small series of drawings, depicting a tense international situation in autumn 1854 when Sweden-Norway remained neutral in the Crimean War, and illustrating Russia's role in the war. What is important for us is the three students with the tasselled cap. The drawing shows the cap from all sides, and the long tassel is attached to a very short cord from the top of the cap. It must have been very impractical to wear a cap like this with a tassel of long, straggling silk threads; at any rate it was mocked by the students themselves. In a banquet song written to raise money for the Student Association's Building Fund in 1854, the first verse runs:

Cast off the tassel! Hear my plea, enough!
You dashing blade, you student bright and hale,
Cast off the tassel, dangling at your scruff
And tickling you just like an old cow's tail.
Cast off the tassel, fit for servants' wear,
But not a true Norse essence to reveal;
:For all it takes beneath the nose is fur,
To make you look just like a Bursch from Kiel:[10]

According to the song, the students themselves objected to wearing a cap with a tassel which caused so much nuisance and simultaneously aroused the wrong associations. The author of the song claims that the students' Norse style lost its essential character with a tassel like this. The tassel placed students among the servants, and in contemporary Norway the tasselled cap was primarily associated with the wool cap worn by peasants and low people. The students' tassel, on the other hand, was made of silk thread, an imported material chiefly used in bourgeois dress. Nor was it appropriate to resemble a student from Kiel, because the German *Urburschen*, ever since the Wartburg Fest of 1817 (see note 1) had a bad reputation as patriotic and politically active radicals with anarchist tendencies.

Student Scandinavianism

Student Scandinavianism arose in Denmark at the end of the eighteenth century. It was at first a pan-Scandinavian literary movement which was established through "The Scandinavian Literary Society". Literary Scandinavianism reached its zenith when Esaias Tegnér, during the conferral of masters' degrees at the University of Lund,

placed a laurel wreath on Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger's head as a tribute to "the King of Nordic Song" in 1829 (Gadd 1986: 95). The second Scandinavianist movement among students was associated with politics. It had its point of departure in new ideas about national identities connected to descent, history, and language. The struggle at first concerned the Duchy of Holstein with its German-speaking population, while it later concerned Schleswig, which had a mixed German and Danish population. The students accepted Holstein's desire to join a league of German states, but they felt that Schleswig, with its German and Danish population, should remain entirely Danish. Student Scandi-navianism simultaneously adopted old ideas about the three Nordic countries as a single unit, going back to the days of the Union of Kalmar. The students' vision of a united Scandinavia reached its zenith with the student procession to Uppsala in 1856. Despite the students' grand words in after-dinner speeches and poems about the fraternal solidarity of the Scandinavian people against an external enemy, however, Scandinavianism suffered a defeat in 1864, when Denmark had to fight alone against Germany over Schleswig-Holstein and lost.

The first students' meeting in Uppsala in 1843 was primarily a meeting between Swedish and Danish students; only three Norwegians attended. At the next meeting in Copenhagen in 1845, there were as many Norwegian as Swedish and Danish students. In 1851 a student procession was arranged in Christiania, but for various reasons the students from Uppsala could not take part. A new meeting was therefore arranged in Christiania the following year for the students from Uppsala. The student meeting in Uppsala in 1856 was a climax, but it was also a turning point for the passionate idea of Scandinavian community. Further student meetings were held in Copenhagen in 1862 and Christiania in 1869. The last official student meeting within the framework of student Scandinavianism was held in Uppsala in 1875.

The Tasselled Cap as a Symbol of the Future Elite

The tasselled cap represented faith in the future which was associated with class, rank, and position, and it therefore enjoyed high status among ordinary people. The Royal Frederik University was a citadel of civic education. It was here the country's future elite took the degrees that qualified them for higher civil service posts, it was here they acquired their knowledge and their ideological ballast.

The Norwegian tasselled cap was worn for the first time at the extraordinary visit of the Swedish students in 1852. The student processions, which were held at intervals of a few years, highlighted the status of students by the use of the student cap in the public sphere. Programmes and reports from such visits were published in the newspapers, and the reports were often illustrated with pictures of the events, as when Swedish students with their white caps were seen sailing into Oslo Fjord, on Midsummer Day 1852. At the feast in Studenterlunden, we see from the pictures in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* that the student caps distinguished the students from *the others*, besides distinguishing the students of the two nations.[11] The student caps became national markers of the students' activities in public space. The student as a recruit to public officialdom represented a future elite stra-

tum and became a popular figure in the public press. Occasional pictures from newspapers illustrate this. *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, for example, showed pictures from the student procession to Uppsala in 1856 to honour the memorial stone to Karl XII. The same newspaper printed pictures from Crown Prince Carl's visit to Vestlandet later in the summer. One of the pictures from this journey showed a group of people in the square in Bergen, with a student wearing a tasselled cap at the centre. At a garden exhibition at Klingenberg in Christiania in 1865, students were placed in a picture as extras to give status to the exhibition.

Embetsmannsstaten, or government by an elite of officials, is the name given by the historian Jens Arup Seip to the period between 1814 and 1884, referring to the fact that university-educated officials through their work became the leading stratum in the state. With parliamentarism as a new political practice from 1884 on, a new principle for the division of power came into force, meaning that all power rested with the democratically elected parliament, the Storting.[12] Until the 1850s and 1860s, academic education was dominated by the sons of public officials, but gradually the sons of farmers, teachers, and craftsmen gained access to higher education (Hagemann 1997:44–59). Education as a key to social success became the goal of many young people of different backgrounds towards the end of the nineteenth century. A greater range of preparatory education at colleges and other further education outside the grammar school made it possible for "peasant students" to apply for courses preparing them for the *examen artium* at the university. But even if farmers' sons and others were admitted to higher education, there were significant economic and cultural differences which could appear socially insurmountable. The peasant student *learned* to despise his own cultural background in practical life, and he had to be *refined* into a citizen of academe with a classical education. The hope for the future was linked to this transformation process. For peasant students, the social difference was a separate study with which they grappled. The author Arne Garborg (1851–1924), who was himself a peasant student from 1875, describes via the character Daniel Braut in the novel *Bondestudentar* ("Peasant Students") how difficult it was to put on the tasselled cap for the first time.

> Matriculation day came. Daniel Braut pulled on his black clothes and ceremoniously placed the tasselled cap on his head. He was now a student. With pounding heart he went to stand in front of the mirror. Now he had reached his great goal; now he wanted to see himself. He expected to see a metamorphosis (Garborg 1962:97).[13]

Garborg describes how Daniel Braut tried to put on the cap in every possible way, without success; it simply did not fit his head. The other clothes did not fit either: he did not look like a student, he was not a student, he was in reality a peasant in disguise (ibid.). The desired metamorphosis was a change of class which few mastered without feeling inferior.

The tasselled cap as a status symbol was significantly enhanced after it became possible from around 1860 to have photographic visiting cards printed. The albums of visiting cards that lay exposed in bourgeois homes towards the end of the nineteenth century were the face the family presented to the outside world, signalling

their position in their own ranks and among their closest acquaintances. The student picture with the tasselled cap that is found in many Norwegian homes goes back to the nineteenth-century tradition of visiting cards. By virtue of the tasselled cap, the picture could be understood as a visual kind of degree certificate on display in the home, and it found its place among confirmation photographs, wedding pictures, and other pictorial records of various passage rites in the family cycle. The first jubilee book for students that showed photographs is from the student cohort of 1861. The tasselled cap, probably one of the first photographic representations, has a short cord and a very long tassel similar to those in the drawings we saw in *Samfundsbladet*.[14]

It was a turning point for the visibility of women in public space, when Laura Rømcke, a pupil in a private *artium* course, formed the discussion club Skuld in Christiania in 1883, together with four fellow pupils and the student Cecilie Thoresen. With this club as a starting point Gina Krogh and the former editor of *Dagbladet*, Hagbard Berner, took the initiative the following year to start the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights (Norsk Kvinnesaksforening), which strove to give women access to education, public employment, suffrage, and the right to retain their own property after marriage. Women had been admitted to the *examen artium* later in Norway than in the other Scandinavian countries. When the Storting changed the law in 1882, women were allowed to take the *examen artium* and *examen philosophicum* after their freshman year at the Royal Frederik University, but they were still prevented from qualifying for the civil service, which was still reserved for men. When the first Norwegian female student, Cecilie Thoresen, matriculated at the university in 1882, she did not wear a tasselled cap. Nor is Laura Marie Rømcke, who became a student in 1884, depicted in the jubilee book wearing the cap. The year after, however, in 1885, came the first official picture of a female student with the tasselled cap. She was Louise Gram Qvam, who became a student in the same year as her brother Olaf Hafslo Qvam, who was two years younger.[15] The tasselled cap had now become bisexual, with a female variant lacking a peak and a male version with a peak. As we can see, the cord attached to the cap has become longer. The female variant of the tasselled cap seems to have been in use until 1897, for on a group portrait of four female students in the format of a visiting card, three of them are wearing tasselled caps without peaks, all students from 1896, while the fourth – who became a student in 1897 – has a cap with a peak.

The tasselled cap as a mark of the male-voice choir, the Norwegian Students' Choral Society (1845), and later the Female Students' Choral Society (1895) has not been very controversial. It is not clear whether the students at the first appearance of the Students' Choral Society – at Henrik Wergeland's funeral in 1845 – wore caps of the first type. On the other hand, there is reason to assume that the choir agreed about the wearing of the tasselled cap from the beginning, because the man employed to conduct the choir, Johan Diderik Behrens, was a member of the Student Association's cap committee in 1852. The members of the Female Students' Choral Society were also regular cap wearers.

The form of the student cap had approached a *Norwegian standard* towards

Louise and Olaf Qvam as students in 1885. Louise is wearing a tasselled cap without a peak while her brother has the "ordinary" tasselled cap with a peak. Photo: National Library, Oslo, Picture Collection.

the end of the nineteenth century. Interestingly enough, this took place at a time when the hegemonic special position of students and government officials was coming to an end. It was no longer automatic for students to proceed to study for an official career or to work in public service. They could just as easily go on to professional education, for example, as dispensing chemists or dentists. Students stopped wearing the tasselled cap when they studied for preparatory examinations in the period up to the First World War (Kjeldstadli 1990:78–79). The changed use of the student cap should be viewed as a symptom of this structural change in society. It could be said that the status of the student cap was gradually devalued. This devaluation of the student's emblem also mobilized new forces anxious to maintain the former symbolic power and status of the emblem. The ritual traditions of the student cap could be developed and strengthened in different ways. Among other things, the annual matriculation day for new students at the university at the start of September was the official debut for wearing the student cap.[16] On this day the academic fraternity was the centre of attention in the public sphere, and it was the tasselled cap that distinguished academics from everyone else. After Fredrik Stang, Vice-Chancellor of the Royal Frederik University in 1923, had introduced a new tradition by holding a speech to welcome the students at Universitetsplassen, the ceremony became a public outdoor event. Pictures of the students as hopeful representatives of the nation's future appeared on the front page of newspapers, and the event became an annual display. Matriculation day for new students was also the day for jubilees for old students. It was a festive day for academics, when the student cap became a unifying and distinctive symbol of community up to the start of the 1970s.

Another day when the student cap was paraded by academics in public was at the annual celebration of Norway's national holiday, 17 May.[17] This was a public holiday which, from the 1890s until the 1970s, to a large extent separated academics from *the*

others, as they wore the student cap both in the children's procession in the morning and in the citizens' parade in the afternoon. It was particularly the academics at various levels in the school system who made the student cap visible on such occasions. In this way the student cap was handed down as a symbol of authority among ordinary people from a tender age.

An important feature of the use of the cap was that students of both sexes wore it in the same way as a hat. In other words, the men took the student cap off when, for example, the national anthem was sung, while women kept the cap on all the time.

The Student Rebellion and the Norwegian Tasselled Cap

Although some students through the years protested against the use of the student cap as a symbol of their academic status, it can nevertheless be said that there was general support for the tradition until the start of the 1970s. The international student rebellion in 1968 was a turning point which in just a few years changed the view of the hegemonic academic status. Students were no longer a small, select group; they had become a large crowd from different social strata of the population. The mass university could not maintain the old ideas of academic status being a means to a secure future and a place among the elite, and many students in fact rejected the established elites (Collett 1999:210). Being a student had taken on a new meaning, and the old academic status had lost its validity as a role model. This also led to a questioning of the ideals and symbolic functions represented by the tasselled cap. Students now were not willing to carry on wearing a cap that was perceived as a reactionary symbol of bourgeois power from the past.

The student rebellion nevertheless did not affect the use of the tasselled cap to any great extent at the university matriculation ceremony in the first years after 1968, but the students gradually stopped wearing the cap, and ten years after the student rebellion the tasselled cap was virtually absent from ceremonial occasions, if we disregard the two student choirs, which continued to wear it as a sign of membership. Perhaps one could say that Ole Richter's argument against the tasselled cap in 1852 had now sunk in; he had declared that the student's task had to be to become a part of the people, and not to stand out by means of an outward symbol. The tasselled cap disappeared, but it had already had a less ceremonial relative for many years, which was to take over the public space on 17 May; the red Norwegian *russelue*.

The *Russelue*, Symbol of an Examination

It was Charles Bø, candidate for the *examen artium* at Otto Andersen's School in Christiania, and the hatter Holm who in 1905 made some caps which the examination candidates could wear on 17 May in that special year.[18] The pupils had got the idea of wearing red caps from a group of German *gymnasium* students who visited Christiania on the national holiday the year before. Appearing on 17 May in a red cap quickly became popular for the final-year pupils in all schools, who were known by the term *russ*, meaning a pupil preparing to take the *examen artium*. The *russelue* was, and is, a symbol worn by a *candidate* for the finishing examination, and thus does not indicate whether or not the wearer actually passed it. One could also say that the *russelue* was a *trial cap* for the *examen artium* in

Scandinavian student caps 1955–1968. A Swedish student cap, Uppsala model (1958), with white crown of white velveteen, black velvet edge, a Swedish cockade at the front, and a shiny black leather peak. A Danish student cap, Copenhagen model (1968), with white crown of cotton, red woollen edge, shiny black leather peak, and a cockade with the Danish cross at the front. Photo: Astrid Oxaal.

expectation of the student cap.

Initially the *russelue* was a peaked cap with a flat crown. The crown and the edging were made of a thick red cotton flan-nel. It had white braid at the seams, a Norwegian cockade on the forehead, and a black peak. In 1912 the design of this model was changed to make it a copy of the traditional black student cap with tassel. The candidate cap was given a pleated crown like the student cap, and attached to the middle of the crown was a black cord with a little tassel at the end (*Aftenposten*, 6 May (5 June) 1958). The clear connection between the shape of the Norwegian student cap and the new candidate cap carried on the idea of the latter as a *trial cap*. The use of the candidate cap has continued in parallel with the tasselled cap, and the candidate cap likewise did not go unaffected by the student rebellion in 1968. After a couple of years' absence in some places in the 1970s, however, the candidate cap was back again, and it has retained its hegemonic position among the symbols of the candidate.

Right from the start, the red candidate cap had a different function from the tasselled cap. It was first and foremost a marker of the year's final examination candidates on 17 May, and it became an important part of the candidates' ritual practice in the public space in the time around the examination (Hjemdahl 1999: 113). Unlike the tasselled cap, which represented *admission* to education at university, the candidate cap is a symbol of *concluded* schooling at the highest secondary level. The tasselled cap had the status function of a ceremonial garment for academics

throughout their long lives, while the red candidate cap had, and still has, a brief existence around the time of the final examination, and today *before* the examination. Both caps thus marked the same examination, but each in a very different way. The original utility function of the cap is also reflected in the quality of the material from which it was made and the price charged for it.

Student Scandinavianism and Student Caps in the Other Nordic Countries

As we have seen, the student processions in Scandinavia promoted the use of student caps. The students from Uppsala had a uniform white cap made for the student procession in Copenhagen in 1845.[19] When the Uppsala students visited Christiania in 1852, *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* showed a picture of a Swedish student from Uppsala with a student cap. This was a peaked cap with a white crown, black velvet edging, a shiny black leather peak, and a Swedish cockade on the forehead. The form of the Swedish student cap changed over time, but from around 1910 a more or less formal standard was established for the student caps from Uppsala.

Students in Lund, on the other hand, had a blue cap from the start. After a few years, however, the cap became virtually identical to the one in Uppsala, but with a blue edge instead of black. Inspired by the black caps of Danish students, the Lund students began to wear a dark blue cap in the winter and the blue-edged white cap in the summer. The tradition of winter and summer caps was shared with Danish students until around 1930, while it is just the students in Lund and at Chalmers University of Technology in Göteborg that have retained the custom. It is nevertheless the case that the white student cap is the one perceived as the *real* student cap, associated with ceremonies, while the dark cap with the same shape is for everyday wear. In Lund the student rebellion led to public burning of caps in 1967, 1968, and 1969, but the white student caps came into use again after a few years' absence (Blomqvist & Salomon 1998).

Chalmers University of Technology decided to make a new cap for its students in 1878. The winning entry in the cap competition was a cap with a tassel, following the Norwegian model. The reason for this was that the university in its early years sometimes had more Norwegian than Swedish students, and the cap was therefore a compromise between a Norwegian and a Swedish one. Another contributory factor was perhaps that Chalmers University of Technology at this time did not require an *examen artium* for admission, and that it was therefore necessary to distinguish its students from those in Uppsala and Lund. It was claimed that this tasselled cap (*tofsmössa* in Swedish) is the only student cap in Scandinavia with a patented design.

Danish students seem to have started with a common cap for the student procession in Christiania in 1851. The cap was a grey peaked cap of thin cotton material, and it was worn only at the Scandinavian student meetings. In 1857 the students agreed to adopt a new student cap. This was a black cap with a peak and a silver cord between the edge and the crown, and at the front was the Danish cockade. After 1885 some students began to wear a cap with a white crown in the summer, and towards the end of the nineteenth century the black edging was replaced by red, with

the cross of the Dannebrogen Order on a Danish cockade on the middle of the crown at the front. In the time up to 1900 both the black and the white student cap are seen on the student photographs. After this time the white student cap seems to have been more common and gradually becomes the only one worn in the photographs. For a decade starting in 1917, Danish female students also acquired a distinctive model of the student cap; it was white and the crown ended in a triangle which was folded into a point on one side and ended with a small tassel. Since the 1920s the Danish student cap has been identical for both sexes. The student cap in Copenhagen did not go unaffected by the student rebellion in 1968 either, but the cap traditions were resumed again after an interval of a couple of years.

Similarities and Differences in the Student Cap Tradition in Scandinavia

Both the Swedish and the Danish student cap have been closely linked to the ceremonial conferral of the cap after the final school examination in spring. The cap became a symbol of the student in public space in Sweden on 30 April, and in Denmark on the Day of Prayer in May.[20] In both Sweden and Denmark, the promise of youth is celebrated in the spring, and both countries' choice of redletter day for students is connected to special holidays.

In Norway the student cap was initially worn for the first time on matriculation to university, and I have not found any sources recording the students *receiving* caps at any special ceremony. Students instead had to attend matriculation wearing their new caps, to receive the diploma of academic citizenship, and the event was held on the anniversary of the foundation of the university, on 2 September. Later, and especially after the Second World War, parties of a more or less private character could be arranged in Norway too, where students donned the cap ceremonially. Some schools also held solemn assemblies where pupils removed the candidate cap and put on the student cap after passing the examination in June. These events, however, were not linked to a specific day as the tradition was in Sweden and Denmark.

Unlike the cap practice in our neighbouring countries, the student cap in Norway was an important marker of academics on the national holiday, 17 May. Although the Norwegian student cap had arisen among patriots at the university in the 1820s, it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the student cap became seriously associated with the celebration of the national holiday. This was due not least to the form of the festivities, with outdoor processions. The celebration of 17 May is also the high point for the wearing of the *russelue*.

What the Scandinavian countries have in common is that each country's student cap acquired a more or less formal standard around 1900. The student cap as a symbol of having passed the *examen artium* and being eligible for study at university has nevertheless been subject to continual new interpretations. All three countries abolished the *examen artium* or its equivalent around 1970, but students from Sweden and Denmark have carried the traditions of the student cap into a new age by giving it an additional meaning which has been generally accepted. The symbol of the Norwegian student, the tasselled cap, on the other hand, has not been given a new

meaning which can be adapted to today's society and has therefore been abandoned by ordinary students. The Norwegian student cap, as we have seen, is now worn primarily as a badge of membership by the student choral societies, or on certain ceremonial occasions by individual student representatives.

It may seem surprising that the Norwegian tradition of student caps is the oldest in Scandinavia, since the Royal Frederik University was not founded until 1811, whereas Sweden and Denmark have had universities ever since the end of the fifteenth century. Perhaps it was precisely because the Norwegian university was new that the students adopted external signs in order to receive public confirmation of their status as citizens of academe. Both the university and the students themselves could choose signs of dignity and create new national traditions based on the academic community of the Western world. A newly founded university and its students were in a freer position to adopt or reject various symbolic emblems from the classical tradition from which the intellectual community proceeded.

Another aspect was that the first Norwegian students were greatly inspired by romanticism and patriotism. The leading figure among the Norwegian patriots in the 1820s was the poet Henrik Wergeland. He was also a deeply committed pioneer in the celebration of the Norwegian national holiday at the end of the 1820s, when the act of celebration was regarded by King Karl Johan of Sweden-Norway as a revolt against the union with Sweden. There has traditionally been a close link between university students and the celebration of the national holiday, and it may be mentioned that it is still an annual ritual ceremony when the *russ* of the year in Oslo places the candidate cap on the statue of Henrik Wergeland (Hjemdahl 2001:59–79). The ritual creates a symbolic link between the candidate cap and the student cap. The student cap has been an external symbol referring to the essence of a collective understanding of society. It had a symbolic power to the extent that it was recognized by the leading stratum of society. In this symbolic field represented by the student cap, there were still a number of unsolved problems concerning the place of the student between the university and the rest of society, in a historical context.

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Notes

1 Various symbols of being a student had already attracted new attention towards the end of the eighteenth century, but in this context it is worth remembering the great Wartburg Fest arranged by German students in 1817. With this fest the students, or "Burschen", wished to celebrate the victory over Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813, the decision of the Congress of Vienna to give the German states suzerainty in 1815, and particularly the tercentennial of Martin Luther's nailing of his theses to the door in Wittenberg in 1517. The fest was held in a national patriotic spirit and the students were urged to wear "altdeutsche Tracht". The Wartburg Fest became famous because of a piece of entertainment put on later in the day. This was staged by the famous "Turnvater Jahn" (Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, 1778–1852), who enraged many contemporaries, even the most liberal people, by burning books. "Altdeutsche Tracht" consisted of a tailed

coat inspired by a seventeenth-century engraving and therefore differing from the French and English tailed coats which were in fashion. The trousers, however, were like the French *pantalons* that were the height of fashion all over Europe from the start of the nineteenth century. The headgear, which is a beret, is similar to the first Norwegian student cap, but it lacks the peak that the Norwegian student cap seems to have had.

2 The word *russ* comes from Latin *(cornua) depositurus*; "shedding the horns" was an old academic custom, a period of inauguration followed by a closing ritual for those who had passed the *examen artium* and who were preparing for university study. The farcical ritual involved the student being dressed up, with horns attached to his forehead, which older students then pulled off. This symbolized the student casting off his animal ignorance, after which he became part of the learned world.

3 This article is based on a paper presented to the Humanities Days at Oslo University in 2003. The paper was initiated by the research project "Forum for University History" at the Department of History, which wanted to find out more about the Norwegian tasselled student cap. In connection with the centennial of the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 2005, the Forum is planning a small exhibition about the emblems of Norwegian students (1811–2005) in May. In Norway the term "under the tassel" was a Norwegian synonym for being a student, means "under the tassel", the characteristic silk tassel of the student cap. This became a fixed expression after the students at the Norwegian Technical University in Trondheim (NTNU) in 1914 started the magazine *Under dusken*, which is still being published.

4 The name Christiania was used 1624–1877, Kristiania 1877–1925, and Oslo since 1925. In 1939 the name The Royal Frederik University (1811) was changed to the University of Oslo.

5 Efterretninger om det norske Studentersamfund i dets ældste Dage (1813–1830) samlede fra Samfundets Archiv af Ludvig M. B. Aubert. *Samfundsbladet*, 9 February 1856 (book no. 25) (National Archives, Oslo).

6 "Studenterlue", *Samfundsbladet*, 1 May 1852 (book no. 22).

7 Det norske Studentersamfunds arkiv: Referatprotokoll 4 F. 1852–1859, 15 May 1852 (National Archives, Oslo).

8 Ibid.

9 Kongl. Res. 30 Nov. 1844: "the Norwegian national cockade will in future be bright red, edged by a circle with a narrow white band at the inside, in the middle a dark blue band twice as wide, and at the outside another narrow white band."

10 The song, which has four verses in all, was published in *Samfundsbladet*, Saturday 18 November 1854 (National Archives, Oslo).

11 Studenterlunden ("Student Grove") in Christiania had been opened just before this event in 1852.

12 Democracy had already been introduced in France, Italy, and Switzerland, but in Denmark and Sweden it was introduced in 1901 and 1918 respectively. The issues of suffrage for all men, for women, and access to the civil service for women and for men who did not belong to the Church of Norway still remained to be settled before full democracy was achieved in Norway.

13 The book was published for the first time in 1883, and it was the last year that the *examen artium* was held at the Royal Frederik University for the whole country. From 1884 onwards candidates could take the examination at several schools throughout Norway.

14 *Studenterne fra 1861*, printed as a manuscript, Christiania, 1911 (National Library, Oslo). The very first photograph of a Norwegian tasselled cap is probably a picture of Mattias Hansen in 1856 (see fig. 10).

15 *Studenterne fra 1884*, printed as a manuscript, Christiania, 1909; *Studenterne fra 1885*, printed as a manuscript, Christiania, 1910 (both in National Library, Oslo).

16 Matriculation took place on the foundation day of the university, 2 September (1811).

17 The Norwegian Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly on 17 May 1814 at Eidsvoll. The celebration of Constitution Day started in the 1820s. Students' patriotic celebration of the day in 1824, and especially what has subsequently become known as the Battle of the Square in 1829, was perceived as a rebellion against the union by King Karl Johan. After that time the 17th of May was not a controversial issue in the union with Sweden. As president of the Norwegian Student Association, the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson proposed that schoolboys should march in procession with Norwegian flags at the celebration of Constitution Day in 1870, and from 1889 girls could also join the march. From

this period it gradually became a tradition that Constitution Day was celebrated with a public procession of children in the morning and a citizens' procession which also included the procession of the years' candidates in the afternoon all over Norway. In more recent years it is the children's procession, also including the year's can-didates, that is regarded as the highlight of the Constitution Day celebrations in television and radio coverage, although the parade of citizens and candidates is still held in the afternoon of 17 May in many Norwegian towns.

18 The year 1905 was a historically important one for Norway, because the Storting on 7 June proclaimed the dissolution of the union with Sweden. This came about peacefully, and the agreement resulting from the negotiations held in Karlstad was signed on 23 September 1905.

19 Several authors claim that uniform white caps were made for the student meeting in Uppsala in 1843, so that the students from Copenhagen and Lund would be able to distinguish the Uppsala students from *the others* during the visit.

20 The Day of Prayer (Den store Bededagen) is a movable feast four weeks after Good Friday.

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Preconceiving a World to Come

Anticipations of the Future in the Settings of the Forest Industry around 1900

By Håkan Berglund-Lake

In the 1890s the sawmill industry in northern Sweden (Norrland) was affected by a shortage of raw material, at the same time as competition on the market became tougher. The big forests were becoming depleted, and as a consequence of this, there was a surplus of timber of more slender dimensions which was not suitable for sawing. It now became clear which companies were the winners and which were the losers. In this situation, the large, financially strong companies concentrated on the new product of the forest industry: chemical pulp. The decade after the turn of the century saw intensive expansion of pulp factories in the sawmill districts along the coast of Norrland.[1] With a few exceptions, the pulp factories were built close to sawmills, where there was already an existing infrastructure for transports and production. There was also a large permanent population here, mainly consisting of nuclear families of man, wife, and children, with ties to the sawmills; these were also the main base for the recruitment of labour to the pulp industry.[2]

A pulp factory was impressive by virtue of its size and its tall chimney stack, dominating the surroundings in a way that no one had ever experienced before. The sawmills, which had hitherto dominated the field of vision from the water, with their sawing sheds, boiler houses, and timber yards, now seemed to diminish in size. Or as one reporter described it after his visit to the Svartvik Bay, near Sundsvall: "The former sawmills shrink to insignificance before the grandiosely built modern factory complexes of the pulp industry" (*Nya Samhället*, 8 February 1909). The reporter stresses what is new and modern, which in the predominant public discourse was assumed to follow a predetermined course. In the minutes of company board meetings we can discern powerful and resolute expectations of the future, which was an important driving force in the construction projects. For the forestry companies, the pulp factories were oriented to the future as a consequence of the capitalist idea of progress and technical and economic development. But did the working people in the industry share this vision of the future with the companies? How was the future imagined from the perspective of the working-class population? My aim in this article is to discuss how workers' families in industrial settings in the county of Västernorrland viewed and related to the future at the time when the first pulp factories were built and brought into use.[3]

I am not primarily interested here in whether ideas about the future should be regarded as a modern or pre-modern way of thinking, but in the effect that ideas about the future had in practice, on people's daily actions. Inspired by phenomenology, I regard the working people's ideas about the future as an integral part of the life-world, the world of people and things in which everyone lives and which everyone takes for granted (see e.g. Schutz & Luckmann 1973).

Following Alfred Schutz, I conceive the life-world as a "province of human practice" (Schutz & Luckmann 1984:11), where people are governed by pragmatic motives and practical interests, based on "a stock of previous experiences" (1962:208–209, 306). This attitude to the world gives rise to habits and routines and continuity in daily life, not as a mechanical repetition of given conditions, but, as the anthropologist Michael Jackson observes, as "an *active*

relationship with what has gone before and what is imagined to lie ahead" (1996:11). Schutz points out that people in their actions are mainly oriented towards the future, with the actions performed in a way that has previously proved relevant for similar situations. People take it for granted "that future actions typically similar to those which have been proved as practicable in the past will also be practicable in the future", Schutz writes (1962:75); in other words, the individual may continue to act as hitherto, and he or she may repeat the same action under the same conditions again and again (ibid.:224). From this perspective, ideas about actions and events in the future cannot exist outside earlier experiences; what is conceivable is based on what has been previously experienced. Or to put it another way: what might be thought possible in the future always has earlier experiences in life as a reference and a point of departure.

In this article I shall discuss how the future was predicted and the consequences this had for the everyday practice of the workers' families in the places claimed by the forest industry. The article is arranged chronologically, beginning in a context where sawmills dominated, and ending when the first pulp factories came into use and assumed a relationship with the social and practical life in the industrial communities. The period covered is the decades around the turn of the century.

The Rhythm of Nature

Throughout its period of expansion, from the start of the 1870s until the end of the century, the sawmill industry was heavily dependent on nature and the alternating seasons.[4] Not all stages in the production chain could be carried out all the time; they had to be done when nature allowed. To put it another way, nature determined when it was possible to perform certain operations. Winter involved so many practical difficulties because of poor light, ice, and snow, that production had to be reduced or periodically suspended. For the same reasons, timber transports could not be received and no deliveries could be shipped. The sawmills therefore had their high season concentrated in the summer half of the year.

The predominant division of the year in the sawmill communities was the period between the first open water in the spring and the coming of the ice at the end of the autumn. This was the time of year when shipping was possible. The shipping season, with intensive work and a constant stream of ships arriving and leaving, created a sense of time in contrast to the off-season. This time was regular and predictable, just as predictable as that the winter would be followed by summer. It was thus objectified and anchored in the natural process (Johansen 1989:100). It was a movement in which states succeeded each other in a predetermined rhythm, an exchange of one thing for the other. After winter came summer, after summer winter: winter–summer, winter–summer–"a repetition of repeated reversal, a sequence of oscillations between polar opposites", as the anthropologist Edmund Leach describes it (Leach 1961:126).

Winter meant and was expected to contain snow and chill, little income to be earned from work, and enforced thrift with food. But people knew that the winter would be followed by better times, when good earnings could once against be made. The people of the sawmills therefore looked forward to the first open water. In one of his

short stories, the author and board stacker Karl Östman writes:

> And then came the boats, big and small... The music became even more powerful, the senses even gladder. The shipping was open! And it means so much – chiefly for the poor worker, who has perhaps waited for months for the work to thaw (Östman 1909:95).

Without this idea of repetition it would have been difficult for people to bear the hardships of winter. There was an optimistic vision of the future, which was necessary to suppress the always latent stress and anxiety that something might disturb the repetition. Everyone had experience of the unpredictability of nature, knowing that it could not be influenced; they had to believe that the future would not bring disease, starvation, and death.

The Foreseen Beyond the Controllable

There was an expectation of what would happen, but it was not a future that was open for completely new things; it was a form of future that was a consequence of the present and what people knew from experience was waiting (see Johansen 1984:97–98). If we focus on how people actually live in the world of objects and other people, we see that the temporal horizons are always closed: the future and the past are combined, held together and experienced from a position in the present; each part of this past-present-future relation "tacitly implicates the other parts" (Munn 1992:115; see also Jaques 1982). This is regardless of which locality or historical situation is concerned, since our "being-in-the world" is always a corporeal existence "here–now". This is a fundamental idea in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology. On the human subject's relation to the past and to the future in the present he writes: "In every focusing movement, my body unites present, past and future ... My body takes possession of time; it brings into existence a past and a future for a present" (1962:239–240). The material world is perceived as it exists immediately for our senses, always from the vantage point of the present, and from this vantage point the past and the future are also related (cf. Schutz 1962:222). At a pragmatic level in the present, the future is a matter of probability based on previous experience.

When it comes to activities to do with subsistence, what Hannah Arendt describes as "the labour of our body", "motivated by a more powerful drive than anything else, because life itself depends upon it" (1958: 85, 87), people calculate carefully, looking forward but on the basis of previous experience. The working people expected specific effects of their actions, the ultimate aim of which was to stay alive and if possible create a surplus of vital necessities. It is in this perspective that we should see the human need to predict what will come, and to do so in a domain over which we feel that we have control. "We put efforts into futures which we have some chance of controlling, and consign others to levels which are beyond the pale of our influence", writes the anthropologist Sandra Wallman. "Yet others we are unsure about" (1992:9). From an existential point of view this is what Michael Jackson calls "the imperative human need to strike some balance between things over which we have some control and the things over which we have none [...] forces over which we cannot prevail" (2002:285). These include the forces of

nature, which, as we have seen, dictated the conditions for sawmill production and hence the opportunities for the working people to earn a living.

But the margins of security in the sawmill context were not, as in agrarian settings, linked to the size of the harvest and the yield of the livestock, as given directly by nature, but were dependent on the economic cycle of the international market for timber commodities. Like the forces of nature, the market was beyond control, and like nature, the market did not seem like an abstraction in the world of the working people, but as concrete manifestations; the market broke into the life-world through physical signs, objects, and events, which could be perceived and read. It was primarily production, its quantity and quality, that gave material form to the market and made it perceptible (Berglund-Lake 2001:88–89). Full timber yards in the early summer informed of a good order intake; an empty timber yard after the autumn shipping testified to good sales (see Johansson 1988: 110–112). In other years the physical environment bore witness to the opposite. Large stocks at a time when the first ice could be expected and shipping was about to close down for the year were a bad omen: the company's business was bad. In the same way, people paid close attention to the quantity of logs that were rolled ashore in the late autumn. The size of the timber stacks indicated how much sawing would be required in the winter and thus hinted at the size of the order intake and how long the work could last during the winter months, and for how many people.

Nature and the market thus acted in similar ways in the life-world: unpredictably and uncontrollably. As Michael Jackson puts it, these were "forces of otherness that one cannot fully fathom and over which one can expect to exercise little or no ultimate control" (1998:19). They were beyond the control of the company and the workers alike, to which they had to relate and adapt, building up a state of readiness for it. This entailed latent threats and dangers, or an environment of risk, to use a term from the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990:100–111). If this fact had been allowed to fill people's thoughts and dominate their everyday doings, it would have paralysed their lives in anxiety and fear of death. Instead we see how the threats engendered readiness, a refusal to end up in a state of passiveness and resignation. The sawmill workers took their lives in their own hands as far as possible; they met uncertainty with certainty, through fixed and previously established routines, which they knew from experience guaranteed survival here and now and in the future.

The Consequences of Anticipation

As we saw above, the sawmills could not operate during the winter, at least not at full strength, to give the workers steady income and full employment. This was a fact that was part of the natural order and therefore could not be questioned. In this historical situation there was no such thing as full employment and guaranteed income all the year round, neither in agriculture nor in industry. The economic historian Maths Isacson (1998) has pointed out that it was not until the end of the 1930s that work in industry became synonymous with full employment and continuous work the whole year *and* at the same workplace.

Nature thus placed the sawmill people in a state of unemployment and poorly paid

odd jobs during the winter. Nature contained forces that could not be influenced, but there were various strategies to anticipate them and mitigate their effects. There was a need to be able to forestall expected hardships, to be prepared in order to ensure a livelihood and expand the margins of security.

To cope with the winter, people had to save some of the summer earnings to be converted into basic foodstuffs which could be stored for future use. When the summer half of the year was nearing its end, there began a period of hoarding, in preparation for winter's privations. It was a rule for families to buy a firkin of salted Baltic herring and a sack of rye flour, sometimes also American pork, salted beef and mutton, which were kept in the stores belonging to the workers' barracks. Much of the stock, however, was built up of people's own produce. Most workers had access to a patch of ground where they could grow their own vegetables and potatoes, and almost all families had their own pig and picked berries in the autumn. Firewood was another important component of this self-sufficiency.

The store consisted of goods whose quantity and quality, utility value and durability could be estimated and calculated at a glance, with no need to use abstract units of capacity and weight (cf. Johansen 1989); people knew from experience how much of the stores to draw on and still have enough to last the winter. It was an instinctive feeling, based on previous experience, that determined the composition and use of the stocks. These provided a buffer, not just for the impending winter, with its unknown amounts of frost and snow, but also to make the family less vulnerable to any downturns on the market, with unemployment, wage cuts, and high prices as a consequence. Maintaining a store was a kind of resistance to ending up entirely in the hands of a capricious market. This was a practice that focused on survival, not by repudiating a world governed by forces beyond the control of the sawmill workers and the company, but by pragmatically participating in the world on the basis of one's position in it, with all the daily chores that had to be performed and the problems that had to be solved to guarantee existence.

The Pulp Factory Takes Physical Shape

To carry on sawing for export, the sawmills had to adapt their production to the demand on the international market, which required skill to be flexible, to avoid difficulties, to be alert to signals, which often led to decisions about changes in the physical environment. The management erected new buildings, expanded the capacity of the sawing sheds, increased the transport systems, and built bigger timber yards.

The changes in the physical environment were thus part of a working export sawmill. By living and working here, the employees of the sawmills had learnt how to read the company's various building projects, as signs of what they knew would happen (Berglund-Lake 2001:85–94). Failure to expand all the time was an expression of stagnation rather than stability. But success for certain companies meant recession or closure for others. This was particularly noticeable in the 1890s and the years after the turn of the century.

After a long period of expansion there came stagnation in the 1890s (see e.g.

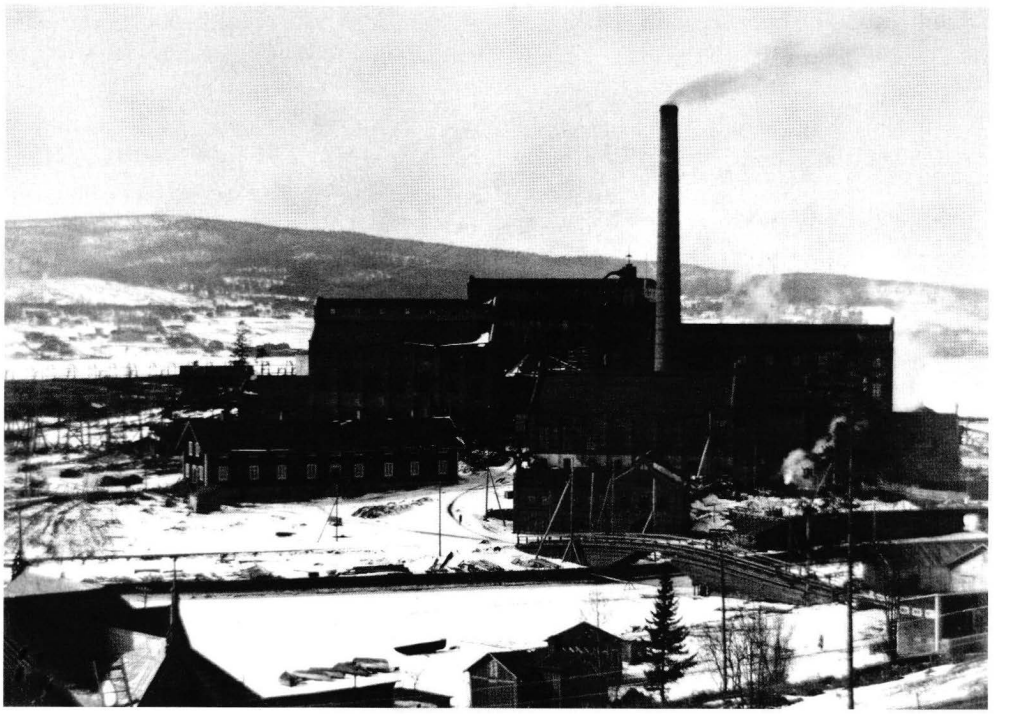
Söderlund 1951). This was largely due to a shortage of timber of dimensions appropriate for sawing. For the sawmill workers the change was noticeable above all in their work. The change here was experienced in concrete, material, and bodily terms. It was through the body that they perceived what was happening. But, as Merleau-Ponty (1962) explores in his phenomenology of the body, we both perceive and understand the world through our bodies. Or as Edward Casey puts it: "Perceiving bodies are knowing bodies" (1996:34). Consciousness always has its origin in a feeling and doing body. Consciousness, Merleau-Ponty explains, is "a being toward-the-thing through the intermediary of the body" (1962:137).

The sawmill workers acquired their knowledge of the world through their senses and their physical actions, which were momentary and rarely formulated in words (Frykman 1990). They felt that something had happened to the timber. The timber that reached the sawmill was of more meagre dimensions. They knew through bodily contact with timber and sawn goods – through the mere sight of the raw material on the log haul-ups and in the saw frames, by shoving, prising, and turning the logs, by judging the yield of the logs when sawn – that it was no longer what it used to be. The poorer quality of the raw materials, together with the observation that there were fewer sawmills, told them that the business was in difficulties.

They nevertheless took comfort in knowing that the company would do something. There was an idea that the management were prepared to act, that they had the knowledge and resources that functioned even in situations of recession.[5] The company was expected to act as it had always done, in good and bad times alike; in other words, they would meet the impending future offensively by means of investments in new buildings and installations. When the company took the decision to build a pulp factory on the site, it thus did not surprise the workers, who actually expected it.

The construction of the pulp factories took place at a rate that was customary when new buildings were erected at the sawmills. There was much digging and earth-moving as stone foundations were laid ([Larsson-Blomberg] 1988:73; Nylander 1990:52). But the area covered by the new buildings was of a size no one had experienced before. The work spread out in both space and time, making itself felt in a way that must have been impossible to miss. The walls rose out of holes in the ground, stout iron girders and brick façades, growing higher and higher, taller than any buildings ever seen before. It was not just the size of the building but also the material that made it imposing. The pulp factories had a skeleton structure of iron or reinforced concrete with bearing external walls of brick (Brunnström 1990:26–27). Brick was an unusual building material in the sawmill districts, with connotations of durability, indestructibility, and long-term planning; it signified something permanent. The use of reinforced concrete further underlined this permanence.

The premises were designed and placed in different buildings according to their function. A pulp factory consisted of many buildings of varying appearance and size (Brunnström 1990:32–33). The boilery was the biggest, often five storeys tall. The strainer was housed in a building that was



A pulp factory was running day and night, the whole year round. Pulp production therefore forced the limits that nature had previously set, limits which had always been considered impassable. View of Ortviken pulp factory, the winter 1915. Photo: Svenska Cellulosa Aktiebolag (SCA).

nearly as tall. In addition there were several lower buildings, but they were still large by virtue of their length. Soaring over the factory complex was the chimney of the boiler house, which could seen from far afield; it exceeded in size anything that people had seen before.

A pulp factory was an imposing presence in the landscape, and designed to transform wood into pulp in a continuous flow, with as few stoppages as possible, day and night, the whole year round. Pulp production therefore forced the limits that nature had previously set, limits which had always been considered impassable. For the workers who were employed in the departments that ran non-stop, this meant working the whole year round at the same workplace, with wages every month, summer and winter alike. This was a new experience. As we have seen, there had not previously been any full employment or secure year-round income before this for industrial workers. The pulp factory could thus offer opportunities for jobs that had not hitherto been known, and for working hours which had not even been conceivable.

Within One's Own Control

Through the men's employment at the factory it became possible to envisage a future with employment and income evenly spread over the year. This was a liberation from the winter periods of unemployment or reduced

working hours. The images of the future evoked by the factory thus promised good opportunities for work. A company that invested in expensive pulp factories created hope of continued industrial activity in the place. Yet even though the factory stood there, a firm structure seemingly intended to exist forever, production itself was never considered secure. A pulp factory in itself said nothing about the future development of production. Nor was it expected to do so. Production at the pulp factories, as at the sawmills, was dependent on and steered by an international market. Everyone knew that.

As before, the market was felt to be "out there" and far away; its forces were viewed as lying beyond both the company's and the workers' ability to exert control and influence. The market just existed as something taken for granted, expected to function as it had done before, now and in the future, "until further notice" or "until counterproof" (Schutz 1962:74, 228). On that point, the pulp factory had no counterproof. Production there was and remained dependent on demand on the market.

Living in dependence on the forest industry meant accepting downturns in the trade cycle and their influence on daily life. The forest industry's characteristic, or signature, to use the words of the author Birger Norman, "has never been security. It has been instability, uncertainty, over-sensitivity to fluctuations" (1960:87). Just as obviously as prices of timber and pulp could vary, there could also be variations in the prices of the goods workers had to buy for themselves. For these families, purchases mainly meant food. In the calculations they had made, the majority of their wages were translated into food consumption.[6] And here everyone living in the industrial communities had experience of food prices undergoing heavy fluctuations at times, and periodical shortages of certain basic foodstuffs (Cornell 1982:162–165).

The man's employment at the pulp factory thus did not change people's relation to the market; the future was still envisaged as entailing fluctuations in both wages and food prices, plus the risk of unemployment. This insecurity was handled as it had always been handled, through activities which could be performed independently of changes on the market, and which people knew from experience had the potential to sustain life, or as Hanna Arendt puts it, "securing the necessities of life and providing for their abundance" (1958:126). Here it was a matter of patterns of subsistence, the combination of wage labour and self-sufficiency that we saw being developed in the sawmill communities in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Despite an even rate of employment and income over the whole year, employees of the pulp factories continued to keep a household pig and a potato patch.[7] Many had also their own boat and herring nets for fishing, and everyone picked berries and ensured that the woodshed was filled in the autumn.

To maintain this subsistence pattern required time, time that people themselves had to be able to have full control over. For shift-working men in the pulp factories, non-stop operation and the requirement to be on the spot every day, every week, the whole year round, were a challenge and a threat to this practice. The threat meant that these taken-for-granted routine actions were made visible and accessible for reflection. People were forced to take up a stance,

either to accept the new situation or to try to maintain old habits and routines.

It is against this background that we can see the earliest conflicts between workers and company management at the pulp factories, conflicts about working hours and shift work. There was a powerful, widespread wish to reduce working hours, even if it meant a loss of income for most workers (Berglund-Lake 2004). Men took up the struggle for the right to increased free time, that is, the time when they were beyond the demands and control of the employer. Among other things, it was in the first place a matter of having sufficient time to maintain the partial self-sufficiency, the practice that people knew from experience had the capacity to extend the scope for livelihood beyond total dependence on wage labour and the influence of an unstable and capricious market far away.

There is a paradox in this. People tried to expand their living space by shielding themselves from "the big world", by reducing the world to something close to experience, tied to the locality, easy to grasp in terms of time and space, a world that was felt to be within reach and hence within one's own control (cf. Jackson 1998:174–75). Maintaining the partial self-sufficiency was one way to meet and anticipate the future that previous experience had shown to be "of empirical or presumptive certainty" (Schutz 1962:82). It was a mode of coping with life that prevented one from becoming a victim of forces beyond one's own reach. But this does not mean a practice that was given in the same way for all time; it was until further notice, until the appearance of counterproof.

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Notes

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1 In the county of Västernorrland, from which the empirical material for this article is taken, the first decade of the twentieth century saw the construction of pulp factories in all the sawmill districts. The first pulp factory in the county was built in Frånö in 1895–1896, and followed after the turn of the century by factories in Essvik 1898–1900, Utansjö 1898–1900, Domsjö 1902–1903, Svanö 1905–1906, Svartvik 1905–1907, Köpmanholmen 1905–1907, Kramfors 1906–1907, Ortviken 1906–1908, Nyhamn 1907–1908, Vivstavarv 1907–1908, Söråker 1908–1910, and Fagervik 1910–1912. The dates refer to the year when building started and the year when production began (Valeur 2000:280).

2 As regards employment at sawmills and pulp factories, however, the women accounted for a negligible proportion of the workforce. See *Arbetsstatistik* A: 10, Table 2, pp. 12–13.

3 The article is based on a large number of questionnaire responses, interviews, and other memoirs provided by people who lived in sawmill and pulp factory communities between 1880 and 1915. This material is in the archives of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, the Institute for Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Uppsala, and the Association Archives for Västernorrland in Sundsvall and Härnösand.

4 For a detailed presentation of the empirical material used for this and the following section on the context of the sawmills, see Berglund-Lake 2001, chapters 3, 5, 6.

5 Cf. Giddens' discussion of the trust in experts in modern society (1990:83–92).

6 When the country's first survey of living costs was conducted in the 1910s, the household budgets of ten sawmill workers' families were investigated. Although these must be regarded as model families, and although the survey was done as late as 1913, food accounted for 53 per cent of the expenses; SOS. *Socialstatistik. Levnadskostnaderna i Sverige 1913–1914*, 3.

7 References to the empirical material can be found in Berglund-Lake 2004.

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Cultural Transformation of a Cityscape

By Nicolai Carlberg and Søren Møller Christensen

Harbour to City

What happens when a part of a city undergoes a radical change of function, and new demands and expectations of the place move in along with new inhabitants and new economic activities? In this article we study this by examining how former commercial harbours are transformed into attractive cityscapes with homes, business premises, cultural institutions, walks, squares, etc. The revitalization of the defunctioned harbours is often studied as an expression of general economic and social changes in society, such as the change from an industrial economy to a service economy, or as a gentrification process, where the middle class takes over former working-class areas in the city. In this article we want to focus on how the transformation process takes place, and thus apply a perspective with less interest in the cityscape that the transformation results in, and more interest in the ways the harbour landscape is reshaped. To understand the transformation process as more than a trivial intermezzo, it is necessary to apply the perspective of cultural analysis to the harbour as a place. Functions do not move in and out of a place just like that; the individual functions shape the meaning of the place, and new functions thus do not move into a semantically "empty" landscape, but into a landscape that is already conceptualized. The first part of the article describes how the harbour has been given meaning historically as a place on the edge of society's normality and order. This description is the starting point for an analysis of how particularly creative entrepreneurs use the "alterity" of the harbour as a take-off point for artistic and norm-breaking activities, and how they thereby put new concepts into the harbour landscape, which opens the harbour to the public and ultimately also to economic interests.[1]

Images of the Harbour

In the broadest sense, we all have ideas about what harbours look like, what kind of activities take place in them, and the atmosphere associated with them – harbours as dangerous, ugly, exotic, exciting, mundane, etc. We shape these images against the background of a complex amalgamation of the experiences we have had when visiting harbours, descriptions we have read in novels, scenes we have seen in films, and so on. Orvar Löfgren, professor of ethnology at Lund University, has considered another familiar landscape – the beach – and how notions about this type of landscape are formed:

> Every landscape experience blends the unique and personal with the standardized... The beach is already colonized by thousands of advertising campaigns, tourist brochures, postcards, and holiday snaps. We all have some relationship to what may be called pre-images, which are on the one hand matrices and yardsticks for comparing what we are experiencing right now, and on the other hand constitute the unsorted mass of everything we have seen before and which in the given situation penetrates or immediately passes by as a semiconscious pictorial association (Löfgren 2003: 92).

According to Löfgren, the experience of a given landscape is not only a unique and personal matter, but simultaneously shaped by the *standardized representations* of similar landscapes to which we have previously been exposed. It is thus with these standardized representations in mind that we shape our own perceptions of harbours. Without it necessarily being

hegemonic perceptions, the images constitute a form of stereotyped notions about harbours, which are continuously shaped, maintained, and changed in a discursive reproduction, as can be observed, for instance, in films, books, advertising, etc.

In the next section we highlight what we think are two particularly prominent images of the harbour: the *ship harbour*, which is centred on the image of the docks for sailing ships and steamships and the *industrial harbour*. The images are historically situated, overlapping and not precisely demarcated – there have been industries in the ship harbour and ships in the industrial harbour. What the images have in common is a perception of the harbour as a qualitatively different cityscape which is fundamentally different from the surrounding city.

The Image of the Ship Harbour

As a space for longing to get away, the harbour has been described as a place where it is possible to forget the pressures of everyday life and daydream at the sight of exotic ships and think about the unknown worlds from which they come. The harbour is a kind of place where passengers change between the known (the city) and the unknown (the outside world), and even if one never takes the step oneself and sets off to explore the unknown world on the other side of the horizon, the harbour nevertheless plays the role of a place where one can dream about doing it.

With all its ships, warehouses, barges, barrels of salted herring, its sailors, parrots, dockers, and prostitutes, this type of harbour is an image that most people are familiar with. Only a few of us have had personal experience of it in action, but we know it because we have seen it countless times in films and novels or in the protected and tourist-friendly version, as when we go to the Kap Horn in Nyhavn, Copenhagen, and sip draught beer while looking at the beautifully restored wooden ships.

The image of the ship harbour is mainly associated with a time when the city walls marked the boundary of secure order, and where the world beyond the horizon seemed both dangerous and enticing. Ably assisted by the sailors' lively tales, one could conjure up fantastic ideas about the world beyond the familiar realms of personal experience. Moreover, sailors lived a life of a different order, far from the bourgeois norms of home and family, with adventure in their blood and a girl in every port. On land he led a shady existence – in many people's eyes – in the dark of the harbour pubs, where he squandered his pay on gambling and rum, and fights were part of the disorder of the day. These ideas about the ship harbour are stereotypes that have deep historical roots.

In the image of the ship harbour it is a place that can be perceived as being halfway between home and away, neither a part of the city nor of the alien world, but still a bit of both. In the words of the anthropologist Victor Turner, the harbour can be described as a place "betwixt and between" (Turner 1967). When viewed as the gateway to another world, the harbour is the place where normal order ceases to apply and a different, liminal world begins. The concept of liminality is linked to Arnold Van Gennep's theory about how an individual when changing status in a community (for example, from one age category to another) undergoes a *rite de passage*, whereby the person is first separated from the community and then enters a liminal phase, which ends

with the reintegration of the person in the community, this time with a new status. For both Turner and later the British anthropologist Mary Douglas, however, the concept is not only linked to *rites de passage*. For Douglas the starting point is man's search for "hard lines and clear concepts" (Douglas 1966:162). This is the background against which, inspired by Lévi-Strauss' structuralist thought, she regards man as a classifying being, who distinguishes between order and disorder, pure and impure, inside and outside. What is not a part of the order is disorderly and liminal. From this point of view, the image of the ship harbour can be perceived as an image of a cityscape of liminal character, as a place that is essentially not a part of the city.

The Image of the Industrial Harbour

In the twentieth century ships became bigger and fewer in number, and the industry that had begun to grow in the harbour from the latter half of the nineteenth century occupied more and more space. Warehouses and ship's chandlers were increasingly replaced by factory buildings and containers. With the large-scale expansion of the harbour industry, a huge infrastructure arose around the harbours, supporting industrial production while simultaneously cutting the actual harbour area off from the city centre and its housing.

The industry's extensive use of harbour areas, the emptiness in the daytime, when the workers are inside the factories, and especially in the evening and at the weekend, when the workers have gone home, serve as the background for the notion of the industrial harbour as a deserted area that is ideal for shady activities. Car chases through empty factories and deserted quays, rivals drowned in acid or torn and crushed in the wheels and rollers of huge machines – these images have been used in countless films and have become part of an international matrix for gangster, detective, and action film. In these films the harbour is portrayed as an area where it is the criminals' law, not society's, that applies. Here the criminals can settle their internal disputes, and if the agents of the law do finally appear in the industrial harbour, it is usually in a car chase where the police venture into the lawless, criminal area and then withdraw to the secure city behind the harbour. If the mission is successful, law and order is maintained for a short while, but once the police are back in the city, the shady elements of the harbour inevitably surface again. The fact that lasting order is rarely established is a necessary condition for the strength and durability of the image.

Industrial pollution is another element of danger in this type of harbour. Reeking chimney stacks, foul-smelling discharge pipes and polluted soil also characterize the image of the industrial harbour. Every city has presumably had its more or less infamous businesses that made the water in the harbour turn black, just as the sun disappeared and was replaced by eternally overcast skies. The closure of the last public baths in Copenhagen Harbour in 1954 marked that the harbour was not just lawless but also had to be considered a downright health hazard.

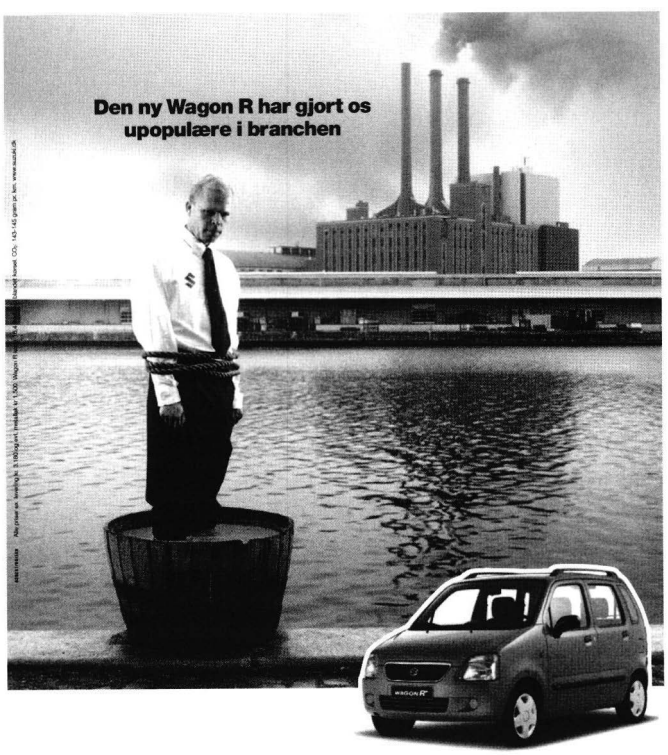
The notions of the lawlessness and pollution of the industrial harbour are still reproduced; they are assembled, for instance, in the advertisement for Suzuki's Wagon R from 2002 (fig. 1). A Suzuki dealer has been set in a barrel by his rivals, who are angry that one can get "an unreason-

able amount of car" from Suzuki. In the background we see a reeking chimney stack and, as if to underline the disconsolate nature of the place, the picture is in shades of grey.

In the same way as the image of the ship harbour describes a borderland between the familiar and the unknown, the image of the industrial harbour can also be seen as an image of a place of liminal character. It is a place of *a different order* to such a degree that the police are not able to bring this place permanently into society. Only a few sinister elements feel at home in these murky areas. At the same time, it is a place so polluted that it tends to be lethal for humans. In the images of both the ship harbour and the industrial harbour you are at the edge of the established order – in a liminal world where disorder prevails.

From Liminal Harbour to Desirable Cityscape

These ideas about the harbour as a place of liminal character are of great significance for the way in which harbour areas which have lost their original function are shaped by urban development. In this transformation, the concrete crossing of the infrastructure lines separating the city from the defunctioned industrial harbour, is just one image of the more significant challenges involved in turning the *liminal* harbour into part of the *normal* cityscape, where people live and move.



1. This advertisement for Suzuki's Wagon R reproduces the image of the industrial harbour as a lawless and polluted area, where criminals and morally dubious persons can settle their internal differences without public involvement. Here a Suzuki dealer has been set in a barrel of concrete by his competitors. In a moment he will be thrown out into the grey, polluted water of the harbour to disappear forever. Robert & Boisen 2002.

During an interview in 2002, two of our informants illustrated the extent of this challenge of turning harbour into city. The young couple, Thomas and Trine, were going to move from a nice upper middle-class neighbourhood north of Copenhagen to a newly built flat in Copenhagen Harbour. They used many different words to describe their new home and the surrounding area, but one word was conspicuous by its absence. At no point did they use the word harbour to describe the environment, and when we said towards the end of the interview that we would normally say that their new flat was located in Copenhagen Harbour, Trine objected vehemently:

> We are going to live by the canals.... Copenhagen Harbour – I don't find that positive! ... I don't think of a harbour at all. Because a harbour is something with oil tankers, for me. It's rough, and it's oil. It's definitely not idyllic or cool or trendy.

While Trine's first word for the home is "idyllic", her overall image of the harbour is associated with messy, noisy activities, rusty ships, and a lot of potential pollution. A canal home and a harbour are classified as belonging to different orders, or as order and disorder. If there is anything untidy about the harbour area where Trine and Thomas are going to live, then it must be cleared up so that their home can be established. Thomas says:

> I really want it to become habitable and clean quickly instead of being harbour-like, shady,... a bit industrial. I'd like to see it transformed quickly, to become attractive and luxurious, and that you can bathe in the water. I hope they use the canals for that. That it takes on a slightly more orderly character and maybe with opportunities to bathe instead of a place where people dump a barge. I think that's disgusting. So I could imagine it being cleared up in one way or another.

In this quotation Thomas establishes a link between the need to tidy up the old harbour area and the desire for it to become clean. Tidying up, in Thomas's eyes, would make a habitable and clean area – an orderly place. The Danish historians of ideas Lars-Henrik Schmidt and Jens Erik Kristensen (1986) have analysed elsewhere the link between cleanliness and order, and their concepts can give us a way to understand how order is created in the old industrial harbour. Inspired by Mary Douglas, they describe how uncleanness is connected to disorder and how cleanness is connected to order. Order is perceived as a system of classifications, where things are ascribed meaning and properties by being placed in specific ways in relation to each other. Disorder can occur when an object is not in its right place in the system. Most people recognize this in a highly concrete way from an untidy desk. When we tidy the desk we re-establish order by putting things back in their proper place. However, disorder is not only associated with this highly concrete form of untidiness. Disorder can also be something that is incapable of belonging to one's order; it cannot be "put in its place". Instead order and disorder define each other (Douglas 1966).

When it is a matter of turning harbour into city, it is above all a question of the latter form of disorder. The images of harbour and city stand in contrast to each other, and as Thomas and Trine illustrate, it is necessary to transform the place so that it is no longer opposed to the requirements for the localization of a residential area. The disorderly and liminal have to give way to an order that makes it possible for Thomas and Trine to perceive the place as a home.

In the following, we will analyse different but often parallel strategies for handling the perceived untidiness and disorder of the industrial harbour. In one strategy the disorder is removed through elimination and abolition; in the other the disorder is transformed through aestheticization to a splendour that is compatible with the actual order.

Elimination

Pollution is disorder. Pollution is something that is where it should not be, and as such should be "ordered" through one form or another of abolition or transformation. In the discussion of pollution in harbours, the chemical pollution of soil in particular must inevitably be tackled; the law requires chemical pollution to be minimal where housing is to be constructed. Great effort is therefore expended to clean up what are often called "bygone sins".

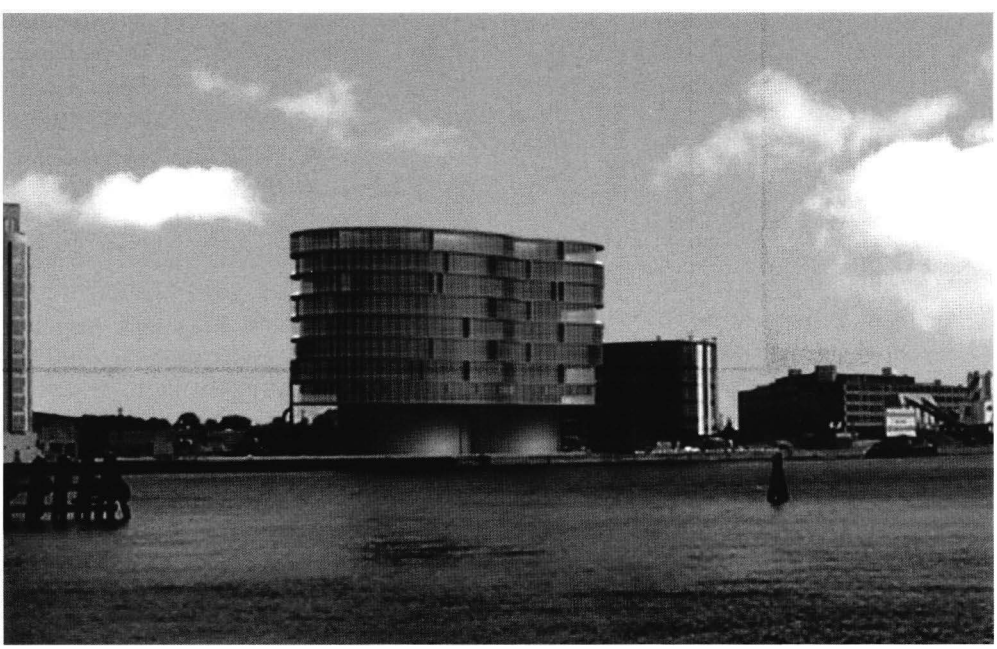
In a special issue of a technical engineering journal, the municipal engineer from Ringkøbing describes under the heading "Total Clearance of the Shipyard Area" how "Ringkøbing Municipality was left with a stripped, worthless, and useless shipyard, empty office buildings and production halls, a building slip, lots of concrete structures, and ignorance of any possible underground structures and soil pollution from earlier activities." He then describes the "careful cleaning up" of "pollution from earlier times". The mission is "a detective job", where the detectives in their pursuit of bygone sins are assisted by a former production manager who know "most of what went on in the shipyard" (*Stads- og havneingeniøren* 12/2000:18–21). Chemical pollution is given almost criminal status in this account, where the former manager, as one of the culprits, agrees to point out the scene of the crime. The description of and battle against the pollution can be seen as a parallel to the struggle against bacteria that Schmidt and Kristensen describe in their book about modern social hygiene. Chemical pollution, like bacteria, is ascribed an almost criminal identity – it must be hunted down and eliminated. With pollution we have a form of disorder that can only be combated by elimination, and the job is not completed until, like the municipal engineer in Ringkøbing, one can conclude that the soil in the area satisfies "the stringent requirements of soil purity in residential areas" (ibid.). If the harbour area is to be integrated in the city, there must be a guarantee that there are no hidden traces of bygone activities, a guarantee that must be sanctioned through legislation, because this form of pollution (just as with bacteria) is not visible to the naked eye. This part of the "cultural heritage of industrialism" has to be cleared away.

It is not necessarily only the invisible part of the harbour's cultural heritage that is ordered through elimination. In Ringkøbing the clearance also included demolition of the physical traces of the harbour. All the buildings in the old industrial harbour were demolished, and the last vestige, the conspicuous silo, was blasted "in the presence of thousands of spectators" (ibid.) (see coverillustration). As if for a *rite de passage*, the townspeople gathered to watch how the harbour was reintegrated with the city. The remains of the liminal industrial harbour could then be buried and trampled under foot: "the concrete from the silo was crushed and reused as stable gravel" (ibid.).

Aestheticization

While the strategy for dealing with soil pollution can only be elimination, buildings and installations can be treated differently. It is not always necessary to eliminate all visible remains; they can also be transformed and integrated in the established order in other ways. Schmidt and Kristensen mention a conceivable example where an undershirt is used as a shirt. If this way of using an undershirt is not to be associated with shame and defined as disorderly, either the order must be changed, so that it becomes acceptable to for example, by being dyed "so that it is no longer a direct quotation from the classical code" (Schmidt & Kristensen 1986:16–17).

This process of change, which we can call aestheticization after Schmidt and Kristensen, is a process that enables a free interpretation of the historical significance of an object. An aesthetic attitude in this context means abstracting individual features from, say, an industrial building and ascribing an aesthetic value that is freely related to the context from which the features originate. Aestheticization makes it possible to draw on certain aspects of the historical meaning of a place or a building and ignore other aspects, as for example when an industrial building is reinterpreted as a work of art. Through aestheticization the liminal is included in the order; the rough and dangerous side of the industrial environment is tamed and included as a fascinating history, so that what once seemed repulsive becomes a value to be capitalized on (see fig. 2).



2. The two silos at Islands Brygge in Copenhagen belonged to a former soybean cake factory, which has been the most notorious polluting enterprise in Copenhagen Harbour. The buildings undergo a radical reinterpretation and aestheticization, with flats being hung on the outside of the silo, while the interior is transformed into a large atrium through which one passes on the way up to one's flat. NCC Danmark, 2003.

The Liminal and Art

Aestheticization is not only associated with entrepreneurs' transformations of old buildings into homes, business premises, or the like. Aestheticization can also be linked to practices which do not have transformation as their goal, but instead use the liminal qualities of the harbour to create excitement, creativity, art or other forms of boundary-testing activities, which are based on the harbour being an area on the edge of normality. Often, but not necessarily, such activities precede more conventional transformations of harbour areas.

Defunctioned industrial buildings in old harbour areas are often very popular settings for artists. Experimental and boundary-crossing art in particular makes use of premises in old industrial harbours. This highlights an interesting connection between liminality and a perception of artists as an avant-garde that is supposed to explore and challenge the established order.

Both Mary Douglas and Victor Turner have drawn attention to the special force that they think lies in the liminal. Since the liminal is outside existing cultural categories and perceptions of order, it is not subject to the same order. In his later works Turner challenged the idea that liminality is only a property of a specific phase in a *rite de passage*. Instead he viewed liminality as a phenomenon that is always present in human environments. In certain contexts and in certain endeavours liminality is present, not as part of a ritual, but as a state where it is possible to be creative, since liminality offers an external position from which it is possible to comment on the established order (Rapport & Overing 2000:229–234).

In Copenhagen Harbour, many buildings have been used for experimental and boundary-testing art. One of these is an old disused bottling hall, which was taken over in 1992 by a group of artists who took their name from the place: TAPKO. The Danish literary critic Anne Ring Petersen (2002) describes the first art project in the hall. Three artists had created a performance that began with flashing toy swords, "like an artificial counterpart of the lightning that flashes before a thunderclap", followed by the juddering and rustling of a large tower of beer crates, which "culminated in the smashing of the bottles against the concrete floor", and finally a quartet in which four opera singers sang "an orgiastic duet" with a tape recording of their own voices, steadily rising and culminating when "the stretched elastic bands which held the ghetto blasters were cut, so that they whirled through space and smashed against the wall with a bang" (Petersen 2002:190–191). Petersen then tries to explain what actually happened:

> ... production had turned into destruction. Based on the associations aroused by the earlier function of the building as a bottling plant, Metzel, Ritz, and Brunner [the artists] had undertaken a negating inversion of the original purpose and spatial identity of the closed business. Instead of filling, they performed an emptying of the place, cathartically cleansing it of meaning, at one and the same time reviving the past of the place and thus rescuing it from oblivion, and opening the place towards the future and the rise of new meaning (ibid.).

In what we characterize as an aestheticization, the meaning of the place is transformed, so that it is opened for a reinterpretation that can serve as a starting point for the integration of the place in the interpreter's order.

Petersen describes how the group, after

the demolition of the bottling plant, found other premises for their performances in various parts of Copenhagen, including a closed-down Fiat workshop in Valby and a closed bank in the inner city.

An interesting aspect of the performances described by Petersen is that they all occur in places which have been emptied of their functions. This suggests that some places are better suited for this artistic practice than others. A natural understanding of this is that the meaning of a place comes under pressure when it loses its function: the meaning becomes fluid and open to interpretation. This openness gives the artist the possibility to create surprises by playing with associations aroused by the place and its references to earlier functions. The industrial building, which used to be filled with gangs of workers busy at their daily routines with cranes, heavy iron sheets, and welding flames, can be transformed into an indoor garden with green grass and flowers. It is our thesis that these places are usable venues for artistic expression with regard to two related aspects: firstly, it is the distinctive historical *functions* of the ship harbour and the industrial harbour that are the reason why they are perceived as liminal in relation to the familiar city and normality; secondly, it is the fact that they lose their original functions that makes it possible to reinterpret and reformulate the image of the industrial harbour. It looks as if there is a necessary interaction between the two aspects. On the one hand one can see that it is not all defunctioned places that stimulate artistic activity – for example, many farms have been closed down in Denmark, without this leading to any remarkable artistic expression. Farms do not have the same character of liminality as the defunctioned harbour areas. On the other hand, artistic activity is rarely found in functioning ferry ports or container terminals, but primarily in places which have lost their function. When a place thus has a traditional meaning which puts it on the edge of the establishment and is simultaneously bereft of its function, it seems to make an attractive framework for artistic expression.

A paradoxical feature of these norm-breaching artistic activities is that they simultaneously contain an element of normalization in relation to the harbour as a place. When artists seek out and use the liminal properties of the defunctioned harbours, they present their audience with new interpretations in which the liminal place is transformed through aestheticization. Apart from the fact that works like those described above perhaps challenge and transform the audience's ideas of order and normality, the work also creates an opportunity for the audience to enter places which would normally be beyond their perception of order and perhaps even on the edge of their classified world. As an established institution directed towards an audience, art creates a possibility for new relations between people and places. The paradoxical point is that the artists, in their desire to challenge and comment on normality, simultaneously contribute to processes that normalize and domesticate liminal places.

A Place To Be Spontaneous

Artists are not the only people in society who draw on the possibility to use the harbour as a setting for doing something creative and different. In summer 2002 the annual Copenhagen festival for homosexuals, "Gay Pride", ended on the waterfront

at Islands Brygge, where a party was held in a large disused concrete building bathed in red and blue light. The choice of venue signals that the participants regard themselves as a counterculture which does not follow the prevailing ideas about how to party. That same summer, a computer music festival, "Datamusik 2002 – free electronic hyggerave", was held in the nearby Harbour Park, and in 1999 an "Open Air Open Mind" seminar on the film director Peter Greenaway was held in the Torpedo Hall on the island of Holmen. Creative businesses such as small advertising agencies, photographers, and architectural firms also like to have their base in disused harbour areas. Here they find opportunities to draw on associations with *creativity* in particular, which are aroused in part through the artistic activities performed in harbours, but which are also contained in the originality and the unconventional forms of the physical framework. A defunctioned factory or a houseboat is often more suited as a point of departure for a creative image than a newly constructed office block. In Copenhagen the activities that take advantage of the distinctive character of the area also include the special "summer bars" with names like Thorsen, Basecamp, Luftkastellet, and PappaHotel. With mostly outdoor serving of (barbecued) food and drinks, club arrangements, and various more or less "alternative" activities, they have been a permanent feature of Copenhagen Harbour in the summer since the end of the 1990s. The special atmosphere of the places has to do with the fact that the harbour gives an opportunity to do something that cannot be done in the established part of the city. One of the people behind PappaHotel, which was located in an abandoned industrial area in Copenhagen's South Harbour (Sydhavn), said that he would not wish for a bar in the historical centre of Copenhagen under any circumstances. There he would only be able to rent small premises, which he would moreover have to run according to municipal regulations as to when he could serve drinks outdoors, what material his chairs should be made of, and so on. He sums up: "No one is going to set the rules for us; we must be able to be spontaneous. Here we can set up a ramp for skiing out on the point, or we can hold four-wheel-drive pulling at the weekends. There must be room to do what we want to do – to be spontaneous."

The harbour thus becomes an opportunity to do something different, to do something "kinky" in contrast to what is possible in the historical centre of Copenhagen, where activities are highly regulated. Besides the liberating absence of neighbours, the harbour is also a place without institutionalized aesthetic norms, and the industrial ruins can without further ado be filled with a radical new content: sand, coloured drinks, chill-out, beach volley, and deck chairs with views of concrete silos.

Artists, advertising agencies, musicians, architectural firms, summer bars, homosexuals, and so on all use the harbour areas for their potential to challenge normality and convention. Whether the desire is to be artistically innovative, to be able to be spontaneous, to strengthen the creative image of the firm or to stress social and cultural distinction, the harbour is in all these cases a space that is defined in contrast to the ordinary. At the same time, they all have in common the fact that their activities help to integrate the industrial harbour in the city.

The Significance of Creative and Artistic Activities for the Development of the City

An interesting shared feature of the activities described above is that they create the conditions so that an audience that previously had no relation to the harbour areas can get to know the defunctioned industrial harbour. The new aestheticizing interpretations of the harbour's landscape, buildings, and installations give the audience an opportunity to integrate the hitherto unknown, dangerous, and disorderly harbour in the normal part of the city. In this way, the practices based on exploring the liminal aspects of the harbour involve a self-destructive element. The liminal disappears as it is explored. The creative and artistic activities in the harbours are often described as having a temporary character, and this temporariness is explained both in the public debate and also in, for example, gentrification studies, with arguments about capital driving out creative activities. We can add that activities based on the exploration of the liminality of the harbours bear within them the seeds of their own temporariness. We may invoke the parallel of tourism, which often seeks to explore something liminal in the form of exotic, unknown, and strange places; just like the artistic and creative activities above, however, this aim is undermined by its own success.

The American professor of sociology, Sharon Zukin, has described a similar process in the book *Loft Living* (Zukin 1988 (1982)). In the 1960s and 1970s artists in New York began to take over old industrial premises in Manhattan to transform them into studios and homes. "Art in the Arms of Power" is the title of the chapter in the book where Zukin analyses how the artists became pattern-breakers and icons in the creation of a special "loft lifestyle". One of the points in the book is that the artists, by using the old industrial buildings as studios and homes, paved the way for a completely different group, who would not necessarily have found the way to the old industrial areas by themselves. As Zukin writes:

> Until the 1970s, living in a loft was considered neither chic nor comfortable – if the possibility was considered at all. Making a home in a factory district clearly contradicted the dominant middle-class ideas of "home" and "factory", as well as the separate environments of family and work on which these were based (Zukin 1988:58).

Whereas "loft living" had hitherto been associated with artists "living poor", the idea of living in a "loft apartment" became attractive. Zukin regards the move of industry out of Manhattan as a prime factor. This freed a number of lofts that were bigger and better than the small, unheated lofts that artists had typically lived in before. At the same time, according to Zukin, there was a change in middle-class patterns of consumption. Interest in art and the preservation of old buildings – things which had traditionally been associated with the upper class – were increasingly adopted by the middle class. Zukin writes about the time after the Second World War: "From a marginal and often elitist aesthetic concern, art moved into a central position in the cultural symbolism of an increasingly materialistic world" (ibid.: 82). When it became prestigious for the upper middle class "to live like an artist", artists found themselves in the paradoxical role that, by using defunctioned industrial buildings they turned a formerly dilapidated and stigmatized

neighbourhood into an extremely attractive and sought-after area (an example is SoHo in New York), which the artists themselves had to leave as a consequence of soaring property prices (ibid.: 82–110).

Similar processes have been observed in Copenhagen Harbour. The man who opened the first summer bar in Copenhagen harbour noticed that after the first year's success he had to look for a new place. Commercial interests offered to pay an annual rent ten times greater than the figure he had paid himself. Considered as a practice, the summer bar, like the artists in New York, changed the conditions under which it had previously existed. The summer bar on Holmen had to move, and in 2002 the founder, together with a friend, opened PappaHotel on Havneholmen in the South Harbour. The land is owned by the development company Skanska Øresund A/S, who wish to develop this disused industrial area into a mixed business and residential area. For two years the development company chose to offer PappaHotel an empty building on the old industrial plot at a minimal rent. The project manager explained:

> The reason we have rented the plot behind Fisketorvet to PappaHotel at a very low price is that we want to get people used to coming out here. There is nothing we want more than to create life out here, for the more people we attract, the greater is the value of what we create (*Politiken*, 9 August 2002).

The developers are aware of the potential of the summer bar to transform the perception of the disused industrial area in the South Harbour and view the bar as part of the process involved in creating the right conditions for accomplishing their building plans. A temporary relationship has thus been established, with the development company seeing the summer bar as a means to transform the value of the place. The summer bar attracts positive attention to the disused industrial area, an attention that is itself a contributory factor in achieving the company's development goal. Pappa Hotel was thus a tool in Skanska's practice, and Skanska offered for a period the necessary conditions for PappaHotel to exist. But the relationship was temporary: summer 2003 was the last season for PappaHotel, and while Skanska is building homes and business premises on Havneholmen, the people behind PappaHotel have to look for a new place where they can operate for an interim period.

Elimination and Aestheticization of Disorder as Strategies in Urban Development

In this article we have described how the physical transformation of defunctioned commercial harbours into new urban neighbourhoods implies a semantic transformation, as the polluted, messy, and shady industrial harbour is transformed into an attractive and normalized cityscape. In our analytical perspective this transformation can either take the form of an elimination process, as in the example from Ringkøbing, where the past and its disorder is blasted away and cleaned up, or, as in the case of the artistic and creative activities, it can take the form of an aestheticization of the liminal, enabling new interpretations of the harbour with its buildings and machines.

As we elaborate in a coming book entitled "City Life and Waterfront: Studies of Cultural and Social Processes of Change" (late 2004), elimination and aestheticization can however be used as analytical concepts

3. For many years the houseboat club "Skibbroen" lay like a little unnoticed spot in the no man's land of the disused harbour. With the great focus on Copenhagen harbour and investors wishing to capitalize on the area in recent years, the club has suddenly become exposed. The houseboat club's strategy for survival has been to stage itself as picturesque harbour life – flowerboxes have been placed in front of the houseboats, and there has been talk of replacing the dilapidated huts with "nice pavilions". Through self-aestheticization, the disorderly and liminal life of the harbour seeks to adapt to the future residents' perception of order. Photo: the authors, 2003.

in a broader sense than the transformation of the historical harbour landscape that we have analysed here. Elimination and aestheticization can also be viewed as strategies in the encounter between the harbour's new urban life and the old small-boat harbours, boat clubs, and houseboat colonies that still exist despite the changes. These are places which are perceived by their users as Klondike-like sanctuaries or refuges, where they could – at least until recently – withdraw from the turbulence of city life. Like the physical landscape of the industrial harbour, these forms of life are seriously exposed in the revitalization of the harbour and are thereby included in the transformation of the cityscape. An example of this is the houseboat association Skibbroen in Copenhagen's South Harbour, where it has long been known that the area is facing drastic change, and that the association, which rents a little strip of land on a short-term contract, cannot feel safe for the future. As a first warning of new times, a newly built

shopping centre opened in autumn 2000 on the neighbouring plot, and a young couple living on a far from finished houseboat told how the members of the houseboat association agreed to build some flowerboxes to place on the quayside, and that they also considered replacing the old tumbledown huts with some "nice pavilions" (fig. 3). They were thus highly aware that the potential significance of the houseboat colony as "picturesque harbour life" for the future businesses and inhabitants of the area could be the key to their continued existence. The story illustrates how it can be a precondition for existing harbour life that their practice can be included in the future inhabitants' and businesses' perceptions of "picturesque harbour life" and hence their perceptions of order and aesthetics. If not, they risk exclusion – or to continue with the terminology used above: elimination. Awareness of this results, in this case, in a form of strategic *self-aestheticization*, whereby the houseboat owners try to live up to the demands they think the new users of the harbour will make of their surroundings. An interesting question is how this form of aestheticization is linked to power and counter-power. Is it, as in the case of the houseboat colony, merely a

4. On this plot in Copenhagen's Inderhavn the developers have demolished all the old buildings, cleansed the soil, and then built housing and laid out a promenade which is clinically free of all forms of public street furniture. As the project manager of the building company points out, the reason for this is that the new inhabitants have been allowed to decide: "What kind of city life do they want, who would they like to have sitting here? Do they want tables and benches here and risk, at worst, having people sitting there drinking beer all day?" The forms of city life that cannot be adapted to the residents' ideal of a harbour home are eliminated through exclusion, while the forms of city life that support the ideal are included and aestheticized as picturesque harbour life. Photo: the authors, 2003.

matter of the future neighbours defining the right use of the cityscape, to which the colony must adapt if they do not want to be excluded. Or do the houseboat owners with their conscious strategy simultaneously create a position from where they can influence the future neighbours' perception of order?

The analysis of processes of aestheticization and elimination can be further extended to comprise not only the conflicts between new and old forms of practice in the harbour, but also the mutual relations between new ways of using and perceiving the cityscape. Figure 4 shows a new residential area in Copenhagen Harbour, designed according to the wishes of the new residents – without moored boats on the water side, and on the land side without any facilities geared to the public, such as cafés, shops, etc. and without street furniture such as bicycle stands, benches, litter bins. The design of the harbour promenade and the canal reflects the residents' perceptions of security, order, and aesthetics, and is executed in a way that does not invite people to sit down on the promenade or moor their boats at the quayside. Life that does not take root, but just sails or walks past, is perceived as "pleasant harbour life", which can be observed and enjoyed from the balcony. The users of the cityscape who do not share the residents' ideas of the place feel excluded, while those who share the residents' ideals feel included. In this example the aestheticization is not, as with the example of the houseboat association, a deliberate strategy, but primarily an assertion of "the pure taste" that Pierre Bourdieu has analysed in his classic work *Distinction* (1984 (1979)). The residents whom we have interviewed thus do not perceive the place as being exclusive but instead as nice: in this area they have been able to make their taste into the prevailing one, and because of their ethnocentrism they do not see that what is nice for them may exclude others. The question of power is also interesting in this connection. A particularly interesting question is how it is possible to achieve a privileged position in the exercise of good taste, how perceptions of good taste are influenced and changed in the encounter with its negations, and how certain groups' assertion of good taste is linked to public planning. In this context the questions remain open, but it is certain that aestheticization and elimination as strategies of inclusion and exclusion are of crucial significance for the character of the cityscapes that follow from the integration of the harbour in the city, and hence analyses of these cultural and social aspects are necessary for understanding the interaction between the place, its appearance, and the conditions for life that it enables.

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Note

1 This article is an edited chapter of the forthcoming book *Byliv og havnefront: Studier af kulturelle og sociale forand-ringsprocesser* (City Life and Waterfront: Studies of Cultural and Social Processes of Change), in which we perform a broad analysis of the cultural and social aspects of the transformation of disused commercial harbours into attractive new city neigh-bourhoods (to be published in late 2004 by Museum Tusculanums Forlag).

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Snowboarding Culture and the Totality of Style

By Riitta Hänninen

The concept of style outlined in this article examines snowboarding as a collective system of meaning. The analysis focuses on two comparative schemes. On a conceptual level, the article proceeds in the tradition of youth and subculture theory. The central themes discussed in this context are the inclusiveness (totality), visibility, and differentiation of style. The other point of comparison moves away from theoretical contemplation towards the empirical world and focuses on snowboarding as a cultural phenomenon. A special emphasis has been placed on anarchy and nostalgia as stylistic features of snowboarding culture.

Peculiarities of dress, values and use of language make snowboarding an extremely visible and almost spectacular phenomenon. Thus, it is no wonder that this "trend of today" has also caught the attention of the media. The history of snowboarding dates back to the surfing of the 60s and California, where riding the wave always came first. Contemporary snowboarding, however, exists in a highly commercialised world surrounded with money, brands, and images. Snowboarders ride literally on the edge of two systems of meaning.

Recontextualisation is a functional element of style, reproducing itself in dress as well as other everyday praxes. However, not all traits of snowboarding culture are spectacular or even critical. There are also many less visible expressions that are common and mundane, rather than riotous or destructive. The style encloses a mixture of visual, bodily, and narrative experience. Criticism serves as a semantic tool that allows snowboarders both the means and the perspective for reproduction in their systems of meanings. Recontextualisation can also be identified through a nostalgia defined as a positive longing for something or someone. It is through these processes that style encloses everyday life and burrows its way deep into the lived, experienced, and imagined world of the snowboarders.

British subculture theory places a special emphasis on the metacultural and societal functions of style. In anthropology, the inclusiveness or totality of style is associated with the study of everyday life, which binds style to the analyses of marginality and creativity. Cultural creativity is a potential for change that exists alongside the dominant order. In addition to the fragmentary aspects of style, inclusiveness also gathers the disjointed structures of meaning that constitute the basis of stylistic expression. The scientific and cultural meanings of style do not always find a common ground of understanding. Snowboarders have their own interpretations, while the researcher is bound to his or her own preferences. The boundary between the concept and the phenomenon remains an asymmetrical one.

Style as a Structure of the Everyday Life-world

Everyday life is a system of meaning dominated by norms and the normal, through which cultural experience becomes interpreted (see de Certeau 1984). According to Rita Felski (2000; see Schutz & Luckmann 1973: 208) the everyday is a phenomenologically, that is, an experientially defined relationship to the world. The everyday is a structure mediated by the ordinary, through which we as cultural beings are bound to our surrounding reality. As a concept, the everyday emphasises the significance of the subjective and experiential as basic elements of human reality (Eley 1995:ix;

Lüdtke 1995: 6). The everyday is not the opposite of work or the festive, but something more inclusive. It transcends the signifying categories of the sacred and high culture by including all aspects of human life.

Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckmann (1973) strive to problematise the traditional binary oppositions of the concept of everyday life, and substitute them with the category of experientiality. Formally, everyday life resembles a cultural construct that consists of collective interpretations of reality. For Michel Maffesoli (1996: 40, 73) Schutz's natural attitude is based on a transparency that signifies the self-evident truths of work, action, and history. The existence of the world is taken into account but is seen as an unchangeable object that can be dominated and exploited (Sulkunen 1995: 84f). Maffesoli views style as the concrete projection of all emotions, thoughts, and actions (1995: 75). Thus, style gives expres-sion to cultural structures, which in turn constitute the everyday life-world.

In British subculture theory, sociality is often referred to as a social group consisting of individuals who have a collectively shared sense of style. However, according to Maffesoli, style transcends all social classes and brings together emotionally kindred people. In terms of epoch, style is present in every representation of historical era, linguistic praxis, and ideology (Maffesoli 1995: 66f.; 50f). The same also applies to cultural communication, in which the inclusiveness of style makes itself visible through the aestheticisation of everyday life. Dress and fashion are only a small albeit important part of the cultural creativity culminating in style. The aestheticisation of the everyday transfers creativity from the spheres of the sacred and high culture to the sphere of a basic element in the life-world. Human creativity becomes the starting point of not only the mundane but also of the unofficial and the spectacular residing within its confines (Willis 1993: 6, 128; Featherstone 1991: 25).

"What if There's Nothing else to do?"

Style is a central feature of the snowboarders' everyday reality[1]. Its influence ranges from general behaviour to hobbies, use of leisure time, circles of friends, and other everyday activities. Notions of style and taste are also present in musical predilections and consumer habits. The most important thing, however, is having a good time:

> Well, in my everyday life, snowboarding is about not having anything else to do, and the fact that it's fun, you just ride, rip through the snow and jump big, just sheer fun. And then you meet all your friends. I guess that's why you do it. (T6, M88)

The observation of snow conditions serves as a concrete example of the temporal and spatial structure of the experience. Geographical distances are not perceived in terms of the nearest town, but rather in terms of the nearest ski centre. The urban environment, with its leisure time, work, and school, is organised according to the opening hours of the slopes and other practical considerations. The Internet is full of web sites devoted to snowboarding and snowboarding culture. Discussion group topics range from value debates to technical issues and other current events. Everything is about the lure of snowboarding which follows the rider home from the slopes and even on to the streets of the

cities. The slopes beckon the riders regardless of weather conditions. Summer is for skateboarding and wakeboarding, but sometimes even the seasons can turn topsy-turvy. One does not need much snow, if riding is "in the blood".

"A Chilled Vibe"

At home, cupboard doors are covered with snowboarding themed posters. Behind doors lie other materials: magazines, photographs, videocassettes and undeveloped rolls of film, mittens, gloves, broken snowboarding goggles, waxing gear, and other things. The greater part of any disposable income is used towards snowboarding. In fact, some of the older informants that I interviewed for my doctoral thesis maintained that snowboarding was one of the main reasons to hold down a job. Vacation trips are made to destinations in the northern hemisphere. The mountainous regions of Central Europe win out over exotic and sunny tourist locations, and on a good year, there is snow in Lapland even at the end of May. The ideal is a sense of freedom and casualness that transcends the world of obligations: style matters, but one should not worry about things too much. The important thing is to do what one wants to do and remember that snowboarding can only be practised the right way for its own sake. Not only the here and now matters in this scheme of things, as the future also makes the snowboarders consider their options:

> I. ...Photography interests me. I've been doing a bit of that on an amateur basis. But I guess the dream has always been a profession in skateboarding or snowboarding. Not necessarily the traditional thing of being a professional rider and touring the pro circuit, doing photo shoots and stuff: that is also kinda difficult 'cos even though there's quite a large market, the industry, is in the end, in the hand of quite a small group, so a. it's quite difficult to get a foot in and b. it's hard to start your own company as there are already quite a few of them. (T12, M84)

Communication is all-pervasive, but at the same time, there are also fragmentary elements that in fact make the holistic order possible. The everyday quality of style emphasises a late modern sociality that is built upon random and optional leisure and lifestyle communities. Everyone can belong to several different communities at the same time and change their preferences at will. Snowboarding culture unifies various styles and influences (Sulkunen 1995: 78; Maffesoli 1995; cf. Noro 1991: 239ff).

Many of these traits refer towards the stylistically constructed "dominant order" and other youth culture phenomena such as rock, punk, and hip-hop culture, surfing, skateboarding, as well as snowboarding itself as a historical phenomenon. Dress is a central feature of style, not only in the light of its symbolic aspects, but also because it is visible to the public. The bodily experience associated with the riding style is a good example of "the totality of style":

> I. Style is usually each snowboarder's way of riding and everyone has his or her own unique style. Good or bad style is a matter of opinion, like the riding posture, but usually it's based on calmness and purity, or just the gestures of the rider during the trick. The rider can also have a rap or rock style that also includes dress. But the most important thing is still the riding style. (L2:343, M85)

Style can be defined either as a collectively shared mode of speech that is used within snowboarding culture or as a mode of speech

Switch Front Side Rock. Photo: Samuli Ronkanen.

that is used when talking about the culture from the outside (cf. Maffesoli 1995: 45). As a signifying concept, the snowboarder's individual and social way of being also dovetails with semantic elements, attitudes, and behaviour. The features arising from dress, values, and behaviour are fragmentary, but also bear common features. Alongside the themes revolving around freedom and authenticity, snowboarding reproduces in many different forms the recurring idea of a playful sociality and the importance of personal relationships. The style constitutes the experience of sociality by giving it a symbolic form.

"Snowboarding and the Unofficial"

Snowboarding culture is not culturally specific in the traditional sense of the words. Rather, it consists of a multiplicity of localised meanings, which do not have one place but several ones. The diversity of place becomes apparent especially outside the ski centres. Snowboarding is carried out on the fringes of ski slopes, urban environments, backyards and other unofficial places, which make snowboarding at the same time both a local, specific, and spatially ambivalent phenomenon:

I. Well, I guess the scoping out of new places has always been a part of this, going to sandpits and stuff. The new thing now is touring the handrails around town. You know, checking out all the big stairs. And if there are good rails then we go out at night and get snow from the parking lot of an ice stadium with a trailer, start making an approach ramp and a landing area and then we just ride all through the night in summer:

R. Is this ice stadium thing something you picked up from TV or is it common practice?

I. It's common practice. Some of us have a pick-up truck that we lay a plastic cover on and then just load the snow on to it. Just the other weekend, I was at the premiere of a snowboarding movie in which they just went and unscrewed something from the inner yard of a shopping mall. It was a steel pipe formed a bit like this [gestures with hands] and it was like a rail in some kind of parking complex, they just went and unscrewed it and dragged it with some kind of trailer off to a field where they could lay it down for riding. (T15, M82)

The multiplicity of localities is part of the cultural structure of snowboarding. The degree of commitment varies on an individual basis, but at the same time, it also reflects the influence of social roles on cultural competence (Pearson 1979: 16f). The meanings attached to snowboarding range from the interpretations of the public media to the personal experiences of each individual rider. Age, snowboarding history, place of residence, taste, and gender are all

important experiential factors. The last mentioned element also structures the way in which snowboarding is viewed. In youth culture research, gender has only begun to receive wider attention during the past decade (McRobbie & Garber 1997; Puuronen 1997; Hoikkala 1989). The number of female riders in Finnish snowboarding has steadily increased from the early days of the sport. Exact figures are not available, although in 1996 around 20 percent of all Finnish snowboarders were girls (Areng & Willners 1996: 14; cf. Mikola 2003: 32). This corresponds to the results of a questionnaire I published on the Internet while gathering research material for my doctoral thesis. Female snowboarders sent one-fifth of the questionnaires submitted to me during the winter season of 2002-2003.

The Meaning of Style Revisited

According to Phil Cohen, style is a phenomenon bound to the subcultural: it offers symbolic models for solutions to problems caused by social inequality (cf. Clarke et al. 1982: 30f). Cohen's concept of magical recovery is especially powerful in the work *Resistance Through Rituals* (1982), in which it is positioned as a basic element of subcul-tural expression culminating in style. The style of the skinheads constructs a reproduction of the traditional working class community. An authentically defined reproduction of communality serves as compensation in a situation where the social status of the working class has weakened because of societal changes (Clarke 1982: 99; cf. Hebdige 1982: 877). The conflicts between the mainstream cultures and subcultures have gained a central place in subcultural theory (cf. Jefferson 1982: 85f).

A subcultural style is often tied to other youth culture phenomena, which work depending on the comparative scheme either as a source of identification or separation (Hebdige 1982: 8; see Heiskanen & Mitchell 1985:30f). On the one hand, there is a general culture that is adapted to the dominant order while on the other there is a number of countercultures whose symbolic action transcends the boundaries defined by the general culture. Subculture constructs a world of its own separated from the ordinary, adult reality. Its culturally fixed points are defined by the youths' own systems of meaning (Hoikkala 1989: 30f; Hoikkala 1983: 40; Heiskanen & Mitchell 1985: 32). The concept of subculture is in many ways problematic. The central features that emerge for snowboarding are especially presuppositions regarding class, group, and gender. However, the relationships between the social and cultural are often random, and do not necessarily always cohere into a unified whole (Fine & Kleinman 1979: 1).

"Rap or Rock?"

The riders that represent the "old school" of snowboarding embraced the sport in the middle of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. In Finnish snowboarding culture, the division is mainly along a northern-southern axle. In terms of dress, the snowboarders are divided into hip-hoppers and punks loosely following the self-same musical and youth culture styles. Differences can also be found in snow-boarding styles. Rappers tend to favour the rails transferred from skating to snowboarding, as well as technically demanding stunts. The riding style of the rockers emphasises big snowboarding jumps and ramps, the spectacular, and "big air":

R. What kind of gear do you strap on when go out riding?
I. I stick on my Nitro boarding trousers with pockets, a snowboarding jacket, my cap and goggles. Then I'm all set. And of course my gloves and boots.
R. Do you classify yourself as a rocker?
I. I'm a rocker. Rock's my bag.
R. Okay
I. And then there are the rappers
R. Yeah, there are some of those as well.
I. I'm not really a rapper myself, but there are quite a few of them.
R. Describe a typical rapper for me
I. Well there's the big trousers and big headphones and goggles for a start. And well, I don't know, but it's like rappers do mostly rail slides. It's not like you can say for sure though. You just recognise them on the basis of their clothes, or maybe not on the slopes, since large trousers are cool there. For instance, it's like I've got pretty normal trousers, but then there are like dudes with looser trousers, maybe that's like the major difference. Or maybe rappers have a cooler style than the rockers. Like you know, a riding style.
R. Explain further.
I. Well, it's not like not like it's the same for everybody, but the rockers definitely like to do big airs and jump higher. It's not like you can say anything for sure, but it's just that the gear and the stance are a bit different, or maybe not the stance, but mostly the musical taste and the clothes that go with it. (T22, M84)

"Playful Dress"

Dress is stylistically mixed and playful. Expression varies according to the social status of individual taste judgements, but in such a fragmentary way that it is difficult to identify any contact surfaces. According to the homology assumption, a style that reproduces communality must be compatible with the lifestyle and ideology of the group. Snowboarding demonstrates, however, that the equivalence of the aesthetical and ethical dimension is at least ostensibly random. The value base is shared and to some extent permanent, although its expression is fragmented and varies through time. The stratification that arises as recontextualisation gathers its material from past points of comparison makes the historical situation complex. The significance of expression appears as a polyphonic and occasionally chaotic structure, in which a present fixed by dress, musical predilections and ideological fragments, gains its meaning though the past.

Apart from visually apparent elements, snow boarding also "recycles" elements adopted from value systems which sometimes connect it with the surf culture of the 1960s, and sometimes with punk ideology, the American suburbs and other marginal phenomena. The articulation of structures becomes problematic because style can only partly be expressed in verbal terms. Visual emphases dominate stylistic expression and serve at the same time as a reflective surface for ideology. Loose trousers are casual and feel comfortable. The overall stance is casual as the whole vibe is easygoing and free. The taste judgments that accompany visual expressions do not directly try to legitimate the existence of the meaning system. They are not intended to explain or produce grounds for anything – they refer directly to their signs e.g. what they are and how they are experienced. The tautological explanation returns to itself, something that also alludes to the dominance of a playful end in itself. This tautological aspect also supports the view of the interwoven nature of the aesthetical and the ethical dimension.

Anarchy and Nostalgia

Bricolage is not a stylistic tendency in itself, but rather a part of the universal logic

of cultural style (cf. Stahl 1999 [online]; Brake 1985: 58f). Steven Connor (1989: 191) defines late modern bricolage as an improvisation in which incompatible and heterogeneous fragments are combined as a contrast to unity and coherence. Bricolage signifies a universal human tendency to interpret new experiences in terms of already existing categories. Each new category and explana-tory model can be linked to older categories by virtue of being positioned as a rare ex-ception, opposite or caricature of a previous model (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 17, 21; Kaartinen 1997: 39). The variation of the interpretative horizon gives the sign a new more arbitrary meaning in comparison to the previous system. The end result is a cultural parody in which the predominant role is played by the structural contradictions of western society (Ruohonen 1994: 33). By way of the temporal dimension meanings become multi-layered constructions that permeate the entire history of boarding sports.

The interpretative horizons that are typical of youth culture expression can be divided into two main groups. Phenomena that receive an anarchic classification usually comment critically upon the dominant system of meaning and are in clear contradiction to this order. There are numerous examples of this. The bricolage of British Ted culture in the 1950s was based on the remodelling of Edwardian style while the points of comparison for the mod culture of the 1960s were drawn from the button-down shirts and ties worn in business dress. The second group of stylistic expression is embodied in the meaning structures of other youth cultures (Hebdige 1984).

Semantic systems outside the so-called mainstream culture can also affect the stylistic expression of snowboarding, although the most common influences are youth culture phenomena. Moreover, one must add that the symbolic anarchy associated with youth culture styles can be inherited or transferred from one semantic system to another. The surfing and skateboarding cultures are the key points of reference for snowboarding culture. As for musical genres, rap and rock cultures have gained a dominant position. The "skatepunk" that developed in skateboarding is the equivalent of punk within snowboarding culture, and is furthermore complemented by influences from surfing and other boarding sports.

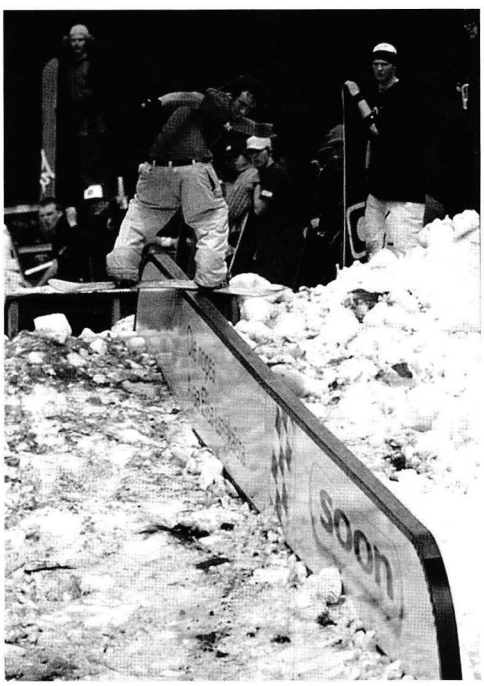
"Delinquent Style?"

Subculture and anarchy are indeed intimately entwined concepts. Snowboarders view this anarchy as an artificial representation upheld by the media; it might tell us something about snowboarding's past, but fits uneasily with the reality of the present. However, there also features in the style of snowboarding culture that adhere to a historically defined anarchic stance. Ideological conflicts that have been transferred from one semantic system to another are especially noticeable between snowboarding and skateboarding:

I. I at least used to think, and maybe that's why I've stopped thinking about it lately, that the media views the snowboarders and skaters as the same crowd, a little grungy and alternative, which isn't necessarily true, although in broad terms it isn't much off the mark either. I've also come across people who think skaters and snowboarders just wreck places and mess up stuff. But you could find that kind of element and vandals and stuff in any kind of sport. Nowadays, I don't think about what the media has to say about snowboarders, it's like, whatever. But anyway,

the commercialism in snowboarding is definitely more of a negative thing than a positive thing. (T14, F86)

Anarchy is a context-bound phenomenon. The more central a structure of the dominant order bricolage reveals the more radical its discursive strategy becomes (Becker 1963; Lähteenmaa 1996: 102f). The relationship be-tween differentiation and anarchy is a dialectical, two-way movement: differentiation that happens through style is not only a factual strategy, but also something that opens up on a semantic level and works simultaneously as both a goal and an instrument. The differentiation that emerges as an intrinsic value in terms of sociality manifests itself as a tautological explanation for collectivity; like communality, differentiation is of intrinsic importance – snowboarding is valuable for its own sake.



After the competition: winner takes the board. Photo: Samuli Ronkanen.

"Alternative Structures"

Snowboarding also reproduces the structures of the dominant order. Attention has especially been paid to gender and the role it plays in western society. For instance, according to Kristin Anderson (1999), there are many similarities between snowboarding culture and the masculine structures dominant in western society. In snowboarding, the figure of the dominant order is constructed through the marginal and therefore its cultural determinants are always stylebound. Conflicts are part of the global history of snowboarding culture, through which they also affect contemporary praxes. Differentiation is an ideologically central theme that reproduces a value system based on freedom, authenticity, and communality. Both the dominant and the marginal define snowboarding culture:

I. I think all those riders who do a lot of jumps, and specifically slide rails, and ride in the pipe, like to have a laid-back and loose dress style. Most of the boys have a certain kind of ski cap, the kind that's currently in fashion. You see a lot of them, but then there are like those with proper ski jackets and loose pants, or more or less so, anyway, but definitely a more loose kind of thing. But then again, if you think of casual riders and those who only visit the slopes once in a while and who might previously only have done some ordinary skiing, and don't really see the need to buy any new gear, then they usually have the same kind of ski jackets like all the other skiers. It's like a terrible word, skier. It's not like a derogatory term, but still. The lamest skiers are like the Russians and stuff. Their clothes are just awful. I mean seriously, we're talking pink ski overalls. It's like an eighties thing or somethin'... it's easy to make out those who ride a lot and those who only hit the slopes once in a while. (T13, F80)

The majority of the negative remarks are directed towards commercialism, competi-

tiveness, and the "traditional sports" outside snowboarding. The International Ski Federation (FIS) and the Olympics have also received their fair share of criticism. The discourses that serve as an instrument of differentiation overlap ideologically; on a symbolic level, they merge and form the dominant order that is alien from the perspective of snowboarding culture. Sport is viewed as a value system branded by commercialism and competitiveness, alongside which snowboarding builds its own alternative world. The opposition of commercialism is based on a critique of the capitalist economic system, but only partly so. Commercialism becomes a problematic phenomenon in the event that it strives to replace the semantic system of snowboarding with its own rationalism:

> I. Commercialism is a bit like, well of course you're immediately like, when something is commercial, it seems as if to be in some way credible, you should at least in principle be against it, but I think it doesn't bring just bad things to the sport, for one thing it can raise the visibility of the sport and make it easier to get into. In the beginning, the interest was like nada [forms a zero with his fingers], it was a "you were allowed to be there if you behaved" kinda' vibe, now they invest millions of dollars... Of course, this also has its negative sides. I don't think competition suits the sport at all. As for saying more about competition, it's hard, as I'm involved in all kinds of sports. I've definitely got a competitive streak, in other words I need something to fight for.
>
> But snowboarding like doesn't have to be about counting points and stuff, at least not in my opinion, or maybe I don't do it for that reason, but more because it's just so much fun. All other sports are based on that, at least in ball games, you count points and you have to have something to play for. It would feel a bit stupid otherwise, but riding's a different matter, so you don't necessarily need any judging, but I guess some people like it, this is also something that divides people into camps. And then there's the other reason why riders do these things, the cold cash, since the top riders receive especially in the big tournaments pretty substantial sums. So that always gathers interest, no matter how much you're against commercialism and everything. (T24, M81)

Commercialism and competitiveness appropriate snowboarding for other ends than riding itself. The same also applies to the protestant work ethic which reduces snowboarding to a leisure activity as well as modernist individualism for which there are emic points of reference in snowboarding culture. Money, work and duty gain an instrumental value: their purpose is to serve as a realisation of the authenticity of being a snowboarder. Synchronic references point towards living contemporary styles. The nostalgic features of the systems of meaning assume their points of comparison from the history of snowboarding and western youth cultures (Donnelly 1993: 119).

Surfing and skating act mainly as positive sources of identification: they are part of the construction of the illusion of a global community uniting all snowboarders. In practice, communality is a living construction in the discursive praxis of a semantic system, which becomes materialised in the everyday reality of local groups. Communality is not the opposite of a nonconformist individuality, but rather a voluntariness through which individuals choose their communities themselves.

Style is at the core of culturally signifying practices. Keywords include overlapping, synchrony, and fragmentariness. Bricolage unifies the fragmented discourses of the "grand narratives of history" so that the present gains meaning through the past (cf. Söderholm 1990: 97). The paradox of

fragmentariness is that as an element of style it actually produces order. Style is a contradictory mixture of new and old (Maffesoli 1995: 51f). Bricolage makes history the central element of style. Myth also delineates the repertoire utilised by bricolage as well as the interpretative horizon in which the combination takes place. It is precisely through this temporal perspective that style gets its mythical and nostalgic features. The operational sphere of style is extensive; in addition to written discourses, photographs, films, print media, exhibitions, and advertising can also be approached as stylistic communication (Barthes 1973: 117; cf. Ehrnrooth 1988: 45).

Nostalgia returns a past estranged from the contemporary to the present moment. The classical definitions of the concept emphasise the value-charged aspects of cultural creativity: nostalgia evaluates the past as better than the present. It returns it to something which is not or something that has never even been in the first place. (Knuuttila 1994: 11ff). In snowboarding culture, nostalgia speaks on behalf of a freedom of choice culminating in both individualism and communality. Freedom is an indispensable starting point for cultural creativity, but only a communality based on collectivity turns nostalgia into a culturally con-structed emotion (Koivunen 2000: 345).

According to Angela McRobbie, the nostalgia of youth culture differs from the traditional definition of the concept in that it does not strive after authenticity or try to reconstruct the past as it sometimes used to be. Nostalgia is a tool producing mythical representations, which it exploits and through which it attaches itself to topical discourses of the moment (1996: 147, 152f). The hermeneutic kinship between nostalgia and anarchy explains partly why both qualities can be linked to an individual object or discourse (Hutcheon 1998 [online]). Attribution does not happen according to the particular, but rather between the signifying subject and discourse within the interpretative event. As a qualifier associated with the interpretative event, the contradictory relationship between nostalgia and anarchy reverts to the parallel existence of two interpretative horizons.

Social utopia represents a point of departure from the contemporary and real. It is the imaginary counterpart of the present. In snowboarding culture, the concepts are hierarchically ordered: anarchy can live in a subordinate relationship to nostalgia and utopia and vice versa. The anarchistic functions of nostalgia are apparent especially where the history of snowboarding serves as an instrument of differentiation. In analogy to surfing culture's "eternal summer", utopia and nostalgia produce a discourse of eternal winter representing the inclusive aspects of snowboarding culture. Another product of this differentiation is the image of an anti-commercial communality which Linda Hutcheon (1998 [online]) sees as "the by-product of an individualism born out of the constricts of modernism and late modernism".

"Finnish gangsta-boys"

The contradiction between the global and the localised level of snowboarding culture makes both these definitions of nostalgia imaginary. Classical nostalgia is defined as a longing that is directed towards the past. The late modern version of nostalgia adheres itself to the historical reference point of this

longing and asks what kind of relationship it can have to an object which is so estranged from the interpreter that he or she could not have lost it in the first place (Hutcheon 1998 [online]; Knuuttila 1994). The same applies to Finnish snowboarding culture as there are both American and domestic elements in its nostalgic forms.

The authenticity of foreign influences fosters critical interpretations within Finnish snowboarding culture. It is a long way from the American suburbia to the Finnish mindscape, and not only in terms of geographical distance. Even a modest sense of community is sufficient for a contact surface, although the necessary points of convergence are not always easy to find:

> I. ...It's a bit like the skate scene, there are two schools, there's like a heavy/punk type thing and then there's another with like tight jeans, metal-studded belts and ripped sleeves, the stereotypical pink sneakers and all that. Then there's like a loose hip-hop/rap crowd with like a bling bling, yo yo vibe, and the Trulls [a Finnish snowboarding team] who at least in Finland have been pretty serious trendsetters when it comes to this bling bing side of things, their pants like droop, and their waistline is somewhere above their knees and stuff. It's just their thing.
>
> R. Does this have anything to do with the world associated with this dress style?
>
> I. That's a pretty difficult thing to answer because now they're trying to promote this kind of black ghetto youth image from MTV or somethin' that includes bling bling gold chains or whatever and a bitchin' merc that's so customised that the tail pipe drags along the ground and the rims of the wheel are so big that they nearly pop out of the mudguards, and the drooping pants and, of course that friggin' jacket that's open so that they can show off the bling bling jewellery and all that. (T28, M76)

Historical reality is not fixed, but rather something imagined and under continuous construction. Nostalgia and anarchy tell us from what kind of repertoire and to what purpose the elements utilised in recontextualisation have been selected. At the same time, they again raise the question of the homologies of snowboarding culture. The relationship between expression and values is not always stable. Relationships can vary from the presupposed coherence of the homology thesis to quite considerable inner contradictions (Hebdige 1984: 126f). It is clear, however, that the visible forms of style, as well as the whole phenomenon, direct our attention to the constitutive elements of snowboarding culture.

Visibility and Contradiction

The visibility of style arises from the interplay of two or more semantic systems. Thus, it becomes culturally visible either through conflict or through its historical context. The public's attention can quickly subside, however, when its interest in style lessens and diffuses into part of the dominant order (Clarke et al. 1982: 14). Transparency can make style both visually and culturally non-declarative or in other words invisible, whereupon its existence is based on a weakly objectified or otherwise discretely constructed praxis (Krogstad 1990: 250). The forms of signification are also entities subject to change. Their significance is especially emphasised in the functionality of semantic systems that have moved from the marginal to the dominant order. The growing popularity of snowboarding has divided snowboarding culture into two parts (cf. Christensen 2001).

Marginality can be a part of the dominant order and at the same time maintain its

intrinsic motivation. Style comments upon questions about the nature of the dominant order. It comments, questions or rebels. The everyday quality represented in the aesthetic and the ideological forms of style is in both cases one and the same phenomenon. Visibility is that which causes the contradictory situation and makes the phenomenon obvious by implying a deviation from the norm.

The phenomenon differentiates, or as is often the case in the context of media and commercialism, is differentiated from the dominant order to form its own world. Apart from visuality, opposition is also a culturally visible element of many youth culture phenomena. Visibility acts as the opposite of obviousness and can be transformed into the obvious in the same way as the unofficial becomes popularised and moves from the margin to the official. The unofficial becomes part of the everyday life of the self-evident. Visibility transforms once again into obviousness and the phenomenon disappears from the interpretative horizon.

Marginality and resistance live side by side in contemporary youth culture. In the wake of branding, the marginal becomes increasingly often a part of the dominant culture. This contradictory situation arises from competing interpretative horizons; youth culture seems to exist simultaneously in both the guise of marginality and as a legitimised capitalistic product. Snowboarders ride on the edge of two systems of meaning. Marginality springs from a subordinate relationship in which the dominant strives to maintain its position either by absorbing the subordinate as part of its own order or making the marginal invisible, e.g. ignoring it (Connor 1989: 194f). Thirdly, the dominant order can resort to exoticizing or purposely upholding the marginality associated with otherness.

Visual and cultural visibility alludes to the communal base of style serving as the interpretative context of individual emphases. In the world of media and advertising, style is linked to a system of exchange operating on a larger symbolic level (ibid). Totality permeates the collectively shared semantic system of snowboarding on all its levels. The branded forms of marginality are about the terms of exchange between the dominant and the unofficial. According to Jean Baudrillard, a symbolic order dominated by totality is typical of a marginal phenomenon: it is directed towards something other than the pursuit of financial gain. In a capitalistic system, the symbolic lives in a subordinate relationship to economic rationalities. Its values serve either directly or indirectly as a means of financially defined benefit. In western societies, semantic systems that can be equated with pre-industrial systems of exchange are only likely to be found in marginal symbolic systems (1990; cf. Mauss 1990).

The commercial pursuits of the dominant order are directed towards the economic benefit arising from branding. Symbolical exchange has moved from the Marxist dichotomy of the oppressor and the oppressed to a new horizon of meaning. For snowboarding, cultural visibility is an intrinsic value, through which it strives for not only economic benefit but also authenticity and cultural autonomy. The existence of popular culture phenomena is based on a reciprocal system of exchange (Connor 1989: 194f). It is precisely through this "web of contradictory meanings" that snowboarding culture constitutes a world of its own.

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Note

1 The references to source material are based on the fieldwork for my doctoral thesis on Finnish snowboarding. In addition to the themed interviews, I also published the responses to the questionnaire in a web environment. L1 and L2 refer to the questionnaire responses while T refers to the themed interviews. R refers to the researcher while I refers to the informant. The individual code of the informant is followed by the gender (F/M) and year of birth of the respondent. The background information in the responses to the questionnaire has been gathered according to the precision given by the informant. I wish to thank Samuli Ronkanen who has kindly provided me the visual material for this article.

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Problematic Patienthood

"Immigrants" in Swedish Health Care

By Magnus Öhlander

Introduction

Health care in Sweden is basically a practical activity aimed at preventing ill health, promoting health, diagnosing ailments, and giving appropriate treatment. Health care is divided into a variety of activities, performed by different professional groups. For this staff there are a number of journals presenting the latest findings, professional experience, and working conditions, and discussing specific issues. Textbooks are also written, of course. The National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) is the authority that supervises health care in Sweden. It conducts regular inquiries, surveys current knowledge, and issues rules and recommendations. Works of this kind are also published by the county councils, which are responsible for regional health care, and by private care units.

These texts are part of a public discourse about health care. A recurrent theme is patients (and potential patients) born in other countries. They are ascribed special characteristics and needs. They constitute a specific category when it comes to surveys of health, general planning of care and preventive health measures. One of several designations for these is "immigrant patients" (*invandrarpatienter*).

The empirical data for this article come from printed texts which talk about immigrant patients. My aim is to find the basic features of what I call the discourse about the immigrant patient. These patients are the subject of descriptions, examinations, and knowledge production concerning the relation between "immigrants and Swedes" in matters such as the labour market and the housing market, the family and family life, equality – culture in the anthropological sense – and aesthetic cultural life and education. This article may be said to be about the way of presenting what is immigrant-specific and the relation between "immigrants and Swedes" as this is situated and elaborated in the context of Swedish health care.

The way of talking about "immigrants" is not unique to the health service. Health care is not isolated from the rest of society, from the historical circumstances which have contributed to the outlook on immigrants and their situation and the discourses found in, say, politics, research, and the mass media. After the presentation of the empirical material and my analytical approaches, I will outline the affinity between the discourse about the immigrant patient and other relevant discourses in the public sphere. The aim is to point out a historical and a contemporary context which I believe is relevant for the way in which the care system talks about persons who have immigrated. In the section entitled "The Objects" I ask who and what constitutes the object of the discourse. Ascertaining this is a first step in answering the main question, which concerns the central ways of speaking about immigrants. This is then treated in more detail under the headings "Normality, Alterity, and Deviation" and "The Problematic and the Ideal".

The Material, the Concept of Discourse, and the Analysis

My material consists of roughly 340 texts, most of them articles, published between 1967 and 2001. There are books, textbooks, reports, inquiries, brochures, and above all articles issued by publishers or authorities or published in professional journals for health care staff (e.g. *Läkartidningen*, *Nordisk Medicin*, *Primasen*, *Sjukgymnasten*,

Socialmedicinsk tidskrift, *Vård*, *Vårdalnytt*). The texts are by researchers, care teachers, care staff, consultants, officials, and journalists. My analysis focuses on texts written by care staff, who can be both active professionals and researchers.

The question of how to make a limited selection from the potentially huge amount of texts is problematic. The first demarcation was to focus solely on the Swedish public sphere, so I have chosen texts published in Swedish. One reason for this is that it also limits the relevant contexts and possible links to other similar discourses. I have also confined myself to material concerning somatic care, for the same reason. The amount of texts and contexts would otherwise be too large. In addition, my ambition has been to stick primarily to texts written by people working in care, citing journalists' interviews with them, and reporting on seminars and conferences held by representatives of health care. In this way I hope to be able to capture the staff's own experiences of and ways of understanding immigrants.

It has proved difficult to adhere to the last two limitations in particular. When it comes to immigrant patients, the texts emphasize the importance of psychosomatic aspects. Moreover, somatic care has been forced to redefine its purely physical focus. It also involves problems to study only texts which convey the "voices" of the staff (as practising care workers and researchers). Researchers in the humanities and social sciences are also of significance for the discourse about the immigrant patient. They write on behalf of the National Board of Health and Welfare and other authorities, or they publish texts in professional journals. Against the background of these objections to my original empirical demarcations, it may be said that my primary material consists of Swedish-language texts about the somatic care provided by staff in health care. But it is also analytically justified and necessary to include texts about non-somatic care and texts written by researchers outside the sphere of medicine.

The analysis is preliminary. The phenomena to which I draw attention are nevertheless so common in the material that the analysis has a more general validity. The observations are also supported by other research on the same and similar fields. What presumably escapes me is the nuances and deviations. One limitation is that I do not consider any changes over time.

My theoretical inspiration for discourse analysis came originally from Michel Foucault (1972, 1993). Stuart Hall (1992) has an enlightening description of Foucault's concept of discourse which I have found very useful. Stephen Harold Riggins (1997) gives concrete guidance in the discussion of discourse analysis, as do Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren (1998) in their work about what they call "the tolerant majority's" discussions about diversity. Blommaert and Verschueren show several "ways of speaking" about immigrants which can be identified in the empirical data on which my study is based.

A discourse has one or more specific objects. Identifying these gives some guidance as to the social, economic, and/or practical circumstances that formed the seedbed for the growth of the discourse. In addition, a description of the objects gives an indication of the way of speaking in the discourse. I will therefore devote considerable space to the question of what and who the objects are.

A discourse produces a specific form of knowledge. But it is not just knowledge in a strictly scientific sense. It also includes people's experiences, reflections, and the meanings given to a particular phenomenon.

The production of knowledge also involves a practice, doing. With the aid of discursive practices we order, describe, and interpret reality. As a synonym of "discursive practices" I use "ways of speaking". People "speak" in a particular way about foreign-born people and often also about their children who may have been born in Sweden. The objects are created, distinguished, and placed in relation to each other, ascribed characteristics, interpreted and explained.

As Hall (1992:291) maintains, discourse in this sense is not based on the normal distinction between thought and action or, for that matter, a kind of discursive reality separated from lived everyday experience. All practice is based on and (re)produces some form of knowledge. In that sense all actions have a discursive aspect which is more or less verbalizable.[1] This means that discourses have a practical meaning for the day-to-day work in health care.

Some form of institutionalization is required, certain accepted and legitimated positions from which individuals can produce and reproduce a discourse (Foucault 1993). When it comes to the discourse about immigrant patients, these positions consist of the groups of journalists, researchers, and professional groups in health care mentioned above. But a discourse is not an individual subject's way of speaking. A discourse derives its power by being permeated by a much larger temporal and spatial context. The practices of the discourse are used by researchers, authorities, journalists, the staff of welfare institutions, "the man in the street", and, in certain cases, by the targeted groups themselves (cf. Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Riggins 1997; Öhlander 1999). In the analysis of the texts, then, I do *not* proceed from the backgrounds and intentions of the individual subjects (the authors of the texts). Instead the focus is on a way of speaking. The authors of the texts are partly producers but above all reproducers of this discourse.

Published texts are aimed at a public sphere, accessible to anyone who is interested in them. These are the terms of production under which the texts came into existence. One of the conditions is that the texts are part of a public flow of communication, what may be called "a general opinion", that is, the authors' perceptions of what values, norms, outlooks, and modes of thought are generally acceptable (cf. Öhlander 1999). The terms of production also include the fact that the texts seek to be concrete and provide knowledge and guidance which will be useful in the everyday practice of care. It is likely that there is at bottom a scientific outlook on knowledge which shapes the way of speaking in these texts. This means that, for example, reasoning about culture theory is paired with the ideal of practical applicability and a view of knowledge rooted in the natural sciences. In the analysis of text, one should therefore consider production conditions of this kind (cf. Riggins 1997; Blommaert & Verschueren 1998).

It is not possible to regard just any collection of statements as a discourse. It is when the statements, and the ways of speaking which they contain, concern the same object and are interconnected that one can speak of them as a specific discur-

sive field or a discursive formation (Foucault 1972; Hall 1992; cf. Öhlander 1999). The initial hypothesis is that there is one such formation with the immigrant patient as an object. Even if the statements make up a discourse, it is never a closed system. It arose in a particular historical and spatial context, but it is influenced by and linked to other discourses which need not but can have completely different historical and spatial foundations. These are often of crucial significance for the discursive practices that have the immigrant patient as their object.

A Fabric

The discourse or the discursive formation surrounding immigrant patients is linked to several other discourses. More correctly, there is a complete fabric of discourses about the stranger or the Other or those who are different, and it is strictly impossible to say where one discourse ends and the next begins. In other words, there are several discourses about alterity which are interconnected without being merged.

Stuart Hall (1992) shows the basic features of what he calls *the discourse of "the West and the Rest"*. The "West" is not so much a geographical location as an idea about a particular society. It is a society that is "developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular and modern" (Hall 1992: 277). Whatever its geographic location, a society can possess these characteristics. According to the same logic, those who lack these characteristics belong to "the Rest".

The word "West", according to Hall, is virtually identical with "modern". The West is a world that is well developed, built up around nation states, democracy, a capitalist economy, (post)industrialism, efficiency, and rationality. This self-image emerged in a specific historical context where colonialism and imperialism, supported by the discourse about the West and the rest of the world, have played a crucial role. To put it another way, modernity was shaped and developed in a global process. "At a certain moment, the fates of what had been, for many centuries, separate and distinct worlds became – some would say, fatally – harnessed together in the same historical timeframe. They became related elements in the same *discourse*, or way of speaking. They became different parts of one global social, economic, and cultural system, one interdependent world, one language" (Hall 1992: 279).

The basic ways of talking which build up the discourse are fairly simple. The first is comparison. This establishes the differences between peoples, societies, cultures. These are based on mutually exclusive opposites. If the West is characterized by modernity, then the rest of the world displays an archaic, traditional premodernity. The discourse can therefore be described as *a play of differences*. The comparison uses Western standards (for morals, the relation between the sexes, social systems, etc.) as the lens and the yardstick. This is yet another discursive practice. The Enlightenment ideas about progress became a part of this standard, the idea that each society undergoes a number of stages of development to finally reach cultural and economic perfection. Since the West is high on the ladder of development, the rest of the world is at a lower level. A third mode of the discourse is simplification, homogenization, and stereotyping. The comparison establishes an image of a relatively homogeneous West

which is contrasted with stereotyped descriptions of the rest of the world.

Discourse is slightly more complex than this, however. The Rest is also an object of dreams, wishes, and fantasies, into which the West inscribes what it lacks, desires, or fears. Examples of this are descriptions of a simple way of life in harmony with nature, a relaxed attitude to the body and sexuality, or the dream of a Utopia, a paradise. Hall (1992:299ff.) calls this *idealization* (cf. Berg 1998). The same phenomenon that is regarded as attractive, however, can be transformed into something dangerous and threatening. Free sexuality can be enticing on the one hand, but viewed as a sign of lack of civilization on the other hand. A discourse can thus be incomplete and contradictory. Hall (1992:292) declares that it contains statements which, although they are systematically coherent, can still be contradictory. Using Foucault's (1972) term, Hall calls this *a system of dispersion*.

This outlined discourse about the West and the Rest concerns the relations as they are separated in space. It is therefore also significant for how people in the West regard immigrants. Several researchers claim that, parallel to present-day stated ideals about tolerance there remain unintentional and concealed ways of organizing differences between ethnic categories which are ascribed to a heritage from a colonial world order. In its new form this includes a focus on phenotypic features, static cultural differences, and degrees of modernity/traditionalism. These differences constitute the base in the ranking and stereotyping of social categories. To put it simply, there are historical "relics of racism" which have long since been abandoned and challenged, but which still help to shape the ways of speaking. In Sweden there is a general discourse about the non-Swedish, for example, in the mass media, politics, and research, and hence also general ways of formulating the relationship between "immigrants" and "Swedes". This is founded on the ideal of tolerance; it includes a play of differences which distinguish, separate, and rank static cultures, religions, and participation in modernity.[2] In this play of differences, "immigrants" have become a specific population category.

The Category and the Sign "Immigrants"

From the end of the 1960s the term "immigrant" became established in Sweden, as a fresh and positive alternative to "foreigner".[3] The term functions both as a designation for a specific social category – which shares one or more common characteristics, in this case e.g. migration and/or origin – and as a sign. As a sign, "immigrants" is an image or idea which is filled with varying meanings.

Considered as a concrete social category, "immigrants" is elusive. In texts published by Swedish authorities it is used in a variety of ways which is difficult to pin down. In the public debate and in media reporting, it likewise stands for a broad, ambiguous category of people. Mostly the term comprises both immigrants and their children born in Sweden. It is often used with unspecified reference to special groups who are regarded as "non-Swedish" (see e.g. Lukkarinen Kvist 2001; Lövgren & Runfors 1993; Pripp 2001; Westin *et al.* 1999).

The category of "immigrants" is elastic in the sense that the people it includes can vary to some extent depending on the interpreter and the context. It seems that the

nationalities and ethnic groups that can be comprised in the category have varied through history. This variation might possibly be explained in terms of the composition of groups which have been represented in Sweden at different times. The variation can be described as follows: in any particular historical context the category has had a fixed core, some groups on the margin, and some which are not considered as immigrants at all.[4]

As a sign the meaning of the term is more fixed. It is an image generated by a comparison and an emphasis on differences between "immigrants" and "Swedes". The word has taken on a wide range of meanings to do with exotic food and aesthetic expressions, housing segregation, difficulties on the labour market, poor economy, criminality, worse health than the rest of the population, good traditions when it comes to respecting and looking after one's elders, tricky cultural conflicts as regards the outlook on teenage daughters and attitudes to equality between the sexes. The sign "immigrants" represents what is different, non-Swedish, both in relation to modernity and in relation to a kind of presumed homogeneous Swedish culture. Several researchers have pointed out that it takes on an essentialist form which makes it possible to speak of distinct cultures, cultural encounters, cultural clashes. This distinguishes the sign "immigrants" from the sign "Swedes" (e.g. de los Reyes 1998; Mattsson 2001; Pripp 2001; Svanberg & Tydén 1994; Ålund & Schierup 1991; Ålund 1995; see also Blommaert & Verschueren 1998).[5]

In practice, of course, it is difficult to distinguish the category "immigrants" from the sign "immigrants". Analytically speaking, however, it may be clarifying that the sign acquires meanings which single out non-Swedishness, which is not synonymous with this non-Swedishness distinguishing or comprising all the individuals who can be reckoned, on the basis of, say, their origin, in the social category of "immigrants".

The Objects

From the 1970s onwards, Swedish "immigrant policy" was changed from the idea of assimilation to a desire for a multicultural society where differences are accepted and integrated in such a way that they function together within a given social framework. In the aspiration to promote multiculturalism, a number of studies were conducted, special language tuition was established, and various types of authorities were set up to deal with matters specifically concerning immigrants. During this time the character of immigration to Sweden changed too. Labour immigration from non-Nordic countries officially ceased in 1973. From the 1970s Sweden chiefly received refugees, relatives of earlier immigrants, and people who could be considered to have other humanitarian reasons for settling in Sweden. The ethnic composition of the category of "immigrants" changed during the 1970s and 1980s as more people arrived from countries at a greater geographical distance from Sweden. It is in this historical context that people in the Swedish health care system increasingly started to discuss and study what came to be known as "the immigrant patient".

To put it simply, the discourse about immigrant patients is about encounters between immigrants and the health service. Journalists, researchers, care personnel, and the health care system as such are the

subjects of the discourse, that is, those who interpret, describe, and formulate verbal statements about immigrants. But who and what, more precisely, are the objects of the discourse about immigrant patients?

The category designation "immigrants" is used both as a label for an actual social category, and as a sign that is given specific meanings. The actual term "immigrant patients" is one of several used, and it may not even be the most common one. Other terms sound much the same, for example, "patients with an immigrant background", "immigrant groups", or quite simply "immigrants".

The epithets "immigrant" and "refugee" are used to make combinations which further refine the categories. "Immigrant" and "refugee can be linked to words such as "patient", "woman", "man", "child", "family", and the like. This then becomes a further specified marker for the non-Swedish. An "immigrant patient" or "immigrant woman" is something qualitatively different from the unmarked categories of "patient" or "woman" (cf. Pripp 2001; Shuman 1993). Yet another variant is a more or less precise statement of geographical origin or ethnic or religious affiliation or presumed cultural affiliation or language, or any combination of these.

These designations can be found in the book *Omvårdnad i ett mångkulturellt samhälle* ("Nursing in a Multicultural Society"), a Swedish translation of the original by the Norwegian nurse Ingrid Hanssen (1998).[6] The book is divided into two parts. The first is entitled "Cross-Cultural Thinking". The second part has been given the overall heading "Special Patient Groups". Here the reader learns more about "Latin American patients", "Vietnamese patients", "Muslim patients", "Hindu patients", "Jewish patients", "Christian patients", "Patients who belong to the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Mormon Church" and "Sami patients". They are sorted according to geographical origin, religion, and ethnicity.

Chapter three deals with differences and similarities in the view of care, nursing, and the like:

> African thinking about disease and recovery is part of a whole which focuses particularly on the body, the individual and the earth, and systems for balance between bodily fluids and certain properties. Among the Manyika people of Zimbabwe, for example, the duality of heat and cold has its place both in religion and in everyday life. Heat is associated with disease, agitation, and danger, while cold goes together with health, peace, and order (Hanssen 1998:46–47).

In this chapter we can also read about the "notion" of "yin and yang", "the belief in the evil eye", "witchcraft", and "the spirits of dead ancestors". In this context, cultures become independently living beings. Health care constitutes a context where Western culture is assembled, surrounded by "other cultures". Differences which are highlighted are presumably determined to a large extent by what is relevant for the practical work of nursing.

The category of "immigrants" consists of people from Africa, Asia, and South America. People from Eastern Europe are also frequently mentioned, chiefly Poles and those from the former Yugoslavia. Persons from the "Mediterranean area" consist of Greeks and Turks. People who have immigrated to Sweden from other Nordic countries, from the rest of Europe, or from North America are found on the margins of the category or are not considered. Among those who are on the margins

but can temporarily find themselves at the centre are Finns. People from Greece and Turkey are among those who are usually at the core of the category. All those outside or on the margins of the category of "immigrants" can also be assumed to be included in the more general categorizations such as "Nordic", "Scandinavian" and "we in the West".

Those who permanently or temporarily belong to the category of immigrant patients are the *primary object* of knowledge in the discourse. Regarded as a sign, this object represents something so alien and different that it is problematic and hence is conjured up as an object for the production of specific knowledge. It cannot be incorporated into the familiar.

It is in relation to the primary object that yet another of the objects of the texts emerges, namely, the Swedish health service and its staff, shaped by a presumably homogeneous Swedish culture and by scientific medicine. This "we" – in the form of the health care system as such and we Swedes, Scandinavians, Europeans, or Westerners – comprises the *secondary object* of knowledge in the discourse. This knowledge is shaped indirectly, implicitly. While the image of, say, Africans' belief in the magic of bodily fluids is formulated, the perceptions of Swedish medicine and Swedish health care staff are also modulated. Statements about the primary object constitute the mirror that the observer is reflected in. The secondary object is also shaped in more general terms. The texts write about "the West", "Swedish society", "the staff", "the health service", and the like.

The discourse contains yet another object. This object emerges when the sign "immigrant patients" represents problems and shortage of resources (which I will return to below). The object can be called "the ideal patient". The ideal patient is the *implicit object* of the discourse. Although occasionally mentioned, this ideal patient is rarely described. This object is perhaps more an ideal type than an actually demonstrable social category. This patient nevertheless is the standard of comparison in descriptions of immigrant patients.

At a concrete level, the discourse about Swedish health care and immigrant patients involves a play of differences between its primary, secondary, and implicit objects. If we consider the objects as signs, we see in turn a larger complex of relations which constitute the basis for comparisons. One is the West in relation to the rest of the world, with the rest of the world placed in relation to non-Swedish, non-Nordic, non-Western. Yet another is the relationship between normality, alterity, and deviation. A third relation is that between the problematic, represented by the immigrant patient, and the ideal, represented by the ideal patient.

Normality, Alterity, and Deviation

Comparison is the fundamental way to talk about "immigrant patients". Comparison focuses on differences between the primary, secondary, and implicit objects of the discourse. The differences are formulated as being of a religious and/or cultural kind, for example. Ultimately there is no express ethnocentrism. On the contrary, the majority of the texts are characterized by an ambition to describe and understand people on their own terms, without ranking them. Yet the book declares that cultural differences are hard to reconcile and constitute obstacles to mutual understanding. Since the health

service can never shirk its responsibility for immigrant patients, the discourse bears the stamp of an aspiration to bridge these comprehension problems. If one can say that a discourse has a goal, then it is to find knowledge that can be translated into everyday practices which can resolve problems of communication and mutual understanding.

The normal, the different, and the deviant are contrasted with each other, and define each other. The normal is the central point of comparison in the descriptions. This proceeds from the self-image of the person who is making the description, from homogenized conceptions. Something is *different* if it is not typical of the normal but is still tolerable, if not always unproblematic for the health care system. What is *deviant* cannot be tolerated (one example is female circumcision). Between the different and the deviant there is of course a sliding scale. Even if the health service can accept alterity consisting of belief in the evil eye and other so-called magic and folk belief, the representatives of care cannot accept these as legitimate explanations for illness. Folk belief and folk medicine are examples of something in between the different and the deviant.

In many studies normality is claimed to be mostly implicit or only indirectly mentioned.[7] As regards the discourse about the immigrant patient, this observation is not entirely correct. In the texts about these patients there recur more or less critical comments and discussions about the outlooks and working methods of the health service and about Swedish, Nordic, or Western culture. In my empirical material there are texts where comparisons are made between the normality of the describer/the health care staff and the alterity of immigrants, comparisons revealing curiosity, amazement, and a wish to understand. In certain cases one can interpret the texts as urging a beneficial change to the perspective and outlook of normality. In 1998 *Läkartidningen* published a series of articles on the theme of "Multicultural Care". One of the texts in the series is by a person who is at once a general practitioner and a research physician. Her article is about cultural and social aspects of pain.

> As Western-trained doctors, brought up to regard the body, the soul, and the external world as separate phenomena, we often feel that the patient's symptoms are more real if they can be explained in terms of physical or mental abnormalities. These abnormalities or diagnoses of disease are presumed to have a unique clinical picture with specific subjective and objective signs and a specific natural course.
>
> This way of thinking can be contrasted with certain African cultures where disease, including pain, can be perceived as disturbed human or spiritual relations. Pain is therefore less frequently associated with the patient's own body.
>
> In Buddhism, as in many other religions, pain is regarded as a part of life and therefore something that can be ignored. Other religions regard pain as imbalance in the distribution of vital energy. [...]
>
> Doctors and nurses evaluate pain on the basis of their education and professional experience. This, together with the fact that pain is a subjective experience, means that care personnel tend to undervalue the patients' pain. [...]
>
> In the Swedish health service we tend to react with suspicion and irritation to patients who express an inability to work on account of pain – particularly if the pain is of unknown origin (Löfvander 1998:1113).

In folk medicine and non-Western school medicine there are examples of an emphasis on the individual as a whole where body, soul, and social relations constitute an

indissoluble whole. A central feature of school medicine is the opposite, that the body is a free-standing, isolated entity. Now, however, there is a clear rapprochement with folk medicine when it comes to the ability to diagnose and treat the sick individual as a union of soma and psyche (see e.g. Johannisson 1997; Sachs 1996). In some texts about immigrant patients, as in the quotation above, this rapprochement is visible in the use of immigrants' holistic view of humans as an instrument for a self-critical examination of Swedish health care.

Normality is thus not completely invisible and is sometimes questioned. The questioning is nevertheless limited. In the same way as there is a hierarchy on a more general level between modernity and traditionalism, between modern and traditional societies, between the rationality of science and the beliefs behind folk magic, the discourse about the immigrant contains a hierarchy. It is on the terms of established school medicine, for example, that traditional folk medicine is used as a tool to question the normal state. The ways of speaking about immigrants and health care in the discourse are based on a ranked and relational separation of Swedes/immigrants, normal/different/deviant, familiar/alien, science/everyday rationality, professional knowledge/folk knowledge, and modern/traditional (cf. Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Riggins 1997; Tesfahuney 1998). Yet even if normality sets the terms, it would be wrong to claim that it is invisible and unchallenged.

The Problematic and the Ideal

In the municipality of Botkyrka there have been several integration projects run with financial subsidies from the government. Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi has drawn attention to the way of thinking that he calls "the resource-shortage perspective" (1998: 100). "The model that both the government and the municipality base their work on is geared to a minority; in other words, it builds on the assumption that unemployment and segregation in Sweden are a result of shortage of competence among immigrants. In the municipality competence is interpreted as language, and the prime investment is in language teaching for children and adults." Katarina Mattson (2001) argues that in economic theory there is likewise a clear "resource-shortage discourse". Immigrants have insufficient linguistic and social competence. Their difficulties on the Swedish labour market are in addition explained by their problems in meeting the exacting requirements for "culture-specific skills" and "Sweden-specific competence". In her study of economic theory, Mattson makes an observation that is common in research about the conditions and situation of immigrants.

> The categories "immigrants" and "Swedes" are the core of the discussions conducted in the discourse on resource shortages. People are ascribed cultural affiliation on the basis of these categories, as if the categories reflected mutually exclusive and distinct groups in society. Proceeding from ideas about identity and difference, the national community of Swedes is taken for granted, while immigrants are excluded from this community
>
> The classifications "immigrants" and "Swedes" therefore both proceed from the idea of homogeneous Swedishness and the absolute alterity of immigranthood (Mattsson 2001:261).

As I have already said, the discourse about the immigrant patient builds on this distinction between immigrant alterity and Swe-

dish homogeneity. What do the deficiencies and problems among "immigrant patients" look like?

Generally speaking, immigrants have poorer health than the rest of the population (e.g. Socialstyrelsen 1995, 2000). In relation to Swedes, migration and segregation are invoked as partial explanations for the deficient health of immigrants. This is described in a report from the National Committee on Public Health:

> Examples of risk factors which can affect immigrant health are the length of the asylum period, various forms of exposure in the homeland, e.g. to traumatic life-events which occasioned the migration, former work environment, etc. Unemployment is a crucial risk factor for health. Discrimination and segregation are examples of other risk factors, while work and social networks, participation and influence, a dignified reception and treatment for newcomers on arrival are examples of protective factors. Xenophobia and racism are further examples of risk factors which can affect people's security and thereby their health. Particularly vulnerable to discrimination, xenophobia, and racism are refugees from non-European countries. [...] Participation and influence are health-promoting factors with a positive effect on health, while powerlessness and exclusion can lead to ill health. Immigrants' participation in social life is weak, and the differences in this respect are growing between the Swedish-born and the foreign-born population. This applies in particular to their low participation in political life and their weak position on the labour market and the housing market. [...] Loneliness, isolation, and language difficulties are contributory causes of vulnerability and exclusion, chiefly among older immigrants (SOU 1999:137:543).

"Immigrants" in Sweden have a different disease panorama from the homogeneous category of "Swedes". As the quotation above shows, the poorer health of immigrants is related to a series of immigrant-specific risk factors to do with conditions in the home country, the migration as such, and segregation in Sweden.

Their morbidity also shows a greater degree of interlinked somatic and mental disorders. They seek somatic care, coming with "diffuse symptoms" which are difficult to diagnose and which may have somatic, mental, or social causes. People with symptoms which are hard to interpret can end up in the role of patient and be sent around between different care institutions. In 1980 *Nordisk Medicin* published an article entitled "The Immigrant – A Problem Patient?" The article is about immigrants with diffuse symptoms, written on the basis of the authors' experiences of encounters with these patients. "The patients are often perceived as 'problem patients'. They have usually been sick-listed often and their problems are mostly of a complex somatic, psychic, and social nature, which the referring institutions find difficult to resolve" (Bexell, Hansson & Lindbladh 1980:118). In the article's survey of "the health status of immigrants" there is a general declaration that they seek care "for diffuse problems which are no doubt connected to the fact that it is difficult for psychiatric care to understand and talk to immigrants" (Bexell, Hansson & Lindbladh 1980:118).

When immigrants are described as individual patients instead of a public health category, communication difficulties are held up as perhaps the most crucial factor. Inadequate command of Swedish requires interpreters. In a memo from the National Board of Health and Welfare, summing up the state of knowledge at the start of the 1980s, we can read that:

> The fact that the immigrant patient speaks good Swedish or that there is a good interpreter available is not sufficient to bridge the differences between the Swedish health service and what the immigrant is used to from the home country. There are many components which make health care different in different countries. Even immigrants who have experience of Western health care from their home countries often expect a different type of treatment from what they get in Sweden. The relation between the therapist and the patient differs from culture to culture. The perception of the body differs between countries, owing to factors such as religion and education (Socialstyrelsen Pm 46/83, 1983:43).

Language is only part of the communication problem. The lack of knowledge of various kinds is said to make communication difficult between the doctor/nurse and the patient. The quotation above mentions the body in terms of the "perception" of it. It is more common to find in the texts plain statements about immigrants' lack of knowledge about their own bodies. "Many do not know what the body looks like or how it works. One therefore sometimes encounters, especially among women, an inadequate responsibility for the care of their own body", according to the journal *Vårdalnytt* (2000(3):17), where the same article points out another problem:

> Becoming sick in Sweden as an immigrant and needing Swedish care is often very difficult. [...] Many immigrant groups are not familiar with how Swedish society functions, and when they go to the doctor they do not know very much about how the system is organized (*Vårdalnytt* 2000:(3):16)

This type of ignorance is emphasized in many texts. It concerns where to go with a particular complaint, what to do before arriving there (e.g. making an appointment by telephone), how to behave once you reach a particular institution, and what you can expect of the care.

Numerous problems and insufficiency of resources are thus associated with lack of knowledge. The knowledge that immigrants have about their own health care system (folk medicine), about the body, about diseases, their course, causes, and treatment is turned into ignorance. This transformation is marked by words such as "magic", "belief", and "notions". The procedure is not unique for texts where representatives of medicine describe immigrants. The attitude of school medicine is that ignorance should be replaced by medical knowledge, which is expected to modify, for example, lifestyles and thereby contribute to improved public health. "Magic" and "belief", however, take on a special tone in texts about immigrants. "Modern" Western medicine is contrasted with the "traditional" folk medicines. When this is combined with comments about, say, inadequate education, the reasoning tends towards an evolutionist outlook according to which Western medicine and health care have come further into modern society than the "traditional societies" represented by "the immigrants".

"Culture" is a recurrent theme which can be linked to descriptions of deficiencies and problems. Nearly every long text begins with a discussion of the concept of culture, the significance of cultural differences and how they can be handled. In an analysis of textbooks commonly used in Swedish care education, Fioretos (2002) notes that the concept of culture that is used is a very homogeneous and static one. The ambition of the textbooks is to individualize the patients, yet the accounts of typical features

of cultures give rise to statements which take on the form of static stereotypes. What is emphasized is irreconcilable differences between cultures. The individual and any individual variations are subordinated to the idea that a culture sets its stamp on and steers a social category. The significance of cultural differences can also be described as in the following quotation from the previously mentioned memo from the National Board of Health and Welfare.

> In health care there are often conflicts because individuals from an immigrant group or minority group think that they must act according to their "old" cultural identity. The staff in health care can find this wholly incomprehensible and refuse to accept that the individual does not act *entirely* in accordance with the values of the majority society. Some examples: it is easier for a young Turkish woman to learn Swedish and speak Swedish than to accept undressing for a male doctor. It is easier to accept being hospitalized and receiving modern care than to give up one's basic security and the group's demonstration of solidarity. This can be seen, for example, in the way large groups of relatives visit the patient in hospital, as occurs, for instance, among Gypsy minority groups (Socialstyrelsen Pm 46/83, 1983:15).

Cultural differences not only constitute a problem but can also be viewed as an explanation for problems. Cultural differences are invoked, for example, to explain communication difficulties and the inability of immigrants to act in the role of patient (e.g. accepting the doctor's professional role and undressing to be examined). Determining precise and absolute cultural differences and identifying the consequences of these for health care is one of the most important discursive practices.[8]

The deficient knowledge, however, is not just a matter of the patients' difficulties in communication, orientation, their inadequate knowledge of the body and their problems in adapting to a kind of Swedish culture. The secondary object of the discourse, the health service and its staff, is also described as having problems and defects. Health care is said to lack a holistic outlook, language skills, and cultural competence. The need for cultural knowledge is constantly pointed out. There are thus problems and deficiencies in competence which are ascribed to the immigrant patients themselves, and those which characterize the Swedish health service or Swedish society as a whole.

To sum up, it may be said that the differences established between the different and the normal are of a cultural kind.[9] The alterity of immigrant patients has to do with inadequate or erroneous knowledge. From the point of view of the health service, these patients are different in the sense that they display a different panorama of disease. They also seek help for diffuse symptoms, which are difficult to handle for the care system, with its conventional working methods and its way of perceiving disease, diagnosis, and treatment. The disease panorama and the diffuse symptoms are partly explained in terms of the migration as such, the specific living conditions of immigrants, their vulnerability to segregation and discrimination. Every problem becomes characteristic of alterity and constitutive for the immigrant patients.

The immigrant is a problem patient, an anomaly in conventional health care. I mentioned above the implicit object of the discourse, the ideal patient. I also claimed that this patient should be regarded as a ideal type rather than an actual social category. This ideal type of patient is the person who masters the knowledge and

outlook that makes him or her a well-functioning patient.

A competent patient is a person who can manage to communicate with the health care staff, who knows at least the basics of how the health service is organized and how its functions are divided. The patients have an important role in the concrete work of care. Good contact between doctor and patient is described as an essential condition for the provision of good care. The dialogue between the care staff and the patient plays a central part. It is in conversation with the patient that the nurse or the doctor obtains important information about matters such as symptoms and their changes, the patient's own picture of the disease and how it changes over time. Other details that can be important emerge from these conversations, such as the patient's social network, conditions at work, lifestyle, and living conditions. The ideal patient has detailed knowledge about health care and its routines. The competence is also based on training in the Western way of perceiving one's own body and interpreting dysfunctions in it. An important foundation for the smooth functioning of health care is that the patients trust the health service and its staff. Even if the health service is questioned and even if the faith in its potential may have declined, it is still reasonable to claim that there is a fundamental trust among people who seek care. There is a difference and a hierarchy between Western biomedical knowledge and other types of medical knowledge. Having a sense of the ranking of knowledge is a crucial component in the competence of today's ideal patient.

It is thus in relation to this normal ideal patient that an "immigrant patient" tends to become synonymous with a problem patient. The discourse defines its problem. This is not intrinsically surprising. The texts written about immigrant patients arise from the difficulties of the health service. The intention of the reflections and discussions and the research presented in the texts is to pinpoint problems and find ways to solve them. The consequence of this is that the sign "the immigrant patient" becomes a complex of interconnected problems which distinguish these patients from others. The observation finds support from other studies.

In a study of behaviour towards elderly immigrants in the health service, David Gaunt (SOU 1997:76) puts forward the hypothesis that, in the everyday practice of caring for patients of foreign origin, it is only those who behave according to expected templates for immigrants that are classified as immigrants. Mirjaliisa Lukkarinen Kvist (2001, 2002) has expressed similar thoughts. At a health centre in Fittja, a suburb of southern Stockholm with a "high density of immigrants" and "social vulnerability", she has interviewed the staff and residents of the area who have experiences of using the health centre. The staff have adopted a negative and stereotyped image of Fittja as a problem suburb. The staff also perceive the place as a "non-Sweden", as a place so strongly dominated by immigrants from a great many different countries that it seems like an enclave. The staff turned out to have an image of immigrant patients which agrees well with what I found in the texts written by and about the health service and its representatives. This image can most simply be summed up in the word "un-Swedish". Lukkarinen Kvist says that the foreignborn patients whose behaviour is similar to the normal are not included in the category of "immigrant

patients", which therefore tends to become synonymous with "troublesome and problematic patients" (Lukkarinen Kvist 2001).

Problematic Patienthood

In the selection of a title for this article, "Problematic Patienthood", I have been inspired by an article by Paulina de los Reyes (1998) with a title meaning "Problematic Sisterhood: On 'Swedishness' and 'Immigranthood' in Swedish Gender-history Research". One reason why sisterhood is problematic is that gender and femininity have been defined within the framework of "Swedishness". A hierarchy of power has been established between "Swedish" women and "immigrant women". The homogenized Swedish woman is the norm for femininity and aspirations for equality. The "immigrant woman" is feminism's Other. De los Reyes argues that research on gender history follows the same pattern of thought as "a societal discourse which stigmatizes immigrants, especially immigrant women, in the media, in research, and among the authorities, as a problem. A discourse which [...] has established ethnicity and immigrant status as metaphors for exclusion and marginalization" (1998:348).

In a similar way, the immigrant represents problematic patienthood. The organization, working methods, and medical forms of understanding in Swedish health care require not only well-functioning routines, specialized and competent staff. They are also dependent on competent patients. There are probably a large number of Swedish patients who likewise fail to match the ideal type of the competent patient. The interest of the health service in "immigrants" is fundamentally due to its responsibility to promote public health, to provide good care on equal terms, and to encourage the patients' influence on their care. To do so requires knowledge. But the discourse that produces this knowledge is a practice that limits the potential of immigrants to avoid problematic patienthood.

To sum up, it may be said that the ambition of care staff and researchers to learn to understand and handle these patients does not create new ways of speaking. Instead we find clear similarities to the discourse that Stuart Hall (1992) calls *the discourse on the West and the Rest*. Texts written by representatives and investigators of the health service are interwoven with other discourses – or they are a part of the same discourse – which uses homogenized Swedishness as its yardstick and its point of departure to talk about immigrants in terms of inadequate resources, problems, and culture. The social order that is established is a hierarchic one. The crucial way of talking consists of comparisons which result in mutually exclusive differences. Some deficiencies and problems can be found among the immigrants, others among Swedes and in the Swedish health service. The differences that are specified establish a system of representations which contains exclusion versus inclusion, traditionalism and folk medicine versus modernity and scientific modern medicine, knowledge versus ignorance, familiar Swedishness versus foreign cultures and religions. In this context immigranthood is not only a metaphor for outsiderhood. It is also a tool for maintaining it.

Finally, it may be observed that the same forms by which "Swedes" and "immigrants" have previously been separated in other empirical fields in Swedish society – for example, in school textbooks (Palm-

berg 1999), in economic theory (Mattsson 2001), in small businesses (Pripp 2001), in political debate (Ålund & Schierup 1991; Södergran 2000), and in the mass media (Brune 1998; Pripp 2002) – also recur in the sphere of health care (see also Fioretos 2002; Hörnfeldt 2002; Lukkarinen Kvist 2001, 2002; Lövgren & Runfors 1993). It is scarcely surprising that this discourse is found and recreated in health care as well. If anything, the opposite would be surprising. This observation corroborates even more the thesis that this discourse is a well-integrated part of our present-day self-reflection since it supports the link between Swedishness and modernity (cf. Berg 1998; Hall 1992).

This state of affairs has implications for the health service as such. Health care has not yet found a way that enables equal care for everyone in a multi-ethnic society. Several of the observations that I have drawn from my material were also made by Fioretos (2002). The textbooks used in medical education lack tools for analysing and describing cultural changes and variations within ethnic groups and individuals. Stereotyped characteristics in "the immigrant" are cemented and generalized to apply to entire ethnic categories. The individual is subordinated to patterns of culture which are presumed to be generally applicable. While the health service seeks to bridge gaps, it simultaneously uses the same discourse which through history has helped to strengthen these social and cultural distances and opposites. It almost goes without saying, as Fioretos (2002) also points out, that the way of taking about and understanding ethnic diversity must be scrutinized and questioned. This can give improved tools for understanding and handling social and cultural differences.

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Notes

1 See also the discussion of discourse and experience in Blehr 1999 and Kaijser & Runfors 1999. Cf. also what Iris Marion Young (1990:131ff.) says about discriminating acts at "the level of discursive consciousness" and at "the level of practical consciousness". The first level consists of what is easy to put into words. The second level is about what people habitually do, all the practice of everyday life which is often unreflected. Young argues that the discourse or discourses that constitute a part of the foundation for, say, racism, sexism, and homophobia today are often despised at a conscious level, but can be found at the level of practical consciousness, where they exert an influence.

2 Among those who have studied this using Swedish empirical material are Berg 1998; McEachrane & Faye 2001; Pred 2000; Tesfahuney 1998; Svanberg & Tydén 1994; Ålund & Schierup 1991. Its occurrence in other countries has been demonstrated by, among others, Dirlink 1987; Essed 1991, 1996; Gilroy 1990; Hall 1999; Young 1990.

3 In the context of the Swedish authorities, the Swedish word *invandrare* "immigrant" became the official term in the second half of the 1960s, replacing *utlänning* "foreigner" (Ronström 1989; Svanberg & Tydén 1998; Westin *et al.* 1999). It is possible that the initial positive undertones of the word in Sweden are due to its association with the words for emigrants and immigrants (*utvandrare*, *invandrare*) used in connection with Swedish emigration to North America (cf. the discussion in Tesfahuney 2001). The ambiguity of the term and the difficulty of its application has, however, been constantly pointed out ever since it was introduced (Regeringskansliet/Kulturdepartementet Ds 1999:48:38f.; Svanberg & Tydén 1998:335). An analysis of the use of the word in statutes

issued by the government and authorities found that it is usually not clear who is included in the category of "immigrants". The working group which conducted the analysis proposed that "immigrants" should only be applied to people who have actually immigrated themselves and been registered in Sweden. They also suggest that "immigrants" in several cases should be replaced with the term "persons with foreign background" (Regeringskansliet/Kulturdepartementet Ds 1999: 48:98f). A joint recommendation from Statistics Sweden and the Swedish Immigration Board (now the Integration Board) suggests that in statistical contexts the population should be divided into "persons with foreign background" – those who have immigrated to Sweden and those born in Sweden of two immigrant parents; "person with both Swedish and foreign background" – one Swedish and one foreign-born parent; and "persons with Swedish background" – those with both parents born in Sweden (Regeringskansliet/Kulturdepartementet Ds 1999:48:40f.). There is thus a revision of the terminology in statistics, laws, and ordinances when it comes to immigrants and their children.

4 Examples of people who are rarely included in the category of "immigrants" in Sweden today are Americans, Danes, Britons, Dutch, Norwegians, and Germans (cf. Pripp 2001). Those on the margins are sometimes counted as "immigrants", sometimes not. For example, many of the large groups of labour migrants who came in the 1950s and 1960s are not always covered today by the term "immigrants". It is presumably reasonable to claim that a group like the Finns, one of the biggest immigrant groups in Sweden, had a fixed place in the category for a long time, but in the last ten years they have found themselves on the margin and increasingly fall outside the term "immigrants". This change has come because other ethnic groups have filled the category, such as Iranians, Iraqis, Kurds, Vietnamese, Somalians, and Turks. Turks, however, may be an exception, as there have been immigrants from Turkey since the 1950s. Scandinavians and other Westerners, with the exception of certain groups from the Mediterranean area, have thus been "elbowed out" by South Americans, Asians, and Africans.

5 My description of the sign "immigrants" is deliberately coarse. It shows what I, and several others, believe to be dominant features in a kind of general discourse about immigrants. It should be maintained, however, that this contains a series of ambivalences, for example, that "immigrants" are on the one hand homogenized and on the other hand described as a heterogeneous category, or that culture is used as a determinist causal explanation while the discourse simultaneously has voices claiming that culture does not coerce the individual.

6 The Norwegian edition appeared in 1996, as a revision of *Sykepleie og kulturelt mangfold* which was published in 1991. The Swedish translation has been adapted to Swedish conditions. It first appeared in 1998 and was reprinted in 1999. It is thus a book which has appeared in several variants since 1991.

7 See e.g. Berg 1998; Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Tesfahuney 1998; Young 1990. The need to make visible and problematize "whiteness" is also stated as a reason for what is known as "White Studies" (see e.g. Fundberg 2001).

8 Culture is used to specify differences between the object of the discourse, to describe the characteristics of the object, to search for interpretations, and to find explanations. How this is done depends on the special theory of culture that is used in the texts.

9 Two things should be pointed out in this context. Firstly, the fact that differences are established as cultural differences in the first place does not rule out the possibility that social differences and living conditions as a whole are also found among the descriptive and explanatory practices of the discourse. Secondly, one of the hypothesis I have, but which I do not examine further in this article, is that there is a tendency for deviants not to be understood in cultural terms. The theory of culture in health care, of course, contains cultural relativism and the importance of accepting foreign cultural features. If one then regards undesirable things as cultural phenomena, one excludes the possibility of condemning the intervention in a form where an explicit hierarchy is created between cultures. Another alternative is that the undesirable is formulated as a lack of (the right kind of) knowledge. In these cases deficiencies in cultures are pointed out in terms of deficiencies in knowledge (see Hörnfeldt 2002).

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Cultural Kinesthesis

By Tom O'Dell

The ultimate issue is not who moves or is still, but who has control – both over their connectivity, and over their capacity to withdraw and disconnect (Morley 2000:199).

...I am especially impressed by the way that scientific knowledge about ourselves – the mere belief system – changes how we think of ourselves and our fellows to be (Hacking 1998:10).

In a recent book entitled, *Mad Travelers* (1998), philosopher Ian Hacking describes the life and tribulations of Albert Dadas who was born in 1860 and died in 1907. Dadas lived a good portion of his life in Bordeaux, France where he earned a modest living, working – at least on different occasions – at the local gas company. From today's perspective, it might sound strange, but Dadas attracted the attention of the psychiatric community of his time because he liked to walk and travel. How he chose his destinations is not completely clear, but in many cases it seems as though he heard of a specific place, and set off. Moscow, Berlin, Prague, Algeria, Vienna, Constantinople, were all places he visited. It was a collection of sites that would have impressed the larger majority of tourists of his day. But the academic community refused to define Albert Dadas as a tourist. Instead, he was given a different label. He was identified, in 1886, as the first man suffering from a new mental illness that psychiatrists had never seen before. They called it Fugue.

For Albert, the condition would start with several days of headaches, insomnia, mounting anxiety, sweats, and a nearly uncontrollable urge to masturbate, up to five or six times a night according to Hacking (1998:24), all of it leading to a compulsion he could not resist: *the need to travel*. He could get up in the morning and at a fast clip, walk seventy kilometers, and be home by evening. In terms of appearance, he was well dressed, and usually kept himself clean and well groomed during his travels. Often his trips seemed planned to the extent that he would first manage to scrape together a small amount of traveling money (at times via illegal means), to help him on his way. While on the road he would seek contributions from wealthy countrymen living throughout Europe, "to help him home". On other occasions he would approach a French consulate and obtain enough money for train fare home, only to take-off in the opposite direction. Ultimately, his trips would usually end when he was arrested for vagrancy and sent home again.

For my purposes here, Albert is interesting because he was defined by travel. Many people are remembered for their travels, from Christopher Columbus and Neil Armstrong to Jack Kerouac, but these are people who have chosen to travel, and in some cases, tried to make a name for themselves via travel. Albert was oblivious to such intentions. He became the first fugueur, not because he was the first person to travel about in a daze, but because he did it (as I shall discuss momentarily) in a time in which new perceptions of "good" and "bad" forms of mobility were coming into the focus of public attention, and capturing the imagination of the middle class at that time.

In the following, it is the tension between notions of "good" and "bad" mobility – and the technologies of their production and control – which shall be the focus of this discussion. Phrased slightly differently, my objective here is to develop a better understanding of the moral repercussions mobility and travel have had as an aspect of daily life in a "more than local" cultural context. As a

means of doing this, this text begins by reflecting upon, and developing a discussion about the phenomenon I call *cultural kinesthesis*. This discussion is followed by a series of empirical examples that work to outline the contours of a political economy that has morally structured the manner in which different forms of mobility are framed, as well as the manner in which these frameworks affect related perceptions of cultural identity and the senses of belonging that may go with them. Throughout it all, this text works to problematize the manner in which different forms of travel have been morally constructed and controlled.

Cultural Kinesthesis

> The word "home" is shot through with ambiguity. "To be rooted," wrote Simone Weil, "is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul." But isn't it also true that we often feel an equally strong need to uproot ourselves and cross the borders that conventionally divide us (Jackson 1995:3)?

As others have noted we are currently living in a time in which a growing number of people have multiple roots and homes (Williams & Kaltenborn 1999; Clifford 1997; Jackson 1995; Malkki 1997; Marcus 1998; Olsson & Lundin 1999). Business executives commute between Lund and London; academic scholars are bound to institutions in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Paris; families spend summers with relatives in Turkey and Germany while working the rest of the year in Gothenburg. In short, rather than staying put in one place (a condition long presumed to be the normal state of daily life), we find that people are increasingly on the move, and create meaning (as well as meaningful lives) through the act of movement: locally as well as transnationally.

At the same time, much of the literature that has focused upon various forms of transnational mobility have traditionally framed single place dwelling as the normative condition against which travel (and in particular, the act of migration) is defined as problematic and abnormal (Malkki 1997:65). Echoing a growing critique found in anthropology (especially as it comes to expression in the work of Clifford 1997 & Malkki 1997) I am, in part, arguing for a shift in theoretical perspective, and assert that in order to understand everyday life in a larger global context we now, more than ever, need to view travel and mobility as alternative but normative modes of identity production, and considers the manner in which identities are constructed on the move as well as betwixt and in between local, national, and transnational spaces (cf. Clifford 1997; O'Dell 2001).

However, in part, I also wish to push this line of argumentation even further, and draw attention to a deeper seismicity – which more often than not is a nearly imperceptible, slowly undulating vibration, like a drawn out sine wave – a cultural energy that keeps us moving, and that consequently keeps the ground we have traditionally called "the local" shifting and rolling around us. It is a muted energy that can perhaps best be understood in terms of cultural kinesthesis. As Webster's *New World Dictionary* points out, kinesthesis is "the sensation of position, movement, tension, etc. of parts of the body, perceived through nerve end organs in muscles, tendons and joints" (1984:776). My intention in invoking the term "cultural kinesthesis" is to draw our attention away from images of stasis and locality as exclusively

normative forms of daily life. Cultural kinesthesis alludes to the parallel existence of some form of restlessness – and here I am interested in the meeting of body, culture, and politics that has been an important motor in modernity, and that has from the very beginning been an economic, moral, and political factor in the world.[1]

This being said, however, I do not see this as nomadic in any dogmatic postmodern sense of the word (cf. Cresswell 1997:362), nor as anything necessarily negative, a process that can simply be reduced to the sensation that we are "missing something" and searching for some form of deeper existential fulfillment. It may include these sensations, and other illusive feelings of discontent, but is more than this. Instead, my intention here is to draw attention to the fact that our lives are entwined in an apparatus of pulses, rhythms, flows, and tactilities which tickle our fantasies, cause frustrations, and potentially have economic as well as political consequences for our lives. In other words, cultural kinesthesis can just as easily be the product of curiosity, playfulness, sensations of empowerment, and what Appadurai has called "situated imaginations" (1996:33) as those of discontentment or loss. It is a restlessness that alternately, for better and worse, haunts us and enthralls us, but which also challenges us, provokes us, and continuously tests the sanctity of the local.[2]

In the following, my focus shall be upon the consequences of cultural kinesthesis and the technologies of control placed over it – rather than an anatomy of the phenomenon itself. Notably absent in my discussion will be any longer discussion that exclusively dwells upon the transnational act of migration, or the coerced flights of refugees.[3] My choice not to do so, is motivated in part by the fact that studies focusing all too closely on these transnational movements tend to end up being stories about Others who are on the move. And while these stories are often part of a discourse with good intentions, they reinforce the notion that certain people are on the move while others (who are not described or mentioned in these studies) have in some way more "normal" lives, that are not interesting enough, or sufficiently problem ridden, to merit study and discussion.[4]

This being said, this paper does end with a section on various forms of post-migration travel. Rather than being a story about Others, it is intended to work, like all the sections prior to it, as a collage of diverse narratives about travel. The journeys of the people I describe in this final section of the paper are usually not problematized in academia in terms of tourism, but this is also one of the primary reasons I include these narratives here. What they are doing has many parallels to what we all often do as tourist – travel to go "home", and to get together as family. The forms of travel discussed in this section have their peculiarities, as do all the mobilities discussed in this paper (all revealing different aspects of the tensions behind cultural kinesthesis), but there are also similarities here that we need to be sensitive to, and from which we can learn. My point here is that mobility is not reserved for Others; it engages us all, but not always on the same grounds.

For this reason it is important to realize that if we are to understand the phenomenon of mobility, we need to understand it in the context of the political economy defining

it. In terms of legislation, there are obviously laws and statues regulating these movements – despite all the postmodern rhetoric to the contrary, the state is not dead. However, beyond all our laws and regulations – indeed prior to them – there are moralities whose technologies need to be illuminated. Let me explain by briefly returning to Albert's case again.

Travel: Relaxation or Mental Illness?

In many ways Albert was an odd fellow, and it would undoubtedly be easy to dismiss him by simply stating that he had some form of deeper psychological problem. But Albert was also unique because he was, as Hacking points out, the first person diagnosed with this new disease, fugue. As a point of departure for a discussion of the cultural construction of mobility, Albert's case is interesting because his affliction – the need to move – spread quickly. Within a few years, a smaller epidemic had broken out throughout Europe (cases were reported in France, Germany, and Russia, among other places), and fugue was the subject of a number of European conferences.[5] Interestingly, fugue was not much of an affliction in North America; it was seldom diagnosed in women, and it more or less disappeared within twenty-two years of its discovery. How could this be?

To start with, it should be noted that psychiatry and mental illness are the primary focus of Hacking's study. His interest in fugue derives from the fact that it is something that he describes as a "transient mental illness". He explains:

> By a "transient mental illness" I mean an illness that appears at a time, in a place, and later fades away. It may spread from place to place and reappear from time to time. It may be selective for social class or gender, preferring poor women or rich men. I do not mean that it comes and goes in this or that patient, but that this type of madness exists only at certain times and places (1998:1).

According to Hacking transient mental illnesses are aligned around four vectors. The first vector is medical. In the case of fugue, the largest debates of the time concerned whether the illness should be classified as a form of hysteria or epilepsy. The second vector is that of observability; you need to be able to see the affliction and study it, to define it. The third of Hacking's vectors is generated from the fact that "the illness, despite the pain it produces, should also provide some release that is not available elsewhere in the culture in which it thrives" (1998:2). And finally, the fourth vector is generated out of the tension between cultural polarities existing in society at the time – and this, to the extent that fugue offered some form of "release," is where different forms of mobility come into the picture.

On the one side of the cultural polarity constituting fugue we find a growing concern with vagrancy throughout much of Europe at the time. Exemplifying this concern, France passed harsh anti-vagrancy laws in 1885, and it is probably not entirely coincidental that Albert first came to the attention of the psychiatric community the following year. In this context, the police were an important instrument of control, ever on the look out for the threatening signs of degeneracy that could be read in the ambulatory movements of poorly dressed men on the move. But vagrancy was not the only problem that authorities were on the look out for.

The coeval presence of military conscription throughout portions of continental Europe, also facilitated "wrong" forms of

mobile bodies: a side effect of conscription was, as Hacking reminds us, the inevitable production of the shadow figure known as "the deserter." As a result, men (potential deserters) rambling around the countryside were routinely stopped and forced to present their papers.[6] Beyond this, psychiatrists increasingly came to the defense of deserters in military courts, and used fugue as an explanation for the individual's behavior. In short, and this is one of Hacking's main points, fugue developed in a cultural context in which there existed a system of experts (who developed and activated an array of technological instruments of observation and control) who were prepared to go in and identify/constitute the disorder. At the same time, these experts were themselves – at least in part – products of larger institutions striving to develop better mechanisms by which to distinguish between criminality, insanity, and what were thought to be degenerative biological processes.

On the other end of the polarity we have mass tourism which developed in the second half of the 19th century with the help of the services provided by such actors as Thomas Cook and Son, and Karl Baedeker (Buzard 1993; Hacking 1998:27ff.; O'Dell 1999: 19f.). As a form of travel, this was an enclave for the middle class, and not an arena open to working class men such as Albert.[7] It was an activity firmly entrenched in the ideals of the enlightenment, an aesthetic activity (of collecting cultural sites) through which one could educate one's self, discover one's self, and challenge one's self with new adventures on voyages of discovery. Distinguishing fugueurs from tourists was not necessarily an easy task. Through his proper appearances, Albert could move about Europe and blend in – for a while, until the wear and tear of the road and a quickly depleted supply of travel funds betrayed him, and made him visible.

In short, fugue offered Albert and other men like him an avenue by which they could act like tourists. This was the cultural release that it offered, for while Albert could never pass as a tourist for long, there was a growing army of doctors prepared to prove that he (and men like him) was not a vagrant either. Some of these men undoubtedly suffered from one affliction or another, but the diagnosis even opened the possibility of travel to men whose only "affliction" may have been an improper class affiliation. In this way, fugue opened a potential avenue of travel to a small group of relatively poor (but not destitute) men who held occupations that provided them with enough flexibility to be able to slip away.

In the end, however, the development of this new kind of traveler would not have been possible without the contemporaneous existence of a series of institutions and technologies. On the one hand we find, passports, identity papers, railway lines, systems of conscription, and books/ newspaper articles about popular tourist destinations. Each of these could, and often did, work to keep Albert moving, while wealthy fellow-countrymen and the French consulates spread throughout Europe could function as travel financiers and facilitators. On the other hand, national borders, police checks, dirty clothing, prison cells, psychiatric wards and examinations, as well as the conferences emanating from them, were all potential points of friction in the fugueur's trajectory. In different ways all of these factors were important technological artifacts in the construction of the fugueur, and the morality defining his movement.

Professionals Travelers: The Struggle for Respectability

Fugueurs, tourists, and vagabonds were not the only people on the move at the dawn of the 20th century. In Sweden, for example we find a growing brigade of traveling sales men who were also struggling with identity problems of their own.[8] In 1915 they founded *Handelsresanden: organ för Sveriges Handelsresandekår* (The Traveling salesman: An Organ of Sweden's corps of Traveling Salesmen). This was a magazine which in part reported upon the political and economic changes which were taking place in Sweden (as well as internationally) that were of relevance for Sweden's corps of traveling salesmen. However, beyond this, the magazine worked in several ways as an active participant in the continuous attempt to create a collective identity. Thus, in the magazine's very first issue readers could find a lengthy article describing their occupation's history which, it was claimed, had roots stretching from the days of ancient Egyptian glory, through the vital era of the Roman Empire and right on into the present (*Handelsresanden* 1915:3). This was, in short, not only a profession with a long history, but also one with close ties to some of the world's greatest civilizations. And this made it somewhat special. As a profession with such rich roots, the magazine argued that it was even a profession that demanded something unique of its practitioners:

> ...It is not correct to assert that he is just a wandering salesman or a mobile advertisement. The best type of person suited to be a traveling salesman is something much more. His obligations include all of those of an ambassador, and many of those of a consul.../...Without him, it would in reality be as difficult to do business as it would be to exchange international courtesies without diplomats because the commercial traveler constitutes the business world's *corps diplomatique* (*Handelsresanden* 1915:5, my translation).

Following this line of rhetorical imagery, the magazine repeatedly drew upon images of the state and civilization. It thus linked rhythms of movement with the most established forms of bounded place and the perceived locus of the highest cultures of the day. In a very explicit manner, the article argued that this was not just a profession to be proud of, it was one with a diplomatic mission. These were the statesmen of capitalism and trade, the central brokers of a global economic system that had existed and evolved for thousands of years. The metaphoric imagery invoked clearly strove to differentiate these ambulatory professionals from others. The diplomats of this time were after all citizens of class, stock, and breed. They were refined, well schooled, and elegant. They were more than local politicians; they were cosmopolitans. But diplomats, even if they traveled the world, had roots and were closely tied to the state. In this sense it could be argued that although the traveling salesman was a man in motion, there was always supposed to be something about him that prevented him from being confused with other mobile figures such as nomads, tinkers, or gypsies.

But perhaps these were not the groups of travelers that the organized traveling salesman was most afraid of being confused with. Diplomats, after all, are seldom confused with stateless persons or those of the lower classes. Reporting on a series of discussions which had taken place amongst representatives of the profession, *Handelsresanden* published, a few weeks later, a

much more explicit description of who traveling salesmen were and were not.

> We, as *traveling salesmen*, did not want to be confused with all of those people who, with samples and catalogues, visits private people in their homes, especially in the countryside, nor with those who walk around to rural abodes and peasant cabins to collect orders of coffee, sugar, and other sorts of groceries. We did not want these types of people, engaged in all possible and hopeless professions – or most often without any profession at all – to be incorporated under the name of *the traveling salesman* (*Handelsresanden*: 1916:1, my translation, emphasis in original).

The Swedish countryside was full of wandering sales people. Small merchants, horse traders, catalogue salesmen: these were the commoners of the traveling community. And perhaps more than anyone else, these were the people who most threatened the reputation of this growing category of travelers who wanted to see themselves as an elite mobile corps of merchants. In contrast to countryside peddlers, *traveling salesmen* should not be dirtied by the necessity of bearing commodities with them. The point of their travels was to do more than sell the occasional bag of sugar. They were dealing with orders of larger quantities of goods, and implicitly with a larger flow of capital (and wealth) than the smaller merchants peddling goods in barn-yards – and being associated with wealth clearly distinguished this group of men from other, poorer travelers, vagrants, and merchants. In short, being associated with wealth was never bad for one's professional identity.

The key word in this context was "professional." These were men who worked to create an image of themselves as not only professional merchants, but equally important, professional travelers. As part of this process, *Handelsresanden* included, in its first year of publication, a twenty-point list of rules which would help its readers become more professional. Included in this list were such tips as:

> Keep your spirits up – Do not speak about religion or politics with customers – Be patient – Don't hurry, you will not get anywhere – Let your time of arrival be known well in advance, and be on time; being punctual is being reliable – Keep yourself up-to-date with the issues of the day... your conversations will go better, and a traveling salesman should not be a stranger to contemporary interests – Act with dignity, but never ostentatiously (*Handelsresanden* 1915:6-7).

Being a professional traveler required discipline and poise. It implied a need to *learn* how to travel professionally. As part of this process of professionalization, time was structured; it ceased to be something that flowed organically. Instead, it was segmented, linking places to interactions, and activities to incremental units of time. Professional travelers distinguished themselves from wanderers, ramblers, and traders by the fact that they did not just follow winding roads through the rural landscape; they followed diaries, calendars, and prearranged agendas. The mastery of time – in conjunction with the successful organization of space – could generate respectability and endow upon the traveler a sense of trustworthiness.

Beyond this, the men themselves may have been mobile, but the goods remained out of site, waiting to be ordered. In this sense, a traveling salesman was occupationally perhaps more closely related to that of a clerk than a merchant or sales man. He went out and took orders; he was something more than just a huckster pitching

goods. And the orders he took also worked as a trail leading back to him, making it more difficult for him to simply disappear if a customer were displeased with what he had purchased. The professional traveling salesman, thus, had a fixed place in a larger economic context, and was the link in the chain between larger manufacturers and local outlets. In this sense, his mobility was not entirely free, but defined by the manufacturer or employer for whom he worked. In other words, he was anchored and traceable. Lies and dissatisfied customers could catch up with him. Being professional necessitated not only a reflexive awareness of this fact, but also a need to communicate this information to those he approached. Maintaining an air of worldliness, and at least a superficial air of cosmopolitan experience, as well as an ability to meet and communicate with different types of people, was an attribute that – like the ability to demonstrate a mastery of time – helped in this endeavor.

In short, becoming a professional traveling salesman implied overcoming many of the problems facing fugueurs (questions of morality, trustworthiness, socio-economic standing, etc); but as a group, these men developed institutionalized methods to help one another understand the treacherous art of travel. Institutionalizing norms, values, acceptable modes of conduct, and a collective sense of identity was an essential prerequisite for the development of any mobile occupation that wished to ensure its own cultural acceptance in the shadows of mobility.

Gendered Movements

At this point I should confess, it is not by chance that my discussion here circles around images of vagrants, nomads, tourists, and professional travelers (cosmopolitans of a sort). These are exactly the metaphorical figures currently found in vogue in certain arenas of cultural theory.[9] These metaphors are often used as a means of drawing our attention to larger problems plaguing the world today. However, they also raise new questions concerning the specifics of the daily lives lived under the auspices of these labels, and to the possibility of hybrid forms hidden between these appealing, if simple, categories. Abstracted metaphors are not suppressed, restrained, or empowered by their mobility – people are. The point is, if we are to understand the political consequences of mobility, we need a stronger historical and empirical anchorage.

In addition to this, as others have pointed out (Jokinen & Veijola 1997), these metaphors are not gender neutral, and here it is important to bear in mind that travel has always been an activity organized around a very masculine cultural dominant. Long before sun, sand, and sin were associated with tourism, travel was framed in terms of the heroics of the explorer, the courage of the adventurer, the virility of the conqueror, and the domination of the colonizer. All of which are ideals and values that remain intimately entangled in popular understandings of tourism, backpacking, and trekking (Clifford 1997:31ff.; Elsrud 2004; O'Dell 2001; Rojek & Urry 1997:16; Tveit 2002: 154ff.; Wolff 1995).

Consequently, if we reflect back upon Albert and his kind, it is not surprising that most fugueurs turned out to be men. Women simply did not have the same possibility to travel and move about that men did. A woman traveling by herself was morally suspect (cf. Cocks 2001:21; Wolff 1995). This was the activity of prostitutes and

tramps, not respectable women. A respectable woman on the move needed a chaperone as a guarantor of her honor. Moving on her own she was out of place and instantly visible, and she could therefore be readily "taken care of". But as Janet Wolff has noted:

> The gendering of travel is not premised on any simple notion of public and private spheres – a categorization that feminist histo-rians have shown was in any case more an ideology of place than the reality of the social world. What is in operation here *is* that ideology. The ideological construction of 'woman's place' works to render invisible, problematic and, in some cases impossible, women 'out of place' (1995:127).

This tension between gender, place, and mobility is, however, not a phenomenon limited to the distant past (cf. Elsrud 2004). For example, in the late 1950s and early 60s debates raged in Sweden over the activities of *raggare* (Swedish greasers). A large part of the debate focused upon men and their activities. Here drunkenness, fighting, theft, criminality, and sexuality were all topics of concern. However, behind the headlines about the men, lie a more volatile story about the women who associated with *raggare* and were "out of place" (to use Wolff's words) to the extent that they were no longer in the home.

The nineteen fifties and sixties were a period in Sweden in which women left the home for the workplace in increasing numbers. The activity of the young women around the American car reflected in this sense the larger cultural phenomenon of women rejecting (at least to a limited degree) traditionally bound domestic roles – in part by choice, in part by necessity (cf. Bjurström 1990:216). However, the public debates about *raggare* took this issue a step further. The problem was not simply that *raggare* and the American car lured some young women out of the home, but that they lured women, at least temporarily, *out of place* entirely. That is, stories presented in the mass media were in the first case not about women who left home.[10] They were about women who "disappeared", and cars which "drove away" (with women in them). In addition, the women portrayed in these narratives were not victims, but to the contrary, were described as willing and active participants who were waiting, trying, and hoping to be picked-up, and who voluntarily entered these vehicles. Seen from this perspective, one of the central problems activated by the conjunction of women and the American car was not just that women were "out of place" but that they really were not in any place. They were in motion, and actively chose to be in motion (but this is not the same as being in control of that mobility).

In order to deal with this, a series of actors and institutions were activated to counter this newfound mobility. Among other things, a special law was passed in 1963 – popularly called the "raggare paragraph" – that gave police and social authorities the right to forcefully remove young women from the cars and company of *raggare*. The intention of the law was to "save" young women from the moral, cultural, and physical consequences of mobility. As one woman, Annette, recalls:

> When you were out in the city, the police could tell you to go home: you were known. You didn't dare do anything else, It was the same if the social welfare officers said anything to you. Sometimes my brother was out looking for me, but my friends warned me so I avoided him (Quoted in Turesson 1987:33).

In practice, the "raggare paragraph" provided authorities with the legal means by which they could deny certain forms of mobility to young women like Annette. In so doing, it further increased the risk that they would be viewed and labeled as moral deviants in need of care. Working to explain why any woman would ever expose herself to this scrutiny and the hostility which followed it, other researchers have pointed out that in the life around the American car women could find an opening to a new modern identity which partially worked to distance these women from traditional gender ideals and notions concerning a woman's place in society (Bjurström 1990:216; Turesson 1987). In a very limited way this may be true, but more than anything, these women moved in a cultural sphere which was extremely male dominated, and in which the vulnerability of their own position was not only tangible on several fronts but even in which it was polemically exasperated by the social debates of the time.

The example underlines some of the moral tensions surrounding female mobility, as well as reminding us of the significant role gender can play in shaping and limiting the degree to which women may move about. However, before we establish any truths about gender and mobility, we need to more closely consider how, where, and when women have been able to travel.[11] As Janet Wolff indicates (1995:127), women in motion – when they are not defined as morally problematic – tend to become invisible. The challenge for the researcher, thus, becomes one of readjusting the lens through which we view history in order to make these invisible moving bodies, visible once again. Who, for example, are the women locked under labels such as "prostitutes" and "tramps"? And to what extent does a label such as "tramp" (or "prostitute") reflect class positions (the class of the observer looking down on the classed-woman in motion)?[12] There is, in other words, a risk here that the literature on gender and mobility is a bit too quick to align the experiences of middle-class women with those of women in other classes, social groups, and contexts. Here we need to examine more closely the historical and empirical facts before permanently drawing any final and generalized conclusions. We should do this, not to glorify the few exceptions to the rule, or to undermine feminist criticisms of existing and past structures of power, but to critically consider how these structures have been manipulated, generated, filled with volatile tension, and perhaps ultimately reworked to invert relations of power – turning them back upon themselves (cf. Bhabha 1994:38; Young 1995:23).

The Color of Travel

For example, the South African system of apartheid worked intensively to organize the space of the nation, and access to political power, through (among other things) racialized politics of controlled mobility. The movement of black and colored bodies was closely regulated. In response, activists invested a great deal of effort in disguising and concealing their movement. Anna, a South African woman and activist whom I met in Sweden, and who is now a Swedish citizen explained:

> You know when you have the liberty to travel, you can travel by day or by night, and it doesn't feel like a problem. But in the South African situation, being involved in the work that I was involved in, we would always travel at night. And if we traveled during the day, one would never use

the same mode of travel twice on the same day... (Anna).

In order to avoid the controlling gaze of the South African authorities, a number of strategies were developed. Movement at night, in the dark was one method of stealth. Another was to repeatedly switch cars and modes of transportation as one traveled. And a third was to actively use the gendered presumptions of the authorities against them.

So what we would do was that we women, most of them with skirts on... We would travel in illegal taxis, and when the police would stop these taxis or buses – this is where the whole sexist thing comes in – they would immediately round up all the men, and start checking them down, checking for things, but they would never touch the women. I mean they soon learned that they had to do that but they didn't do that for like many, many years. And in the process, we women were carrying subversive materials on us, whether they were papers, whether they were ammunition, we were wearing them under our skirts, but because women were considered so insignificant we weren't given any attention. Which we thanked them for of course. 'Cause it certainly helped (Anna).

In the back seat of an illegal taxi, with ammunition taped to her leg, Anna was definitely "out of place," and this, in line with Janet Wolff's argument, also made her invisible and insignificant in the eyes of the police at the time. Nonetheless, the point that Wolff fails to develop is that while notion's of a "woman's place" and its consequences for being "out of place" may be based upon "ideologies in practice", they are also more than this. They involve actual practices (not just ideologies in practice), and as Anna's case demonstrates, these practices can be used tactically (in de Certeau's [1988:35ff] sense of the word) to challenge existing structures and ideologies. At the same time, these tactical challenges usually do not cause changes that occur in leaps and bounds. They may often be futile and insignificant, and they might even work to reinforce the structures they were meant to challenge. However, if we are not to give up on the notions and possibilities of cultural *change* and *process*, then there exists a need for an empirically oriented anthropology of micro-mobilities that can even illuminated mechanisms of micro-power relations at work in society. At the same time, we do have to seriously consider the role played by gender, ethnicity, race, and class, among other things, in structuring, enabling, and limiting various forms of mobility at different points in history (cf. Povrzanović Frykman 2001:51f.). A failure to do this can all too easily lead to the glorification of travel as an activity equally accessible to all.

To some extent this is the trap that John Urry has fallen into when he has claimed that tourism (and the right to travel) has become the near equivalent of a right of citizenship (1995:165). Perhaps many people in Europe and North America perceive travel and tourism in this way, but Anna and the experiences of many others remind us that if travel is a right, it is a very white right. This being said, we should not be lulled into some false sense that the linkage between race and mobility is solely a South African phenomenon. We find very similar patterns in the United States, and indeed many of the most noticed protest actions of the Civil Rights Movement centered around the politicization of mobility: bus rides, diner sit-ins, marches. These actions were not about mobility itself, but

invoked it provocatively, transgressing the norms of the day, as a mechanism of civil disobedience. The wrong bodies, in the wrong places, moving in the wrong ways.

In 1998, over thirty years later, similar tensions were once again making national headlines in the United States. This time the issue was racial profiling. At the tip of the iceberg, and after many denials, New Jersey Police were forced to admit that they systematically focused their attention upon, and stopped black male drivers. Not because they had broken any laws, but because they were black males driving in New Jersey, and in the eyes of the New Jersey Police, black males in motion were most likely criminals, ipso facto. According to this logic, it seemed appropriate (for the New Jersey Police) to check, and control their movement (Meeks 2000).[13]

Sweden has not had the long history of explicit racial tensions like those found in South Africa or the United States. However, by the same token, very little attention (scholarly or popular) has been focused upon the significance the linkage between biology and culture can have upon people's daily lives in the Swedish setting.[14] Regardless, this linkage has not gone unnoticed by Anna. When I first met her she was wary of using public transportation at night for fear of being attacked by right-wing extremists.[15] But using public transportation even in the daytime was not always very easy, as the local buses had a tendency to drive past Anna as she stood waiting at the bus stop.

I mean it's normally like that, that when the bus driver would see somebody standing at the bus stop, they would stop. But they wouldn't do that for me. They would drive past sometimes. And I would like phone this number that they have for customer complaints, and these people would say, are you sure that you were there on time? And I wonder if it is because they think that all immigrants are never on time? I don't know what they could be thinking, but I mean, I would be standing there, and it would be very clear that I would be about to get onto the bus, and he would drive past me.

As she continued telling her story, it became apparent that authorities were not much of a comfort either. There was, for example, the evening she was driving home with her three-month-old child when, without apparent reason, she was stopped by four policemen, who claimed they had received a report that she had been driving erratically. After a breathalizer test, and a great deal of discussion about the fact that her Swedish was too good for her to possibly still be allowed to drive under a South African license, she was let go. Even more tension filled were her meetings with passport authorities monitoring the Danish/Swedish border in Malmö. Her first visit to Sweden began with a passport control at the border that she perceived as threatening and humiliating. Singled out of a busload of people she was questioned, in what she perceived as an aggressive manner, in front of everyone. The man who would later become her husband succeeded in easing the control officer's misgivings, and she was allowed to enter the country. But the memory of her first encounter with Sweden is not pleasant.

I had seen people arrive in South Africa, come to the passport control and people would say, "Welcome to South Africa. We hope you enjoy your time here." Always happens, always. And when they leave, they would say, "We hope you enjoyed your stay here. Your welcome to come back any time". Here these people are saying, "You shouldn't have come in the first place! And don't stay longer than three months" (said in a

deep authoritarian voice)... And then there has never, never been a time that I have gone to Denmark and come back without being stopped.

Frustrated by the fact that her identity is constantly questioned, she has devised a strategy to silently protest the authority's zealous control of her mobility. "I have made a big copy of my Swedish passport and I have had it printed onto a T-shirt, and underneath this picture of the passport I have written, "Yes, I am fucking Swedish"... And on the back there is written, "Surprised you didn't I?"

It would be easy to dismiss Anna as an exceptional case, perhaps even someone looking for trouble, if it were not for the fact that she is not alone. In the spring of 2000 Ingvar Svensson, the owner of Göingebuss (a small bus company), had discovered the same thing Anna experienced regularly: people with a darker complexion were stopped at the border. Taking matters into his own hand, and making what he thought was a sound business decision, he refused to allow more than five immigrants on his buses destined for Germany. In a television news interview he explained:

When we get there, and they (customs officials, author's note) come onto the bus and see, "There and there. OK there are ten to twelve foreigners here."...Then they become apprehensive. Then they want to examine all the compartments on the bus. We want to maximize things. We don't want so many foreigners on the bus. Because if we have so many, we're going to have problems.

Rather than denying Svensson's claims, the customs officer interviewed in the same news report confirmed his story, and tried to legitimize the customs agents' actions. "Having worked with buses for over a year in both Trelleborg and Helsingborg (port cities), you just noticed that they are more liable to smuggle goods, our non-Swedes." Philosophically it might be argued that since "racial profiling" does not exist as a concept in Sweden, it does not exist as a reality. However, Anna and many others have an experience of being questioned, observed, and controlled, that raises uncomfortable issues that need to be examined more thoroughly.

Beyond this, Anna is interesting for another reason. As she describes her life, she repeatedly comes back to the small trips she makes in the course of her daily life. Repeatedly, I try to steer our conversations in the direction of the larger trips she has made. I learn that she has relatives in Canada and is planning to move there, at least temporarily, to get her Ph.D. I press her on the issues of why she came to Sweden, why she wants to go to Canada, how she maintains her relations with friends and family who are spread out throughout the world. These are, (or so I believed at the time) the important issues to understand behind transnational migration. Anna answers my questions patiently, but inevitably returns to the normal problems of her daily life.

It becomes clear that transnational migration is not much of an issue in her mind. It is simply something she has done in order to realize other goals. That is, the larger trips she has made (or was about to make) from South Africa to Sweden, and from Sweden to Canada are not the most dramatic for her. She buys a plane ticket and takes off. The dramaturgy of travel occurs while waiting for the bus, while taking an illegal taxi, while walking through the boat ter-minal in Malmö, while driving her car on a dirt road near her home at night

in Southern Sweden, or while making a night time excursion into, what she calls, "the bush" to participate in study circles in South Africa. These are the trips that she readily tells about, and it is in these smaller movements that she encounters friction. It is also in these smaller movements that the con-sequences of her migration to Sweden are played out. Coming to Sweden was not a problem, getting around in Sweden is – at least at times. In South Africa the color of her skin largely defined where, when, and how she could travel. Since leaving South Africa, she has found that the issue of race has continued to be of significance.

Domesticity and the Responsibility of Travel

Anna's stories remind us that there is a need here to move beyond migration studies – to investigate the frictions and flows of travel as an everyday phenomenon (see even Povrzanović Frykman 2001). Immigrants do more than migrate. And as travelers, they are more than migrants. The conditions and motivations of their migration (or flight) can be dramatically different.

The fact that Anna does not dwell on the details of her travels to Sweden, as well as those that are leading her to Canada, also says quite a bit about the nature of those travels. She has had the freedom to choose to migrate, and has the possibility of returning to South Africa periodically. It might be argued that she does not reflect excessively on her larger migratory travels because they have not – in contrast to the experiences of many refugees who have been displaced – been dramatic.

For Ida, a young woman I spoke with who came to Sweden from Northern Bosnia in 1994, the situation was quite different. In contrast to Anna, Ida's trip involved a treacherous car ride through a war torn Serbia along which she and her Serbian boyfriend were repeatedly stopped, and required to present their papers. With a forged set of identity papers that provided her with a Serbian name, she made it all the way to the border of the former Yugoslavia, only to have her identity revealed meters away from freedom. "And then I wondered, 'Why did I do that?' Why was I forced to do that, just to get away from the war and everything?" Her travels abruptly came to an end as she was thrown in jail for eleven days, put on trial, and found guilty of forging her papers. Fortunately, she was released with a warning and told that if she did anything else wrong under the coming year, she would be forced to spend three months in prison. Instead, she spent several weeks in the Belgrade area awaiting a new passport and permits that would allow her to live and work in Sweden.

Despite its differences, Ida's tale is similar to Anna's in some ways. Like so many other people in the world today, both women are forced to deal with the fact that their families and networks of friends and colleagues are spread out over vast geographical distances. Travel and tourism have proven to be one of the more important means by which they endeavor to stay interconnected.[16] In this way it might be said that their lives are *intimately globalized* through family ties, transnationally networked communities of acquaintances, and a wide array of regularly used bus, plane, train and car routes that continuously bring people together; nonetheless it is disturbing to note that, within the literature on tourism little attention has been paid to the post-migration activities of immigrants and re-

fugees; instead, these patterns of mobility have tended to fall under the auspices of ethnic or migration studies. It is as though popular and scholarly categories of mobility have been reified and then affixed to the bodies of different groups of people in society – as though tourism studies are structured by the perception that tourists go away to "have fun" and immigrants go away to "go home". In reality, the cultural organization of mobility is far more complicated than so.[17]

The desire to meet friends and family is far from a motivational factor for travel that is limited to immigrants or refugees. According to *Turistdelegationen* (The Swedish Tourist Authority), approximately 49% of all non-business travel conducted in Sweden in 2001 was undertaken for this purpose (2002:4). In short, friends and family are strong motivational factors behind a large portion of the tourist trips that are made, in general – this is not a phenomenon solely (or simply) bound to issues of ethnicity or migration.

However, transnational travel is not identical to domestic travel. It includes the tensions of border crossings I have touched upon above, but it also has relevance for larger processes of globalization: it works to link families and economies, as well as disparate political fields and cultural contexts. As a consequence, transnational mobility remains tension filled in a very different way than other local and domestic forms of travel. We may be living in a world in which a growing number of people live their lives in transit, or are "dwelling in travel" as James Clifford phrases it (cf. Clifford 1997:36), but this remains far from a condition that is accepted and perceived as "normal". It presents problems for people living those lives, and part of the problem revolves around the desire to establish a home at the same time that one recognizes (or is frustrated by the fact) that home is not a single place. In this context, there exists a need to rethink tourism as a means of reestablishing notions and feelings of "being at home", rather than formally defining it, as the industry does, as an event encompassing a night *away from home*.

Since the end of the Balkan war, Ida has been doing just this. To some extent her home and family live in Malmö, but to a very large extent her parents and other relatives expect her to spend her vacation time visiting them.

> So every time we are going to go on vacation, it's not just about doing what we want to do. Like sun and bathing. But it's about visiting my husband's family, and visiting my family. And what ever is left is for us. I mean, it's not that bad, but you wish that everyone could get together by the ocean and just be there.

When choosing a vacation destination, Ida and her husband feel the pressure of their parents' expectations, but their decision to spend their vacation with family is not a choice that they make without great reflection. Thus, when I ask if she has ever made plans to take a charter trip to somewhere other than ex-Yugoslavia, she replies:

> Yes. And every year when our vacation is over my husband promises, 'Next year we're going to Greece!' And then it's time to check the package deals, and what it costs. And we compare prices. And then we don't end up going there. The family would feel hurt if we didn't come and visit them. We choose to visit them there, and that's how it is every year.

Behind their choice of vacation destinations lies a series of negotiations and discussions

between family members. Competing desires and expectations are weighed against one another. The moral obligations placed upon Ida and her husband by their families are strong. She finds it hard to dismiss her parents' wishes, but in 2002, for the first time, she spent Christmas with her brother in Åre, skiing. Implicitly this means that she can spend less time on the Croatian coast with her parents, and she is aware of this.

In this context, it becomes increasingly urgent to refract our discussion of travel as a "right" of citizenship through the lens of familial obligations, and then even work to problematize the issue of responsibility. For a large group of tourists including Ida and others, travel is a "right" (that is not equally distributed in all contexts), but it is also a responsibility that many people feel compelled to shoulder – and this is an important aspect of its kinesthetic energy. It can definitely be fun, but in its capacity to bring people and cultural contexts together, it is also morally laden by the competing expectations of family and friends. Tourism is, in this context, not simply a *rit de passage* through which people "escape" daily routines, but an important aspect of their daily lives through which they integrate different aspects of those lives.[18] To some extent it is a "free choice", but to some extent it is not.

The Penalties of not Being Mobile

Before ending, I would like to momentarily shift the direction of my gaze, from those who are in motion, to those who have remained local, for if mobility, coupled with the tension filled haunting and yearning energies embedded in cultural kinesthesis are increasingly becoming ordinary and integrated aspects of daily life, then it might be argued that this has implications for how we view *stasis* and that which is "local" (cf. Bauman 1998:100; Sennett 1998:87).

This is a phenomenon that Swedish author Göran Tunström has problematized in his book, *Berömda män som varit i Sunne*. In the book Tunström describes the meeting of two men, Stellan and Ed, who first met one another in their childhoods, but then went their separate ways. When they meet as adults, Stellan owns and operates the local ICA market. He lives in Sunne, a rural Swedish town, and has never moved away. Ed, however, is an American who met Stellan when, as a child, he was in Sunne visiting his aunt and uncle during the summer. Since then he has become an astronaut, flown to the moon, and now come back to Sweden for a short visit. When they now meet again in Sunne Ed looks at Stellan, and says in a voice that half questions, and half states, "So you stayed?" At one level, the question is simply the trivial sort of thing that one says to start a conversation. However, at another level Stellan hears the clear tones of an accusation.

> Stayed? I remember the word coming from his mouth. The first distance between us. Contempt...
>
> It's raining here on the streets outside my window where I sit thirty years later with the word, "Stayed". A word that I do not really know what I should do with. If I were intelligent....I would write a reflection about it. A reflection in a positive spirit, with many emphases. 'Yes, we stayed...We did not feel the restlessness of the world... How different my own, 'Yes, I stayed,' would sound. The difference of a few letters, the difference of an ideology. Ohh. If only I were intelligent. But maybe it's due to the fact that I am not, that I stayed (1998).

My hope in taking up the topic of cultural kinesthesis has been to help establish a framework around which we can better discuss very different morally bound relations, tensions, and motivations surrounding travel, as well as the very different ways in which they can affect cultural identities and senses of belonging. I introduce Stellan at this late stage because he is in many ways the antithesis of such postmodern figures as the tourist, the vagabond, and the cosmopolitan. He is the man who never left home, and his situation serves as a reminder that not everyone has had the opportunity, ability, or desire to leave their local settings. However, this is not to say that he has remained untouched by the powers of cultural kinesthesis. To the contrary their pressures are clearly evident in his defensive reaction to Ed's simple (but normative) question. The question puts Stellan in his place – a very class-bound space in relation to Ed. He is one of the "stayers" who is evidently not in tune with the culturally predominant mobile spirit of those around him. Nonetheless, he is aware of this, and feels the negative force (of cultural kinesthesis) that he calls "the restlessness of the world." From his perspective this force comes to life in the form of the haunting gaze of others. It is a gaze and a force that marginalizes him – and he is aware of this. But what I want to point out is that cultural kinesthesis is a double edged sword, because while it's affects are perceived by Ed (and perhaps the larger segment of society in general) as the state of normality, it might even be argued that Stellan is also fortunate to have had the option to "remain behind." People such as Ida have not. And as a result, she is haunted by the need to travel in a very different way than either Stellan or Ed. The point here is twofold. First, cultural kinesthesis is not a singular force, but can be contradictory and have the potential to cut in different ways. And secondly, in speaking about mobility and cultural kinesthesis it is analytically important to remain aware of the fact that the issue of locality remains important, because even if we are on the move cognitively, culturally, and physically, our daily lives still unfold in local settings (cf. Tomlinson 1999:9). It is here, as we move through and in these settings, that issues of power are played out, and it is here that much of our understanding of the surrounding world is negotiated, and established.

Beyond the Postmodern Image of the Traveler

As a means of emphasizing this point, let me end with a final reflection. In, *The Human Consequences of Globalization* Zygmunt Bauman asserts:

> Nowadays we are all on the move. Many of us change places – moving homes or travelling to and from places which are not our homes. Some of us do not need to go out to travel: we can dash or scurry or flit through the Web, netting and mixing on the computer screen messages born in opposite corners of the globe. But most of us are on the move even if physically, bodily, we stay put (1998:77).

He sums the situation up by asserting that today, "spiritually at least we are all travelers" (1998:78). The spirituality that he points to has parallels to the sensation of cultural kinesthesis I have referred to in this text, with an important distinction. Bauman divides his theoretical world up into a realm of vagabonds and tourists in which some have the opportunity to choose to travel, while others are pushed from behind.

Following this model it is all too easy to divide the world up into groupings of good and evil, fortunate and unfortunate. In pushing for a theory of cultural kinesthesis, I am arguing for a need to more thoroughly appreciate the ambivalences, tensions, and contradictory emotions that are an important part of our relationship to travel (and through it, to issues of locality). Implicitly, this is a call for a move away from typologies of travelers (real or metaphorical) and towards a more astute analytical awareness of the cultural energies and processes behind our constitution as mobile subjects.

Bauman may be correct to a certain extent, travel and mobility are important today (and they have been for a long time). But we need to also appreciate the fact that this movement is also tempered by such questions as, "should I stay, or should I go?" and "can I stay, or can I go?" And the fact that many of us are on the move says very little about where we are all going or whether or not we even want to be moving. In short, there is a risk here that Bauman is overstating the significance of mobility in a manner that does not adequately appreciate the role still played by locality as a central aspect of everyday life.

Bauman's is an abstracted world in which it seems plausible to assert that "space stopped being an obstacle" (1998:77) and that we are all "jumping in and out of foreign spaces with a speed much beyond the capacity of supersonic jets and cosmic rockets, but nowhere staying long enough to be more than visitors..." (ibid.). But this is not the moralized world of cultural kinesthesis I have encountered and whose contours I have begun to sketch here. Space is still a very real obstacle for most of us. All around us we have invested great effort in producing a plethora of cultural, economic, political, and social barriers whose existence testifies to the fact that space will continue to be an obstacle for a long time to come. And while we live in a world in which the divisions between the wealthy and the poor are greater than ever, and the possibilities opened by the technologies of time-space compression (and the availability of them) are starkly skewed in favor of the wealthy, there is reason to pause before we paint an all too dystopic image of the world of mobility around us. Some people are using travel so that they might be more than "visitors" shuttled around on "cosmic rockets" (to use Bauman's words). As I have tried to demonstrate, travel can function as an important building block in the development of new forms of identity and community...and distance can be a source of torment.

Travel is much more than just the act of getting from point A to point B. As I have also tried to argue here, it is a process that does things with us, affecting our minds as well as our bodies, and our identities. The technologies of travel – whether we are talking about those of the fugueur, the traveling salesman, or the tourist going home to her parents' summerhouse in Croatia – are in this way intimately linked to, and generative of, the identities of travelers.

My intention here has not been to glorify or valorize travel and mobility. To the contrary, while many people greatly enjoy traveling in their free time, I have tried to outline some of the ways in which travel has created cultural tensions as well as communities. John Urry has noted that, "(h)istorically and conceptually there has been a strong connection between the ideaof

humanness and of membership of a society" (2001:9). Much of what I have discussed here has centered on the problem of being mobile and still being regarded as human (or at least an accepted member of a larger community). It is not a problem free process, but in varying ways and degrees a growing number of people around the world seem to be succeeding at it, or at least giving it their best shot.

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Notes

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1 In part, my thinking here is inspired by Taussig's (1992) discussion of the politics and the nervous system.
2 Aspects of the cultural seismicity which I am pointing to here have been outlined by Jean Baudrillard in his critique of the consumer society (1998). A large portion of Baudrillard's discussion focuses upon the processes of differentiation which are an integrated aspect of what he repeatedly refers to as "the logic " of "the system". While sympathetic to many of Baudrillard's concerns, I am arguing for a need to move away from a Grand Theory about "The System". Rather than attempting to identify a singular (anthropomorphized) "logic" which can help us understand what Baudrillard claims are "the needs" of "the system," I am arguing for an increasing sensitivity to the fact that the world around us (and mobility in particular) may not be encompassed by a single "system" or "logic, " but by cultural processes, structures, and tensions that may at times work contradictorily and affect different people in different ways. In order to do this, there is, above all else, a greater need here for empirically based analysis.
3 See Castles & Miller 1998 & Castles & Davidson 2000 for an overview of these processes and the work in this field.
4 See Lindqvist 1991:13f. for a similar critique of the tendency for studies of immigrants to fall into the genre of describing "people with problems".
5 Already in 1894, just eight years after the "discovery" of the illness, a survey article presented forty cases (Hacking 1998:44). For a more complete clinical description of the illness see Hacking 1998:195-196.
6 Such was not the case in the United States where there was no military conscription. In contrast to the situation found on the European continent, men were almost expected to be on the move, claiming land, and looking for new opportunities. As a result, the lack of American fugueurs can be explained partially by the fact that it was less likely that men suffering from any affliction similar to Albert's would be noticed. They simply kept moving on to new places when the impulse came over them, and there was nothing strange about that (Hacking 1998:61ff.).
7 It should be noted that while Albert was perhaps working class, fugueurs did not tend to work on assembly lines, or in factories, they tended to have jobs in which there was some flexibility in the manner in which they could come and go. They were store clerks, conscripts, cobblers, carpenters, men who performed errands, etc. (Hacking 1998:49).
8 It should be noted that traveling sales men were far from the only group of mobile people and professionals on the road at the time. The pre-industrial and early industrial context was one in which numerous groups of people (soldiers, servants, gesäll, seasonal laborer, tinkers, and entertainers) were on the move (Hellspong & Löfgren 1988:301ff.; Lindquist 1987:68ff.; Sassen 1999; Svensson 1993; Szabó 1991:133ff.). Modern popular images of a static, rooted, and immobile agricultural are simply fallacious and fail in this respect to do justice to the plethora of mobile bodies that did traverse the countryside in the late 19th century.
9 See for example, Bauman 1997:83ff. &1998:

77ff.; Brennan 1997; Cresswell 1997; Hannerz 1996; Harvey 2000; Robbins 2001.

10 See O'Dell 1997:142ff. & 2001:115ff. for a more complete presentation of these narratives.

11 There are a few popular works that endeavor in this direction (see Bond 1999 and Druett 2000, for example); unfortunately, these are texts that are far more anecdotal than analytical. I am arguing for a need to systematically and theoretically explore the field of women and travel.

12 As Kathy Peiss has illustrated in a study of turn-of-the-century New York (1986), such labels were easy for middle- and upper-class socialites to apply to many working-class unmarried women who lived by themselves, worked for a living, and spent part of their free time in new arenas of inexpensive entertainment including amusement parks, nickelodeon movies, and dance halls. The proximity of single unchaperoned women to arenas of cheap public entertainment in which they could meet men was enough to call their morality into question, whether or not anything "inappropriate" occurred. Nonetheless, they did move about, and they did so in ways that were much more problematic for their middle-class peers.

13 In his discussion of the significance the car has had for African Americans, Paul Gilroy has noted the way in which the very act of driving could be used as a mechanism of repression. He explains, "The car provided an important new medium for the evaluation of ... racialized qualities. The inferiority of the inferior races could now be communicated through the idea that they were bad drivers" (2001:100).

14 See O'Dell 2002a for a larger discussion of the relevance of this issue in the Swedish context.

15 This was not an irrational fear considering the fact that just a few months earlier one of her neighbors (Anna lives in a small rural village in Southern Sweden) had spray painted the word "fuck niggers" on her house. It turned out that the man who did it had also burned a cross in front of a Sri Lankan woman's house earlier.

16 Obviously, technologies such as the telephone, and internet have facilitated this endeavor, but rather than replacing the need for face to face encounters, these technologies seem to exasperate the desire for such meetings (cf. Du Gay & Pryke 2001:4).

17 An important exception to this academic tendency is exemplified in the work of Allan Williams and Michael Hall (see Williams and Hall 2002).

18 See O'Dell 2002b for a larger critique of the manner in which the concept of—rit de passage has been invoked in some tourism studies.

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Biographical Note

Anders Salomonsson 1946–2004

When I portrayed Anders Salomonsson in *Ethnologica Scandinavica* in 2002, on his appointment as professor of ethnology in Lund, I little suspected that I would be writing his obituary in the 2004 issue. Anders Salomonsson passed away in his home on 26 May 2004, shortly after his 58th birthday. It seems to be against nature that a co-worker and former pupil, twenty years younger than myself, should leave his work and his colleagues so suddenly.

Primary school teacher, museum worker, and archivist: these were the three steps in Anders Salomonsson's professional career. His pedagogical skills were useful to him later on, when he was dealing with artefacts and folklife records. He was thoroughly familiar with the material culture of Småland, Gotland, and Skåne, but what interested him most as an ethnologist was the people he met, whether in the brewing house, in the kitchen, or at the table. He was an enthusiastic representative and renewer of ethnological food studies. After our first international ethnological food congress in Lund in 1970, he worked as coordinator for subsequent congresses in Norway, the United States, Ireland, and Germany. A year or two before each congress he visited the site to orient himself along with the local organizers. "His leadership of the Group and his academic contribution to ethnological food research was inspiring and much admired internationally," writes his successor as President, Patricia Lysaght of Dublin. On the home front too, he made significant contributions. For ten years, for example, he was secretary of the Skåneland Gastronomic Academy, responsible not just for keeping the minutes but also for publications, symposia, and festivities. It is impressive that he simultaneously had time to qualify for promotion to professor of ethnology. Although ethnological food research was his main field, his published works also comprised studies of the role of farmer and contemporary societal problems.

Anders often explained to the public, in oral and written form, how important it is that collecting and research go hand in hand, as is the case at the Department of Ethnology with its Folklife Archives in Lund. He was keenly interested in spreading a knowledge of the Archives to the general public, for example, in connection with exhibitions and guided tours. This third academic task, that of presenting scholarship to the public, also resulted in beautiful volumes about food culture in Skåne and contributions to *Gastronomisk Kalender*.

Although Anders Salomonsson had a leading position as director of the Folklife Archives, he retained his humility, both in his attitude to scholarly tasks and in his concern for his fellow human beings. He had a kind, friendly, and gentle personality. We miss him profoundly, but we remember him with joy and gratitude.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund

New Dissertations

America as a Sickness or a Medicine

Martin Alm, Americanitis: Amerika som sjukdom eller läkemedel. Svenska berättelser om USA åren 1900–1939. Studia Historica Lundensia. Nordic Academic Press, 2002. 391 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-628-5437-2.

■ For more than two hundred fifty years America has fascinated, repulsed, and in very diverse ways, captured the imaginations of Swedes. The question that Martin Alm asks in his thesis is, what has all of this attention meant for Sweden, and more importantly, for Swedes' own understandings of themselves and their place in the world?

The explicit objective of his thesis is, "to investigate the dominant Swedish conceptions of the U.S.A. between 1900 – 1939, and to use these conceptions as a point of departure for a study of the Swedish discussions about, and reflections over, Swedish society and the character of Swedish culture at the time" (p.16, my translation). In order to do this he focuses upon three specific fields of study. First he investigate the emigration debates which took place in Sweden in the first decades of the 20th century. Following that he examines the discussions that took place in the inter-war years in Sweden about the degree to which the American example could be used as an economic and technological model of change in Sweden. And finally, he analyzes some of the debates that took place in the inter-war years over the cultural effects Americanization might have in Sweden.

The book is divided up into eight chapters including an introduction, a conclusion, and two chapter devoted to each of his three fields of study. Empirically, the study is based upon the printed materials in which the debates about America took place. This includes published articles, books, public addresses, and recommendations. In addition to this, Alm has also chosen to limit his study to the words of what he describes as the political, cultural, and academic elite of the day. This choice of perspectives has both its advantages and disadvantages. A large advantage lies in the fact that this works as a very clear delimitation to his study. Alm's thesis already rests on a large material base that he draws upon quite extensively to support his analysis and findings. Adding the general public's perceptions about the narratives that he analyzes would have undoubtedly been very hard for him to incorporate into the thesis without it swelling to an unwieldy size. The disadvantage of this strategy lies in the fact that the exclusion of the general public's reception of the debates about America makes it increasingly difficult for the reader to understand the full dynamics of the cultural energy behind those debates. Alm partially resolves this problem by beginning each of the thesis' empirically based chapters with a brief "background description" that places the pursuant discussion in a historic and cultural context, but nonetheless, this portion of the analysis remains underdeveloped.

This being said, it has to be pointed out that this is not a scholarly work that is lacking in complexity. Over the course of the thesis Alm presents the conceptions of America held by liberals, cultural conservatives, cultural radicals, humanists, modernists, employers, labor unions, and Marxists, among others. In each case – and in connection with each of his three fields of study – he thoroughly delineates the (often contradictory) ways in which rather diverse representations of America could be invoked to further each group's political, economic, and cultural agendas. As he moves from case to case he also demonstrates the manner in which perceptions of America could shift from positive, to negative, depending on the specific context of its invocation. Untangling the threads and logic of these debates, is not a small task, but Alm handles it very well.

Stylistically, there is a tendency towards repetition in the book. This is partially due to the repetitive nature of the narratives he is studying – representations of America as a technological wonder, inhumane behemoth of capitalism, or source of cultural degeneration (to name just a few images) are invoked by many different actors. Although these actors often had slightly different agendas that they were striving to realize, the manner in which some of them (such as humanists and cultural conservatives, to give one example) invoked metaphors of America, could overlap to some degree. This is a simple fact of the reality that Alm is presenting. However, the degree to which these themes return again and again is then

aggravated by the structure of the book in which Alm opts to use two chapters for each of his three fields of study. This structure forces him all too often to either restart a line of argumentation that began earlier in the book, or to remind the reader of details in his argument that may have appeared forty or fifty pages earlier. For example, on page 220 he begins to explain the differences between the two groups of "traditionalists" whom he calls "humanists" and "cultural conservatives"; however he does this again on page 280, and once again in a chapter summary on page 300. These discussions are not completely identical; nonetheless, the argumentation of the book would have been crisper and perhaps more linear in nature if this organizational structure (of devoting two chapter to each field of study) had been avoided. Indeed, I think the main points in the book could have been made in a more concise form. Longer is not always better.

An aspect of the book that is of particular interest is the manner in which Alm uses the debates about America to illuminate a significant part of the path Sweden took on its way to modernity. In fact, Sweden's development into a modern nation is a major theme that is systematically investigated throughout the book. The theme of Swedish modernity was extensively investigated by a number of ethnologists (and many other social scientists) in the 1990s, but most of this work tended to underscore the uniqueness of the Swedish example. In much of this ethnologic literature Swedish modernity has been described as anything from an aesthetic ideal to a set of values that distinguished Swedes from Others. Alm adds a new and intriguing dimension to this discussion, pointing to the way in which many of these values and ideals developed (at least partially) in the space of the transnational as Swedes reflected upon the American example, and debated the pros and cons of such issues as democracy and universal suffrage, industrial rationalization, mass production and consumption, and individualism versus collectivism. In short, Sweden may have developed its own particular route to modernity, but it did so in a larger global context in which Swedes were quite sensitive to developments taking place in the United States as well as in other countries such as the Soviet Union and Germany.

This book should be read by anyone interested in questions concerning the Americanization of Sweden, but it is also relevant to those scholars more broadly interested in the study of transnational cultural process in the Swedish context. Alm does not explicitly position his book as a contribution to the growing literature on globalization. However, it is a contribution to this field, and it should be placed at the top of the reading lists of the all too large pool of cultural, economic, and political theorists who would lead us to believe that globalization is a phenomenon particular to the late twentieth century. Behind the tight web of debates and images of America that Alm discusses, lies an extremely dynamic and vital transnational flow of rather abstract cultural ideas, political images, and economic strategies (not to mention an enormously tangible wave of migration that sparked many of the debates about America in the early twentieth century context). Alm has quite successfully captured the immense flexibility with which Swedish intellectuals participated in this transnational exchange of ideas. His study overwhelmingly demonstrates that our understanding of Americanization in particular – and globalization in general – needs a stronger historical anchor than that which many of today's postmodern theorists have provided.

Tom O'Dell, Lund

Unemployment: Freedom or Curse?

Maria Andersson, Arbetslöshet och arbetsfrihet. Moral, makt och motstånd. Etnolore 28. Skrifter från Etnologiska avdelningen. Uppsala Universitet 2003. 178 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-506-1678-1.

■ For most people, unemployment is a threat to be taken seriously, a matter for which they show the greatest respect. For others it is an opportunity for a new and better life. This is the ambivalence that Maria Andersson considers in her book, which is identical with her doctoral dissertation. As regards scholarship, we have here a well-structured work with a crystal-clear arrangement, centring around the two aspects of unem-

ployment. The book is well written and reader-friendly. There is a good balance between the theoretical and the empirical, between interpretation and documentation in quotations. The solidity and reader-friendliness are particularly expressed in the precise conclusion with its untraditional form – alternating between questions and answers – which is a good summary of the book's assembled statements and its new findings. The book is thus a good example of scholarly research that achieves new knowledge.

In theoretical terms it rests on the assumption that unemployment is discursively produced. This turns out to be an extremely fruitful approach. We often find that the concept of discourse is used imprecisely and indiscriminately, without being well defined and without actually being used as an analytical tool. That is not the case here. The author establishes right from the start that discourse sets the agenda; more specifically, it determines what actions, utterances, and emotions are permitted or obligatory in the name of unemployment.

A deconstructive analysis of how the unemployed are trained in understanding the codes of wage labour and wage unemployment occupies the first half of the book, while in the second half the author takes stock, using her material to overturn the discursive order. She does so in a well-substantiated and theoretically supple examination of how one can handle one's situation as unemployed – without letting oneself be imprisoned by the discursive order, which of course is not easy, precisely because the unemployment - discourse is a discourse and thus claims to be universally valid. Here, however, both the informants and Andersson are particularly creative.

A central element in the treatment of the unemployment discourse is the term "a black discourse" (p. 88). By this is meant that the category is stigmatizing and marks stagnation, a state that is in opposition to the job-seeker's willingness to change. Other people expect a depressed unemployed person and an inactive "sluggard", who simultaneously wants to work. It is not easy to combine these two. And it becomes even more difficult when you are faced with a discourse when you visit the job centre. We are shown convincingly that it really is a discourse. It is about disciplining, categorization, and dichotomization. Andersson points out (p. 31) that "one of the techniques of the modern exercise of power is ... an increasingly finely subdivided categorization", that is, a combination of objectification and isolation of those affected by power, in the hope that they are capable of acting as objectified subjects.

If this is perceived as particularly difficult, it is not least due to the fact that an unemployed person is also subjected to a moral condemnation. This is associated with what is probably a distinctive Nordic trait, that work is also viewed as a moral activity. What is at stake is the will to work, which is a matter of not merely using the time but using it to the full. Historically speaking, work has also been perceived as a moral programme intended to change the individual's way of life for the better. The dissertation does not say what is the reason for this view of work as a moral virtue, other than that it is rooted in a puritan work ethic, according to which hard work cleanses the soul. Being unemployed is thus equivalent to an immoral way of life, the temptations of idleness being great. In this connection it is frightening to see how this outlook is voiced by many of the unemployed informants, who thus participate in the reproduction of the discourse.

But the problem is greater than that – and this is where the dissertation really gets exciting. An unemployed person suffers from the fault of not being an adequate consumer. The demands of production, to work and do one's bit, are accompanied by a demand to consume as much as possible. A work ethic is not enough; you also have to be a high consumer with plenty of purchasing power. That is hard for the unemployed.

The most frightening thing in the deconstruction section is the careful analysis of the numerous handbooks for the unemployed. These dish out so many clichés and mantras as to be entertaining; and you would have to search far to find anything like the rubbish that they pontificate about the sacred "preparedness for change". The unemployed will find no help here, just hot air.

It is therefore surprising to encounter people who are unemployed but who have the sense to put up resistance, against both the underlying wage-labour premise of unemployment and the

prevailing discourse. Here the dissertation moves from a minor to a major key. It goes far in exposing the conditions that have to be satisfied for a successful life free of work.

Besides this gratifying revelation, the most impressive thing about the dissertation is the consistency with which the perspective of discourse analysis is maintained. It is a good, thorough piece of work, and it can undoubtedly serve as a methodological inspiration for many. The fact that we also learn about the curses of unemployment and the opportunities for freedom only increases the value of this well-written book, which is at once sad and funny. I warmly recommend it, not least for its methodological stringency.
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Restricted Lust?

Maria Bäckman, Kön och känsla. Samlevnadsundervisning och ungdomars tankar om sexualitet. Makadam Förlag, Göteborg & Stockholm 2003. 239 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7061-003-7.

■ This text is wrapped in shocking pink, with a drawing showing two dominant yellow sperm cells moving upwards. The front cover is as clear a creation as the text within; expressive and easy to grasp. Such clarity should not be mistaken as simplicity, however; it takes exceptional effort to convey complexity in comprehensible forms.

Kön och känsla ("Sex and Emotion") is Maria Bäckman's doctoral dissertation from the Department of Ethnology, Stockholm University. It is a very convincing study of gendered sexuality as it is expressed and experienced by teenagers in a Swedish high school. Maria Bäckman did fieldwork in a classroom where sexuality and sexual relationships were the subject. This is an obligatory subject in the Swedish school programme, and the author chose a school in a middle-class region where the sex education had a good reputation. One of her primary quests is the paradox of sex as a subject taught at school: often, sexuality is described and understood in terms of nature, biology, and instinct, so why is it necessary to teach such a subject in school? And are there certain kinds of sexuality norms ascribed to certain gender positions?

Maria Bäckman is inspired by Joan Scott, whose gender theory sees gender as processes of meaning and discourse connecting social power and/or inequality to the different sexes. She is also inspired by Judith Butler, whose queer theory has revealed that a strict heterosexual matrix including a desire for the opposite sex is a dominant cultural determinant of both sexual and personal individuality. These theoretical devices create the basis of this study, which is that "experienced and imagined gender differences not only order reality and the way we comprehend it, but also provide interpretations and instruments for the application of this order" (p. 23).

After a short introduction to the history of sexuality in the Swedish educational system, and in the Swedish welfare state, Maria Bäckman turns to a disposition whereby the structure of the book is created by certain key concepts, each serving as the title of a chapter: homosexuality, whore, love, masturbation and lust. With these key-worded chapters, she is able to show how the common discourse in the classroom is centred around male sexuality as being more dominant than female sexuality, more connected to biology and instinctive desire than female sexuality – no matter how much common discourse in general is focused upon equality between the sexes. In all cases, it seems that male sexuality is given more space, is accepted and even expected in a more tolerant and open way than female sexuality. This is illustrated, for example, in the chapter about masturbation, which is entitled *Runkbulle*. This Swedish slang word, meaning "wank-bun", is the main icon of an urban legend about males masturbating in a group, competing to be the first to ejaculate on a bun in the middle; the last person to hit the bun has to eat it. Although this is narrated as a mythic, disgusting phenomenon, it is tolerated (and perhaps expected) that men masturbate, even as a joint venture. Male masturbation is a subject that can be talked about, whereas female masturbation is a phenomenon embedded in silence, and if thinkable, in solitude and darkness.

In the chapter about homosexuality it is revealed that the term "homosexuality" is associated with male homosexuality, which gives little space for the almost invisible female homo-

sexuality. By analysing quotations and utterances from the pupils about male homosexuality, Bäckman suggests that it is considered threatening (by heterosexual men) because male sexuality is considered aggressive and dominant, whereas lesbian sexuality has connotations of female sexuality, which is considered less dominant. It thus follows that the term "whore" is a very stigmatizing word for a woman, because it has connotations of an active, female sexuality, contrary to the cultural ideal of a woman. Bäckman shows very convincingly how this common cultural threat for young women is an important phenomenon of social regulation; that a certain degree of sexual activity can give status to a male person, but stigma to a female.

The chapters about love and lust contain a very interesting paradox: Bäckman shows how female sexuality for many years has been connected to love and emotional attraction; that there is a very living discourse about women who are said to enjoy sex only or best if they have it with people they are in love with. This is a logical consequence of the above-mentioned cultural connotation of women having less sexual desire due to the biological paradigm; and from this perspective, love can be the (only) sexual password for a woman. For men, however, there can be a clear distinction between sex and love, according to the discussions in the classroom. The sexuality paradigms have changed during the twentieth century, however, from focusing on moral and risk factors to lust and responsibility concerning contraception. *Lust* (which in Swedish is a wholly positive term meaning "pleasure, desire") has become a key term, among other places in the school teaching and public advice about sexuality. Bäckman's analysis reveals how this focus on lust is directed towards the cultural connotations of male sexuality, and not to the female ones, because young women have to regulate their own sexuality according to the strong, biologically based imaginations of female sexuality as passive, emotionally dependent and invisible. Who wants to be called a whore?

As indicated at the beginning, this book is written in a very clear and comprehensible way; the disposition and language are lucid and the main points are very well presented. Perhaps Maria Bäckman could have focused a little more on divergent discourses in the different gender groups and interviews, especially in the case of the young men, who seem to have different ways of speaking about gender and sexuality. Altogether, however, I would like to thank the author for a very welcome contribution to studies of gender and sexuality, which is a very difficult subject to grasp, because we are all deeply and personally embedded in these discourses.

Anne Leonora Blaakilde, Helsinge

The Rules of the Freedom Game

Mikael Eivergård, Frihetens milda disciplin. Normalisering och social styrning i svensk sinnessjukvård 1850–1970. Institutionen för kultur och medier/Etnologi, Umeå. 223 pp. English Summary. Diss. ISSN 0348-9698.

■ Mikael Eivergård's aim in his doctoral dissertation is to investigate institutional mental care as a modern disciplining project. To do so he focuses his attention particularly on two aspects, one concerning normalization processes in the practice of mental health care, the other the actual control of the patients' actions: how does one get them to stop doing some things and start doing other things? Eivergård is not seeking to write about psychiatry as a science; he wants to write a history of practice in which the fixed point is the concrete encounter between institution and patient, and here he makes a clear distinction between what he calls the programme of mental care – the ideal state – and what actually happens in the encounters in mental hospitals.

When Eivergård calls his dissertation "The Mild Discipline of Freedom", it is not because he views freedom in *opposition* to power. He takes Nicholas Rose's reading of Foucault as his basis, which stresses the liberal dilemma, which is that the Western world emphasizes individuals' self-determination, yet individuals have to be steered to act correctly. It is therefore a misunderstanding to set up power and freedom as each other's opposites, and it is just as great a misunderstanding to perceive freedom as an absolute good. Both freedom and power should be understood as changeable dimensions, and the concepts and

their mutual relationship are thus not defined once and for all in a dissertation covering such a long historical period. There are constant changes in these 120 years. Even though he declares that he is inspired by Foucault and his analyses of power, this is not a systematic Foucault-based analysis. I would rather, perhaps somewhat boldly, call Eivergård's analysis a "traditional" Swedish cultural analysis with the merits and perhaps also the limitations that we know so well from many good analyses. Positive further development is precisely Rose's perspective on disciplining procedures, always guiding people towards a better, more discreet, method to ensure both the desired therapeutic results of the hospital and the individual's self-determination. Hence the use of the word "mild".

The study is confined to state mental hospitals. When the system was fully developed there were about thirty hospitals in Sweden, but Eivergård naturally has not devoted equal attention to them all. He has also included the two special hospitals Salberga and Västra Mark for asocial, imbecile patients, the former for men, the latter for women. His justification for including these is that they were part of the same organization and essentially functioned in the same way (although they were perhaps more strictly for the mentally retarded than for the mentally ill). The clientele was completely different, however, so it can be debated whether Eivergård is right to use so many medical records from these two institutions. On the other hand, it can be said that some of the other, more administrative, texts can rightly be used.

For his "fieldwork in the sources" Eivergård has made particular use of three types of source material: *programmatic text* (published scholarly articles, textbooks, regulations, ordinances, etc.), *administrative texts* (material produced in association with administration and work at the individual hospitals, annual reports, etc.) and *patient records*. The latter material is indispensable but also problematic, and it gives rise to fascinating discussions, not least with regard to the selection. Here Eivergård is not alone in the situation of having to choose records from a huge stock in an individual hospital (the oldest has records from the mid-nineteenth century); he has also had to choose among many hospitals, and here there was really no choice but to try to achieve an even distribution of patients with regard to time, sex, admission date, duration of stay, etc. He has selected six hospitals, the oldest of which, in Stockholm, was opened in 1861 and the youngest, in Sidsjön, in 1943.

In the chapter "Freedom with Conditions" Eivergård shows how the changed practice aims to reduce the need for physical restraints in the ward, and he asks the question: what do you do instead? How do you get the patient "of his own free will" to stay in the hospital and be compliant? How do you get the patient to understand that he is sick and that submission is for his own good? For that purpose *freedom* – understood, for example, as permission to go out – could be used as therapy. The patient had to be made to understand what was beneficial for him; only then could rewards be given. If problems arose with the patient's compliance it was possible to withdraw the rewards. In this way punishment was non-existent, the discipline was "mild". But the actual discipline, the "surveillance, the distribution of bodies in time and place, the individualized knowledge production, the hierarchizing gaze, the examination procedures" should be regarded, as Rose does, as liberal control techniques which would make the patients capable of "normalizing" themselves. Eivergård has several excellent empirical examples here and performs a good analysis of the relationship between coercive and liberating practices.

It is especially interesting to read Eivergård's demonstration of the great differences in what was "freedom" for men and for women. This is particularly clear in the chapter "The Most Important Tools of Science", which is about work as a disciplinary technique. If freedom is a right, then work is a duty, and the former is impossible without the latter. Reluctance to work has in itself a pathological character. A working person is a "normal person". There could therefore be no normalization without work. It nevertheless turned out that work was not the cure that had been hoped in the mid-nineteenth century; yet this did not change the fact that it was still thought to be extremely significant long into the twentieth century. It was also a moral virtue and an economic necessity for the hospitals. For men, the very fact of having their spatial territory confined and being

unable to support their families made them unfree. Women, on the other hand, were expected to be able to find a substitute in handwork and in the domestic chores, of which there were enough. It could be more difficult to find "masculine work" for the men. However, the work of the two sexes in the hospitals, according to Eivergård, does not passively reflect conditions in the outside society, but rather how a scientific foundation was sought for producing female and male normality.

In "The Order of Celibacy", about gender and sexuality in the institution, there is further stress on the differences between the sexes, which is a little more than a mirror of contemporary "normality". Whereas obstacles were placed in the way of male sexuality, it was nevertheless considered more "natural", as long as it was heterosexually oriented, and male masturbation was understandable and in the later years even acceptable, provided it was not done too provocatively. Joint male masturbation, however, was perceived as homosexuality, while female masturbation was merely seen as an expression of hypersexuality. This chapter has many fascinating and wholly relevant details, yet I have an objection to raise against it. Eivergård makes particular use of medical records from Västra Mark here, which I think gives a misleading picture. It corresponds exactly to what can be seen in homes for the mentally retarded throughout Scandinavia (as also studied in Kristina Engwall's *Asociala och imbecilla: Kvinnorna på Västra Mark 1931–1967*), and I permit myself to ask: would it not have been more interesting if he had instead chosen the majority of his examples for one of the "proper" mental hospitals, where the question of sexuality under institutional control has been examined much less? This is my objection to the mixing of records from the two types of institutions. It is another matter that it would have been interesting to have a *comparison* of the two types. I do not understand the justification for choosing the women from Västra Mark as representatives in the otherwise excellent chapter on the order of celibacy, which is just not representative of what life was like – especially for women – in the mental hospitals. What about the women who were not diagnosed as "imbecile and asocial", but who were "only" mentally ill? They must have made up the majority of Eivergård's material.

Eivergård arrives at the conclusion that one must reach today: it is impossible to say whether psychiatric patients have become freer or treatment has become more humane. Humane treatment, repression, and freedom are not absolute entities.

Eivergård's work has a special relationship to Lars-Eric Jönsson's dissertation from 1998, *Det terapeutiska rummet*. The common point of departure is a desire to conduct an "ethnology of power and the institution", using and problematizing similar empirical material from different angles in such a way that both works could complement each other and be read separately. The idea is fine, but it only works partially, one reason being that too much time has passed between the two dissertations, but the shared point of departure is obvious. The two authors have also worked together before, for instance in the book about Sidsjön Hospital, and it would have been exciting to imagine a joint work about the institution/patients in the period 1850–1970. However, this would not have been possible with doctoral dissertations. But this leads me to another question which concerns not only this dissertation, but Swedish ethnological dissertations in general: have Swedes in recent years become afraid of writing too much? One frequently sees Swedish dissertations of 200–250 pages including references and summary. The authors could surely go into a little more depth, include more foreign scholars (apart from the names), and take more time to discuss the relationship between crucial concepts, theory and empirical evidence, fieldwork, and so on. One feels like asking: is it considered a virtue to write as briefly as possible even if it means that essential discussions have to be cut out? The dissertation is supposed to be advanced proof that the author has devoted many years and much effort to arrive at new and important knowledge in a specific field of scholarship and now wishes to convey it to inquisitive readers. It is not (or should not be) just a matter of passing an examination. Are there formal rules for the length of a dissertation, or could it be conceived that there are supervisors who say to students: remember, anything over 200 pages is bad? In Eivergård's case especially I have frequently thought: wouldn't it have been interesting

if he had allowed time and space for a deeper discussion? One of the things I miss is a discussion of level. When he regards the encounter between "institution and patient" and the difference between "the programme" (the ideal) and what actually happened in the institutional practice, I wonder, what and who is "the institution"? Is it the whole superior political state level, the psychiatric expertise, or perhaps just the administrative and medical management of the institution(s)? Those who stand face to face with the patient?

Eivergård's analysis is concrete, plausible, and exciting, but we still do not know what the concept of "institution" means – at the individual hospital and in Swedish mental care as a whole. In what way do the political, economic, and medical levels influence each other, so that we can understand what kind of entity the institution actually is? Is there a hierarchy that we have not been told about? Is this part of what there was no room for, or was it perhaps excluded in what I think is a too restrictive demarcation? A strict demarcation is fine, but it presupposes that other people know the terms by which it is drawn!

Having said that, I must also say that Mikael Eivergård has written an important, even indispensable dissertation about mental care in Sweden. This book will be worn to shreds in this house and in Denmark as a whole; we are not spoiled with ethnological analyses of marginalized areas, and it is time that the field of psychiatry became the next major subject of study in humanistic research on health. As usual, the Swedes are leading by a head!

Edith Mandrup Rønn, Herlufmagle

Boys' Football and Masculinities

Jesper Fundberg, Kom igen, gubbar! Om pojkfotboll och maskuliniteter. Carlssons Bokförlag, Stockholm 2003. 216 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7203-513-7.

■ Reading this dissertation can put you in a good mood. It evokes one's footballing childhood and the joys and sorrows that parents have had from their children's football. There are countless opportunities for self-recognition. Even some of the places here are familiar: sports grounds and campsites in North Jutland – not to mention the behaviour of players, coaches, and parents. Who has not run into the distinctive type of coach with white t-shirt, shorts, white tennis shoes, and sunglasses pushed up on his head? Who has not met the football father, shouting rather too much on the sideline, and the football mother, constantly trying to create a good social framework in the form of coffee, lemonade, and buns? They are all here in this well-written book: the sports fanatics, the reflective types, the ambitious boys with their fear and longing. One nods in recognition at the powerful masculine smell both on the pitch and in the changing room. The world in which boys and men are allowed to be themselves and say what cannot otherwise be said in public or in the educational system.

It should be said at once that the book is a piece of brilliant academic craftsmanship. It is Jesper Fundberg's doctoral dissertation and yet further proof that ethnologists are among the best at capturing the special world that is sport. This is probably due to the well-known ability of sport to get under the skin of persons, situations, and courses of events, but also the constant requirement to understand and explain, achieved by narrowing down and interpreting the meaning. The turn in recent years towards identity as a permanent, plural negotiation situation, taking place in time and space, has sharpened the ethnologist's skill at following people and institutions over a long period. This is also the case with Fundberg's dissertation, where he has followed a boys' football team in a suburban municipality of Stockholm, the club called Bollinge IF, for four years. When he first met the boys in the spring of 1995, they were in fifth grade. When the fieldwork was concluded they were about to start their last year of compulsory school. These boys, their coaches and parents have been followed through thick and thin, to training, to local matches, to football cups in Sweden and Denmark.

The aim of the book is to emphasize how masculinity is constructed in the world of sport, and how it is expressed. What are the building blocks of masculinity? What are its forms of representation? What special conditions are dictated by sport, in this case boys' football? These are good, well-demarcated questions with

considerable relevance for gender politics. According to a Swedish leisure study from 1995 – the year when Fundberg began his fieldwork – seven out of ten boys aged 7–15 were active in a sports club. For girls the figure was five out of ten. Football was the most popular sport: in the 10–12 age group almost every other boy and more than a quarter of the girls played football. This is thus definitely not a minority study we have here, but a world which is a significant part of the social and everyday life of Swedish citizens.

One of the great merits of the dissertation is that it shows how boys' interest in football is interwoven in a compressed everyday life which centres around children's leisure activities. From this point of view, the dissertation is also a splendid example of how wise ethnologists and scholars of culture still retain a social dimension both in the design of their studies and in their analytical practice, instead of letting everything be hitched to the discursive wagon and its straitjacket with neo-dogmatic linguistic turns. Fundberg declares emphatically (p. 26): "Cultural research, describing and analysing cultural expressions such as norms, values, and ways of acting, without sociology can otherwise become a kind of cosy research in which everything is relative, possible, and interesting in itself." Not so here. The constant toil of driving children, washing football kit, and the like is included. Contextualization is prominent.

In keeping with this, Fundberg can also pose the following question: "Can boys' football be viewed as a ritual *context* for male upbringing?" (p. 17). The answer is yes, but it has far more nuances than one might at first think. Inspired primarily by Robert Connell in his books *Masculinities* from 1995 and *The Men and the Boys* from 2000, Fundberg understands masculinities as situational and relational. This means that he can rely theoretically on the interest of phenomenologically inspired ethnology in bodily logics, as expressed in a situational practice and a corporeally reflected practice. It is also a significant theoretical and methodological gain that Fundberg so convincingly shows that male upbringing is not just a matter of reflexivity and learning via the head. He demonstrates that socialization to masculinity also takes place via physical experiences. It is not the way you think but the way you feel – and act – that is crucial. Here is an extract from his field diary from July 1998 as an illustration (p. 121):

"Great!" "Good ball!"
"Wider!"
"Ohhh ... what a pity."
"Damn, can't they finish off an attack? Challenge him, you've got a body, Jerker!"

What kind of masculinity are the boys taught? Here Fundberg distinguishes between three different dimensions: participation, negotiation, and sharing the blame. All three are present in the material dug out by Fundberg, and it is especially the grey areas between them that he is interested in. More specifically, he wants to show the type of masculinity that is mainstream; namely, the masculinity found "among men who respect their mothers, wives, and daughters, who never use mental or physical violence against women, who share the housework and do their bit to support the family, and who simultaneously think that feminism as an ideology can be compared with menacing extremism" (p. 28). In other words, a masculinity characterized by normality – but also by power. This power is expressed, for instance, in the fact that this masculine universe rejects "poofs, old women, and immigrants". The boys, their fathers, and their coaches do not want to adopt a superior position in either the home or the family, preferring a negotiating kind of masculinity, but both the tone in the club and its bodily practice invite a hegemonic masculinity, which can be placed in the category of masculinity as an "accomplice" (p. 150).

It should be pointed out, however, that Fundberg is does very little moralizing in his analyses. The understanding aspect clearly dominates over political correctness. This does not change the conclusion of the book (p. 196), that we are dealing here with power and an exercise of power in which structures and self-images merge an understanding whereby *some* people perceive themselves as bearers of normality. It is relevant that the author had originally envisaged a comparative analysis of football teams in two different social and ethnic settings (p. 14). He gave up that idea and concentrated on Bollinge. This is understandable when you see how

masculine even "nice children" from a middle-stratum society are...

To sum up, we have here a piece of solid ethnological craftsmanship and a well-written account which, without academic posturing, presents a field that plays a significant part in Swedish society. The book thus has a very wide target group, since not just the scholarly world – ethnology, sports studies, and interdisciplinary youth studies – but also the general public have ample opportunity to become wiser. If you want amusing stories, they are here too. Some are very good, in fact, although as I admit to finding them funny, I confirm that I too am an accomplice.

It is not the author's fault that the book has been given such an exceptionally ugly cover.

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Theme Parks

Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl, Tur-retur temapark. Oppdragelse, opplevelse, kommers. Høyskoleforlaget, Kristiansand 2003. 251 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 82-7634-532-8.

■ In 2002 Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl defended her dissertation, with the title "Return Trip Theme Park: Education, Experience, Commerce". This is a welcome contribution to research on the consumption of experiences.

Hjemdahl shows good familiarity with current theory on the role of consumption in late modern society, and she manages to combine this theoretical awareness with penetrating participant observation of life in theme parks. By consistently bringing the perspective down to the level of the participant, she is able to provide an important corrective to the more culture-critical stance that has characterized the Anglo-Saxon discussion of theme parks. One of the strong points of the dissertation is that she does not primarily concentrate on a semantic reading of theme parks; instead she focuses on the phenomenology of the experiences combined with an analysis of the production conditions for the experience industry.

In the chapter "Modern Child-rearing Culture", Hjemdahl describes the societal context of the phenomenon of theme parks by describing how the modern culture of upbringing focuses on children's experiences as a central part of the perception of the elements which modern identity formation should contain. She describes the modern demarcation of childhood as a free zone in terms of a process where the adult world, paradoxically, opens the way for a colonization of childhood. This chapter is supposed to serve as a frame, but it loses some of its analytical power because of where it is placed in the dissertation. As it is now, it feels like a distance to be dutifully covered before reaching the two chapters that are the *tour de force* of the dissertation: "When the Theme Park Happens" and "Sword in Hand". It is in these chapters that the author is clearly able to show her strength as a stylist and an analyst.

The phenomenological approach allows Hjemdahl to expose qualities in theme parks that would be lost with an ideological critique. Her solidarity and empathy with the families that visit theme parks give new dimensions to the general discussion of the role of experiences in late modern society. In some parts of the chapter "Sword in Hand" Hjemdahl takes the description and analysis of the experience industry to what is, quite literally, a matter of life or death.

In the chapter "Adventures in the Stock Exchange" the author extends the discussion to include the production of experiences. Here the discussion of theme parks is linked to a more general discussion of the phenomenon of the new economy. Although this is not the most exciting chapter in the dissertation, it makes a competent and necessary connection with the overall debate about the role of experiences in modern society. Hjemdahl shows here a sound familiarity with current theoretical discussions of the new economy and is able to relate these discussions to her material from interviews and newspapers.

If one wanted to apply a critical perspective, one could say that the dissertation requires large amounts of background knowledge from readers who are not acquainted with Nordic children's culture. The text expects a reader who knows about Pippi Longstocking, Moomin Valley and Captain Sabretooth if it is to be fully appreciated. If we look at the Swedish context, for example, it should be remembered that Pippi Longstocking was not a self-evident part of all children's education for a certain period. The consumption

of children's culture also has a class aspect which is not considered in the dissertation.

This can be explained to some extent with the perspective "from the inside" that Hjemdahl aims for. She herself functions as the medium through which the experiences pass. But this perspective can also have the effect that phenomena which are bound to a specific culture are interpreted in general terms. There is a taken-for-granted "we" in the dissertation which is not questioned. This can partly be explained by the theoretical apparatus used by the author. Giddens, Ziehe, Melucci, and others are scholars who work with general discussions of the late modern world. In their theoretical world there is a tendency to interpret in general terms phenomena which are actually tied to class, gender, geography, and ethnicity, to name just a few factors.

Hjemdahl also belongs to what could be called, for want of a better word, a neo-phenomenological tendency in ethnology and anthropology which stresses the experience dimension in the spectrum of cultural analysis. The strength of this perspective, especially in the hands of a good stylist like Hjemdahl, is that we achieve a greater understanding of the way in which consumption plays a central role for individuals' entire life situation. At the same time, focusing the analysis in this way seems to leave no room for any discussion of power.

All in all, the inside perspective and the theoretical apparatus have the effect that Hjemdahl does not ask the following questions, except as an afterthought: Which groups' identity construction do theme parks specifically contribute to? Which groups feel that theme parks are not for them? Could it be that theme parks are an important part of the construction of exclusive national identities?

The dissertation would have gained from considering aspects of inclusion and exclusion. This leads to the question: Is a phenomenological critique of ideology possible, and what would it look like?

It must nevertheless be said that this is an innovative dissertation which takes the discussion of the role of experience in modern society several steps forward. The chapters "When the Theme Park Happens and "Sword in Hand" are especially impressive. Throughout the dissertation she shows the mixture of curiosity and humility in the face of the material that is the hallmark of a good researcher. Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl thus takes a deserving place among the voices that we can expect to contribute to the continued development of ethnology.

Per-Markku Ristilammi, Malmö

The Dream of the People

Ole Marius Hylland, Folket og eliten. En studie av folkeoplysning som tekst i tidsskriftet *Folkevennen*. Universitetet i Oslo 2002, 300 pp. Diss. ISSN 0806-3222.

■ The people – *folket* – does not exist in reality, at least not as the nineteenth-century proponents of popular enlightenment envisaged it. None the less, the concept was constituted in texts intended to educate the people, and Ole Marius Hylland's dissertation is about how "the people" was created in the Norwegian journal *Folkevennen* ("Friend of the People"), which was published from 1852–1900 by the Society for the Promotion of Popular Enlightenment. The prevailing perspective in the dissertation is that popular enlightenment implies a hierarchy of knowledge, and that the image of the receivers, as they are portrayed in the texts of *Folkevennen*, is one of ambiguity. The people are both heroes and barbarians, the popular educators are both fascinated by the people and profoundly sceptical of them, and *Folkevennen* reflects both idealism and pragmatism.

Folkevennen is treated in the dissertation as a work, as a separate textual universe, which means that the individual texts are viewed as representative of the journal and not as a part of an author's writings or as a stage in a broader development. The methodological approach of the dissertation is to read the *Folkevennen* texts "as text". This strategy is taken from comparative literature and can be viewed as symptomatic of the new cultural history or the linguistic turn in the cultural sciences, although this is not discussed. The study nevertheless concentrates on historical textual analysis of specific articles in *Folkevennen* from the central period 1852–62, when the Grundtvigian Ole Vig and Eilert Sundt, who is so well known in Nordic cultural studies, were the editors and expressed

themselves explicitly on the intentions behind the journal. The focus is thus on the programmatic articles – one is tempted to say texts "about text". After the opening introduction, which presents popular enlightenment, research on popular enlightenment, and *Folkevennen* and the Society for the Promotion of Popular Enlightenment, the second part of the dissertation is devoted to textual analysis.

The articles in *Folkevennen* are characterized as factual accounts, goal-directed and to a certain extent situated. The reading was supposed to be steered in the direction of the authors' intentions, the overall concern being "to work for popular enlightenment with special reference to arousing the spirit of the people, their development and refinement". Hylland performs a detailed analysis of three aspects of the texts in *Folkevennen*, which are central for understanding the relationship of the texts to their receivers: style, genre, and authorization. The aim was to develop a "popular style"; if one wanted to reach the people with the desired enlightenment, one had to write *for* the people. The authors therefore tried to avoid foreign words and write close to colloquial language, which in Ole Vig's case resulted in a highly figurative language in which the metaphor of light was used frequently. The analysis of the use of genres in *Folkevennen* results in the conclusion that the journal is not characterized by one specific genre; in fact, there is genre pluralism. There is nevertheless a feel of uniformity, in that all the texts are permeated by a pedagogical intention. Hylland therefore studies the authorization that takes place in the texts, that is, how the text is made credible and authoritative for the reader by means of rhetorical devices. He argues that *Folkevennen* displays a self-authorizing rhetoric. There is an endeavour to ensure the credibility of the texts by implicating the author; in other words, he is visible in the text and can vouch for what is said. This self-authorization both reinforces the implicit hierarchy in the popular enlightenment project and simultaneously has this as its precondition.

The last part of the analysis deals with the intended or implied reader. This is not the actual reader but the reader that can be said to be present in the text. Literary analysis is thus adopted to shed light on the people implied in the text, and this people is ambiguous. The readers are presupposed both to be able to understand advanced argumentation and presentation of historical, technical, and moral knowledge, but seemingly have to be addressed in a studiedly simple, childish, and direct style.

The third and largest part of the dissertation then examines the content and ideology of the texts. This is partly done through an analysis of the themes that characterize *Folkevennen*, based on the journals' own tables of contents and its own classification of the articles. The first ten years especially had many articles about history and the people's conditions and customs, while other themes are given only limited space. History is primarily represented by Vig's articles, while articles about the people's conditions and customs are predominantly written by Sundt. Some articles are directed *to* the people while others are *about* the people. Hylland deals in detail with three selected themes: history, social conditions, and morality. Of the historical matter, the broad presentations are permeated by the inspiration of Grundtvig, especially the essays on world history, where the state of individual peoples is expressed in the concept of "the spirit of the people". The crucial thing about the view of history in *Folkevennen* is that one should learn from history as a Magistra Vitae, and that history is a means to awaken and strengthen the spirit of the people.

In his analysis of the political ideology, Hylland focuses on the recurrent national idea, and on how the didactic articles teach farmers to accept their place in society. To this are added Sundt's own investigations and descriptions, published as supplements to *Folkevennen*. The view of the people is characterized as dual: both philanthropic and scholarly. Sundt describes in order to be able to understand and explain, but also, ideally, to be able to change. The descriptive and normative are thus closely linked. The view of the present day reflected in the articles in the journal is summed up as conservative, that is, attaching great value to the existing state of things, in a way that is not highly politicized.

The final chapters reach more detailed conclusions about the concept of enlightenment and the practice of *Folkevennen*. In line with the

eighteenth-century metaphorical use of light as an expression of insight and perception, as opposed to unenlightened darkness, the dichotomy of light and dark is the fulcrum for the enlightenment metaphor in *Folkevennen*. In the analyses, however, Hylland does not make a clear qualitative difference between the eighteenth-century enlightenment and the romantic popular enlightenment of the nineteenth century, where "light", as the Danish historian of education Ove Korsgaard has argued, if anything came "from below", from the people and the nation itself. When Hylland refers to Korsgaard's points and when the metaphor has such a central place in the analysis, a qualitative difference between different forms of enlight-enment and their use of the light metaphor could have made the question of hierarchy and authority even more complex or subtle. Likewise, an analysis of the more negative implications of the light metaphor as control and surveillance could have been interesting.

In practice the enlightenment spread by *Folkevennen* centred around the word, in that the main way to influence the people was envisaged as going via books and reading – the right texts, that is. Public book collections and libraries for the peasantry were therefore viewed as a crucial tool, once school had established the necessary literacy. It is concluded that it was a limited change that *Folkevennen* wished. People were to be made aware but not to be made equal; the authors sought to ensure social stability and the status quo. The attitude is deemed more conservative than radical, but it is not put in a broad historical context. The focus is on the texts in the journal. They were aimed especially at the common people. Whereas "the people" in many other scholars' studies of the concept is regarded as synonymous with (1) the cultural nation, (2) the lower classes, and (3) the political nation of citizens, the dissertation concentrates on the first two of these meanings. The people is at once both part and whole. However, the folk–elite opposition – the hierarchical classification of the people – becomes the central feature of the analyses, as the title shows, but I miss more detailed arguments for not pursuing the political dimension and for giving such a minor position to the national-cultural meanings, both in the title and in the analysis. A great strength of the dissertation, however, is that in the analysis of oppositions and paradoxes in the view of the people, a complex field of meanings unfolds: how the valuable aspect of the people is ironically also the problematic aspect. But it is vexatious that the complexity is mainly unfolded along one axis.

With inspiration from Pierre Bourdieu and others, the concept of people in *Folkevennen* is described as containing several forms of distinction. Both on the basis of what the people have and do not have, and on the basis of the enlightenment they should have and should not have. The positive distinctive feature is that they are genuine, original, close to nature and history, the negative distinctive feature is their lack of historic knowledge and awareness, the absence of the right *Volksgeist*. In a model with these two axes, the people is placed as it appears in the journal, which shows a number of paradoxes in this ambiguous people, which is both ideal and real. The journal is characterized overall as being constituted by an elitist position, and this is discussed in the light of the concept of ideology and the critical position attached to it. The *Folkevennen* project is placed in a societal context of inequality, so the question of the authority of the elite in relation to enlightenment is of crucial significance. Hylland concludes that the influence that *Folkevennen* wished to exert on the people was to socialize them in the existing paternalist social structure, not to change this structure. *Folkevennen* worked to adapt the people, to make them into cultural and moral subjects, but not political subjects. This assessment, however, does not seem wholly convincing, partly because the heavy inspiration from Grundtvig that can be detected in Vig's writings is not developed in relation to the political dimension of Grundtvig's ideas about popular enlightenment, where arousing the population to become responsible and self-aware citizens was absolutely essential. The political subjectivization that Hylland looks for in *Folkevennen* seems to be of a different kind, since the yardstick for really wanting to subjectivize the people is whether one supported revolutionary movements.

The central feature of the dissertation is the ideological ambiguity analysed in *Folkevennen*,

which contained four different positions: two stabilizing: one conservative and one romantic; and two positions desiring change: one rationalistic and one moral. This resulted in contradictory demands as to what the people should be like. The popular educators were thus ambivalent about the people. Hylland brilliantly demonstrates this ambivalence and thus takes a refreshingly more critical view of the enlightenment project than the one prevailing in most of the existing research written by representatives of the enlightenment itself. The heroic empathy and closeness emphasized at least in Danish research on popular enlightenment, is replaced by a mild ironic distance. But it would have been nice if the new insights had been brought more concretely into interaction with the more normative and ideological understanding produced by an analysis from within.

Although one can be critical of the toning down of the political dimension in the people and popular enlightenment that is found in Hylland's analyses and conclusions, the great merit of the dissertation is the understanding and description of the complexity in the concepts of the people and popular enlightenment. And although one is tempted to wish for even more complexity, and complexity along more axes than the hierarchical one, the dissertation shows that the strategies of textual analysis have a great deal to contribute to research in cultural history. Hylland's reading of *Folkevennen* is far from being the only possible one, but it does not claim to be. And it makes interesting reading, which can only inspire the use of these analytical strategies on other types of material.

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

New Spaces

Markus Idvall, Kartors Kraft. Regionen som samhällsvision i Öresundsbrons tid. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2000. 351 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN-91-89116-09-7.

■ Markus Idvall's doctoral dissertation deals primarily with the region, but *Kartors kraft* ("The Power of Maps") is also a fascinating discussion of how time and movement are related to and influence space. It is a book with many levels, which can be read in many ways. "What is a Region?" is both the title of chapter 1 and the question that runs through the whole of Idvall's dissertation, which takes the shape of a constructivist attempt to answer this and other questions.

In the first chapter the question is discussed by means of a thorough analysis of the treatment of the topic by different disciplines in different periods. The reader is led through a number of different aspects of regional studies, focusing on function, culture, and idea. The author concentrates on the significance of culture and the idea aspect for an understanding of the region. On page 23 he writes that he wants to focus on the cultural aspect, defined as: "Grounds on which, for example, individuals relate to the region and the experiences that this gives rise to." Yet it is precisely the individual and his or her experiences of the regional space that I miss in the book. What has happened to the individual and everyday life?

Idvall then presents the most important analytical concerns, including the relationship between time and space. We are introduced to the author's interpretation of Lefebvre's concepts of space, Virilio's reflections on speed and condensation of space, Foucault's definition of power and counterpower, and de Certeau's distinction between practice and strategy.

The first chapter also contains a chronological survey of research on the region and related topics. This survey, mainly dealing with Swedish scholars and their works, feels a little isolated, as it is neither mentioned nor discussed further in the rest of the book. This makes me wonder what the reader is expected to do with the rather comprehensive survey.

This first, very important chapter ends with a presentation of the arrangement of the rest of the book according to five thematic categories – speed, aesthetics, taste, ethics, and morality – each of which has its own very different chapter. This division of the material is refreshing and conceived with great originality. The subsequent chapters and sections alternate from a sober, descriptive style, via almost lyrical accounts of the author's personal impressions and experiences, to an academic discussion of analytical concepts. This stylistic variation, combined with an acces-

sible language, makes the book pleasingly light to read, never weighed down with unnecessarily convoluted academic prose.

Chapter 2, on the theme of speed, is by far the most important in the whole dissertation. Entitled "Bridge of Mists", it gives us a thorough account of the planning of the Öresund Fixed Link from around 1900 onwards. Through the mists of history, Idvall follows all the bygone plans, dreams, and ideas from the eras of the train, the car, and the aeroplane. All the arguments from pan-Scandinavian to national to regional are mentioned. The period is divided into four phases, each characterized by a different distribution of power.

This chronological survey is a good introduction to the course of events, but it feels rather parenthetical in relation to the rest of the book, which is characterized by a thematic and non-historical approach to the topic.

The chapter also has room for the history of the opposition, which began in the 1960s. New players enter the debate, viewing the Öresund Fixed Link as a nightmare to be combated on environmental grounds. They use the bridge to question the advantages of speed. The bridge is depicted as a traffic-producing machine and is associated with mass motoring and all its negative consequences. Even though the opposition did not manage to stop the project, they represent an important position in the discourse on the regional. At the same time, we see how the Öresund Fixed Link through time has become a part of the region-building around the Öresund, although it started as a dream that solely concerned traffic.

"The Charted Region", according to the author's division, is connected to aesthetics. This link is not as transparent as the connection of the previous chapter to speed. Here the reader learns about the role played by maps, thus explaining the title of the book, which until now has been enticing but not immediately understandable. The role of the map in the creation of the region is one of the most interesting angles in the book.

The map is described as an important and powerful actor and representative of the visible region. The region is a diffuse entity which only becomes visible via the map. The cartographic narrative about the region is told with the aid of a great many quotations from informants, which give this and the subsequent chapter a more experience-oriented insight into Markus Idvall's extensive fieldwork than the other chapters.

Chapter 4, "Map Spaces" is divided into the section "Out in the Field" and "In the Office". Here we meet the informants whom the author came across in his fieldwork. It seems as if the office, where the experts and the people in power can be found, is the place where Idvall has the greatest yield. At any rate, it is these actors that are described most satisfactorily. The experience-based regional perception of the "ordinary" individual is neither captured nor sought as much as I would have wished.

The fifth chapter, "Views and Premonitions", is devoted to the theme of ethics. Once again, the theme is divided under subheadings, this time four elements, which seems a little strained and not fully tenable. The sections on "Earth", "Fire", and "Water" describe the different sensory approaches to the perception of regional space. The rest of the chapter focuses on things like mobility and the significance of speed for the perception of territory. The density of space is an important focal point which is discussed through a description of social and cultural processes which give rise to a demarcation between here and there.

Chapter 6, "From Home" collects some of the threads in the dissertation's empirical analyses, while the last chapter, "The Political Map", connects the political aspect with the cartographic mobilization of regions.

The seven chapters together make up a book that is a fascinating academic comment on the major planning efforts in the economic and political field of regions. The aim of the dissertation is to clarify the processes and mechanisms that follow when the region becomes a project for public planning. On page 28 Idvall states one of the main points in the book, namely, that a region presupposes an organized and organizing structure, in this case the Swedish state and its territory. In this sense the dynamic relation between experience-based probability and societal coercion is a precondition for the region. The question that opens chapter 1, "What is a region?", is not answered to the same extent as the question "How is it built?" Idvall's answer to this is that it is drawn on a map, but is created

more in discourse and research than in action.

The mobilization of the region is treated by Idvall as a discursive matter, and from this angle he has presented a thorough analysis and an exciting discussion of the relationship between territory and speed. It has an inspiring focus on discourses and cultural construction. It makes a pleasant change to have a discussion focusing on the relationship between identification and territory based on the region rather than the nation.

The book can be recommended to readers who want to know something concrete about the creation of the Öresund region and to those who want to know something general about the complex processes involved in influencing space.
Astrid Honoré, Copenhagen

Western Women and Conversion Processes to Islam

Anna Månsson, "Becoming Muslim". Meanings of Conversion to Islam. Lund University 2002. 254 pp. Diss. ISBN 91-628-5398-8.

■ *Becoming Muslim* is an important book because it deflates the dangerous stereotypes of our times and the construction of images of the enemy between the Muslin and the Western world, and it does so in a simple, strong, and direct way. Even though Anna Månsson does not make a big point of it in her dissertation, it is true that the image of "the Muslim enemy" has grown since 11 September 2001. That image is highly objectivizing in the sense that it aims to create distance, not understanding. It is a matter of distancing oneself from the Other.

In this book Månsson studies a group that does not normally come to mind as part of the image of the Muslim, namely, those who choose to convert from a Western Christian to a Muslim tradition. In this connection the author has interviewed Swedish and American women who have converted to Islam. Månsson claims that these women's life narratives can help to nuance pre-established categories and be a buffer against the view of culture as essence, and it can create understanding both inside the group and between different cultural groups. In times when Muslims and the so-called "Muslim world" are depicted as "the Other" and as being in conflict with the Western world, the transcultural experience of these women is of great significance.

Månsson uses narrative analysis to approach the women's life-world and their self-descriptions. Through the narratives they seek to make their choice comprehensible, to make themselves understood, and to be acknowledged on the basis of their own biography. With this point of departure, and with the aid of various theories from psychological-cognitive anthropology, she sheds light on cultural and psychological aspects of conversion. This is a theoretical approach that enables an analysis of the interaction between public representations and the personal acquisition of these.

The book is based on a qualitative, person-centred ethnographic study of Swedish and American women who have converted to Islam. It analyses how the narratives associated with the conversion try to explain identity processes, gender, and the women's relationship to the family and the surrounding world. Månsson claims that it is through this type of narratives that we create ourselves and our relations to others. The conversion is linked to a process where the narrative proves to be involved in the creation of meaning, as new experiences are integrated and organized.

In the women's conversion processes one can detect continuity, but also change. There is a constant internal and external dialogue – in the women themselves and with the people around them. Here Månsson cites Mikhail Bakhtin and his description of similar phenomena. The women use their own internal interpretation and personal experience in the dialogue. This is a dynamic process. Self-representation is thus always associated with external social and cultural contexts and phenomena. Conversion to Islam means a change – and a process that becomes visible in both action and reflection, not just in relation to external circumstances but also when one writes one's own life story.

Månsson is concerned with how the women in her study construct their self-image through the conversion narrative, and with the ideas, feelings, and experiences aroused when they talk about the conversion. Becoming a Muslim also seems to involve a constant evaluation of one's former lifestyle, contrasted with the present way of life.

When it comes to the identity as a Muslim, the headscarf in particular seems to have a powerful symbolic meaning. The Swedish women claim that the headscarf has not deprived them of their Swedishness, which is instead expressed in a different way. The headscarf is nevertheless the external symbol that most exposes the women to objectivization and categorization by other people.

What is different about this book is that the author chooses to regard the conversion as a process and not as the result of a single event. The conversion is a continuum which can be studied by focusing on various subsidiary processes. The process of becoming a Muslim is explained through the women's life stories, *the conversion narrative*, the cognitive *creation* of a coherent Muslim identity, and the *encounter* with the surrounding society – both the Muslim community and the Swedish or American society. The study highlights a process whereby an active and meaning-making subject reacts to and comes to terms with different experiences and discourses which not only reproduce but also change cultural and religious phenomena. Conversion to Islam, in other words, leads both to transformation of the women's self-understanding and to greater social and cultural transformations.

The interdisciplinary approach to the topic of the book makes it interesting for researchers and students far outside the field of ethnology. The theme of the book, and the angle chosen by Anna Månsson, bring the women's narratives to life, in an engaging and convincing way.

Haci Akman, Bergen

Research and Politics

Suzanne Almgren Mason, Life in the Labyrinth: A Reflexive Exploration of Research and Politics. Department of Culture and Media/Ethnology, Umeå University 2002. 189 pp. Diss. ISBN 91-7305-274-4.

■ Mason was a junior researcher on the Swedish part of a European Union project investigating the impact of personal biography and 'social citizenship policies' on migrant women's experience of becoming self-employed. *Life in the Labyrinth: a Reflexive Exploration of Research and Politics* is her PhD thesis. It comprises her Final EU Project Report and an associated article, sandwiched between an introduction and conclusion, and interleaved with comments. These document how, as a relatively inexperienced, but committed ethnographer, she developed an increasingly critical stance towards the Project and the Report she produced.

This Report summarizes some secondary source material confirming that immigrant women (especially those from outside Europe) experience more unemployment than their non-migrant and male counterparts. It discusses the views of five "experts' (migrants and non-migrant activists in organisations 'in charge of implementing the various programmes and projects that are part of the Swedish labour market and integration policies') (p.14). It then comments on data from forty-two 'biographical' interviews with self-employed migrants (mainly women?). The variation in their backgrounds and the overall method of their selection is obscure, but we learn that some were suggested as interview candidates by the projects and that they all came from two Stockholm suburbs already subject to various 'social' initiatives.

The Report, and accompanying article describing two attempts to establish small cooperatives, suggest migrant women are generally keen to work, though not always in self-employment. They turn to this (though less frequently than do migrant males) because of difficulties experienced in the labour market, encouragement from state agencies and assorted projects, and sometimes due to (unfulfilled) hopes that self-employment will easily fit with domestic responsibilities.

The difficulties which migrants face in the labour market are only lightly sketched, but Mason suggests that they can't simply be explained in terms of migrants' 'deficits' in appropriate skills or cultural competencies. However some refugees suffer from the trauma they have experienced in their country of origin. Lack of qualifications officially recognised in Sweden is also a problem.

So too, for the would-be self-employed, are the decisions of banks and welfare providers which make it hard for migrant women to obtain adequate start-up capital and alternative sources of subsistence until enterprises become profitable.

(Those who can draw on resources from ethnic networks or other household members are advantaged here – at least until things go wrong and they can't meet their commitments.) Lack of appropriate knowledge and the shortcomings of some advice givers and scheme promoters compound the migrants' problems, as does the widespread assumption that migrant women are less than 'modern', and best suited to enterprises drawing on traditional female skills.

Mason reports Project co-workers in other countries finding their migrant women also disadvantaged, though she does not discuss literature which documents the difficulties faced by small businesses in general. However, her article (though not her Final Report) queries the Project's unquestioning assumption that promoting self-employment is wise, particularly if it diverts attention from tackling labour market discrimination.

A variety of further issues concern Mason as she reflexively 'deconstructs' her research report. She particularly worries about the politically pernicious impact of stereotyping and whether framing the research in terms of a distinction between 'Swedish' and 'immigrant' women contributes to the popular tendency to essentialise the latter in particular, and prejudge their internal unity and external distinction. The Project's very choice of labels (which Mason continues to use in her commentary) also implies that Swedishness is entirely incompatible with migrant background, pushing those not born in Sweden into 'Otherness'. These are legitimate concerns.

Simply talking of 'migrant and non-migrant women in Sweden' might have removed the implication that migrant background and Swedishness are eternally incompatible. However, we can't just confine ourselves to talking about 'actual individuals' (p.158) in order to avoid stereotyping, as Mason occasionally seems to wish. What we must do is distinguish stereotyping from appropriately applied *abstraction* – the process of highlighting particular features without assuming that they constitute some core essence of that from which they are abstracted. This recognises that the same population can be 'cut up' into different categories depending on which set of features is highlighted, and that what one abstracts will depend on it's relevance to the matter in hand. Abstraction, involves an ongoing dialogue between the researcher and their data, not least to find the categories which will have the greatest explanatory pay-off. The problem with the Report is not that it doesn't stick at the level of the individual, but that it does not develop and use sufficiently fine-grained abstraction to investigate the character and causes of the systematic regularities in experience which are likely to exist above the level of the individual and below that of 'all migrant women'. And when we do get hints of some kind of differentiation this isn't always presented in the most useful form. For example, the brief indication that most ethnic businesses are run by European immigrants while only 2.2% of the self employed are from Africa (p. 43), tells us nothing about the *relative* propensity of Africans and Europeans to become self-employed, given we aren't told the sizes of the African and European migrant populations.

Another general issue which disturbs Mason is how much attention to give to social, economic and political 'structural' factors. She begins to recognise that they were underspecified in the Final Report, for example now noting how her 'expert' witnesses were structurally cross-pressured by demands from their superiors and from the migrants they hoped to serve, also indicating that recent decentralisations of power to the municipalities have led to increasing institutionalisation of her 'experts' role as *eldsjälar*/firey souls. She says it would be interesting to know how the structure of job opportunities in Kista suburb fitted with migrants' skills, and about the factors concentrating them in this location in the first place. I agree. And also think it would have been useful to know more about the migrants' networks and the internal structuring of their ethnic communities. Equally problematic as such continuing lacunae, is the failure to adequately investigate relations between structural location and *interest* – something which requires more than recognising that where you 'stand' will affect what you can 'see' (p. 21). Thus the lack of acknowledgement that the 'experts' might have their own interests to defend, which may colour their actions and opinions, together with a tendency to imply that simply providing more

accurate information about migrants will improve behaviour towards them.

On the other hand I think Mason should worry less about the possibility that drawing attention to structural factors will 'forfeit the possibility of presenting the respondents as the agents they are' (p.125). What she simply needs to state clearly is that we are all actors and subject to the constraints and opportunities generated by the interlocking structures within which we are located. Different structural locations offer different possibilities. Some locations will provide a wider and better range than others, but even those in the least favourable positions have some room for manoeuvre, and have to decide how to act. She needs to underline that individual personality, structurally-defined interests and also cultural factors will affect their choices, producing certain patternings. It's structure *and* culture *and* action (by individuals and collectivities) we need to hold in play.

Ironically, given her strong identification as an ethnologist, Mason in fact under-examines culture's role in shaping action, both in the original Report and in her re-examination. Anxious to counter suggestions that migrants' 'deficits' are the sole source of their economic difficulties, she presents a strangely culture-free portrait of her respondents. Trying to unpick the causal role of culture would certainly require some sensitive subdivision of the migrant sample in terms of their varying backgrounds, and ideally, inclusion of people who had *not* desired or felt able to attempt self-employment. Its hard to believe that the actual respondents were undifferentiated by, for example, their understandings of private v. public, domestic v. work, and male v. female relations, and by their ways of thinking about 'success', 'honour', 'reputation', 'independence'. These seem likely to have impinged on the situations they found themselves in and their responses to them. But looking at *Life in the Labyrinth* one has to ask; where is the careful attention to the subjects' mode of conceptualising things, the subtle analysis of the overtones and undertones of what they have said, that might have revealed this? It's not evident in the Report and largely lacking in the commentary, and neither offer the reader much chance of attempting their own interpretation since, there is little direct reportage of speech and no extended quotation. Moreover, despite noting that one of the most successful immigrant support schemes encouraged its clients to first formulate business plans in their mother tongues where they could best express the complexity of their ideas, Mason says nothing about how the linguistic competence of her own respondents in Swedish might have affected what they said to her. And would she have obtained different results had she been able to include immigrant women with no, or very limited Swedish in her sample?

Overall, *Life in the Labyrinth* documents intellectual development, raises some interesting questions, but doesn't remedy or even recognise all the shortcomings of the original Report. Its mode of presentation is also open to question. Mason stresses her political engagement and her desire to 'inspire practical change' (p. 27). But anyone looking for insights into how migrant women's high unemployment rates should be tackled might well prefer to read a completely rewritten work incorporating the new insights, rather than to engage with this 'messy text' (p. 24). The 'interleaved' approach works better for those focusing on methodological issues and the research process itself. But even here the fragmented character of the presentation allows Mason to avoid providing an entirely integrated exposition of her current position, and is the reason I find myself worrying about whether I have misinterpreted what she really wants to say.
Hilary Stanworth, Swansea

Occupational Culture and Gender

Eddy Nehls, Vägval. Lastbilsförare i fjärrtrafik – perspektiv på yrkeskultur och genus. Etnologiska skrifter 29, Umeå universitet/Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 41, Göteborgs universitet 2003. 212 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-63-2.

■ You can see him clearly in front of you. The archetype. A middle-aged truck driver, "dressed in jeans, a white sweatshirt, and black leather waistcoat". He is here in the introduction to this book, and he recurs at regular intervals. "Sture", a xenophobic truck driver who firmly declares

that women and lorries do not go together, is the leading character in this dissertation.

Eddy Nehls has written a thought-provoking book about men and their wonderful machine, the lorry. This is a relationship that attracts a huge amount of cultural energy, and which reflects gender relations in a broader social context. There are few women in the material spaces associated with this masculine occupational world, but the feminine is nevertheless present, for example, in the life-construction which presupposes that a long-distance truck driver has a family to return to after driving many long miles for the good of society. But when women penetrate the business, it takes on completely new meanings and is ground down in the great masculine mill. Nehls shows how this happens by studying lorry drivers as an occupational group from a cultural perspective with the focus on gender and masculinity.

I have read the book with particular interest since I have for a long time described the working life of lorry drivers in one of the studied trade magazines, *Trailer*. Nehls has also examined other trade magazine and newspapers, read a couple of books about drivers, analysed the film *Convoy*, and accompanied drivers on their trips far and near to get some idea of the script of the haulage business, which he presumes is masculine.

Nehls calls himself a feminist, a researcher in gender and masculinity studies, and one of his starting points is Robert W. Connell's and Michael Kimmel's view of masculinity as various forms of dominance. Oddly enough, he has interviewed only two female truck drivers, despite the fact that the dissertation deals with gender. The author's reason for this is that it was not part of the task assigned to him by Volvo when he wrote his report *Lastbil som livsstil* ("Lorry as Lifestyle", 1999).

The link to Volvo, who partly financed the dissertation, is otherwise noticeable only in the choice of pictures. Eight of the lorries are Volvo while only two show the rival, Scania.

The different chapters of the book lead the reader into the business via the author's participant observation. I am doubtful about the material that Nehls has chosen to present, since the people seem to be representatives of his own construction of the archetype. The role figures that are produced seem to support a hypothesis that runs right through the subtext of the book: that drivers and the whole business are roughly like Sture. I wonder whether this accords with one of the researcher's goals: a more egalitarian society where more categories of people can have the opportunity to work in the business. Women and immigrants who read this book will no doubt think more than once before they apply for a job as a driver in this ethnically Swedish masculine world.

Nehls himself draws attention to the dilemma of the dissertation: "I regard it as a problem that the study, which is a critical scrutiny of male dominance in the haulage business, is almost exclusively based on and focused on male drivers." And of course it is true that this is a masculine business. But Nehls risks, just as he fears, cementing the image of an unchanging culture by "masculinizing" his account. Not only are the objects only men; most of them are as conservative as "Sture". Here too, Nehls defends himself with the reservation that the drivers probably would not express themselves in the same way if they were interviewed again. Moreover, he stresses that his role in accompanying the drivers may have affected their responses. He chose compliance as a conversation strategy when together with the drivers, and he fears that this, together with an excessive emphasis on his own background as a worker and a baker, may have encouraged a coarse but hearty mood. He obviously lay low and nodded as the drivers spread their words thick. The result is that he paints a rather one-sided picture. If he had questioned things a bit more, perhaps even Sture would have revealed more sides of his character.

Is it not permissible to describe people who fall into the mould of repressive masculinity, if you meet people like that during your research? Of course it is, but when the focus is on the relationship between masculinity and a specific occupational group, this means that the interviewees become representatives of a whole occupation and not of how male dominance functions in general. The drivers thus risk being turned into a grey mass of men who all think the same.

Nehls is interested in how male dominance is established and maintained. It is interesting that he shows that this dominance does not need to be tied

to one gender. Since the business exists within a masculine space, the whole of this world tends to become masculine. The few women that infiltrate the hegemony do not present a direct threat to this, since they also have a male gaze when they look at lorries, colleagues, and transports. The men can therefore, like Ella Johansson's lumberjacks (*Skogarnas fria söner*, 1994), perform female tasks without risking their masculinity.

Nehls says that he is searching for signs of change, but not much is visible of that intention. I would like to see drivers who have made other choices, and contexts where we glimpse cracks in the male varnish. His hunt for masculinity has made the material too tendentious, both when he talks to living drivers and when he takes their characters from the mass media.

From the magazine that I myself know something about – *Trailer* since 1984 – Nehls has studied narratives which give the impression of showing how the magazine depicts everyday life, but I think that he has selected unusual texts. These should also be considered, of course, but if he had compared the image of drivers in different types of reports, a more multifaceted picture of the individual and the business would no doubt have emerged. Now he only touches lightly on the tendencies to change that he claims to see.

The magazine *Trailer* usually has one "exotic" report in each issue on a driver from a distant country, such as the USA, Australia, and Asia. These stories fill only four of 150 pages. But it is here above all that Nehls finds repressive masculinities. He is wrong, incidentally, when he says that the magazine started in the mid-1970s. It was 1980.

When the author looks for women in the haulage business, he seems to use the same discriminating glasses. He presents only stories that make women invisible as drivers. One example is about a woman, who is photographed down on her haunches, patting her dog. According to Nehls, the picture shows the relationship between woman and dog, and not between man and lorry, as is normally the case. This seems to be an interpretation coloured by a pre-understanding.

When the men and the myths are described in chapter 3, the portrait of Sture reaches its crescendo. Nehls sits silently beside him in the cab and notes when the driver speaks disparagingly about homosexual men and female truck drivers. Sture is perhaps spurred on by the silence from the compliant researcher? Nehls then jumps to myths about drivers via the film *Convoy*, with Kris Kristofferson in the leading role. Here an independent female truck driver is transformed into a lovesick passenger once she has got to know the heroic driver. Her function, according to the author, is to convey the message that women cannot drive trucks. I dare say that this woman is not a model for all the female drivers who have 25–30 deliveries during a working day.

I think that Nehls reproduces the image of a wholly dominant masculinity. And he thereby risks creating an essential category himself. It is precisely this attitude that he objects to as a representative of the "post-structuralist non-essentialist tradition of thought". The author writes that he could perhaps have followed a more phenomenological line, and it would have been interesting if he had developed his ideas about this. But he chose constructivism since he views gender and masculinity from a perspective of change and power. The dissertation rather tends to prove that masculinity is such a tenacious construction that it almost takes on a biological character. Nehls seems to read the whole business as such a stable text or discourse that it can scarcely be shaken. Of course there are men like Sture who talk only of transports, women, and alcohol. But I do not understand why Nehls has met almost only such fixed formations. Even if a researcher must be permitted to draw his limits, I think that the gap between the reality of the business and the picture pointed in *Vägval* is too large.

When Nehls writes about long-distance trips and overnight stays, he describes a culture which is being phased out. He does not mention that the business is undergoing rapid change, with haulage and forwarding companies being merged and divided. And all the conditions are now changing because of competition from Eastern European drivers in an expanded EU.

Another change that is ignored is that it is now exception for long-distance drivers to have two homes. Instead more and more drivers turn back half-way as someone else takes over the load, and they return home to sleep. The drivers in the book

who according to Nehls are out on the road 220 nights a year, still exist, but they are rare. Today's work as a driver is organized in so many different ways. These structural changes mean that the masculine script is being rewritten. Although it is still a highly masculine world, the number of female drivers is rising, as is the number of drivers of foreign origin. The author's archetype, Sture, is definitively disappearing. I tend to look for the old veterans since they are often good storytellers, but the author's main character is a rare bird.

The dissertation has many merits. A living text flows through the pages. But I get a clearer picture of the business when the author uses lorry cabs, roads, and restaurants as cultural tin-openers than when he dwells on observations about gender.

"Freedom is a fascinating key concept; Nehls describes a kind of freedom with many reservations. The drivers are prisoners of the demand for just-in-time transports. Life is "freedom from" rather than "freedom for" something. The driver avoids being cooped up in a factory. He can stop his lorry when he wants to, grab a moment's sleep, or have a cup of coffee. Within an unfree framework he can create a pleasant, independent space for himself.

The lorry as an artefact is another fruitful revealer of culture. In the security of the cab, many drivers create a cosy little home for themselves; an extension of Sweden. And it makes a difference whether you are sitting in a 24-metre rig or driving a little distribution truck. The lorry is, as Nehls points out, an object that marks boundaries in different ways. Yet I think that he overemphasizes the differences in status. In my experience, long-distance drivers do not automatically look down on distribution drivers. And drivers who do runs abroad no longer have the same self-evident high status since many are forced today to drive at a losing price in the tougher competition.

The highway and the transport café are other interesting gender spaces where the masculine script is enacted. On the highway the drivers pass roadworks sites with men at work. And when they take a seat in a roadside restaurant they meet mainly male colleagues. In Eddy Nehls's dissertation you see only men.

At a terminal in Helsingborg, however, a different story is written. The boss is a woman. Two of her drivers are husband and wife, who have five children together. They both drive the Höganäs trip as distribution drivers. They have shared the parental leave, and the man has now started working 70 per cent in the drivers' pool. He is going to spend the remaining 30 per cent of his time at home with the children so that his wife will be able to concentrate more on her job as driver. A scenario like this would have been inconceivable ten years ago. So the letters are certainly tumbling round – even in the masculine script of the haulage business.

Stefan Danielsson, Malmö

Physical and Mental Development in the Classroom

Gunnel Olsson, Mellan Rum. En studie i fysisk och mental utveckling av kommunikation med utgångspunkt i en mellanstadieklass. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2003. 392 pp. ISBN 91-7139-618-7.

■ As regards both quantity and content, this is an important book. Gunnel Olsson's doctoral dissertation is a significant contribution to Swedish ethnology in general and a particularly clear example of the high standard characterizing dissertations in Swedish ethnology. But the dissertation is also a highly convincing and forward-pointing contribution to international research on bodily culture and phenomenology, which deserves to be translated into English – if not the whole work then at least parts of it. Finally, the study can be described as a contribution to the Swedish debate on school policy, as the book is clearly linked to Jonas Frykman's *Ljusnande framtid!* (1998), a brave book with a wealth of perspectives. Olsson's angle here is less critical, but her dissertation is none the less profoundly interesting for the quiet way in which it points out the huge number of demands, particularly informal ones, that characterize compulsory school in Sweden.

The title gives us an indication of the content and message of the book. It is deliberately ambiguous: *Mellan Rum* can mean "between rooms" or "between spaces", but it also suggests a

Mellanrum or "a space in between, a gap". It evokes a development zone and a scope for potential, while also focusing on the spaces and worlds lying on either side of this zone. In other words, the author operates with something new and unknown – in the middle of everything – and something familiar and given. This duality says a lot about the way the study combines tradition and innovation. As a dissertation it is characterized both by the analysis of a new operative field and by respect for the tradition. In philosophical terms it emphasizes uniqueness in the form of unexpected and creative historical deeds and emotions as innovative actions – while common sense and taken-for-granted notions simultaneously make themselves felt. What is at stake is the body's ability to create unique moments in harmony with the idea that reality exists. Actions are absolute and irreversible, but they are also continuations and developments of existing resistance and conditions, just as they are a precondition for the next thought and the next action. The action is constituted by the design of the practical and reflexive intellect. It is gaps like this that Olsson is searching for.

Structurally speaking, the dissertation has the character of a kind of circular movement. We begin in a Swedish class in the fifth grade and then go back in history, specifically the history of Swedish school gymnastics and gymnastic theory, and then from chapter 6 (pp. 255 ff.) we return to the fifth grade for a description/analysis of night orienteering in the forest undertaken by this class in connection with a camp school, where one of the main characters in the book, Karin, has some dramatic experiences, and with her the whole class, which until then had been inclined to reject the clumsy and rather pushy Karin. The device is both refined and elegant. It is related to the classical three-stage figure of the *Bildungsroman*: home – away – home. And of course it is also in keeping with the equally classic figure of anthropology, where the precarious liminal phase consists both of the walk in the forest, empirically speaking, and of the *tour de force* that Olsson undertakes in the form of the excursion out into the history of Swedish school gymnastics and educational theory and back, in order to find the solution to why Karin's liminal phase was so dramatic. This structural link is both bold and wisely observed.

As regards the actual ethnological craft, it is fine. The dissertation rests on four months of fieldwork in a school class with 25 pupils in an "innercity school in a bourgeois catchment area" in a Swedish provincial town. As she says on page 28, everything is very "mainstream". The four months consisted of the time between the winter sports holiday and the summer holiday. Gunnel Olsson followed the class throughout the school day. In the first three months she practised discreet participant observation. In the last month she was more active in her participant observation. She kept a field diary. Three years after the fieldwork she again did three weeks of fieldwork in the same place. That material, however, has not been used in the dissertation.

She has also conducted interviews, with teachers, the class teacher, the physical education teacher, school staff, many of the pupils' parents, and all the pupils. All the names have been changed. The ethical aspect is thus considered.

The historical written sources consist especially of printed works on gymnastic theory and teaching. *Tidskrift för Gymnastik*, a professional journal for physical education teachers, which has appeared in ten–twelve issues annually since 1884, is the main source. The works of Per Henrik Ling and Hjalmar Ling are also used. On the other hand, the author has made little use of curricula and syllabi. In the extensive and well-documented notes Olsson demonstrates a broad knowledge of the history of Swedish gymnastics. Her knowledge of phenomenological theory, psychological literature, and educational debate is no less extensive.

All in all, this is a large body of empirical material, which is impressively contextualized and brought into dialogue with academic literature and theory of a rather complex character. The book testifies to a well-read researcher with a firm foundation in ethnology but with a capacity for broad interdisciplinary work.

As regards the relationship between theory and method, the author clarifies (p. 32) that her aim is not to do constructivist cultural analysis; instead the perspective is phenomenological. It certainly is. The book is a – highly important – contribution to the development of a phenomenological ethnology. In the last few years we have seen three gifted dissertations of this kind

from Bergen, by Heidi Richardson, Connie Reksten Kapstad, and Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl. We may also mention Carina Sjöholm's dissertation from Lund (2003). Here we have yet another of the same kind. The tendency is extremely promising. Phenomenological theory is used with great success by Gunnel Olsson, thanks to acute reading and utilization of Merleau-Ponty's works.

The dissertation may also be seen as a contribution to international research on the body, which has spanned epistemologically from sociology, primarily, to the history of ideas (occasionally), but very rarely to history and action theory. A central position in this exploration is occupied by the diametrical opposition of the body as essence and construction, which has become too much of a dichotomous relationship.

It is in this context that Olsson's book takes its place. It does so by virtue of a highly interesting parallel shift of focus. Away from essence–body–construction towards experience–body–culture. What is particularly interesting here is that she does not try to identify a frictionless symbiosis between individual and culture in the form of a total merger. The author is not interested in harmonization but in tensions. She admits (p. 15) that she wants to bring in both power and resistance, and she explicitly states (p. 45) that the starting point for meetings between people is in "likeness, but too much likeness does not create understanding. Nor does too much difference. Too much likeness threatens to erase and trivialize, while what is too alien makes us unique or, like Karin, too special." It is like hearing Barth when he declares that traditions are both passed on and reshaped. In one blow.

The crucial thing is to point out open spaces between experience and culture, between the senses and normativity, between like and unlike. In the book they are called "gaps". They could also be called transformation places. This track is followed consistently throughout the book, even down to the notes. At times Olsson talks – in structural terms – of a "meeting place" or "node" (p. 45). In other places – with the emphasis on agency and history – she speaks of "searching out life" (p. 365, note 1). On page 374, note 7 she cites Jonas Frykman's concept of "cultural playpens", and refers in the same place to Carina Sjöholm's gifted analysis of going to the cinema in the 1950s as "a free space".

It is important for Olsson to point out that the meeting places and the gaps in between are spatial categories. Not just structurally-topically as "space", but also historically and ethnologically, that is to say, in concrete topical terms, as "place", where there are both linguistic and bodily exchanges between people in the form of rhythmic processes. Via participant observation and Merleau-Ponty's theories she shows the fatal consequences that may ensue if one does not have a sense of rhythm, that is, a capacity not just for coordination and synchronization of one's own movements but also an ability to coordinate these with the normative, collective cultural rhythms (both of which are a problem for poor Karin). Olsson also shows, with Jimmy as an example, that one can be too unique, and that one can be far too compliant and generally collective, as in the case of Sara, who so badly wants to be popular and accedes with no resistance. As a contrast to this we have the new arrival Oskar, with his fine sense of rhythm in handling not only the balance between individual and collective, but also his own performance on the football pitch kicks and his ability to listen.

Gunnel Olsson's book shows a high degree of originality. She is strikingly independent in her research, significantly advancing our knowledge in the fields concerned. The book takes up a central place in Lundensian ethnology – and hence at the peak of Nordic and European ethnology. This place is achieved by the insistence with which she deals with the relation between draft, project, and possibility on the one hand, and resistance, power, and general validity on the other hand. It could also be described as an alternating exchange between will and circumstances, or between being a creator of culture and a bearer of culture. In other words, old and tested concepts that go right back to the first edition from 1982 of the classic *Kulturanalys*. There is thus a significant continuity and transmission of tradition here – but at the same time an impressive originality with a highly independent and talented contribution to further development, not least in theoretical terms. If you like, you could say that with this dissertation Gunnel Olsson has placed herself

in an inbetween space and in an open place where the next step is waiting to be taken, both by herself and by the ethnologists and other researchers who receive great inspiration here. This is a splendid dissertation.
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

In-flight Identity and Performance

Magdalena Petersson, Identitetsföreställningar. Performance, normativitet och makt ombord på SAS och Airholiday. Mara förlag, Göteborg 2003. 240 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-974674-0-5.

■ We are probably all familiar with the stereotypical image of the tall, slim, beautiful and eternally smiling airhostess. This stereotype is one of the issues the ethnologist Magdalena Petersson sets out to investigate in her doctoral thesis, the title of which means "Identity Performances: Performance, Normativity and Power onboard SAS and Airholiday". The aim of the thesis is to find out what effects theatre discourses have for how the flight attendants' work is constructed, perceived and performed in relations to images of the "self" and categories of identity such as sex, gender and ethnicity, in the airlines SAS and Airholiday (fictional name).

"Performance" has long been a popular concept in the social sciences and humanities. Lately, the concept of performance has taken on special importance in gender studies, particularly in post-structuralist feminism. This perspective is one of the main influences on the present study. However, in this case discourses on performance and role-playing have further relevance regarding the empirical material: both as an overarching theme in the airlines' training courses for future flight attendants, and in how the flight attendants themselves talk about their work and their work identity.

In the first chapter, theory, earlier research, the material and methodological issues are presented. As indicated above, Petersson aligns herself with constructivist and anti-essentialist theory. Some of the key terms, such as discourse, identity and subject, are introduced and briefly discussed. Discourses are described as always contingent and as a way of talking about or understanding the world. As for the frequently appearing concept of performance, Petersson has made use of Jon McKenzie's distinction between different empirical areas of performance. The two areas that Petersson finds of special relevance for the study are *Performance Management* (i.e. performance as a way of increasing a company's efficiency and disciplining the staff) and *Cultural Performance* (such as theories on culture and art). The concept of Performance Management is of importance since it is within this model company staff are increasingly seen as "actors".

The core of the material is constituted by 25 interviews with both male and female flight attendants from SAS and the charter airline "Airholiday". The interview material is backed up with participant observation made onboard flights and at the SAS Flight Academy. Furthermore, instructional leaflets and booklets issued by the airlines were used as source material.

The section with reflexive thoughts about the fieldwork and the material is very interesting, and Petersson makes a point of stressing that the interviews and fieldwork are in fact performances in themselves. From a poststructuralist perspective the performative narratives in the interviews are created by and in cooperation between the fieldworker and the informants. Importantly, Petersson also discusses the difficulty in dealing with stereotypes in ethnographic work.

The second chapter, "Directed Identity as a Service", is based on the author's fieldwork and participant observation at the SAS Flight Academy, which provides the training for newly employed staff. One of the main aims of the Academy's training sessions is to create a basis for identification with the company and how it wishes to present itself. The concepts of "service" and "good service" are of central importance. The implicit goal is to have staff whose every action is permeated by the "SAS spirit".

As Petersson points out, a strongly normative element is often typical of service-oriented work – the staff are required to follow the norms and routines set down by company policy. One of my personal reflections in this context would be that the strongly routinized and regulated behaviour of the flight attendants might be intended not solely to

give the ideal service to the customers, but also to convince the passengers in their turn (by the sheer force of the staff's authoritative performance) to take on a prescribed role, i.e. that of the orderly and compliant passenger.

A key theme in the Flight Academy's teaching is the company marketing slogan "It's Scandinavian". Here an interesting contradiction emerges: while the course participants are taught to be Scandinavian and how to behave in a Scandinavian manner, Scandinavianness is simultaneously presented as an essence within the participants. The implicit message is "you become what you do" – if you behave in a pleasant manner you become pleasant.

While a mixed crew of both male and female air attendants was perceived as desirable, both informants and management seemed reluctant to let go of the image of a predominantly female staff as the ideal. The presence of at least one male member of the cabin crew per flight was often called upon with reference to safety, especially in the context of having to calm down agitated non-western male passengers, or as a service to Muslim men who preferred to be attended to by male staff.

The third chapter deals with the staging of service norms and is based on the informants' own descriptions and ideas about their work. Petersson concludes that, although performance is an instrument of power for the airlines to control their staff, the informants perceived the role-playing in positive terms as something that gave them more control. At the same time as performance is a means for the airline management to avoid conflict with their staff by connecting "company attitude" with a work role rather than personality, the concept of play-acting makes it possible for the informants to feel in charge and to disconnect their own personality from the requirements of the work role. Furthermore, by portraying themselves as actors the issue of being exploited is sidestepped.

Most of the informants seemed to agree that one of the most negative aspects of the work was the demand to put up with unpleasant passengers and to have to agree with the customer who is "always right". However, there was a general consensus that this aspect was an inevitable and essential part of service work. If one cannot accept these conditions one is simply not suited for the work. In practice, however, it is difficult to maintain a strict division between person and role. Many testified to drawing a line at assaults on their own person, although it was also stressed that the passengers were directing their anger at the uniform and not the individual. At the same time it was regarded as an ideal to be *genuinely* friendly and empathetic towards the passengers. There are thus two contradictory discourses at work, one in which the subject constitutes the core and the role is played on the surface, and an equally common discourse claiming that it is not possible to divide the core and the surface: feelings are inseparable from the self.

Work as cabin crew is often seen as being especially suitable for women (although this has not always been the case). There is a tendency to connect homosexuality with male flight attendants. Petersson observes that both homophobic as well as more positive stereotypes, such as homosexual men being exceptionally good at service work, were prevalent among the informants. However, some informants stressed that the important thing was not whether a person is homosexual or not, the most important thing is not to act in a "homosexual" or "unmanly" manner in the work role. Heterosexuality was linked to the concept of good service.

The penultimate chapter provides a discussion of the embodiment of service norms. Based on Butler's theory of gender as a performative performance, Petersson views norms as performative and as creating the categories they allegedly portray.

The differences in the uniforms of male and female flight attendants stress stereotypes about female grace and male strength. Typically, the female informants felt that they had to offer a more aesthetically pleasing performance than their male colleagues. The dress regulations of SAS are of a more general kind than the very specific regulations of Airholiday. As it turned out, the informants were more satisfied with the SAS regulations. Petersson notes that SAS has been more successful, through their training courses, in making their staff strive to identify with the desired codes — the overarching identification with the company made strict regula-tions superfluous.

The demands made on exterior appearance were perceived as part of the job. The informants commonly characterized it as a "masquerade". This worked as a distancing device used by the informants in order to be able to live up to work-related gender norms without causing a conflict with conceptions of an autonomous self.

Petersson found that her informants, on the whole, thought it was reasonable for the companies to have demands on the staff's exterior appearance such as requiring the use of tastefully applied make-up for women. Being of normal weight was generally seen as a basic prerequisite for the work. In this context, some referred to practical issues and safety reasons, whereas others simply stressed the aesthetic aspects of being slim.

Petersson makes the important point that even though female flight attendants seem to be put up for aesthetic display, this does not mean that the person "on display" cannot, at least in some respects, hold the initiative and power.

The last chapter is concerned with construction as a norm, i.e. how constructivist perceptions of identity work as a normative factor. Stereotypical images of gender, homosexuality and the ethnic Others can be questioned, but also confirmed, by being perceived as roles. Somewhat paradoxically, the conception that identity is a construction may lead to a reinforcement of constricted categories. If gender is a work role it might not be seen as important to question or change it since it is not "for real". This, Petersson underlines, might make it more difficult to criticize current stereotypes, attitudes and norms.

My overall impression of this book is positive. The writing style is fluid and the many examples and interview quotations are nicely presented, which makes the study very enjoyable to read. It is also very "smooth" in terms of content: from beginning to end the study builds a coherent whole. The empirical material complements the chosen perspective on performance and gender extremely well, so well, in fact, that nothing really stands out as surprising. This, however, does not constitute any serious criticism. Petersson has successfully and convincingly applied the (performative) performance perspective to the very important issues of how gender and identity are constructed and acted out within a very particular type of work context.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Helsinki

Going to the Pictures

Carina Sjöholm, Gå på bio. Rum för drömmar i folkhemmets Sverige. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2003. 328 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-7139-619-5.

■ From the very beginning, the cinema has been a place of excitement; like a Foucauldian heterotopia, the cinema can be viewed as a room that reflects, comments on, and influences the surrounding society. With her doctoral dissertation, "Going to the Pictures: Room for Imagination in Sweden in the 1940s and 1950s", Carina Sjöholm has set herself the task of studying how this special kind of room is a part of people's everyday practice. Continuity in relation to everyday life is crucial for Sjöholm's perspective. The cinema is indeed a room with a special character, and it derives its mystique from being separated from the surrounding society, but Sjöholm argues that it is by understanding the link between the cinema experience and everyday life that one can understand the significance cinemas have had for cinemagoers. In line with this, the central chapter of the book is divided into three sections: "The Preparations" , "The Way to the Cinema", and "At the Cinema". Sjöholm thus stresses that going to the cinema should not be understood as escapism, getting away from everyday life, but as an experience connected to the efforts to earn money to buy tickets, imitations of film stars' behaviour, reading film magazines, and so on. The dissertation is therefore not a "history of cinemas". Instead of a history of technical development or a survey of film history, the crucial concern is a study of the role of the cinema in postwar Swedish society.

Cinemas were extraordinarily popular in Sweden. At the end of the 1950s – just before television began to spread – Sweden held the European record for the number of cinemas. The towns and cities had splendid film palaces, and the countryside had film shows in tents, in parish halls, and even in barns. Right from the start,

people were fascinated by these living pictures, which later came in colour and with speech – even foreign speech! Sjöholm's central point is that the cinemas came to play a crucial role in the modernization of Sweden. The division of the central chapter of the book creates a journey, from the preparations via the transport until the arrival and the experience in the cinema itself. For Sjöholm this journey is an image of an overall journey from the traditional agrarian Sweden to the modern welfare state, and this is made concrete in the book through the many quotations Sjöholm cites from questionnaires and interviews in which informants tell of the double journey from the intimate setting of the village to the big city's anonymous and varied environment.

The first part of the book is exciting and interesting, but after Sjöholm has presented the idea of regarding the cinemas as an element in the individual's approach to modernity, there are longer intervals between the interesting points. The expectations that she manages to build up in the first part of the book are not entirely fulfilled. The suspense is build up by references to scholars like Marshall Berman, Victor Turner, Michel Foucault, and Mike Featherstone, but although our appetite is whetted by the brief mentions in the introduction, our hunger is often left unsatisfied in the more in-depth analyses later in the book. The distinct strength of the book lies in its close-up perspective, with a wealth of quotations and a firm control of the details; the author is evidently thoroughly familiar with her subject. The negative side of this, however, is that the analytical point she makes gradually becomes too obvious to the reader, and the analyses thus tend to be illustrations of a point that has already been made in the first chapter. As a reader one could wish that a little more had been invested in developing the theoretical point of departure. Among other things, it would have been interesting to have a basic discussion of the simultaneous stress on the continuity between everyday life and the cinema experience and the use of the concepts of heterotopia and liminality. How can the heterotopia and the liminal space be a part of everyday life without losing the character of otherness?

Generally speaking, this dissertation fits nicely into the series of studies of modernity published by the ethnologists in Lund since Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren's major project, "Culture Building and Social Change in Twentieth-Century Sweden" in the 1980s. The main focus has been on how we have learned to become modern in everyday ways. When will we start to see studies focusing on the arenas where we learn to cope with contemporary society? The risk society, late modernity, postmodernity, liquid modernity – many sociologists in particular have attempted overall diagnoses of a world without fixed landmarks, and consequent problems in building up a coherent life. But aren't we lacking an ethnological perspective? In what different ways do people try to get everyday life to cohere? What are the arenas where we learn to master today's living conditions? Besides being a good book in relation to its own topic, Carina Sjöholm's dissertation could provide inspiration for studies of the everyday meaning of the changes undergone by society in the last few decades.

Søren M. Christensen, Copenhagen

Shamanthropologist – Scholar and Practitioner

Jan Svanberg, Schamantropologi: I gränslandet mellan forskning och praktik. Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo 2003. 294 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-765-140-6.

■ In the 1930s Grey Owl, a former trapper but at the time adopted by the Ojibwa tribe in Canada, made himself a spokesman of the Indians. He said that he was the son of an Apache woman and a Scot, both of whom had taken part in Buffalo Bill's show in Europe. When he married an Iroquois woman he decided to leave his old life as a settler, and in his first book in 1931, *Men of the Last Frontier*, he warned humanity about the dangers of the growing industrial nation. With two long plaits, wearing moccasins and clothes made of skins, he became "the Indian" personified. "Grey Owl is no stuffed Indian," wrote *The New York Times*, "He is real and honest". Grey Owl's next book, *Pilgrims of the Wild*, was an immediate bestseller which was reprinted eight times the following year. The message was simple: we must protect nature. Several national

parks hired him and his tame beavers to attract visitors, and a full programme of writing, travelling, and lecturing followed. After some intensive years and in failing health, Grey Owl died suddenly in 1938.

No more than a week passed before the newspapers had dug up the true story of Grey Owl. His real name was Archie Belaney and he was born and raised in England. His father was an alcoholic, so Belaney spent his childhood as a very lonely child among relatives. At the age of seventeen he left England and moved to Ontario, where he wandered around and developed a serious alcohol problem. He began to write to earn his living, and came on the idea of adopting an Indian identity to increase his sales figures. Although Belaney's image was exposed after his death, the public did not seem to mind. The prevailing view was that he had preached an important message, which counted for more than his fake Indian identity.

Today it would not be appropriate for a Westerner to pose as a genuine "Indian" to criticize the times we live in, but the longing to get away from the discontents of modernity, commercialism, and superficiality lives on, albeit in new forms. Today it is not the wise, natureloving Indian that is constructed to provide modern people with lost knowledge; this has become the task of the shaman. In Jan Svanberg's dissertation, whose title means "Shamanthropology: In the Borderland between Research and Practice" (2003) we can read about how the spiritual leader has been disengaged from his ethnic context to provide deeper insights than the cool scientific observer is capable of. The paradox is that when the shaman's knowledge is invoked, it is nevertheless done while flirting with Western science. The credibility of the shaman's skills is anchored in a postmodern science that emphasizes holistic thinking, the value of the ecological knowledge of traditional societies, and the subjective field experience of the anthropologist. The new shaman is not an alcoholic Englishman in Indian clothes but a scientist, here an anthropologist, who is inspired during his fieldwork by his informant, with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs, to "go native". Like a born-again evangelist, the new researcher and critic of civilization then turns to his contemporaries and produces handbooks for the exercise of shamanism. Now the books are no longer entitled *Men of the Last Frontier* or *Pilgrims of the Wild*; they have more striking and appropriate titles such as *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* (1968) or *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing* (1980). To establish credibility in the message of the books, it is stressed that the authors are scholars, in this case anthropologists: Carlos Castaneda and Michael Harner respectively. But it is not at their desks that they arrive at their profound insights; it is in the field, in close collaboration with their informants.

Svanberg's dissertation is a welcome contribution to research into the field we find between science and practice in the history of religion, in this case between research on shamanism and neo-shamanism. His aim is to study how neo-shamanism, a modern phenomenon, emerges in interaction between academic research on religion and anthropology and more popular presentations of shamanism. Shamanthropology is a play on words which arouses associations with anthropology as a science and shamanism as a practice. (In English it could be read as "sham anthropology", but the Swedish word does not have these connotations at all.) Svanberg defines a shamanthropologist as "someone who has studied anthropology or a closely related subject and who then translates parts of that education into neo-shamanic practice". The author himself takes part in the rituals of the study object and thus learns a new world-view. The research report is often written in literary prose, making it easier for a broad audience to learn of shamanic experience, which contains the ideals and practice with which to build a better world.

Svanberg views neo-shamanism as a particularly present-day phenomenon, reconstructed with the aid of ideas from anthropological literature. Shamanthropologists have acted as an important link between theory and practice, and it is this group that is the object of Svanberg's study, not neo-shamanism itself. Svanberg conducts a close-up study of two important representatives of shamanthropology, Carlos Castaneda and Michael Harner. Castaneda claims that his literary works are based on meticulous field studies and

interviews with a Yaqui Indian, Don Juan. Today many people think that the books are pure fiction, but this does not matter to Castaneda's supporters. Although his fieldwork has been questioned and there are doubts about whether Don Juan ever really existed, Castaneda has created a literary shamanism whose sales successes can be explained as satisfying a contemporary need. The success may be due to the way in which Don Juan's teachings have been lifted out of their local context and acquired a general validity, making them accessible to readers all over the world.

Unlike the rather anonymous and retiring Castaneda, Michael Harner was professor of anthropology until 1987, when he became a full-time practising shaman. He had done his fieldwork among the Jivaro Indians, frequently taking part in their shamanic rites. In his widely spread instruction book *The Way of the Shaman* Harner launches a form of shamanism that is adapted to modern city people. Despite his involvement in his organization "Foundation for Shamanic Studies", Harner has not chosen to withdraw wholly from the academic arena as Castaneda did. A few years ago I met Harner at the AAA conference in the USA, when he joined the debate at a session on shamanism, organized by Edith Turner.

What has driven certain scholars to turn their backs on the academic establishment, to leave their role of researcher, to become practitioners of shamanism and write handbooks on its doctrines and practice? To answer these questions, Svanberg guides us through the history of research and the society that produced research strategies which influenced shamanthropology and inspired neo-shamanism. Anthropological research and even science as a whole cannot be studied without being rooted in a context, a political, historical, and social setting. Svanberg points out some important factors which have laid the foundation for new methods and theories about approaching "the Other". Scholars read postmodern theory and critique of modern society and then, in this spirit, create texts or a practice which serve as a basis for neo-shamanism. The new thinking involves a challenge to colonial authority, disillusionment with large-scale technology and the limited potential of science to create a better world and its reluctance to tackle the large existential issues. Globalization, urbanization, and the ecological interest are further important factors for understanding the changes of priority in the methodology and theoretical approach of the new scholarship. The premodern and the past have been revalued, and the researcher's distance from the object of study is no longer an ideal; instead the emphasis is on subjective experience. For researchers in religion and anthropology it has become more important to provide inside descriptions from the field, to put quality before quantity in the choice of method, and to question the Western hegemony in order to let the "small narratives" be heard. The shamanthropologist thus climbs down from the pedestal as an objective observer, identifies with the informants and starts practising their teachings, which in this case are included under the umbrella term shamanism.

We have thereby acquired a modern-day critique of civilization which tries to find the human's true self, stripped of Western materialism and consumerism, in the same spirit in which Grey Owl worked in the 1930s, on the foundation laid by romanticism in the nineteenth century. The phenomenon of primitivism and infatuation with "wise savages" is perhaps not as new as Svanberg makes it seem; it has merely changed shape. As Thomas Parkhill (1997) has elegantly shown in *Weaving Ourselves into the Land*, Charles Leland constructed the legends of the Algonquians in the 1880s to satisfy a contemporary need in society, and researchers nowadays, like everyone else, tell and listen to the stories that meet our needs. In David Suzuki and Peter Knudtson's *Wisdom of the Elders* (1992) the word Native has changed its meaning from Indian to aboriginal populations in general, and the world is divided into two figures of thought, the shamanistic and the scientific world-view.

For modern people to become neo-shamans today, they have to remove the practice of the shaman from a specific culture and then set it in a modern context. How else could a modern Westerner become a shaman if it had to be on the terms of the Tungus shaman in Siberia? Svanberg refers briefly in a note to the sociologist Giddens, who is surprisingly missing from the bibliography. Here it would have been interesting to develop

Giddens's concept of "disembedding" to see why Castaneda's and Harner's messages have had such a great impact on Westerners. How are concepts modified in the shamanthropologist's texts and how do they meet with sympathy from the reader? Svanberg also leans on the distinction between "emic" and "etic", which he considers important for present-day anthropologists' explanatory models. Drastically simplified, emic can be said to stand for explanations which are close to the assumptions of the studied culture itself. Etic is more of an outside perspective, reflecting what the researcher sees being enacted, and it can give a completely different picture from the explanations accepted by the culture itself. Yet even if Svanberg is right in saying that the concepts were highly topical in the 1970s, they are more or less worn out nowadays and are used with great caution. Few people would claim today that an etic perspective is possible, because it presupposes an objectivity that reflexive anthropology is on the alert to. With all the will in the world, we cannot free ourselves entirely from our own perspective when we are in the field.

But if the researcher believes in and tries to ascertain the informant's emic experience, what are the consequences? Here Svanberg raises several important questions: if the researcher completely takes over the informant's perspective, can he or she still claim to be an anthropologist? Since shamanism and science do not play in the same league when it comes to perceptions of reality, it can also be an impossible task, as Svanberg rightly points out, to report shaman experiences from the field in a scientific language. The problem becomes clear when a research text is to be produced: how can subjective experiences be incorporated into a scientific genre and avoid being classified as autobiography or travelogue? The credibility of the message is supposed to lie in the fact that it is a scientist who is conveying the knowledge, assisted by the latest findings in the science, and that the newly gained insights are not delivered by some backpacker who may have spent as much time with an aboriginal group as the anthropologist.

To conclude, it may be said that Svanberg's analysis of the emergence of shamanthropology tackles in an interesting and systematic way an urgent research task and can be recommended to those who want to know how tradition today can arise from postmodern ethnography in cases where scientific practice meets religious questing.

Anne-Christine Hornborg, Lund

The City in Time

Lennart Zintchenko, Stadens tidsbilder. Om minnen, erfarenheter och förväntningar utifrån stadens omvandlingar i Sverige 1880–1990. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 42 & Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, Göteborg 2003. 313 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 91-85838-64-0.

■ Lennart Zintchenko has presented a doctoral dissertation in ethnology in Gothenburg on how opinions about large cities and small towns have changed during a time period of over a hundred years, from 1880 to 1990. The source material is made up of some ten collections of clippings from daily newspapers now preserved in public archives. Some of the collections, especially those from Stockholm, are the result of the energetic collecting activities of individuals from the city's upper classes. The city archives and libraries of Gothenburg and Malmö have, in addition, also made their own collections of clippings. The collections are associated with choices that were made and were based on interests established in a temporal setting of the past. Selected examples from the collections of clippings have been published as pictural material in the book. These pictures are used as illustrations, but have no real analytical function. The collections of clippings are primarily relevant to the development of the three cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

The perspective of process concerning conceptions of time is fundamental to the comprehensive approach of the study. To make this more manageable, the author has concentrated on certain selected topics. A methodological intention is also clearly evident, namely the question of how a scholar can utilize collections of clippings as source material to explain historical changes.

Memories and experiences from the past are intertwined in the newspaper articles with expectations about the future. Fleeting looks back into

the past are combined with visions of what is yet to come. Most of the authors of these articles are politicians, social commentators and city planners, whereas people from the grass-roots level are largely absent. It would, however, have been interesting to read letters to the editor from common, ordinary people who did not belong to an elitist social group. The author's presentation manifests itself in a retrospective and rhetorical perspective. It is as if he conducts a discoursive analysis, even if this term is not used explicitly, by focussing on the debate about the city as a collective phenomenon. The cities' buildings and their alteration are important topics in the collections and in the author's analysis. Essential concepts continually appearing in the collections, and that are used by the author, are small town, large city, slum, idyll, city image and collective memory image. The latter concept relates to the idea of the narratives in the articles being directed at the whole of a contemporary social milieu and not only towards individual persons. This concept might, however, have been discussed more penetratingly. The author has especially derived theoretical inspiration with regard to collective memory from the cultural sociologist Iwona Irwing-Zarecka. By means of an accentuation of contrasts, it has also been natural for him to refer to a structuralistic deliberation in the form of binary pairs of opposites. The empirical data is the starting point of the dissertation, and the theoretical reasoning makes up the analytical facilities.

In the newspaper discussions small towns are contrasted with large cities, and slums with the idyll in a perspective of change. Some sections of the cities are idealized in the articles while others are presented in a less positive light. This is of especially true of the growth of large cities, beginning with Stockholm during the last two decades of the 1800s. This provides various journalists with an opportunity for both glancing back and peering forward in time. A feeling of optimism for the future is especially noticeable during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The destruction of buildings is discussed in connection with questions of preservation and new construction. Articles are then written in a form very like that of an obituary notice, taking farewell of older buildings that are about to be torn down or have just been destroyed. Uneasiness concerning the disappearance of small-scaled surroundings is also noticeable in some cases. Some authors wish for the preservation of older neighbourhoods having small homes, often with reference to their own memory images from childhood and onwards. The contrast between early experience and the innovative in the present and the future is then apparent. Thoughts of what the future can hold for the large city are expressed in some articles, as, for example, an article entitled "Stockholm in 10-years time" published in 1908.

It is first in the Gothenburg of the 20s that one can see that the large city is beginning to take shape, an impression that gains strength during the 30s. The city planners express glowing prospects for the future. "This great city is growing at an American rate", as the head of the city planning office states in an article from 1939. At this time Malmö is also beginning to be described as being a large city. One now encounters terms such as Greater Stockholm, Greater Gothenburg and Greater Malmö. The large city has thus become a contemporary phenomenon, not just something to be expected in the future. During the 50s, newspaper stories are written and discussions reported about the then growing large-city suburbs, for example Vällingby in Stockholm and Kortedala in Gothenburg. In the 80s, however, one sees a rise of criticism against the large-city developments carried out in the 60s and 70s. The result is considered to have become disastrous housing areas marked by concrete ghettos, long commuter journeys for workers, lack of service etc.

In addition to investments in multi-family buildings in the suburbs, the early 1900s also saw an increase in the number of one-family, private homes. This is praised in several articles that also express expectations for the future. By means of these houses, the social benefits of living in small towns are continued in a new form of housing. The areas with one-family home in the large cities become a kind of city-within-a-city with their own positive associations. An idealization of contemporary events is obvious in these articles. Lively discussions take place concerning the positive and/or negative aspects of living in a large city or a small town. Both slum and idyll can

be found in both places, according to the different participants. These are subjectively loaded concepts indicative of both housing and social life. What is experienced as a slum by one observer can be seen as an idyll by another. Slums and idylls can be associated with both older times and the large city of later days. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the discussion is dominated by articles emphasizing idylls characterized by order and harmony, while presentations of slum areas become more noticeable after the 40s. Clearance of older housing and new developments have then begun in earnest, while additional plans have been laid for the future. During the 70s, a different form of so-called "new-slum" arose in the newer, large-scaled suburbs. The people living there, according to the language of the articles, are socially and psychologically vulnerable because of new class differences, anonymity, juvenile criminality etc. In addition, there are material problems caused by the deterioration of the housing and buildings. In such circumstances, the future of the suburbs affected is depicted as being bleak indeed.

This dissertation gives the reader a greater understanding of the various opinions that have been expressed about the changes which have taken place in the successive growth of the larger cities during the last century. It is not what has actually happened that is the important part of the study, but rather the opinions that have been made known in the debates about the past, the present day, and the future. The author has demonstrated his ability to bring out the important features of the viewpoints which appeared as the three largest cities in Sweden established themselves as large cities.

Working with collections of newspaper clippings involves obvious source-critical challenges, methodologically speaking, of which the author is aware and takes under discussion, even if he has avoided any investigation of the collectors' principles of selection. He has not chosen an undemanding research task. The study actually comprises an important methodological study. The use of and comparison between the several different collections of clippings has been an advantage with regard to the topics that the author has chosen in relation to urban history processes of change.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Swedish-Finnish Heritage in the USA

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, American Plus. Etnisk identitet hos finlandssvenska ättlingar i Nordamerika. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2003. 251 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 951-583-099-0.

■ Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch draws her study's title from one of her informants, who characterized Swedish-Finnish heritage as a "plus," an experiential bonus added to a base identity of being American. Österlund-Pötzsch explores the nuances of this positive view of ethnicity in her study, whose subtitle translates as: "Ethnic identity among Swedish Finnish descendants in North America." Based on some seventy interviews, conducted both in the USA and in Canada, and chiefly on the West coast and Eastern seaboard, the study examines the largely volitional ethnicity of second-, third- and fourth-generation Americans descended from Swedish-speaking Finnish immigrants.

The United States has long been regarded as the land of infinite self-invention, where identities – even seemingly unchangeable ones, like ethnic origin – can be refashioned, rediscovered, or redeployed in endlessly creative and opportunistic ways to meet individuals' and communities' present needs. This fluidity of identity formation, integral to, or symptomatic of, the workings of complex, multicultural societies, presents certain challenges to the ethnographer, particularly if one wishes to examine processes like acculturation, in which, presumably, a finite set of cultural traits could be observed to either persist or disappear within a community over time. Earlier folkloristic research in the United States aimed precisely at documenting this process, an aim that had the unfortunate side-effect of making folklorists into judges of "authenticity," sleuths expert at uncovering "fakelore," as traditions came and went. Happily, with the advent of Fredrik Barth's influential *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) and a progression of valuable studies by later researchers – ably summarized by Österlund-Pötzsch in her theoretical chapter – a new way of approaching the "folklore of ethnicity" emerged. Österlund-Pötzsch contributes to this scholarly enterprise by documenting the largely symbolic ethnic expressions of a community fully integrated

into mainstream American life. When read in conjunction with earlier examinations of Swedish Finns in the USA and Canada – again, thoroughly cited and discussed the study – *American Plus* provides an excellent overview of the ways in which ethnic identity can persist in a population, even while many of the overt cultural traits documented by earlier researchers have disappeared.

One of the challenges of researching a highly acculturated community, of course, is the issue of finding informants. Österlund-Pötzsch makes a virtue of necessity by focusing only on those individuals who have chosen to explore and celebrate their Swedish-Finnish identity in some way, usually by joining an ethnic heritage organization such as the Swedish Finn Historical Society or Finland's Svenska Klubben. In this way, her study cannot be seen as a survey of overall Swedish-Finnish views today; rather, it is an examination of the ethnic performances of one segment of that population, as reported by members themselves. Nor does Österlund-Pötzsch seek to exclude informants on the basis of heritage or cultural competence: some of her informants, in fact, readily admit to identifying more as "Swedes" than as "Swedish Finns," and others "discovered" their Swedish-Finnish identity only through research into their family's genealogy. Still others balance a Swedish-Finnish identity with ethnic roots within other cultures, often other Scandinavian ones. Given the nature of her informants and collected material, Österlund-Pötzsch wisely orients her analysis toward the issues of motivation, which help explain why her informants have chosen to view and present themselves as Swedish Finns, and how they can find this identification deeply satisfying and meaningful.

After chapters summarizing the history of Swedish Finns in North America and theoretical perspectives in the study of ethnicity, Österlund-Pötzsch provides close analysis of what she terms "ethnic arenas": institutions, contexts, and expressive genres through which ethnic communication can occur. Among her informants, these include language, performative traditions such as folk dance and cooking, home decor, dress, religious observance, holidays, travel to Finland, genealogical research, museum exhibits, social clubs, and ethnic organizations.

A final portion of the study, along with its summation, analyzes the motivations behind such performances of ethnic belonging. The first of these, the author points out, lies in a desire to compensate for a lack of cultural moorings in informants' current lives. Where earlier generations seemingly enjoyed a secure cultural identity, many third- and fourth-generation Swedish Finns crave a sense of rootedness which their ethnic activities can provide. This motivation can also hold true for second-generation individuals raised in a cohesive Scandinavian-American community but living out their adult years separated from the "old neighborhood." Österlund-Pötzsch finds that other informants embrace Swedish-Finnish cultural identity as a means of creating unity with ancestors known only through genealogy. Still others find in their Swedish Finnish heritage cultural resources for creating a personal identity, including political and social attitudes. A fourth motivation lies in a pride of heritage, articulated in comparison with other ethnic groups. Each of these motivations is illustrated with quotations from informants, presented in English. A final chapter ties the study's various strands together, while a thorough summary in English and a number of insightful photographs complete the book.

Particularly interesting from a theoretical standpoint is the author's discussion of the development of "virtual" institutions within Swedish-Finnish life, such as the Seattle-based Swedish Finn Historical Society, an organization whose members are united primarily by common interests, a newsletter and Internet contacts. That this sort of institution can thrive where older mutual-assistance organizations of earlier generations are failing says a great deal about the nature of volitional ethnicity among Scandinavian Americans today. Österlund-Pötzsch's findings may prove predictive other ethnic communities in North America today.

Österlund-Pötzsch's study is also notable in its inclusion of informants who have discovered their identity through genealogical research, as opposed to those whose view of Finland is shaped by memories of parents or grandparents. "Discovering" their identity through research and then delving with fresh eyes into the history and culture

of modern Finland, these individuals often display a different set of expectations and interests than those raised with a more direct link to the "Old Country." Where earlier studies of American ethnic folklore would have largely discounted such individuals, she makes them a central and vital part of her study.

Finally, the author's coastal focus provides points of comparison with recent studies of Midwestern Scandinavian Americans, such as Lizette Gradén's *On Parade: Making Heritage in Lindsborg, Kansas* (2003). Where Österlund-Pötzsch's informants live in culturally diverse urban areas, Gradén examines small-town Scandinavian America, where ethnic enclave has transformed over generations into civic identity. A comparison of ethnic expressions in these very different environments represents an area of great research interest, facilitated by these and other valuable studies.

In its theoretical framework, ethnographic findings, comparative value, and insightful analysis, *American Plus* thus represents a valuable contribution to the study of Scandinavian Americans.

Thomas A. DuBois, Madison, Wisconsin, USA

Book Reviews

Museums Past and Present

Museer i fortid og nåtid. Arne Bugge Amundsen, Bjarne Rogan & Margrethe C. Stang (eds.). Novus Forlag, Oslo 2003. 383 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7099-374-3.

■ Since autumn 2003 it has been possible to read museology as an independent subject at the University of Oslo, and it is in this connection that the present collection of articles has come about. Entitled "Museums Past and Present", it is a textbook of museum studies with special emphasis on the Norwegian and Nordic context.

The essays are mainly by Norwegian writers, with the occasional Swede, who try to pin down the phenomenon of museums. Museum studies is perceived here as a field defined by a specific phenomenon, rather than a common methodology or history. The eighteen contributions tackle this field in very different ways. The introductory essay by Arne Bugge Amundsen and Brita Brenna describes museums in general, their sphere of operation, and why it is interesting to reflect on museums. Ragnar Pedersen, in his essay on the history of museums in Norway up to the start of the twentieth century, takes a retrospective look at different types of museums in history, to show the continuity, change, and renewal undergone by the museum system – or in other words the historicity that can be found in the museum concept. The essay gives good insight into the scope of the museum system, but it is strange that, although the volume is intended as a course textbook, the author gives no theoretical grounds for his division into types; these are sometimes based on the museums' content (all-embracing museums, theme museums), sometimes on their institutional affiliation (university museums), and sometimes on their function (educational or memorial museums).

Brita Brenna deals with the international exhibitions. Her essay is a simple, easy to grasp presentation of this remarkable phenomenon, which arose in the mid-nineteenth century and still exists today. The presentation is linked to the fundamental thesis that the international exhibitions emerged in a new type of visual public

sphere, where seeing and learning were combined into an effective instrument of power. In the process Brenna considers other writers' analyses of the international exhibitions and their development as a societal teaching aid, which toured the world even though the phenomenon in many ways resembled a homeless dinosaur; despite being an outmoded concept in every way, it has been able to survive and mutate into new forms.

Through a concrete example, the Borgarsyssel Museum in Sarpsborg, Amundsen shows how a museum is created in interaction with the construction of a series of narratives which become a cultural reality by being repeated. This idea is inspired by de Certeau, with his interpretation of the relationship between narrative, place, and space. The clear approach to the material and the detailed examples invite continued analysis of other museums constructed with the aid of other narratives, giving the essay a deserving place in a textbook.

Open-air museums occupy a position of their own among the different types of museums, so it is natural to have an essay about them, by Arne Lie Christensen. He describes the development from the first national romantic open-air museums to today's attempts to manage the cultural landscape in an environmentally defensible way which simultaneously gives insight into how people have handled nature. He distinguishes different types of open-air museums: the national romantic park with historical buildings; the museum designed as a historical-typological survey of farm types; the twentieth-century ecomuseums, which also present the non-material cultural heritage through the consciousness and commitment of the local people; and present-day attempts to manage a cultural landscape on full scale. When talking about open-air museums the subject of the relationship between original and copy inevitably arises, partly because the buildings which are complete have to be dismantled to be moved, which raises a series of questions: Should the building be preserved in the state in which it was found, or as it looked in its heyday? What form of authenticity is proclaimed when nine out of ten buildings are filled with things which did not come from the farm itself? Lars Roede's essay touches on these questions and discusses a number of issues about moving and re-erecting buildings. He argues that the debate must be nuanced, so that we do not seek to preserve the original at any price, because there can be educational advantages in reconstructing rather than conserving. This discussion is interesting, but a textbook should have discussed the concept of authenticity too. Why are we in the West so obsessed with preserving, that the rule for many years has been conservation at any price? And how do changes in preservation practice relate to the debate about authenticity? The preservation problem is followed up in Mille Stein's essay, which shows how different restoration ideologies have influenced and continue to influence our practical management of the cultural heritage.

Olga Schmedling's article describes how the institutional foundation was established for the first art museum in Norway, the National Gallery. By following the development of the idea of the visual arts, the formation of the profession of artists, and the legislative aspects from 1820 to 1880, she instructively shows the link between museum foundations and the surrounding society.

Einar Sørensen's essay is a tour of museum architecture, from the establishment of the first modern museums in historical style with references to Renaissance palaces, to the new departures and experiments of the twentieth century. He analyses striking examples of museum buildings from all over the world: Villa Pio-Clementino in Rome, Altes Museum in Berlin, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, to name just a few examples. He shows how their main features and new developments interact with changes in the prevailing ideologies concerning the perception of the museum's role and function in its time. This is very informative, giving a good survey of the development of museum architecture. What I would have liked to see, however, is more illustrations of the buildings he mentions, so that readers who are not fortunate enough to have seen the museums could gain an independent idea of how they relate to the author's brief and lucid analyses, to the intention of the architect, and so on.

Art museums and the world of art are described by Olga Schmeldling, who thus appears twice in the volume. By setting up a tripartite typology of

classical art, modernist art, and contemporary art, she tries to give insight into this complex field. She links this division to three types of art museum that are typical of their times: national art museums, museums of modern art, and museums of contemporary art, each with its architectural expressions which reflect the outlook on art, and not least of all the aim of the presence of the art. The fact that the essay is so rigorous is at once a strength and a weakness: a strength because it gives some simple keys to understanding significant traits in the development of art museums and the differences between them; a weakness because there is no space for all the exceptions and other initiatives that have also set their stamp on the artistic stage.

Ingeborg Glambeks tackles museums of decorative art and their distinctive qualities. In contrast to the other types of museums, they arose as a result of a utilitarian perspective. The museums were not just supposed to display representative works of applied art and design, but also to promote industry and craft and foster a sense of taste among consumers. She concludes by pointing out why the hegemony of taste is no longer proclaimed by the museums of decorative art, which are rather perceived and perceive themselves as museums of cultural history today. A deeper look into this problem would have been interesting, taking the essay beyond a mere introduction to the topic.

Olov Amelin writes about three exhibitions, their background, framework, and realization. The essay gives insight into the exhibition workshop and the things that had to be considered in the process, but here too I would have liked to see a broader view. How do the exhibitions described relate to established traditions or at least conventions in the field? What theories of exhibition are these examples based on? The essay is a good example of reflecting experience, but the analyses contain much more than that and should perhaps be presented for the benefit of curious students in a subject like museum studies.

Per B. Rekdal looks at the topical issue of repatriation. Who has the right to manage the material cultural heritage? The cultures that the objects originally came from, or the museums that have collected and preserved them? The problem is full of political dynamite, and is frequently debated, in Australia (with the aborigines) and the USA (with the Native Americans), but also in Norway, where Sami culture has been given its own museums. Many interesting problems are raised in the essay, making it a good introduction to the subject if one knows nothing about it.

Bjarne Rogan's article is a breath of fresh air from the heated museum debate currently being waged in France, about the amalgamation of five of the country's biggest museums and the construction of a new museum. Basic critique of representation and problems of museum ideology for the modern museum are clearly exposed in the French debate. France is special because the museums are so directly governed by the desire of presidents to leave a suitable memorial to themselves, but the perspectives extend further, since the old ideologies and outlook on humanity that are built into the big, old French museums from the start of the twentieth century are not just a French phenomenon and a French problem.

The history of the interpretation of museum objects is the subject of Liv Emma Thorsen's article "The Sea Cow and the Hippopotamus – Stuffed Animals as Sources of Cultural History". By following two animals preserved from the seventeenth century and their course to today's museums we see how the objects have changed their meaning crucially through the history of museums; the essay thereby shows how the interpretations do not arise from the objects themselves, but develop in networks of human-created practice; the objects also burst almost unbreakable categories such as the nature–culture dichotomy, thus revealing the cultural and historical basis of the categories.

With Kari Sommerseth Jacobsen's article we jump from historical analysis to contemporary analysis and debate. She explains why it is relevant to have a women's museum in Norway and the aims it has set itself. Eva Fägerborg's article focuses on the present day, diving with appropriate boldness into the ongoing debate about the museums' relationship to research. Fägerborg points out in her introduction that she is talking about conditions in Sweden, for example, whether it is possible to speak about museum-specific research, and how we can strengthen the rela-

tionship between the museums' research and university research. These points are strikingly familiar from a Danish perspective. The article raises a large number of relevant problems which are discussed within museums, and in that sense deserve a place in a textbook, but perhaps it is too internal a matter; in the absence of long elucidatory examples of museum research, the reader is expected to have greater prior knowledge than students of the subject may be assumed to have. On the other hand, it gives good insight into what is, in the author's words, a "hot potato" in the discussion of many museums in recent years.

The concluding essay is a tour of museums as cultural institutions and their legitimation. By discussing the concepts and putting them in a historical context, it examines why the very basis for the existence of museums is being debated. The circle is thus closed in an elegant way: from an introduction to the museum system at the start of the volume to a discussion of the future basis for its existence at the end.

Despite their differing topics and character, all 18 essays can come under the same umbrella, museum studies, and the aim is also obvious: to introduce students to this field, and as such the book works well. I myself teach museology at Copenhagen University, and some of the essays are already required reading for my students. However, the chief merit of the book, in my opinion, is also my major criticism: that it *introduces* a field, whereas in actual fact it *inscribes itself* in an already existing field. The introduction especially can easily give the impression that museum studies or museology is a relatively new discipline, yet it is not. Theoretical reflection on the museum system can be traced all the way back to the origin of museums at the start of the sixteenth century, with Samuel Quiccheberg's instructions and comments on the appropriate collection and display of a museum from 1536 as one of the first examples. Since then this meta-reflection on the essence of museums and their work has gone on parallel to the museums' development and change, resulting in many works over the centuries. It is nevertheless as if knowledge about the essence of museums always pretends to start from the beginning. I can hardly remember reading an article or book on museology which has not felt obliged to justify the relevance of museology as a scientific discipline and provide a thorough explanation of the scope of museology, its concepts and methods, as if it was the first time the word was ever used. This applies to the present collection too. The impression of starting from the beginning is reinforced by the way the authors, instead of going back to the works that already exist in the field, choose to introduce museology as a topic concerned with museums and their essence, rather than as a discipline with its own history. The result, just as in the case of this book, is anthologies of essays.

The sense of being in its cradle is probably connected with the fact that museology has never really become an institutionalized university discipline. This has changed in recent years, however. Now it is no longer just Leicester and Umeå that can offer museum studies; there are many universities all over Europe – including Gothenburg, Cambridge, Copenhagen, Berlin, and now Oslo too. Let us hope that this institutionalization will lead to a development so that anthologies can be supplemented with more synthesizing monographs, and theses which can be transformed into proper theories.

Finally, a comment on the front cover of the book, which shows a photo of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. It certainly is an example of an extraordinarily bold piece of museum architecture, and in that sense reflects the evolving museum institution, but since most of the essays deal with Norway, a photo of a Norwegian museum would have been more significant and relevant.
Camilla Mordhorst, Copenhagen

Cultural Environment as a Problem

Kulturmiljø – mellem forskning og politisk praksis. Nicolai Carlberg & Søren Møller Christensen (eds.). Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 2003. 180 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-871-2.

■ The present publication is a collection of articles resulting from a seminar arranged by the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology at Copenhagen University in October 2001. The theme, unusually, was a concept, namely "cultural environment".

In an introduction by the editors Nicolai

Carlberg and Søren Møller Christensen, we are informed that the concept of "cultural environment" (*kulturmiljø*) has had a central place in the discussion about conservation in Denmark since the mid-1990s. As I understand it, the use goes back to a statement by the environment minister Svend Auken in 1994. He made the "cultural environment" into the third dimension of environmental policy. Conservation strategies had to be changed from concerning individual elements to embrace wholes, entire contexts, for example, "a total station environment including the homes that went with jobs at the station, or an overall village structure with farms, houses, roads, and fields". This is surely an idea that should be well suited to ethnologists. But it is not without problems. The report from the seminar brings up a number of interesting aspects which exemplify this. Some of them I shall return to. At the same time, I would recommend supplementary reading: Tina Fouchard's "Fra kulturlandskab til kulturmiljø" in *Folk og Kultur* 2000.

It strikes me that the entire conceptual project discussed here is about the power of word over thought. At bottom the discussion of the concept of the cultural environment does not so much concern theory as the practical application of new conservation principles.

New? On this point I was first confused by this highly committed book. Long ago, in a very ambitious and knowledgeable article, of the kind that used to be common, Erik Lundberg examined Swedish research on buildings and used the term "cultural environment" (*Rig* 1932). And wholes? In the mid-1960s I was commissioned by the town planning officer in Lund to do studies of the Nöden district of the town, originally "Sydöstra stadskärnan i Lund" (mimeograph issued by the Building Committee in Lund, 1965) and of *Östra Torn: En etnologisk bystudie* (Lund 1970). In both cases the neighbourhoods were threatened with demolition. A third "cultural environment" is the allotment gardens around the castle in Landskrona, which were also threatened with annihilation (Ek, *Kolonins sista strid*, 1990). These works can be used as an objection to the fundamental claims in *Kulturmiljø*, but they are at the same time a confirmation of many authors' theses. Even though studies *could* be conducted applying a holistic view and with a practical aim, it required special circumstances, namely, an employer with an interest in the complexity and the totality. As several of the authors in this volume point out, the research orientation at museums and other institutions responsible for conservation has been different. Against that background, it is easier to understand that the term "cultural environment", as used by an authority in environmental policy, aroused considerable attention and was taken as a reproof. At the same time, it did not make things easier for the authorities responsible for conservation. For what *is* the cultural environment (if it exists at all)? This is something the report questions.

I think I can discern a certain opposition between, on the one hand, the majority of "free" researchers in the book and, on the other hand, imaginary rigid conservationists. This is despite the fact that the free researchers in reality are often employed by museums. Perhaps the dividing line runs instead between ethnologists and others? Kristian Kristiansen differs from the other authors in that he declares frankly that research, administration, and politics can cross-fertilize each other, as he himself is a good example of. A former senior bureaucrat, he is now professor of archaeology in Göteborg. Since I have a similar background, I can also testify that practice does not always need to be an obstacle to research. I wish that research listened more to practice, and of course vice versa.

This report offers a complete arsenal of ethnological questions arising from the concept of cultural environment. Not all of them can be dealt with here. One of the most important is whether the cultural environment is a reality or a cultural construction – to use the words of Eske Wohlfahrt. The authors certainly seem to agree that it is a question of a reconstruction. This does not prevent the operative use of the term. Thomas Højrup goes furthest when he envisages that the cultural environment could have a kind of state-bearing function. The cultural environment can be read. It has something significant to say, for example, about the development of a state, and the knowledge that it conveys can help us to shape the future. Højrup wants us to see, for example, an association between the consolidation of the Danish nation

state in the 1840s and the building of the infrastructure in the twentieth century as a protection for the nation state, but he also points to the future choice of direction for Danish policy on Europe. It is important to read correctly.

There is ethnological consensus that the cultural environment should not be perceived as something static, given once and for all. It is more or less reluctantly accepted, however, that there should be operative concepts such as "cultural environment" in conservation policy. But it is not easy to determine what exactly it is that is worth conserving. Søren Byskov, Erland Porsmose, and Carsten Paludan-Müller are among those who touch on this problem. Criteria are both established and rejected.

The report would not have been an ethnological publication if it had not asserted the subjective character of evaluations of what is valuable and what defines the cultural environment. This is what Anne Mette Abildtrup Hansen and Orvar Löfgren do, and rightly so.

Löfgren virtually equates cultural environment with cultural heritage. Bringing in the term "cultural heritage" does not make things easier for anyone. The World Heritage Convention of 1972 includes only material phenomena in the cultural heritage. But it does not have to be like that, nor has it always been. For the Swedish author Viktor Rydberg the term denoted the non-material heritage of an earlier culture. I myself have said that the concept should stand for both in my short article "Kulturarvet och det kulturella kapitalet" (Statens Kulturråd Informerar 1987). My arguments stress the different cultural heritage of different classes. I also object to the prevailing notion that the cultural heritage must always be positive. These are ethnologically justified objections which we apply in our research. There is a great deal to suggest that the "cultural heritage" in the future will continue to refer mainly to distinguished material phenomena. It should be pointed out, however, that there is now an "Intangible Heritage Unit" within UNESCO, with responsibility for the non-material cultural heritage: customs, language, and dance. For myself, with a history as both researcher and practitioner in cultural policy, this book has been stimulating reading. It is just a shame that there are so few references to other literature, and the ones that exist are rather short-sighted. No one mentions, say, Hermann Bausinger's "Heimat und Identität" in the book of the same title (1980). That article would have been a good tool for problematization.

I may end by citing Mette Guldberg: "We must accept that it is an illusion that there are objective and definitive definitions of cultural environments. They are created by the problem one wishes to illuminate, or by the goal of the task, and one must always be aware of the angle one chooses and the forms of perception one is thereby cut off from." That quotation could also apply to the "cultural heritage".

Sven B. Ek, Göteborg

A Manorial World

Palle Ove Christiansen, *Lykkemagerne. Gods og greve, forvalter og fæster i 1700-tallets verden*, Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 2002. 261 pp. Ill. ISBN 987-02-01073-9.

■ As the 18th century came to an end, the Danish, as well as other European rural communities were deeply involved in processes of transformation. Liberal and 'modern', enlightened and secularised ideas had been in the air during the century. In Denmark important basic reforms were implemented that thoroughly changed the structure of ownership of land, dissolved parts of and changed the old hamlets and villages. New enclosure systems were created, and the distribution of arable land were measured and laid out in new rational field-systems by the professional land surveyor.

The mode of agriculture production was in a phase of transformation, which also was obvious in the 'manorial worlds'. Large landed estates, manors, were since ages a dominating structure in the eastern parts of Denmark. The structure began to erode and dissolve during the 18th century. The Danish agrarian reforms from 1788 dissolved the formal bondage of the peasant population. Relationships between lord and peasant should from now on be based on reciprocal agreements, not by coercion, and the first steps could be taken towards the creation of a free-holding peasantry, pre-conditions for a class of farmers with landed property of their own, were shaped.

It is by recreating structures such as: the physical environment, the socio-economic hard core in rural societies of the time, and the structures of mentality, that the author in the first parts of this work lays a solid ground for a rich understanding of the cultural aspects of these transformations. People's different perspectives, their various lifestyles, seem to be a crucial analytical point that ethnologist Palle Ove Christiansen returns to from a number of different angles. He distinguishes between the eager and striving peasant versus the easygoing and fatalistic peasant. In the same way as a skilful novelist the author succeeds to illuminate a complicated manifold history in his narrative. Backing his mastery conduct lies empirical studies made during many years and even decades of the estate of Giesegaard. The results of these studies were published in the extensive monograph on *A manorial world*, with subtitle *Lord, peasants and cultural distinctions on a Danish estate 1750–1980* (1996). From this study of the manorial world of Giesegaard, Christiansen has developed the methodology of new cultural history and gone further using a micro-historical perspective when now telling the story of *Lykkemagerne* in rural world in the 18th century Denmark. It was also a microhistorical world where the social relations were constantly undergoing change and the cultural expressions continually changed shape as they were situated in new contexts.

By putting seven key-persons in focus the changes and the mentality among the involved population, the different social groups and networks, are illuminated from a very human perspective. One key person is Søren Klestrup who was born in 1737 and died 1801. He served as administrator and inspector at the estate of Giesegaard; and was an active person in the centre of many events and with many new ideas. It is by analysing different sources from Klestrup's conduct that we get several insights in everyday rural life. Other important people in *Lykkemagerne* are Anna Sophie Schack Countess of Giesegaard and Fredrik Christian Schack Count of Giesegaard. From the peasant population, in one hamlet under the rule of the estate of Giesegaard namely *Gørslev*, we hear the voices of several persons. All these peoples' lives are formed in one or another way by economic, social and physical circumstances. An observant view of the physical landscape tells a cultural and social history. The small cottages adjusted to the topography – a low down-to-earth architecture – can be seen in contrast to the architecture of impressive manor-buildings and churches, clearly striving upwards and towards a heavenly horizon.

The physical environments and life-conditions are sensitively described by Christiansen. With great authority from the climate out-doors where the change of the seasons warm and cold is typical for the northerners Christiansen proceeds in-doors, in the small straw-detached cottages where the change between humid and dryness shifted during different parts of the year. People's conception of time, the work-cycles, the way people communicated using a direct bodily language are very interesting and 'down-to-earth' perspective in the study. The use of, the perception and sensation of colours – as strong as the peasant's life – gives a rich image of the atmosphere; the feelings and moods characteristic for life in the old Danish rural hamlets.

When proceeding into a discussion of transformation and change of both 'manorial' and 'rural' micro-cosmos worlds this abovementioned frame story is very healthy for a sober discussion of how new ideas and ideologies such as 'modernity' and 'enlightenment' could root. In the research debate today on the topics of *modernisation* and *tradition* it is stressed that these both aspects are intertwined parts of the transformation. For the peasant population there was no innovations and modernisation going on without taking traditions and customary practices into consideration. Conflicts of tradition and tradition breaking remained a serious matter in rural society. The content of persistency and renewal, i.e., what exists to be "traditionalised" what a good custom or a bad innovation is has always been a matter of controversy.

Christiansen also discusses the difference between the enlightened elite's quite clear ideas about progress in contrast to traditional perspectives. From the enlightened philosophers e.g. Voltaire and Kant the frontline against believe in authorities and traditions were explicitly ex-

pressed. Doctor H. C. Hirzel's book published 1761 on the enlightened progressive – the ideal type of peasant – *Kleinjogg* – was distributed and read in France and Germany. There was no Danish edition of this publication, but other efforts to present these ideas were made. One good example was Søren Klestrup, the administrator and inspector at Giesegaard, who were active in a polemic debate and published two propagandistic pamphlets on the need of reforms. In his writings he presented life conditions in the rural communities in very dark colours and propagated for thorough changes such as: to abolish the heavy and old-fashioned burdens of the *corvée*, to dissolve the old community constraints on the agricultural work. The need for new agricultural techniques and modern crop rotation were also desired innovations. Klestrup even made practical experiments on his own farmstead.

All these new ideas were discussed and put into practice not only in Denmark but also in the region, in southern parts of Sweden, in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg. The debate and suggestions of reforms in this region came from above, e.g. from manor-owners, servants in the state, landsurveyors and other people in leading positions. In the Swedish research debate it has also been shown that the freeholders – the class of farmers that was growing during the 18th and 19th centuries – played an active role requesting various enclosure reforms and they also were prime movers for implementing other agrarian innovations such as new techniques and co-operative organisations.

In "manorial worlds" the role of the peasantry was in principle different, because of the ownership of land. Peasants were tenants. An analysis of the peasant population's attitudes towards innovations put forward mainly from above shows that tenants were sceptical. When e.g. Baron Rutger Macklean tried to enforce his tenants to adjust to his ideas of agrarian reforms at the estate of Svaneholm in Scania, many of but not all of his tenants left the estate. Those who left would not like to take economic risks with Macklean's new leasehold system, whereas those who stayed did take the risks and showed another attitude towards the reforms.

In correspondence with Christiansen's observations it is also crucial to stress that life in the rural hamlets was characterised more or less by contrasting world-views and lifestyles. Especially when it came to questions of modernisation and implementation of agricultural innovations the attitudes were different among those peasants that were eager, the so called 'strivers' and the lazy, the so called 'fatalists'. Belonging to the last category were those who preferred to have a good time for the moment, not caring so much about the future. Norms of what a good life consisted of were not shared and totally agreed upon within the rural population. But what were really shared were the *disputes* about living conditions, as David W. Sabean has stressed in his studies of old rural Neckarhausen in Germany. What were shared in a community were the fact that "members of the community are engaged in the same argument, the same *raisonement*, the same *Rede,* the same discourse, in which alternative strategies, misunderstandings, conflicting goals and values are threshed out."

From what is said above it is quite obvious that also the memories, the reflections on personal life histories, the stories told, in one or another way was very diverse. The rural communities were not consensus oriented at all. From the key persons' (hi)stories, interpreted by Christiansen this is quite clear. By telling their different stories and viewpoints on issues such as nature, labour and leisure, the meaning of the land rent, different celebrations e.g. baptism etc. Christiansen also discusses how different people saw themselves as reflections – mirrored themselves towards others – when they formed their attitudes and self-image. Existentialistic questions were raised then, as it is today. Christiansen notes that: people are thrown into life – into existence – and they have to make a meaning out of life, before it is all gone. That was also what everyone did: peasants, inspectors and lords.

Christiansen's elegant study of *Lykkemagerne* deals with deep and serious questions in life, in history and at the very present day. It cannot be reviewed with some simple and easygoing scientific vocabulary. It is not fast food! Therefore, I recommend a thoughtful and slow reading of this historical and ethnological penetrating study of rural life – reflecting both a seemingly distant but in reality an intensely close past.

Kerstin Sundberg, Lund

Gothenburgers Like Gothenburg

Sven B. Ek, Magnus Bergquist & Kerstin Lökken, Stadens Janusansikten. Göteborgare tycker om Göteborg. Skrifter från Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 37, Göteborg 2002. 224 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-85838-58-6.

■ This is a handy book that sets out to look for the processes that have brought Gothenburg to the state where it is in the late modern era of the 1990s. The title means "The Janus Faces of the City: Gothenburgers Like Gothenburg".

The first section deals with urban landscapes. Magnus Bergquist's contribution opens the book with an introduction to the stages that begin with the fortress town inside the moat in the 17th century and continues with new suburban areas in the early 19th century, ending with the great suburbs of the late 20th century and with the changing face of the moat and inner city areas. The dialectic in this process is the dynamism between different strata in urban society, the bourgeoisie and the workers claiming their areas and the former always on the top and able to marginalize the workers.

Nevertheless Bergquist is able to show that the workers with their own tactics could also set their stamp on certain areas, the centre being the stronghold of the elite until the conversion of these residential areas into offices made it an arena for the spare time of all strata. His recapitulation of the process is instructive in that it is seen as the result of different agents, with the politics of different times seeking different directions; already in the early twentieth century the low standard of living in some areas was observed and was a point of references when new and better areas were being planned. From these reforming times Bergquist takes us up the early 50s with the first functionally planned area as a totality (also ethnologically explored by Kerstin Gunnemark).

Gothenburg is or was primarily a port with great overseas shipping companies; their era ended in the 70s. This is the topic of Kerstin Lökken's article. This decade was also a catastrophe for the shipyards, Götavarvet being the only survivor. With this downfall of the maritime sector of the town, a remedy has been a postmodern reconstruction with an opera house and several colleges and art institutions, not without several heated debates about their suitability in the area. Today the harbour, like many of its American and European models, can point to a heroic past with activities directed to the leisure time of the town dwellers, a point that clearly appears from the writings of Lökken. All in all the chapter fills its place as a "short history of the harbour of Gothenburg" with ethnologically significant observations.

The second half of the book concerns the Janus faces of Gothenburg. It is by Sven B. Ek, the well-known urban ethnologist in Sweden, now professor emeritus. The angle is more on how Gothenburg can be seen, that is, Gothenburg as a process in the minds of its dwellers, rather than how it actually has developed. With a huge corpus of interviews as a source, Ek lets different town dwellers speak their views: Finnish immigrants, old and young workers, people belonging to the upper middle classes as well as people from the lower middle classes, entrepreneurs and high officials of the city.

Each one of the groups has its special relationship to the town depending on social background, place of residence and use of the city centre. The Finns, for instance, are happy with their living quarters in different parts outside the immediate centre; nature and the neighbourhood are appreciated more than city life. But the city as a map with a historical depth is also very clear. The workers are found to be very focused on the social point of view; their career through different living quarters is more than a change of where to live. It is very clearly shown by Ek that it was also a question of acknowledgement, of having made their way to better social standards by their own efforts.

A different town is also spelled out when we consider it from the viewpoint of today. The old inhabitants refer to different, often vanished, parts which for them constitute much richer landmarks, at the same time as they are aware of the changes. The historical awareness thus often refers to the heterogeneity of town life as a lived experience. But also a younger generation, as an expression of a choice of lifestyle, can have the same predilection for small-scale urban living with lots of small shops instead of supermarkets. According to Ek, this predilection nevertheless needs some kind of experience to emerge.

The great development meant huge changes to Gothenburg with its many suburbs. What is now gone will for some be the togetherness and social networks of former workers quarters – or they have "moved" to the suburbs. What might be said is that as the development moves in stages, the neighbourhood town stage is gone but lives in the memory of the inhabitants of the city. This also comes clearly out in references to the parts that have changed less, the inner elite areas. Reminiscences of them likewise refer to a different social pattern. All in all, the Gothenburgers interviewed and analysed here seem to be able to appreciate the present in which they live and still be very aware of different possibilities that have been lost, but compensated with other ones.

In interview analyses such as those by Ek, the richness of town life comes out, a richness that spreads itself in different directions; social milieus, geographical areas, architecture, landmarks, standards and habits of living get their positions through the reflecting witnesses. The result at least of this study is a clear picture of an urban mosaic that acts as a structure of coordinates that can be conveyed to the reader and that can find similarities in other towns. Thus urban ethnology is able to give quite a different, more heterogeneous, view of urban life than any other discipline. Ek's texts offer us the city dwellers' view of their town.

Anna-Maria Åström, Åbo

A History of Autograph Books

Carola Ekrem, *Lev lycklig, glöm ej mig! Minnesböckernas historia,* Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland/Bokförlaget Atlantis, Helsingfors/Stockholm 2002. Reprint 2003, 177 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7486-687-7.

■ The triumph of nostalgia! When a new book tempts you to go up to your parents' attic to search for half-forgotten poetry albums and old scrap books, and also makes women from earlier generations dig out similar albums from around the turn of the century, where everyone from childhood friends to presumptive teenage heartthrobs have jotted down some doggerel words of wisdom, then you realize that you have stumbled over an almost forgotten tradition. And when reading this book by the folklife scholar Carola Ekrem, entitled "Be Happy, Don't Forget Me! The History of Autograph Books", published by the Swedish Literature Society in Finland in collaboration with the publisher Atlantis, you realize that the tradition is much older than this, and that it was originally a male practice.

The modern-day autograph book (known as a poetry album in Sweden and a souvenir album in Finland) is considered to go back to the German *Stammbücher* which were the consequence of a custom among German nobles as early as the start of the sixteenth century, which involved exchanging signatures and pictures of family coats of arms. The custom was then spread down the social pyramid, becoming particularly popular among students and merchants who travelled around Europe and used their *album amicorum* as a letter of introduction. The oldest surviving volumes come from the Reformation citadel of Wittenberg and contain contributions by both Luther and Melanchthon. Melanchthon's high appreciation for this genre as a source of knowledge of travel routes and liaisons of friendship is cited in several of the oldest albums.

The tradition as we know it, however, is associated with women, and it flourished in the nineteenth century. It was adopted by younger and younger women, catching on in girls' schools towards the end of the century, and reaching the youngest girls in the twentieth century.

The aesthetic aspects remained crucial. Each verse had to be written in the album with great care and in fine handwriting, preferably with coloured ink, and the text was to be combined with a drawing to make a beautiful page. The decorations were varied, with pasted-in locks of hair, embroidered flowers, and pressed flowers up to the 1860s, when "scraps" (known as *bokmärken* "bookmarks" in Sweden and *glansbilder* "shiny pictures" in Finland) became common, and pages were filled with angels and floral wreaths. The symbolism was dominated by roses and forget-me-nots, but the pages were livened at an early stage by unusual pictures of historical figures, prosaic pets, or technical marvels.

The ethical aspects were closely connected to the aesthetics. It was an unforgivable insult to

write carelessly or to inscribe hurtful words in an autograph book; not adorning one's verse with a picture was a distinct demonstration; but a well chosen verse and the sacrifice of a beautiful glittering scrap could lay the foundation for a new friendship.

Strict rules later crystallized around autograph books. The aids that existed in the form of verse collections and earlier albums soon became a set of rules that people were hesitant to break. Verses were selected from a narrow repertoire of "album poetry", and even when it is uncertain whether either the writer or the recipient understood its meaning, all those involved knew that it was the proper thing to do. Young girls consequently wrote the same verses generation after generation, and in the 1980s, nineteenth-century religious poetry of mediocre quality was still living in these albums. Frans Michael Franzén and Anna Maria Lenngren, Böttiger and Nicander are among the frequently cited poets, but many come from anonymous folk poetry. Some lines contain obscure warnings about the evil of the world, but by far the most common verses are easily comprehensible variants on rhymes like "Three words for thee: / Forget not me!" or "On a little, tiny spray / I will in your memory stay", both from the nineteenth century. Later, however, more amusing verses with no profound moral became more popular. A tenacious favourite is a verse written across the page: "Livets väg går härs och tvärs / så gör även denna vers" (The path of life goes criss-cross /so too does this verse). My own autograph book, like so many others, contains a variant of the verses that had to be written on the last page of the book, equivalent to the English "By hook or by crook / I'll be last in this book." Profundity has thus been left behind and a new age has arrived.

There has not been much research on *Stammbücher* and autograph books, but it is surprising that the first treatise on the subject was written in Königsberg in 1711. Since the 1970s the stock of albums has been investigated in Germany and the Nordic countries – in Sweden by the well-known Bengt af Klintberg, but Åke Davidsson and Christina Sjöblad have also taken an interest in the early examples. Carola Ekrem, as chief archivist at the Folk Culture Archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Helsinki, has a gold mine to draw on when she now presents the Swedish-language tradition in Finland. The archive has many early autograph books, some from famous family circles such as those of Topelius and Runeberg. Ekrem has selected a small number of albums to present in their entirety, put them in their biographical context, given a brief history of the genre and earlier research. Much of the book is occupied by a careful analysis of the poetry from a wide range of angles. What makes her book particularly appealing is the many illustrations characteristic of the period, and the extra information obtained by questionnaires (the last one distributed in 1999), in which the owners of autograph books wrote about their albums and sometimes donated them to the archive.

The responses testify to the difficult balancing act for the young people, between the longing to be unique and the requirement not to stick out from the crowd. The choice between conformism and originality affected not only the owner of the album but also everyone who wrote in it, and the solutions they adopted could vary greatly. Adults such as parents and teachers had to choose their words of wisdom with great care; some resorted to biblical quotations and hymn verses, others cited their favourite poet. Children could ask an older female relative for help, but most people had their clear preferences. Some loved the archaic flavour of lines like "The riddle to learn is to live / to love, forget, and forgive"; others were anxious that their poetry album should be just as they wanted it, so they dictated a verse and they themselves pasted in a suitable scrap on the facing page. A popular girl was supposed to have her album full, and it was not *comme il faut* to "crowd" anyone else if there were empty pages left. At worst one could engage the assistance of a pet by placing the pen in the paw of a dog or cat.

The tradition of autograph books seems to have lasted throughout the twentieth century, although it has been supplemented with visitors' books, "questions-and-answers", and less pretentious poetry books. In the 1960s new books with ready-made sets of questions became popular: My Friends or My Classmates. There you had to declare your favourite colour and your future plans in a rather comical mixture of high

and low. When the Nancy Drew books were all the rage (she is known as Kitty in Sweden), every girl wanted to be a private detective, but traditional occupations and responses tended to dominate. Some of the informants say that they almost always checked what others had written so that they would not appear to be different. Tastes in music were a particularly sensitive topic, with fashions changing quickly. But when they had to write what they wished most in life, they some times felt compelled to be sincere (just imagine if the wish came true!) and wrote a bicycle or peace on earth, and often wrote honestly about what they hated most – liver sausage and war.

Books with batteries of questions have been carefully renewed over the years; signs of the zodiac have been added, as well as questions about who you would like to date. In the 1990s they were augmented by "slambooks" where the owner herself dictates the questions and can be more intimate and also more imaginative. And of course, this medium of teenage culture has also kept up with the times by switching to the Internet. Follow the further development of the tradition at www.teensforum.com.

Elisabeth Mansén, Lund

Remembering and Travelling in History

Historien in på livet. Diskussioner om kulturarv och minnespolitik. Anne Eriksen, Jan Garnert & Torunn Selberg (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2002. 277 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-89116-34-8.

■ Research on the cultural heritage and commemoration are in a dynamic stage of development at present. Among the external causes of this we may point to the fact that the mass media are producing history as never before, not only works of popular scholarship but also television series, docusoaps, and so-called historical films, as well as the politicians' seemingly growing use of history as argumentation. It is therefore natural to ask: who actually has the power over memory? Is it journalists with their neo-moralism, politicians with their struggle for values, historians with their professional academic knowledge, history teachers who have to make history interesting to pupils? Is it commercial interests or municipal officials?

Questions like these are discussed in this highly interesting and well-edited collection of articles. Most of the authors are ethnologists, but folklorists are also represented. This is noticeable. The special ethnological *Fingerspitzengefühl* and flair for the empirical micro-level is striking – and beneficial. The same applies to the ethnological interest in identity as being processual and negotiable. The constructivist approach that is sometimes exaggerated works uncommonly well in this context, where the authors examine the production – with more or less conscious motives – of historical awareness and memory. Method and topic thus go very well together here. Both the editors and the authors deserve praise for holding the line so consistently. This does not always happen in collections of articles, a tricky genre as regards coherence.

The book is also a good example of successful Nordic cooperation. In this connection it is not without interest to fasten upon the great similarities in the approach to the subject matter and the discussions. It is not always that Nordic researchers are in such agreement. A little sigh from a Danish heart, however: Denmark is not represented. There may be many reasons for this. One of them, perhaps, is that cultural heritage and the politics of memory are not top priority for Danish ethnologists, who are at risk of increasingly approaching anthropology. Here it is rather the historians who have displayed interest. And perhaps we Danes would only have spoiled the beauty of the total impression. We are after all more fond of system theory and Rhineland polka...

The book is nicely set in motion by Torunn Selberg's lengthy introduction, written with a broad grasp of the subject and with impressive knowledge of the current debates among both scholars and administrators of cultural heritage management. She neatly places the different contributions in a wider context, which can be described as a turning of the concept of tradition. From having meant something authentic and genuine, the term nowadays also covers the selective and symbolic production of connections between parts of the past and the present-day need for meaning-construction on a mass scale, that is to say, politics. This means paying attention not just to the big *lieux de mémoire*, but also the

copies of genuine traditions with a commercial purpose, "fake-lore". It thus seems natural to operate, as happens, with a folk model and a scholarly model when talking about the past. Researchers want to analyse and interpret the events of the past, while the folk model wants to produce identity – and entertainment. It is a good thing that the outlook adopted in most of the book is not cultural conservatism, but it would not have hurt if they had been less kind to the apparatchiks of local cultural policy and the entertainment industry. Selberg also states the reasons for the structuring principle of the book the distinction between telling about the past, walking in the past, and staging the past. This is a wise principle, allowing good analytical points to be made.

All in all, it may be noted that place and topology are crucial for many of the articles. Both because the construction of the past is so place-oriented, and because many of the authors themselves operate with a topographical ethnological approach, in which one can detect influence from such different scholars as Marc Augé, Jonathan Boyarin, Jonas Frykman, and Paul Connerton. This applies both to articles like those by Arne Bugge Amundsen and Eva A. Persson on pilgrimages, which are about getting history under the skin, but also articles like those by Anne Eriksen, Line Esborg, and Anne Bergman, which deal with local-history and the use of history, and which are among the best in the book. Here too, the dimension of place plays an essential role. But topography as both place and *mis-en-scène* space is also central in Lotten Gustafsson's article about creating a "full-bodied illusion of the Middle Ages" in Visby and Tallinn, although here one could have wished for some consideration of the fact that both cities *are* actually medieval, and were so even before they were staged as such. It is difficult to create the Middle Ages in Huddinge...

Topography as place, as cultural heritage, and as a reservoir of conflict is also the fulcrum of Selberg's lovingly critical article about the Finnskogen area, where both the voluntary staging and the actual preconditions for it are considered. She makes it clear that staging cannot take place *ante rem*, appropriately but discreetly pointing out an important problem for culture theory. The same is done in Marit Hauan's wise article about how tourists can see local "roots" by walking along set "routes". Hauan asks: What is the culture bureaucrats' perception of the relationship between essence and construction? With Lars Kaijser we drive along "routes" in Liverpool to nod in recognition at the Beatles' "roots" – or rather the now lost world of an optimistic white lower-middle-class world which once had its natural (?) place in the English classlandscape.

The book ends with Jan Garnert's article about squabbles between Norway and Sweden in connection with negotiations on the merger of the telecom companies Telia and Telenor. Thematically it falls outside the common framework, but it is an amusing and acute analysis of the use of stereotypes – and particularly of the forums in which this takes place.

All in all: an excellent collection of essays, which distinguishes itself by its clear structure and internal coherence, and by having created a proper place for topographical ethnological analysis. More work of this kind would be very welcome, preferably with Danish participation.
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

What's in a Name?

Being There: New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture. Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2003. 193 pp. ISBN 91-89116-66-6.

■ Reviewing this book was a curious experience for someone trained in the British tradition of social anthropology. Ever since the days of Malinowski, "finding out" has involved "being there." Not merely to record the words of one's interlocutors and so to produce "a text," but to see, hear, smell, taste, and feel. The best ethnography in this tradition has always conveyed something of the lived-and-felt experience of being there, which is one of the things that make it the best ethnography, whether or not the author has explicitly positioned the work as owing anything to phenomenological theory. My personal favourite is Juliet Du Boulay's *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village* (1974), a marvellously expressive and evocative account of her fieldwork. Being alive to experience in this way is not exclusive to

anthropologists: as the editors rightly say, "phenomenology is almost taken for granted within contemporary ethnology in the Nordic countries although, if we may say so, more as a justification for doing studies of everyday life than as a systematic approach."

Certainly, phenomenology as a method has its virtues and its uses, but if taken to its limits as a theoretical system that aims to explain cultural phenomena, it also presents us with a difficult methodological problem: How can we know the experience of others? We cannot plug ourselves into the nerve endings and cognitive circuitry of other people; we can only infer and deduce in an effort to understand. One cannot know others in precisely the same ways that one knows one's self. One can only compare the apparent experience of another to one's own experience, or to the apparent experience of still other people. In Alfred Schutz's words, "concrete thusness" becomes "like-thatness." If the analyst proceeds beyond this point, he or she is left open to challenge: on what evidential grounds is it asserted to be "like-that"? At this point, most analysts are prepared to quote their interlocutors and to take their words on trust. At least, what they say provides some support and deflects criticism, even if the selection of this testimony sometimes raises other awkward issues.

Several of the contributors to *Being There* invite us to make sense of the experiences in question (whether their own or those attributed to others) by invoking the concept of "identity." "Identity" is much in the air these days; everyone uses the term, and in all sorts of contexts. All the more important, then, that the term be defined and its use justified, rather than treating it as something obvious and unproblematic. Moreover, these identities are not just empty vessels or vacant categories waiting to be filled with meaning, they seem already to be at least partly filled with typical characteristics by which the significance of the experiences in question can be gauged, and the experiences put into the right pots. How these typifications came to be generated and deemed relevant to these discussions is sometimes a little puzzling. If the intention is to create a phenomenological view of the world from the ground up, as real people as individuals in real time experience real life, surely there can be no gods-in-the-machine.

This caveat notwithstanding, the book is a bold and valuable initiative. Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje ably set out the case for phenomenology in the introduction, arguing (most agreeably) that culture, from the vantage point of individual perception and experience, is a flow of protean meanings rather than something that "is." Maja Povrzanović Frykman, Ghassan Hage, Michael Jackson, Francine Lorimer, Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl, Kjell Hansen, and, again, Jonas Frykman offer a fine set of essays taking inspiration from phenomenology and applying it to the analysis of a variety of settings from Croatian labour migration and transnational bus travel, to Lebanese migrants' engagement in news stories about their homeland, to being maimed in war in Sierra Leone, to storytelling in Aboriginal Australia, to children's experience of Swedish theme parks, to finding meaning without words in Budapest, and, finally, to Istria, where culture is not to be confused with nation. The book, and the case-material it contains, ought to provoke much learned debate about the advantages and limitations of phenomenological approaches in European ethnology and the cultural sciences. It deserves a place on the reading list of every course on theory and method in these subjects in the Nordic universities.

Reginald Byron, Swansea

A Window on the Continent

Ruth Hamran, Billedsamlingen i Rygnestadsloftet, Valle i Setesdal. Fra sen middelalder til reformasjon og renessanse. Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Oslo 2002. 327 pp. Ill. English summary and captions. ISBN 82-7099-363-8.

■ Ruth Hamran has produced a fact-packed book about a remarkable collection of sixteenth-century paintings found hidden in a log storehouse deep in Setesdal. It was not until the nineteenth century that proper roads were constructed.

Hamran has worked for decades in museums and has previously written on tendencies in Norwegian timber architecture. Now, after many years of work, she has presented the results of her

research on the Rygnestad collection. With her profound analysis and detailed interpretation of the material, she has opened a window on the continent.

This type of linen paintings (Norwegian *malte lerreter*, equivalent to Swedish *bonader*) were hung on walls all over Scandinavia in former days. They were most common in Sweden but very rare in Norway. Apart from the hangings found in castles and church interiors, the Rygnestad find was the biggest privately owned art collection of its day. The collection consists of six paintings on linen: Saint George with his princess; the post-Reformation portrayal of the Ten Commandments; Susanna and the false judges; and Esther before Ahasuerus. In addition there is "The Banner" with the crowned coat of arms and the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of unknown function, possibly a table canopy or ceiling cloth. There is also a hand-coloured German woodcut, showing a dancing couple in splendid dress from the 1560s–1570s, a piece of gilt leather, two pieces of cloth with a printed blue pattern, and sixteenth-century items such as weapons and equestrian equipment.

The oldest painting from Catholic times and the latter part of the fifteenth century is the smallest of the works and the only one from Sweden. It shows the traditional composition, the armour-clad Saint George on horseback lancing a huge dragon. The princess is seen kneeling with her little lamb on a lead. From the tower of the castle the anxious parents follow the course of the battle. Unfortunately, the picture has been cropped, but it still permits a comparison with a fifteenth-century chest in the Kestner Museum in Hanover which clearly shows that both the painter and the carver copied the same model, a woodcut, hitherto not found. Hamran demonstrated the Swedish origin in 1983, showing parallels with murals in Götene church in Västergötland, and cautiously suggesting the name of the painter as master Amund or his school. The painting is on worn, patched striped cloth, and both the paint and the fabric were examined in 1990 by Margareta Ekroth-Edebo at the Western Sweden Conservators, whose report is included in the text.

The catechetical hanging of the Ten Commandments has a wealth of motifs which are difficult to interpret. Ninety pages are devoted to an analysis. The painting is full of action: murder, adultery, lies, perpetrated by well-dressed and undressed sixteenth-century burghers. The lengths once covered a total wall area of 128 by 380 cm. The painting is done in fairly well-preserved red, white, yellow-ochre, and brown tempera on worn and patched cloth. The contours were outlined in black. The motifs are divided into twelve panels, beginning with Moses accepting the tablets of the law as God reveals himself in a cloud. The commandments are illustrated as follows:

"Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Christ as the Fons Pietatis and the idol Dagon and the beheading of the idolaters. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord that God in vain." The crucified Christ surrounded by card-playing soldiers. "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy." A crowd of people listening to the Sunday sermon, and as a contrast a woodcutter abusing the sabbath. "Honour thy father and thy mother." Noah's sons cover their drunken father's nakedness. "Thou shalt not kill." Cain kills his brother Abel and Joab slays Abner at the gates of Hebron. "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Bathsheba rises from the bath. The watching David is not visible in the picture; Phinehas slays Zimri and Cozbi. "Thou shalt not steal." Achan steals of the forbidden things and Laban looks for the images stolen by his daughter-in-law Rachel. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against the neighbour." The falsely accused Susanna appearing before the elders. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife" etc. Potiphar's wife tries to seduce Joseph; Jacob and Laban dividing the cattle. The last panel sums up the moral of the commandments. A woman shows two tablets bearing the text of Matthew 22:36 and a picture of the Good Samaritan.

The twelve pictures were originally accompanied by long text ribbons, now almost entirely obliterated. Hamran, a skilled interpreter of Medieval Dutch, would have been greatly assisted in her analysis if she had received support from the text. She has had to rely on the faint vestiges still readable when the hanging was photographed in 1926, when it was on loan to Oslo. Only the last panel, which sums up the moral content, can be read.

Hamran's search in many different libraries for biblical illustrations, picture catechisms, and church paintings is described in detail. She found the *Corte Instruccie*, which exists in just two copies, the first edition of which, from 1544, was quickly confiscated. It was printed in Ghent by Cornelis van der Heyden with illustrations probably by Lieven de Witte. In 1985, when Hamran first published her ideas about a catechetical hanging with Flemish roots she knew where to look. It was a great achievement when she had this confirmed ten years later. Who painted the hanging based on this book is an open question. I do not agree that it could be the work – not even a youthful effort – of the Dutch painter Arendtz van Lamprechtz, who worked in Sweden. He expressed himself more elegantly.

Susanna in the bath has always been a favourite motif, allowing painters to portray, with suitable moral indignation, a naked woman. The story of the virtuous and faithful wife Susanna is depicted on many hangings. The Rygnestad Susanna has royal status. The main motif is of course the bath scene, but in the name of decency only a knee is exposed, as she sits on the edge of the bath with a fruit dish and a (perfume?) bottle within reach. The lecherous elders are magnificently dressed in ermine and chains of order. The side motifs on reduced scale show the ensuing events, as Susanna is acquitted of the false charges and the deceitful sinners are tortured and killed by whipping and stoning.

Even paintings of this quality were done on worn and patched cloth, and Hamran describes the restrictions on the use of linen in Flanders. Famous artists like Hieronymus Bosch painted on old sheets, and in Sweden Baptista van Uther had to be content with the same material.

The three persons have the character of portraits. The punched lines of the faces may suggest a transfer from a sketch or a model. In 1928 Henrik Grevenor expressed the view that both Susanna and her seducers had the features of contemporary court officials and that the heroine was Elizabeth I herself. Thor B. Kielland developed this idea and found that one of the seducers could be William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Hamran explores this in depth and presents copperplates and portrait paintings to corroborate it. Whether the painting is English or Dutch can scarcely be determined, since many Dutchmen worked in England as refugees from political persecution in the homeland.

The story of the brave Queen Esther, begging on her knees for her people and warning of planned persecution, had a great impact and was depicted not only by painters but also by woodcut artists; it was a popular motif on chest-prints, especially in Germany.

The puzzling presence of "The Banner", a painting of a crown, a coat of arms with a white eagle and a chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece has a fascinating background story. This painting has a special position in Norway, putting the Rygnestad collection on the European map. It is not a banner at all, despite the local mythic tradition, but a table canopy or a ceiling cloth. The skilfully painted background ornament, in grey, ochre, and white, gives a sense of relief against the five large, many-petalled roses. The red escutcheon with the white eagle is framed by the yellow chain to give the impression of gilding, as does the crown at the top. Hamran devotes many pages to her successful detective work on it. The escutcheon is Spanish in form, while the white eagle with outspread wings is part of the Polish national arms. The low crown is of Swedish type and the monarch who was admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece in 1600 and who had himself portrayed in it was the Swedish-born Sigismund (1566–1632), for a short period king of Poland and Sweden. The background is substantiated in every detail. How the painting ended up in a storehouse in Rygnestad is an unsolved mystery. The sixteenth century material includes a hand-coloured woodcut showing two dancing couples and four verses in German. There are no details of the year or place of printing, but they may have been in the damaged bottom corner. As late as 1983, when a mouse's nest was being cleared in the corner of a bench, among the paper, straw, and pieces of leather there were the remains of a woodcut, only 9 cm long and bearing the words "... kramer kauffen".

On the two rolls of coarse linen we can see a masked-off pattern on a blue base. Blue paint was expensive, and pattern-printed wall covering in the sixteenth century was restricted to upperclass homes or churches. These rolls are also imports. Hamran

examines comparative archival materials, especially from Sweden. These cloths were used to cover ceilings or walls, hanging horizontally with the pattern borders vertically. They could also be "undercloths" placed under figurative paintings. The only securely attested example of this from the sixteenth century is from Alfta in Sweden, where a length with a stencil and block pattern hung under a hanging with a wealth of religious figures. Could the blue lengths in Rygnestad have had the same function? They may either have been taken over from church furnishings or been bought directly to decorate a lord's home. Hamran also mentions that the pieces of cloth could have been taken as souvenirs from the coronation tribune, but surely it would not have been possible to tear off a length of almost five metres?

The non-figurative items also include a small piece of gilt leather, the use and origin of which are uncertain. In addition there are weapons and equestrian equipment: dagger, crossbow, axe, saddle, and bridle straps, preserved on the ground floor, whereas the upper part of the storehouse was used as a dwelling. Certain marks in the timber suggest that the storehouse was linked by a passage to a now vanished building.

It is remarkable that it is possible to link such an early collection to a specific owner. His name was Aasmund Torleivson. In the rich archival material about the district, the farm, and the family there is evidence that his grandfather, named as a juryman and churchwarden 1512–45, had acquired the farm of Rygnestad in 1529.

Aasmund also held public office; he was bailiff and churchwarden He probably died in 1596. This much is fact. It was probably when the farm reached its zenith, having acquired a great deal of land, that the magnificent storehouse was built, some time in the 1580s; it has not been dendrochronologically dated, so it could be older.

The nickname "Evil", *Vond*-Aasmund, has to do with the myths that tend to arise about an unusual destiny and great wealth. At all events, Aasmund Torleivson seems to have had the opportunity to acquire foreign objects when abroad, and he had the financial resources to do so.

The Rygnestad collection consists solely of imports. Nothing at all was made in Norway. It was accumulated by a family with a farm who lived in inner Setesdal for generations and who preserved an archive that is incredible for the time. The collection survives after 400 years, despite having been preserved in a highly unsuitable setting. It is now carefully presented in a book in which every page is a lesson. That does not mean that it is boring. On the contrary. Hamran's language is easy to read, witty and humorous.
Maj Nodermann, Stockholm

Cultural Perspective

Younger than yesterday, older than tomorrow. Cultural perspectives on contemporary childhood and youth. Marit Anne Hauan & Gry Heggli (eds.), NNF Publications 11, Turku 2002. 302 pp. Ill. ISBN 952-12-0882-1.

■ In this book nine doctoral students from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden present results of their doctoral studies in ethnology and cultural studies. Their research has emerged within a purpose-built Nordic network (NUFF–Nordiske Ung Folk Forskere) in which the shared aim was "to challenge the social and cultural categories of childhood and youth". Network members investigated how children and young people understand and actively relate to, make use of, modify, question and occasionally criticize images, ideals and norms related to age, childhood, youth, age-linked identity and other "generational" issues that circulate in their discursive and cultural surroundings. Choice is forced, they contend, and life therefore is construed as a project. 'Negotiation' is the term the network members use to refer to this relation. This notion, they write, implies reflexivity on the part of the young people and, across the nine chapters based on doctoral studies, 'reflexivity' is elevated to the status of a covering notion.

This view defines the research strategy whereby the sphere of generational culture is approached: as a field of tensions lived out and negotiated by children and young people. The topics taken up in the individual chapters range from children's notions of age and their involvement with computers and commercialised play, young girls' identity work through school journal writing, participation in a snowboard subculture,

and building up a local rock festival. Several chapters go into subcultures and study e.g. the construction of Elvis as a youth icon, the experiences and the reflections on time by "young independent travellers", and thoughts on the good life by three university students. Each study is based on empirical material collected and analysed by mainly qualitative methods (participatory observation, interviews, text analysis) that "allow for the emergence of meaning in cultural processes".

In the first chapter in the book, Bjørg Kjær studies the meanings that emerge when children residing on the borderline of age categories take on one or another age-related image or notion. She argues that children do actively reflect on prevailing images and notions: they consider, negotiate, apply, contest and test out prevailing categories and characterizations of childhood and adulthood, and in this they produce their own meanings. These meanings generally go against the understandings of children and childhood as they are given in adult discourses which tend to describe children as spontaneous, self-centred, naive, or innocent. Based on her ethnography in a Danish after-school institution, the author argues also that adults seem to hold to two opposite discourses (or narratives) of childishness, and that children "construct" opposites of childishness and adultness, but in their own way.

In the next chapter, Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl investigates the problem of defining the borderlines when offers from commercial children's culture meet teachers' pedagogical ideals. The study setting is now a Norwegian day-care centre, where the author observes the pedagogical agenda and ideology of the institution – a day-care regime that is "as unstructured and uncontrolled by adults as possible, with a high degree of respect for children's wishes and needs", or a "here-and-now pedagogy". She goes on to investigate how a piece of commercial children's culture (a pirate play) fits into this pedagogical arena. Children are shown to use the items of the thoroughly commercialised play figure in their play, and as pedagogues react to this, a situation is provided for "discussing the relationship between a childhood that is forced to become more reflective and concerned with identity production, and children's opportunities to create a free space in parallel to the adults' educational programmes, characterized and spurred more by action, physicality and rhythms than by reflectivity and ideology". The author argues that adults interpret the commercial product as a narrative (albeit of low quality) whereas children take the figure as an action space providing a simple repertoire of actions and bodily movement that through a range of its spin-off products provides space for their imagination and negotiation. To back up her argument, the author refers to Thomas Ziehe's discussion, and Jonas Frykman's criticism, on the identity discourse as the dominant, or at least preferred, educational discourse in school (and pre-school) settings. Interpreted as a progressive ideology this discourse emphasizes informality of relationships between children and teachers, personal credibility (on the part of teachers) and close association with children's own worlds. All of this contributes, according to the theory, to the development of children's reflexivity. The author, however, presents children's enthusiastic adoption of the commercial play figure as a lively and active critique of such a theory. The main flaw of the theory is its assumption that identity always and necessarily grows through reflection. The case of commercial children's culture powerfully demonstrates that it is the action-generating context that counts in identity formation. Children need action spaces for doing things that cannot be predicted in advance: they create an alternative world which they then can experience as free space. Adults obviously fail to understand and to utilize the transgressive potential of commercial children's culture which the commercial industry has managed to build into its products. The practical and pedagogical conclusion is that children's "own culture" should be taken more seriously and incorporated in educational projects.

These chapters exemplify the main lines of argument found also in the other chapters, which vary in depth and complexity of analysis, making the collection uneven in quality. The diversity of topics taken up in the book, however, will attract some readers, and the collection demonstrates the trend of ethnologists increasingly to focus on everyday cultural phenomena of their own present-day world. However, this trend also raises ques-

tions: what is the unique contribution of *ethnological* research within a broadly defined field of cultural/everyday studies, and how are ethnologists participating in an interdisciplinary debate within that field, and benefiting from participation. To this reviewer (a sociologist in Childhood Studies), the collection under review suggests isolation, rather than participation, with the consequence that the chapters remain fairly descriptive and the topics under-theorized. On these premises, as already stated, the studies reported in the collection do take the reader to a broad and fascinating landscape of generational cultures.

Olav Christensen's chapter is a description of how a snowboard subculture developed in Norway along with and in relation to the development of commercial products and the formation of opinion on its marketing and consumption through "sub-media". By merging observations from the very start of the industry and development of technology, as well as the legends and mythologies of pioneers, founders and star riders, the chapter presents snowboarding as a "system consisting of the media, the industry, the professional riders and competent, innovative snowboarders" in which the components mutually benefit each other. Therefore, far from being commercialised through and through, snowboarding is also a counter-culture within which a significant degree of control is ensured to the members of the 'tribe'.

The focus of the chapter by Barbro Johansson is on the construction of the categories 'child' and 'adult' in intra-family talk about computers and their use. Here is yet another discursive (as well as material) field in which age-related meanings are negotiated. Johansson shows that for children home technology has become a means to increase their own freedom and to limit parental control, by skilful use of a range of available concepts and discursive positionings. The chapter describes the sphere of negotiations: the culturally available interpretations, material conditions (access to computer) and subjective abilities (computer skills).

The symbolic meanings of chronological age allow teenage girls to take (cultural) distance from childhood and to experiment with identifications linked to youth. This is the topic in Gry Heggli's chapter in which she reads school journal texts written by schoolgirls. By choosing an appropriate way (or genre) of writing and by mastering the concepts and the format appropriate to a 'teenager', writing becomes a means of a (cultural) transition from a child to a teenager.

The sub-culture of 'young independent travellers' (a term used by the travel industry) is studied by Eva-Marie Tveit. These YITs are young people for whom the quest for independence and movement (travelling) are core ideas. The chapter introduces their thinking on a number of topics: the self, ethics and morals, politics, religion, travelling as an individual project, and young people's experiences and reflections of 'time': how it can be used, wasted, planned and enjoyed, and how time can be exchanged for what they call 'experiences'.

Building up a rock festival is a further identity project studied; Jonas Bjälesjö tells us the story of the establishment and development of a local event (in Sweden) into a hugely successful annual rock festival. The young people themselves, demanding a place of their own, introduced the idea, and it all started as a local project. The perspective taken by the author is, again, a sub-cultural one, emphasizing the shared cultural features emerging from within the project – a space (or 'scene') of their own in which a large number of different interests, perspectives and ideologies as well as musical practices may coexist.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann analyses Elvis as a cultural sign and an icon of youth, and by deconstructing the sign shows how it is in fact a hybrid of meanings that challenges traditional notions of age, such as 'adolescence', 'youth' and 'youthfulness'. Klinkmann studies how the Elvis figure was first formed, in the cultural conditions of the 1950s; how its construction then became a constant negotiation between aspects of the three concepts and, finally, how the three forms melt into a more complex (fourth) youth concept – the hybrid that is both highly ambivalent and contra-dictory, moving between different discursive fields and, in this movement, bringing cultural baggage from one field to another. Therefore, and this is the author's conclusion, the hybrid figure now "disturbs any attempt to pin down traditional concepts of youth."

The final chapter is by Maria Zackariasson. She has talked extensively with three university students who have moved between individual

experiences and culturally founded images of life values, the future and the good life. Once again, these 'reflections' are analysed as negotiations between existing notions of youth and student time – a time of freedom on the one hand but also a time for seriously making plans for the future, on the other. The generalized conclusion from this analysis is that, always and everywhere, young people (too) must constantly interpret the available, culturally founded notions.
Leena Alanen, Jyväskylä

Folkloristics

Flemming Hemmersam, Folkloristik 2003 – Fire folkloristiske essays. Pamflet. Albertslund 2003. 64 pp. ISBN 87-989355-1-8.

■ Flemming Hemmersam's pamphlet *Folkloristik 2003* consists of four essays on the development of folkloristics, in the past as well as in the present day. The political underpinnings of folkloristics as a discipline, which is viewed as standing between folklore (the lore of the folk) on the one hand, and folklorism (lore for the folk) on the other, underlie most of the texts. The exception is the introductory essay which describes the author's first encounter with Professor Laurits Bødker in Copenhagen and his own career in the field. The second elaborates the relationship between folklore and folklorism, regarded as interdependent cultural conduits. The prior derogatory meaning of the term "folklorism", associated with falsehood and economic gain, and with the distortion and appropriation of folklore for the tourist industry, has been supplanted by a notion of it as a "politics of tradition". This perspective seems most fertile since it marries the dichotomies of élite–folk and official–private, and redeems a concept rejected by more recent research because of its negative implications. At the same time it emphasises the awareness of the politics of various phenomena in contemporary folkloristics, and due to this fact I believe it might win favour among folklorists. Hemmersam points to Bødker's role as a precursor to the presently eminent theorists within the field, and thus integrates current folkloristics with its past.

In the third essay Hemmersam discusses folklore and folkloristics in a European and global context, focusing on the production of narratives on the popular and official levels. He speaks of EU-lore, global lore and capitalist lore disseminated by diverse pro- and anti-movements, and links them to the Bourdieuan concept of capital and to questions of power: Who possesses this capital and how is it distributed? The task of folkloristics would therefore be to identify the predominant kinds of capital and to study the ways in which they cluster into lore formations, taken in an essentially Foucauldian sense. The production and control of lore is based on its value as tradition on the one hand, and on its market value on the other. The final essay constitutes a call for collaboration between folklorists and ethnologists as the expertise of both disciplines, oral lore as well as material and social culture, is needed to analyse lore formations properly. Another point of contact would be the fusion of social and economic organisation and ways of life, the domain of ethnology, with the creation of narratives, which is the speciality of folklorists. Both society and individuals are producing narratives, and an exploration of this aspect of the contemporary world would furnish a joint venture for the two disciplines.

Hemmersam's pamphlet is thought-provoking reading, and I hope he will have the opportunity to put his theories into practice in a study of a concrete material, as always, theoretical considerations come alive for the audience only when they are applied. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the author has seriously contemplated the future of folkloristics and tried to find a way forward in the current predicament of Danish folkloristics. Since the department at the University of Copenhagen was closed down in 2001, the discipline no longer constitutes an independent academic subject, and this is reflected in this book. Whether his propositions will help the discipline to survive in Denmark is not for me to tell, but it is certainly a good attempt. In addition, the fact that it is more or less a manifesto will probably enliven the folkloristic debate in the next few years. All in all, *Folkloristik 2003* is an able contribution to the theorisation of contemporary folklore.
Camilla Asplund Ingemark, Lund

Life-Modes and the Welfare State

Thomas Højrup, *Livsformer og velfærdsstat ved en korsvej? Introduktion til et kulturteoretisk og kulturhistorisk bidrag*. Museum Tusculanums forlag. Københavns universitet. København 2003. 107 pp. ISBN 87-7289-858-5.

■ The state and its relation to its citizens has been the subject of academic discussions ever since Aristotle. The more recent version, the welfare state, has also been widely analysed in various publications. But there is still space for new approaches to this subject, as is shown in Thomas Højrup's new book, with a title meaning "Life-Modes and Welfare State at a Crossroads? Introduction to a Contribution to the Theory and History of Culture". The book is the product of a research project with the same name, which has had the aim of contributing to the self-reflection of the welfare state. The project was based on the conception that the existing welfare states were undergoing profound transformations at the end of the 20th century. In order to be able to meet those transformations in the best possible way, there was a need for knowledge about the conditions and circumstances that were affected by those transformations. The three-year-long project has generated a number of publications on those issues. Now, towards the end of the project, Højrup has published this introduction with the primary purpose of describing the general perspectives and central issues that have formed the foundation for the theoretical discussions.

Even though the reader is directed to the separate publications of the project if he or she wants a more thorough analysis of specific questions or areas, many of the publications are in fact also summarized in this introductory book. As a consequence it achieves three different purposes: firstly it gives an overview of the basic prerequisites and starting points for the project, secondly it summarizes the publications that have sprung out of the project and thirdly it discusses some of the central issues and concepts in quite some depth. The final result is rather useful. The descriptions of the various publications allow the reader to find literature for further reading, while the discussions of key concepts like "life-modes" or "welfare state" are comprehensive enough to be interesting to read separately. It is also valuable to gain insight into the theoretical discussions that have developed in the course of the project. In most cases these are dismissed to a few pages in the introduction in the anthology that is the standard product of most research projects. By making the introduction into a whole book, it is possible to develop the discussions much further. Instead of being a by-product they get their own forum. This is obviously most appropriate when you have such a large project as this, with a great number of participating researchers and reports on various topics that would have been difficult to compress into twenty or so pages.

Several concepts are examined and discussed in the book. The welfare state and life-modes are of course two of them, and the analysis to a large extent focuses on how they are linked together. Using a life-mode analysis is a deliberate choice of Højrup and the other researchers in the project. By using this concept they hope to be able to analyse the history of the welfare state in a different way than if they viewed it as a simple progress from class society to a post-traditional society with culturally independent people. The main questions concern whose welfare we are talking about. Is it the welfare of the state? Or the welfare of the citizens? And if so: should it comprise all the citizens or just a few chosen groups of the right sex or who hold the right position in society? Related to this is the question of what constitutes a good life, and who should have the right to define what a good life means. Højrup and the other researchers want to problematize earlier welfare research and adopt new perspectives in order to investigate which conditions for and ideas about the good life are actually possible to realize. Their major concern is the relation between the state and the citizens, in other words, what part the state and society play in setting the limits for how a good life is to be conceived and how it can be realized.

Many big issues are consequently touched upon, both in the main research project and in this introductory book. Højrup gives an account of what other theoreticians and philosophers have had to say on the subject. He describes and summarizes the views of Hegel, Marx, Hobbes, Aristotle and several others on the state, life-

modes and the concept of a good life. In a way it can be interesting to read what various influential theoreticians have had to say about these matters, but in my view these short descriptions become too numerous and a bit too summary. I find it much more rewarding to read those parts of the book where the discussions from this project are allowed to speak more for themselves.

The last few chapters of the book are the ones where the discussions get furthest and they are also the most interesting ones in my opinion. In the chapter "Welfare Research" the reader gets an explanation of how the project relates to earlier welfare research and what they hope to achieve by using the concept of life-modes in the analysis. Højrup argues that different life-modes have different opinions about what a good life should comprise. They can still all exist within the same welfare state and do in fact get their particular shape through the specific conditions that prevail there and through their interaction with other life-modes. In the following chapter, "The Problems of the Process of Sovereignty", the concept of the state is itself problematized, with Denmark as an example. In this latter chapter in particular, the book goes from being a prolonged introduction to a research project, to becoming a text well worth reading in its own right. In the concluding chapter the aim of the project is once more contrasted with European history of philosophy and the terms and concepts are further discussed in the light of the ideas of Hegel in particular. Højrup depicts science as oppositional practice and thus defines its role as producing alternative and contradictory ways of deciding the universalities.

The aim and scope of the project are far-reaching and the topics discussed are complex. To really see how the ambitious goals are put into practice, I assume one has to turn to the more applied publications of the project. But this book gives a good theoretical overview and furthermore makes it easier for the reader to find the indepth studies. In that sense it is a very useful book for those who are interested in questions concerning the welfare state, life-modes or how views of a good life are created, and it examines highly interesting issues that are very topical in today's society.

Last year the first book in a series of volumes intending to present ongoing work in the analysis of structural life-modes and state forms appeared: Thomas Højrup's *State, Culture and Life-Modes: The Foundations of Life-Mode Analysis* (Ashgate, Aldershot, Hants., 2003, 257 pp., ISBN 0-7546-3208-3).

Maria Zackariasson, Oslo

Narrating History and Identity

Lives, Histories and Identities. Studies on Oral Histories, Life- and Family Stories. Tiiu Jaago (ed.). Contemporary Folklore 3 vols. I–III. University of Tartu & Estonian Literary Museum. Tartu 2002. 426 pp. Ill. ISBN 9985-867-34-3.

■ In the 1980s I conducted several interviews with an elderly Estonian-Swedish woman in Uppland. She came to Sweden in 1940 from the small island of Lilla Rågö. When retelling her life story she envisioned her lost homeland as an ideal place, a kind of utopia representing the good life. By choosing some parts of the past and forgetting others, she constructed her national identity and strengthened her fellowship with Estonia. Through active negotiation with history, for the purposes of explaining, understanding, and filling her life with reason and satisfaction, she narrated a nation. In narrating this nation the two world wars, which drastically changed her life, were crucial cornerstones. By choosing narratives concerning her childhood, the prosperity of the 1930s and the time of independence in Estonia, she actively carried on heritage politics, denying the Soviet occupation and constructing a symbolic nation filled with genuine Estonian-Swedish values (the collective life, the hard work, the strong people, the independent women). In this way her stories became strong political comments on the Soviet occupation.

The overall theme of the three volumes of *Lives, Histories and Identities* concerns how narrating the past makes it possible to shape one's identity and to interpret and evaluate history during the revolutionary changes of society and conditions of the twentieth century. Researchers from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Finland, and Sweden have contributed, all dealing with questions of identity, history, and social change. The researchers took part in a seminar called

"Oral History as the Reflector of Societal Change and Emerging Cultural Differences and Values", held in 2000 at the University of Tartu.

The aims of the seminar were to open up for a dialogue with researchers into the popular treatment of history, to collect studies from the field, to specify the current situation in the research field (questions concerning terminology and methods), and to learn about the past experiences and self-determination of the social and ethnic minorities of the second half of the twentieth century. The books deal with different topics: how the local minorities who have lost their land and their language speak of the past (Livonians in Latvia and Estonian Swedes in Estonia), how ethnic groups that emigrated identify and understand themselves (Finns in Canada, Estonians in Russia, Hungarians in Sweden), how people speak about negative issues, and how one's own space, one's own culture, and one's own world are created through biographical narratives.

The first volume, containing contributions from Estonia, Latvia, Russia, Sweden, and Finland, deals with nationality, homeland, and self-identification. In two articles Alar Schönberg discusses the awakening of national identity among the Swedish settlers in Estonia. Though the Swedes were simple farmers they were at the same time a privileged group, having a specific legal status. They did not intermix with the Estonian peasantry and they were not interested in education in the Estonian language. Instead the Swedes kept close contacts with Sweden and took pride in speaking and teaching Swedish. During the Second World War most of them returned to Sweden and remained there. Yet I must ask, after having interviewed the Estonian Swedish woman, did they, when in Sweden, really consider it their homeland? My personal experience from my own fieldwork is that, by narrating the past they envision Estonia as the ideal place, as their homeland.

Narrating the homeland is also the subject of Liina Rootalu's article on Estonians in Saint Petersburg. From 31 interviews with Estonians she states that the land of their ancestors is dear to them, but unfamiliar and envisioned as ideal. Rootalu concludes, "the experience of an emigrant sharpens one's self-awareness as an Estonian". In Saint Petersburg Estonians have founded the Estonian Society, where they celebrate national and calendar holidays, make national costumes and give lectures on Estonian history and literature. The dominant members in the society are ethnic Estonians, but they do not speak the language and they know nothing about Estonian customs. Yet they still consider themselves Estonians. National identity is certainly a tricky task!

The second volume, with contributions from Latvia and Estonia, deals with individual, society, and life story. Ene Kõresaar has studied the farm as the symbol of the state in childhood memories of older Estonians before the Soviet occupation. Home, kindred, local community, and family are categories which are closely linked with the idea of national identity. In the memories people emphasize childhood as a happy and warm period in a small personal world with social values like solidarity, mutual assistance and respect, and informal equality. The image of the childhood society as a harmonious association functioning on the basis of informal equality is the dominant perception in the biographies of senior Estonians. Farm life is a strong symbol of childhood in the memories. A country home symbolizes safety, stability, and continuity. Nature-centredness and love of nature are important values together with industriousness, toughness, and thrift. The farm functions as a metaphor of the nation state, focusing on internal purity, protection of (national) resources and self-determination. The descriptions of family relations may serve as an idea of how society should function, what the gender roles and areas of responsibility are (fathers are many-sided, mothers are emotionally secure and caring). Family life is described as harmonious, warm, safe, keeping together, based on durable values. The society of one's childhood in the independent country is depicted as egalitarian, based on mutual solidarity, assistance, and respect. Woman is the keeper of the home and morals; man is the defender of national independence.

"Forgetting" the Soviet rule in narrating the past is the topic of Kaari Siemer's article. Siemer stresses that when narrating people do not simply retell or reminisce, but meet the reality in an active way, thereby reconstructing the past from the standpoint of the present. In Estonian

biographies there are few descriptions of life after the second half of the 1950s. By forgetting the Soviet period people show that the state and the nation developed separately from another. Forgetting dependency helps people to survive as individuals and as a nation during oppression.

The third volume, with contributions from Finland, Estonia, and Russia, deals with people around us, ancestors, and "me". One example of how stories concerning individuals are ways of negotiating with history and national identity is Kalle Voolaid's study of the tales about the Estonian athlete Georg Lurich. These tales consist of three groups. The first group are stories about Lurich as a real historical person, for example stories about his relationships with his students and others athletes. These stories are believed, i.e. they are "true". They are empirically anchored. The second group are transitional stories where Lurich has acquired new traits of the general narrative tradition. These stories create an illusion of reality, of something that could have happened. The third group are the truly folkloristic stories, the traditional tales about the man of muscle. These stories, in which the athlete has lost contact with the historical person, show the Hero as a protector, helper, and keeper. In these folk tales Lurich symbolizes the nation state at the time of the awakening of national self-awareness in Estonia.

In the concluding articles Tiiu Jaago discusses family narrative as a reverberator of history. She stresses the importance of family narrating in the process of completing the gaps of official history after the Second World War in Estonia. To Jaago the question of what really happened is not as important as how the events were thought to have happened, i.e. how people experienced them. Through the stories of the members of a group a family story is created in which the family's sense of unity is shaped. However, Jaago stresses, oral family history is not uninteresting because it belongs to only a very small group, but has its own specific role in the popular treatment of history. The national and the individual narratives thus complement one another.

Lives, Histories, and Identities is a fascinating book. The contributors clearly demonstrate the importance of narrative in the shaping of personal and national identity. They also show that narrating is vital to people who have been forced to leave their homeland or who have chosen to emigrate.

Through narrating people negotiate with history, investigate and evaluate both themselves and their national belonging. But the study also implies that these processes are both complex and variable. For that reason research in this interesting and intriguing field must continue.

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Objects' Speech

Tingenes tale. Innspill til museologi. Anders Johansen, Kari Gaarder Losnedahl, Hans-Jakob Ågotnes (eds.). Bergens Museums skrifter 12. Universitetet i Bergen, 2002. 233 pp. Ill. ISBN 82-7887-017-9.

■ The aim of this book, an anthology, is to be a contribution to museological discussion. This is of importance, given the increasing significance museology has come to have as a field of study at Nordic universities in recent years. The authors represent various disciplines – history, history of ideas, media science and social anthropology – at the universities of Bergen, Oslo and Tromsø, and, in addition, museology at the Department of Museum Studies in Leicester, England. Ethnology and art history are not represented, however, something that might have been expected in the context of museums. The three scholars from Bergen, Johansen, Losnedahl and Ågotnes, who are the editors, have written a joint introduction which places the various chapters in a wider context.

The first three chapters of the book deal with objects. Media expert Peter Larsen from Bergen analyses what happens when articles of everyday use are transformed into articles in a museum. The objects take on a new function in a museum by becoming representatives for something abstract. Semiotics and aesthetics aid the scholar who works with this interpretation. The important point in this chapter is the author's thoughts concerning the connection which occurs in a museum between the material and the past.

Social anthropologist Mariann Komissar from Oslo deals with the art objects and artefacts from pre-colonial Africa now found in European museums and art institutions. These objects are

ascribed different meanings according to whether they are placed in an art museum or a cultural/historical museum. The author utilises a constructivistic point of view in her attitude to such objects, in that the same object can first be classified as a curiosity, then as a scientific, ethnographic artefact, and, finally, as art. The reader is given thought-provoking insight into both the functions of different types of museums and the varying attitudes towards objects at different places and times in the context of the museum.

Social anthropologist Knut Rio from Bergen, who has carried out field work in the Pacific region, also traces the fate of third-world objects which have been placed in western European museums. His starting point is the ethnographic collections of the Bergen Museum which were established in 1825. The image of Pacific Ocean societies was to be presented by means of objects in museums. At the same time, myths about these "primitive" peoples were created. Here, in a manner which is quite natural for an anthropologist, one is reminded of the dangers lying in the removal of objects from their social context.

The next major section of the book concerns the museum visitor. Social anthropologist Turid Markussen from Oslo analyses a district museum founded in 1988 on the Shetland Islands. Her interest focuses on the museum's staff, its finances and its visitors. Fundamental issues in this case concern the construction of history and identity in the museum. The museum presents local inhabitants with images and narratives about the past. In this way, the museum aids people in identifying themselves with past times.

Media expert Mette Ch. Christensen from Bergen considers visitors' experiences of art at the Museum for Contemporary Art in Oslo. Ten in-depth interviews have been conducted with people of different ages. One starting point for the analysis has been Bourdieu's studies of comparable conditions in France. His ideas of the importance of cultural capital acquired through museum visits is not, according to the author, applicable to today's Norway. This country is characterised both by fewer social distinctions than France, and by noticeable life-style differences between generations. In this chapter, newly assembled data is linked in a critical manner to thorough theoretical discussions.

The third main section of the book deals with history. In the first chapter of this section, historian Erling Sandmo compares the history of mentalities to the so-called "new cultural history". In the latter school of thought, scholars interpret the past as texts filled with dissimilar meanings whose object must be exposed. Sandmo cites Foucault as a model for this approach. Sandmo himself applies the line of thought of the "new cultural history" in an interesting study of the cultural history of violence in Norway. Historic investigations aid us in understanding our own time, quite in keeping with Foucault's intentions. A discussion of the "new cultural history" in relation to the field of museums would, however, have been valuable in this museological publication.

Brita Brenna, who works with the history of ideas in Oslo, used Norway's participation at world exhibitions as the subject of her doctoral thesis in 2002. In this anthology, she concentrates on the world exhibition in Paris in 1889. Her focus is on national policies of representation and on exhibition techniques, which also have the greatest interest in a museum context. World exhibitions can be characterised by commercial aspects, by scientific aspects and by theatrical aspects. The commercial aspects were intended to ensure that goods were sold to foreign countries. The purpose of the scientific aspects was to impart scientific authority to the exhibited objects. The use of theatrical aspects was intended to give the visitor a feeling of being transported to other times and places.

The book's final section, which deals with the challenges to museums in our time and in the future, is opened by social anthropologist Odd Are Berkaak of Oslo, who discusses questions having to do with the documentation of the present. In the past, museums have dealt with the ancient and the exotic while showing no interest in present-day time. One problem in dealing with our own age is to define it in terms of time. Contemporary time is a continual process open to documentation and naming by museums and scholars. If objects are to be collected, the choice must fall on items that are typical of that time. Present-day documentation will otherwise become unmanageable, con-

sidering the sheer number of objects and settings which exist in our own age. This chapter has immense interest in that present-day documentation has been the focal point of increasing attention in museum activities.

Social anthropologist and media expert Anders Johansen from Bergen discusses the challenges to museums in today's media situation. The media furnish the public with illustrations of what visitors will be able to view in museums. Museums have the advantage of being venues where visitors can approach objects that otherwise would be experienced only as pictures. The author also discusses the idea of replacing authentic objects with models or reconstructions that the visitor is allowed to touch. Museums can then become a sort of playroom for younger visitors and thus more dynamically appealing to people visiting them. (It should be mentioned that numerous museums already have begun using this technique.) Data technology and the Internet have also provided museums with new and previously undreamt-of possibilities. Visitors can be given opportunities for learning about those collections placed in museums' storerooms. This can result in a new type of wall-less museum. Globalisation has become possible. The interesting point in all this is, in my opinion, that museums' information can reach more groups in an entirely new way than was previously possible.

The book concludes with a non-Norwegian account written by Professor Eilean Hooper-Greenhill from the well-reputed international centre for museum education in Leicester. This chapter, in which she reports on her research observations on museum visitors under the general theme of museum pedagogics, ought to have been placed in the section on museum visitors. Museum activities and exhibitions should, according to the author, be meaningful for visitors in a post-modernistic society. She concludes by saying that "the museum that survives in the 21st century, the post-museum, will be based on responsiveness and consultation, sharing, collaboration and openness. ... The post-museum will need to be reflexive, self-aware and become a learning organisation" (p. 226). This is an important reminder to the reader that museums' outreaching activities must be deliberated upon and intensified if they are to become meaningful for people living in a new social situation.

The anthology under review here, from Bergen and with a strongly anthropological focus, exhibits an impressive breadth in its approaches. The emphasis is on the challenges and possibilities of our own time. The important factor, according to the book, is to ensure that objects "communicate" with the public. Certain chapters, such as those in the section on history, are more weakly associated with museology than others. Here I would have hoped for the description of museum history which is otherwise lacking in this book. Museum history is in itself characterised by considerable change over time. As a reader, I would also have liked to find contributions written by persons with experience from museum work and not, as is the case with the present book, solely from university scholars. The book should, however, be considered a welcome addition to the scanty number of museological textbooks in Norway. Most of the chapters will be useful as bases for discussions in museological education.

Anders Gustavsson, Oslo

Memory as a Cultural Factor

Mälu kui kultuuritegur: Etnoloogilisi perspektiive. Ene Kõresaar & Terje Anepaio (eds.). Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tartu 2003. 249 pp. Ill. ISBN 9985-56-712-9.

■ *Mälu kui kultuuritegur* (Memory as a Cultural Factor) is a sequel to the book *Kultuur ja mälu* (Culture and Memory), which was published in 2001 and put together by the same editorial team. The research project *Mälu kui kultuuritegur* initiated by the Chair of Ethnology of the University of Tartu served as the impetus to both these volumes. The first part of this series, which I reviewed in *Ethnologia Fennica* (2002–2003, vol. 30), contained a fairly comprehensive set of articles on the relationship between culture and memory, which I then characterised as openings for various research tasks. Eight articles have been compiled for the new volume in which the research project has proceeded and been condensed to describe and analyse Estonian life and experiences during the recent history of the country

by using autobiographical sources. The authors are Estonian ethnologists of the younger generation. The articles are written in Estonian and they contain a 2–3 page long English summary at the end of the volume. The summaries describe the general features of the studies well and are certainly necessary for those readers who are not fluent in Estonian. Perhaps the summaries could have showcased more specifically Estonian coverage, which the articles themselves manage to convey as they transport the reader to the phenomena of Estonian everyday life during national independence (1918–39 and 1991–), Soviet rule (1940–91), and German occupation (1941–44).

Ene Kõresaar's article "Memory, Time, Experience and the View of a Biography Researcher" works well as the opening article of the volume, in which the author treats the relationships of social/collective memory and autobiographical sources in a varied manner. The article provides the theoretical framework for the following seven articles. The balancing of both individual and collective memory forms the basis for Kõresaar's problematisation of memory. It also serves as the backdrop for the picture of recent, political, and societal Estonian history, which emerges via the analysis of autobiographical sources in the other articles. The autobiographical component and the act of reminiscing are tied to the historical context and the framework of collective memory; the individual is unavoidably part of the collective.

One of the primary sources of material in most of the articles is the *Eesti elulood*-collection in *Eesti Kirjandus-muuseum* (Estonian Literary Museum) as well as the autobiographical writings collected during the *Minu elu Eesti NSV ja Eesti Vabariigis* competitions in 2000 and 2001. A couple of articles also feature material garnered from replies to questionnaires sent out by the correspondence archives at *Eesti Rahva Muuseum* (Estonian National Museum) in the 80s, 90s and the beginning of 2000. Each researcher has analysed the material in light of their own thematic approach; the same primary material works well as the unifying thread of the articles. The fact that the articles are based on autobiographical sources has engaged all the authors with the problematics of memory, recollection, and lapse of memory. Kõresaar's introductory chapter is also in this sense useful as a guiding principle for the entire volume.

In the article "Stories of Family History in the Popular Tradition in the Second half of the 20th Century", Tiiu Jaago has analysed family stories collected at the end of the 1990s. She analyses the stories on the basis of their structure and matters related to family, relatives, and grandparents, which were emphasised in them. When reminiscing the period before the Soviet era collectivisation and the system of kolkhozes, the family farm (or home) emerged at the centre of the memories of rural peasant society. This led to recollections further back in history connected to the forefathers who founded the farms, their life stories, and memories related to a more extended family tree. The farm had a status enhancing significance in the community as it brought the family together and strengthened bonds through collective labour. The collectivisation of agriculture after the Second World War destroyed the former peasant community. The migration from the countryside to the city in search of industrial jobs loosened ties to family and relatives. The home did not possess the same significance in uniting different generations and genealogy could not be controlled in the same way as it had previously been.

The past is always reminisced through the filter of the present in which the recollection takes place. This becomes especially clear in Ene Kõresaar's article "Childhood as an Image of History: Metaphoric Depiction of the Nation and the State in Childhood Memories of Elderly Estonians". The article is based on autobiographical recollections written during 1989–97 by Estonians born in the 20s. The small world of the child – the farm (home), the surrounding village society and its nature – and the positive qualities attached to it seem to emerge in the recollections as the only lifestyle deemed authentic. During the years of national independence in the 20s and 30s, childhood is remembered in clearly nostalgic terms. Each author interprets their childhood memories as if symbolising an authentic childhood, ideal communality, patriotic fervour, and the independent state. In a rustic childhood everything had its proper place, people helped each other, women took care of the household and

the moral upbringing of the children, while the men defended national sovereignty. The antithesis of this ideal were the hardships endured by the Estonians i.e. wars, occupations and Stalinist purges. But as one author commented, "The Estonians will prevail like a cockroach in a crack in the wall that cannot be destroyed by either fire or water" (p. 63).

The next article by Triin Mulla "My Happy and Turbulent Childhood: The 1940s in Childhood Memories of Estonians" also examines childhood, but that of the following generation, through the testimony of 21 sources, 16 of whom spent their childhood in the countryside and five in the city. The key issues to emerge in this article are the rural childhood, the family, and the home. The most important influence in the lives of the children was the grandmother, who together with the home symbolised security, continuity, and tradition. For many members of this generation their childhood was linked to the Second World War and the effects it had on living conditions particularly in the towns. Country life during the war also became familiar to city children as they were sent to the countryside for safety reasons. There were hardly any recollections of the fathers as they had either fled the country, died, or been arrested. The recollections linked to the mothers were also sparse as they were responsible for the livelihood of the families in the absence of the fathers. According to Mulla, the childhood experiences of the 40s such as wartime events are often described as fleeting glimpses or as so-called flashbulb memories. The liveliness of the memories in the quoted passages comes across as a description of a kind of "lost paradise" with sensual memories such as the taste of berries and the scent of flowers etc. For some, the memories of an idyllic childhood have also been reinforced by years of deportation in Siberia.

With the advent of the Second World War, Estonia was wiped off the world map for several decades. In her article "Power, the Individual and Adaptation: Biographies of Elderly Estonians about Life in Soviet Estonia", Kaari Siemer analyses through the life stories of those born in the 1920s, how the interviewees wished to relate the adaptation to the Soviet era, what they wished to relate or alternately "forget". Adjustment to a new government and a new system is described as a kind of survival strategy. Former Estonia had to be "forgotten" and adjustment to life under Soviet rule was to a certain extent essential for the safety of both oneself and one's relatives. However, even when the autobiographies were written (1989–98 and according to Siemer to some extent today) membership in Soviet politico-ideological organisations and the uncritical appropriation of contemporary ideology was seen as shameful. Therefore, these matters were hushed up. On the one hand, in recalling the mandatory "transformation into a Soviet citizen", the weaknesses of the system are usually brought to the fore. On the other hand, there is a subtle irony directed toward the system as a whole. As a counterweight to this, a "parallel world" consisting of cultural activities was created with particularly choir singing serving as a strong defender of an Estonian identity.

The experiences and strategies of everyday life in the Soviet era are also depicted in Ene Kõresaar's article "Normativity of Good Life: Depiction of the Soviet Shortage of Goods in Biographies". In accordance with socialist ideology, consumption was subordinate to production. The standardisation and centralised distribution of production caused deficiencies in both goods and services. The Estonians developed their own strategies in order to obtain the products they needed and to cope with the deficiencies of everyday life. Kõresaar focuses her analysis on the type of goods that people went to great lengths to acquire and what role these needs and the fulfilment of them played in people's lives. Her analysis also focuses on what they talked about and how they relate this in their accounts. Besides daily groceries, the biographies also describe strategies for acquiring items associated with "the good life" such as colour TVs, washing machines, sewing machines, cars, and houses. On the other hand the lack of goods and the difficulty of acquiring them was part of everyday life, of which the greater burden was borne by women in accordance with traditional gender roles. The women also describe their social lives more in terms of the acquisition of goods and the difficulties of acquiring them. The recollections of the men contain a more clearly satirical criticism

of the system.

The last two articles proceed to analyse the developments in recent decades. Kirsti Jõesalu's article "Elitist Experience of the National Movement in the 1980s" is based on interviews carried out by Jõesalu herself and describes the experiences of Estonian intellectuals (born between 1964–70) during the national awakening of Estonia at the end of the 80s. At that time the interviewees were students at the University of Tartu and imbued with a strong collective identity enabling them to stand out as a distinct group within the national movement. The blue, black and white Estonian flag was also an important symbol. The national movement of the 80s fortified itself with nostalgia that stemmed from the era of independent Estonia before the War. This was perhaps linked to notions of women as symbolic progenitors of a new people and nation prevalent in independent Estonia before the Second World War. Active participation of women in the national movement was, however, not always met with approval.

Terje Anepaio's article "Reception of the Topic of Repressions in the Estonian Society" is a fitting ending to this volume. Thus, the argument comes full circle. Through the use of a wide variety of sources, this article analyses the mass deportations of Estonians to Siberia in 1941 and 1949 and their description in light of the evolution of social recollection and omission. The deportations were not talked about in public during the Soviet era and only remained known within a small circle of people and through the personal experiences of individuals. These private events became public at the end of the 80s, when articles that dealt with the tragic occurrences of the past were published in numerous newspaper and magazine publications. The experiences of private individuals became part of a public and social memory, which also became organised. The honour of the deported was restored and a supplementary pension started to be paid as compensation for their sufferings. Anniversaries of the mass deportations were also arranged. After Estonia became independent in 1991 its societal and economic development shifted interest toward the building of a new state. The public memories of the deportations began to fade and were returned to the realm of a private matter for those who had experienced the deportations.

Mälu kui kultuuritegur consists of interesting articles, which illuminate recent Estonian history through autobiographical sources and bear witness to the enthusiasm of the contributors. The themes of the studies are linked in an effortless way to the current situation in Estonia. Through its contribution the volume helps in opening up the culture of "covertness" that is usually associated with the Soviet era. The archives that have preserved the recollections and autobiographies of people have swiftly embraced the sign of the times, and the scholars in turn have briskly tackled a research theme which is of both cultural and societal significance. As a collection of articles, the volume is fairly coherent. As a reading experience it also arouses one's interest in future developments.

Pirjo Korkiakangas, Jyväskylä

University as Culture

Akademisk kultur. Vetenskapsmiljöer i kulturanalytisk belysning. Britta Lundgren (ed.). Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2002. 228 pp. ISBN 91-7203-471-8.

■ This is a splendid book the Umeå ethnologists have published. Britta Lundgren is the editor, and three young female researchers have each written an interesting article about university culture and academic environments in three different places in Sweden. In her article "small is beautiful", Emma Hernborg has analysed Gotland University College, and as the title signals, the emphasis is on its smallness, besides which the college invokes a certain laid-back exclusiveness with references to the status of the island and of Visby as Sweden's and Stockholm's summer paradise. The college is a bit "happy go lucky". There seems to be more serious action at Luleå University of Technology, which Linda Berg has examined, and at Jönköping International Business School, which Helena Pettersson analyses so well.

All three articles are highly readable, both for the general public and for university people. The three institutes of higher education may be coloured by being a part of Swedish policy on research and education, but there is at the same

time so much material of general validity that people outside Sweden will also find much that is of use here. For instance, Pettersson's article has an excellent analysis of the relationship between doctoral students and their supervisors. There is a great deal to be learned here. It is characteristic, for example, that the students mark so clearly their need for feedback, not just in the form of constructive criticism, but also in the form of confirmation, praise, and encouragement. As a Ph.D. supervisor one can never have enough reminders of this. For this alone the article is highly relevant.

Otherwise the common feature is that all three articles focus on the relationship between the self-image of the institutions and their self-representation. More specifically, in all three cases it is important to ascertain whether there is agreement between how the staff and students perceive the "spirit" of the place from the inside, and representation that is used when the university is to "sell itself" to the outside world, that is, to new institutional partners, new students, and potential employers of graduates. Here it turns out that there is not always a correspondence between what is said backstage and what can be declared in public. This is hardly surprising. The need to paint a flattering picture is evident, as each institute of higher education is competing on the education and research market. In this connection it is interesting to note that money is no problem in Luleå and Jönköping. For a scholar of humanities at a large Danish university it is striking how easy access to finance is when it comes to hard core-research. The situation is the same – I know – all over Scandinavia: in some parts of the university world there is plenty of money; in other places the faculties are so poor that they cannot even afford to pay holiday money to staff, so they ask them to take time off in lieu of payment. Sad but true.

Another main theme of the articles is the question of identity, both of the regional university/college as a whole, and of the individual employee and student. Here Gotland, as we have seen, emphasizes how small and cosy it is. Luleå highlights the link to Norrbotten and for the same reason is forced to emphasize its many international contacts, while Jönköping profiles itself against the old universities. It is interesting here to see that it is especially economics that is criticized, presumably because the ethnologists themselves are in the same situation. Stressing the differences in the form of narrower limits is a cultural marker in this world too. It is interesting to see, however, that while simultaneously distancing oneself from the "old universities", they also strive to borrow features from them, with the aid of rituals and ceremonies. The phenomenon is familiar: they do not like the old universities, but they would like to be one. And it may also be noted that the constant praise of internationalism does not always hold good in practice. Foreign students and researchers often have to look after themselves, but at the same time they have a fairly pragmatic attitude to education and work: they want to use their time, for instance, in the cold, dark Luleå (which is not actually so dark in the winter, because of all the snow) as a springboard to a career in the big wide world or back home in China.

The most fascinating thing about the book – apart from the interesting insights it gives into three very different university settings – is that it examines a world that is not normally an object of cultural analysis; and the authors are all attentive to the methodological and theoretically tricky problem of "analysing oneself". It is all the more gratifying to be able to note that we become aware that higher education can also be analysed for phenomena such as the use of symbols, voices, traditions, rituals, etc. In this way the book also helps to de-ceremonialize the university world. It turns out that this world is inhabited by very ordinary people – but there are "research nerds" as well, and it is an almost universal feature that there is great respect for knowledge and improvement. This world is not completely mainstream after all.

It is also characteristic that researchers and doctoral students have almost unanimously built up their identity either on the component of their lives that consists of their work, and/or on respect for learning and knowledge. The wage-labour attitude finds it hard to make itself felt.

To sum up: the book shows good examples of solid cultural analysis, fully living up to the standard of ethnological craft, with a sensible

arrangement and a wealth of interesting details. There are amusing elements too, showing that people in the university world have a sense of humour. The book also considers the research previously conducted in this field, both nationally and internationally. For that reason too, it can be warmly recommended as a contribution to the research on epistemological anthropology that seems to be making good progress in Sweden. Read it before your colleague does!
Niels Kayser Nielsen, Aarhus

Lönnrot's Travels

Elias Lönnrot, Vandraren. Reseberättelser från Karelen 1828–1842. Rainer Knapas (ed.). Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland nr 645. Helsingfors 2002. 335 pp. Ill. ISBN 951-583-081-8.

■ The Finnish national epic, the Kalevala, was first published in 1835 (the Old Kalevala) and later on in an extended edition in 1849. It was the result of the work of the compiler Elias Lönnrot (1802–84), a district physician in Kajaani and later on professor of Finnish Language and Literature at the University of Helsinki. The epic is based on popular songs, *runosånger*, collected by the compiler among peasants during several field trips in Finland, Estonia, and Russia during the years 1828–44. These songs or poems, used by the common people, Lönnrot assumed, were fragments of an old grand Finnish epic, an epic he wanted to reconstruct.

Many folklorists have stressed that the Kalevala should not be regarded as one specific literary product but as many. 1833–1862 Lönnrot produced five different Kalevalas, each, according to the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko, "more splendid than the last". Lönnrot was not even the first collector of these songs. Before him others, H. G. Porthan, K. A. Gottlund, A. I. Arvidsson, and A. J. Sjögren, had collected poems during fieldwork. They, however, did not strive to reconstruct an epic. This idea originated with Lönnrot himself.

The Kalevala is a narrative on a classical theme: the struggle between the good and the evil powers, in this particular case between two empires, the bright Kalevala and the dark Pohjola of the north. The figures in the epic are cultural heroes and demigods, creators of the world and of the cosmos. They are powerful shamans mastering witchcraft and magic and winning their struggles not by arms and bloodshed but by their great knowledge of sorcery.

The main figure of the epic is the wise old prophet Väinämöinen. He is the leader of the Kalevala empire. He is also the creator of the Finnish kantele, a stringed instrument. Väinämöinen's closest assistants are Ilmarinen the blacksmith and Lemminkäinen. The struggle between the empires concerns, among other things, the Pohjolans' theft of the fortune-bringing mill Sampo from Kalevala and its recapture. In these struggles the heroes use their magic power to defeat one another. The heroes of the Kalevala epic are also common in Finnish folk tales and legends.

The epic is not merely a poetic phenomenon but also a political one. It was compiled in a specific historical situation. When Finland in 1809, after nearly 500 years of subordination, was separated from Sweden, intellectuals began a conscious endeavour to make Finnish a cultural language. Finnish was the mother tongue of the majority, but all literature was written in Swedish. Among others, Lönnrot engaged in creating Finnish literature. He was one of the founders of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki (1831) and he had the idea of collecting Finnish poems and publishing them as an epic. Lönnrot considered the poems to be remnants of Finnish history. By reconstructing the Kalevala he furnished the Finns with their own non-Swedish history. He succeeded – the Kalevala became a national epic.

The Kalevala has often been compared to other famous epics like *Beowulf*, the *Niebelungenlied*, the *Edda*, and Homer. These are all narratives about ideal people, heroes, demigods, and gods and they all concern the struggle between good and evil, light and darkness, nature and culture, male and female. Kalevala, however, is especially interesting because we are able to follow the creation of the epic. Lönnrot's field notes, letters, articles, and journey accounts are preserved and can be studied.

In his study *Vandraren* ("The Wanderer") the editor Rainer Knapas has made a selection of Lönnrot's accounts of his travels in Finland and

Russia during the years 1828–42. Here we can accompany the compiler on his sometimes adventurous journeys looking for men and women who were familiar with the songs and poems. Lönnrot's travels were extensive, sometimes lasting for months. He mostly went on foot. During his travels he met many skilful singers who provided him with songs, poems, and proverbs. In his narratives there are also descriptions of contemporary customs and habits, crafts and other industries, buildings, costumes etc. His accounts thus furnish us with insights into daily life in Finland and Russia in the middle of 19th century.

Lönnrot's descriptions of the people he met on his journeys are complex and paradoxical. His judgements concerning the singers are colourful but at the same time disparaging. He often describes people as uneducated, undeveloped, and pre-modern. The inhabitants of Nyland (Uusimaa) are "civilized in a barbaric manner" and "just as far from the Nyland aristocracy as the Hottentott are from the European". The people of Tavastland (Häme) are "mentally and physically slower than peasants elsewhere" and the Enare people are "ignorant and spoilt". Not even the most skilful singers escape from his critical, scrutinizing gaze.

Though critical he also honours the singers, characterizing them as valuable tradition carriers with desirable knowledge. The greatest of them, Arhippa Perttunen in Latvajärvi, whom Lönnrot met in 1834, is described as tolerant, hospitable, and with a good memory. Arhippa contributed poems Lönnrot had not heard before, poems he believed would be impossible to find anywhere else. Arhippa told him that he often took part in singing competitions, which he had never lost.

Lönnrot also met the extremely skilled singers Ontrej Malinen and Vaassila Kieleväinen. Ontrej performed nine long songs about the hero Ilmarinen and the fortune-bringing mill of Sampo. Vaassila, who was especially familiar with sorceries, told him many good stories about the Kalevala leader Väinämöinen. It is said that it was during his visit to Vaassila's that the idea of compiling the songs and poems into the Kalevala was first aroused.

In his travel accounts Lönnrot also describes how the songs were performed. Usually two men sang together, sitting opposite one another, holding hands. While singing they intermittently swung their bodies. One of the singers performed one stanza, which the other singer repeated. The first singer prepared for a new stanza, either one he knew or one he made up. Singing often developed into prestige competitions between the singers. The most persevering singer was the winner. "This battle", Lönnrot writes "reminded me of two hens; she who cackles the most wins." Sometimes, Lönnrot goes on, the singers kept singing until they fell asleep.

The singing caused strong emotions. Sometimes singers started crying and the songs made them remember old times and even more skilful singers than themselves. Usually the singers believed that the songs were dying out, but Lönnrot doubted that. He had no problems finding good singers with broad repertoires. One serious threat to the songs, was the religious movements who found the singing of old poems and the use of the kantele sinful. People attracted by these movements stopped singing and playing the kantele.

Lönnrot's travels furnished him with many texts and much knowledge. Mostly people were nice to him, sharing their knowledge with him. But sometimes they were suspicious. They were not impressed by his academic titles and they did not share his interest in the old songs. Occasionally he had to bribe the singers with alcohol or tobacco or pay them before they would sing to him. Lönnrot's accounts thus make it obvious that fieldwork was not easy and that the people he described as ignorant and slow did not always do what they were told to do. They did not submit and they realized their own importance.

In many ways *Vandraren* is a highly interesting study. Lönnrot is introduced to us by the head of the Finnish Literature Society, Pekka Laaksonen. This introduction could have been much more detailed, considering Lönnrot was such a fascinating researcher. Lönnrot's own texts, often written for contemporary newspapers, are entertaining, well written, and informative. The travel accounts contain precise ethnographical descriptions of people's ordinary daily lives in the middle of the 19th century. For that reason *Vandraren* gives valuable information about the process of creating the Kalevala. Furthermore, the book is

illustrated with I. K. Inhas's famous photographs from the 1890s. These beautiful photos show people and surroundings from the parts of Finland that Lönnrot had visited some decades earlier.
Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Gender and Violence from the Perspective of Cultural History

Mord, misshandel och sexuella övergrepp. Historiska och kulturella perspektiv på kön och våld. Inger Lövkrona (ed.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2001. 238 pp. ISBN 91-89116-20-8.

■ This collection of articles is the result of Nordic collaboration as part of the Nordic Council of Ministers' research programme *Gender and Violence in the Nordic Countries*. The book presents the field that is studied: "The significance of 'culture' and 'cultures' for the link between gender and violence." The research programme also resulted in a public conference: *Gender and Violence in the Nordic Countries* in Køge, Denmark, in November 2001, from which a report with the same title has been published (ed. Maria Eriksson, Aili Nenola, and Marika Nilsen).

The potential to define violence in different ages and cultures and link it to gender is presented by the authors – ethnologists, folklorists, historians, and one jurist. The tension between gender and violence is investigated on the basis of interpretations and definitions from the sixteenth century up to the present day, in legislation, in popular conceptions, in society's power hierarchies and gender stereotypes.

The historical perspective gives an opportunity to study violence as an ambiguous concept which is closely connected to mentality, and hence also the limits to what can be understood as violence. The ambiguity of the Scandinavian word for violence (*vold, våld*) is heightened by the fact that in older use it could mean "force, power" without negative connotations. Jonas Liliequist, for example, mentions (p. 90) the sixteenth-century marriage rituals as a way to understand how the use of force was attached to men's power and domination. It was regarded as authority over the wife, even though it looks to modern eyes like punishment. Violence is associated here with concepts of power and gendered, especially masculine, privileges, although it was not necessarily perceived as a privilege, but rather as a duty.

The authors discuss gender and violence, especially male violence, aggressive behaviour, sexualized violence, and harassment. The empirical evidence makes it clear that present-day understandings of violence, as definitions of rape, are influenced by sexology, psychology, and the *mainstreaming* of biology, with the accompanying understandings of violence as behaviour associated with a biologistic idea of male sex hormones as essential carriers of aggression. Inger Lövkrona also problematizes the sexological definition of men as reproduction-oriented, extrovert/aggressive, which she views as a cultural interpretation that has the aim of naturalizing a link between the category of man and the category of violence.

The majority of the evidence thus concerns cultural and social systems of interpretation and definition. Norms of social hierarchy and gender hierarchy in particular with roots in Christianity structure the possible ways of talking about violence, including who is listened to, who the violence is directed against, and who is ascribed the responsibility for it.

Kari Telste and Ann-Catrin Östman take as their starting point a micro-historical universe, in records from parish councils and court cases in which violence – here defined as murder of sweethearts and domestic disputes – were explained and legitimized if the violent act could be understood and the relational context of the conflict gave it meaning. The individual's scope for action, especially in Östman's article, is defined in terms of the eighteenth-century agrarian society, which was patriarchal in the sense that the local parish council attached more value to the man's outlook and justifications for violence than to the woman's stance. Östman shows that masculinity was associated with social status and not just defined on the basis of gender hierarchies between spouses. Telste describes how a young man kills his sweetheart in an attempt to handle society's and his parents' definitions of status and the right to inherit the family farm. Responsibility to the family, rather than persecution of a non-accepted relationship, came to define the under-standing

of the murder, and at the same time also the understanding of the woman as an obstacle to the man's aspiration to maintain his social status and respect. Here Telste operates with *fantasy* as an interpretative framework for the murder, namely, that the woman was an obstacle to the ideal according to which the man – and other people in the community – understood themselves; especially the responsibility to the household and the family.

With his article Liliequist creates an image of cultural normativity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when a Christian world order defined violence between spouses. Using evidence such as plays, religious and folk texts in various popular genres, Liliequist describes how the man was assigned statutory rights to rebuke and chastise his wife. At the end of the eighteenth century men lost their right to punish their wives, which Liliequist associates with a new – for the time – cultural stereotype which portrayed the woman as a tyrannical and malicious wife. The moment men were deprived of force as a *right* and a privilege, the image of the woman shifted towards a figure that it was *reasonable* to punish. The man's violence was now understood, and justified, in interaction with the woman's "wrong" behaviour; the violence had acquired an object, and it became significant whether the woman was understood as, for example, good-natured or malicious. The stereotype of "the malicious woman" thus arises at a time when a hierarchically legitimated convention of violence is under pressure.

The man's right to violence, however, was primarily legitimated if it was intended to rebuke and educate; there was also improper and harmful violence. One might believe that this improper violence was defined in relation to the woman and the prevalent image of women's frailty and weakness. Liliequist shows, however, that the men's violence was not in proportion to what the victim of the violence could withstand; in fact, he was morally judged in relation to divine and judicial standards, which may seem incomprehensible with our present-day ideas of equality, but a man could not transgress the hierarchy of power – God, state, man – to assert his personal authority, for by doing so he would infringe the right to violence that he was granted by virtue of being a man.

In the nineteenth century new intellectual currents arose in Europe, which shaped a new normativity that also affected the contemporary understanding of violence. New educational ideals sought to achieve enlightenment, and men were now supposed to appear *rational* and *articulate*. The right to violence changed from being "every-man's right" to be the right of uneducated men, that is, the underclass men. A counter-image was thus created in the low-status man.

Violence – and the reasons for it – cannot be easily identified; it varies through time but has nevertheless often been placed in a history of civilization with its universalist explanation that violence declines with education (Lövkrona). There is no evidence, however, that violence was more common in low social classes than in the upper class. Violence between men, fighting, was rather a kind of non-accepted "Sunday happening" in rural villages of the nineteenth century, that is, a relatively rare occur-rence, mostly resulting from a social conflict. What links the category of man with the category of violence here is: (1) the social level, where violence is understood as conflict resolution between men in the public sphere; (2) the level of the male body, where the pre-biologistic concep-tion had an essentialistic perception of the body in the sense that the male body represented a container of energy which could overflow with aggression.

With the concept of *arena*, Simon Ekström investigates legislation and judicial practice in a rape case from Stockholm in 1950. Using court records, he shows how the experience was narrated by the involved parties, but also that the context of the rape act was primarily defined by what was possible to narrate and hence to evaluate within the terms and rules of the judicial arena.

With Ulrika Andersson's article it becomes clear that rape – and the view of sexualized violence – cannot be individualized in any particular man, but must be understood on the basis of a legislative structure which pervades the perception of the male body and the female body: the laws are made by men to protect men's rights. They (re)produce a heterosexual perception of the body by defining the woman's body as

boundless and passive. The woman's body is understood as sexually receptive, available, *unless* a juridically correct non-consent is articulated. At the same time, the male body is also matricized on the basis of the prevailing norm of sexuality, which focuses on the "powerful drive" and hence on active and pressing action. Ekström, for example, uses the concept of *gender* to pin down the cultural notions and prejudices that make up the interpretative framework for rape. Ideas about female sexuality, morals, and character are especially assessed in the issue of guilt in rape, which often results in a kind of "gender-segregated morality", which makes a distinction between what applies to women and what applies to men. Rape legislation thus has its premises in cultural perceptions of, and ideas about, heterosexuality, which also creates the framework for how rape cases are interpreted.

Formulations of rapes are thus strikingly identical in 1750, 1850, and 1950, because the legislation and the gender normativity are fairly static, even though very different individuals have acted in very different contexts. The authors are therefore convincing when they discuss how violence is handled on the basis of cultural and legislative gender stereotypes which squeeze reality into the mould.

Through history, the public sphere has been defined patriarchally. By virtue of a cultural and socio-structural legitimacy, official functions such as doctors, teachers, and priests have influenced how violence is defined, or rather how it is *not* defined. Anja Petersen investigates prison archives to show how criminal women were defined in the nineteenth century. The women, who accounted for one tenth of all crime, transgressed the social norms, which influenced contemporary explanatory models of women's behaviour and personality. Petersen shows that there was little or no possibility among the prison authorities to define the female prisoners in any way other than a "natural"/essentialist gender understanding of women. There was no conceptual scope to define the women in terms of, say, constructions of violence or aggression, and even though they had often committed the same types of crime as men, they were not considered to be as dangerous as men. The criminal women were thus defined as being either "not feminine enough" or "far too feminine". The women had burst the envelope of normative and well-balanced "femi-ninity", which meant that if they had a "deficit of femininity", they had not acquired the motherly and domestic virtues in the private sphere, while a "surplus of femininity" was interpreted as exag-gerated hysteria, weakness in the face of temptation, and moral decay.

Birgitta Meurling proceeds from contemporary interviews with female priests in which sexual harassment, gender and taboo are discussed. Tabooing (which also includes lack of research, silence, and definition problems in general), are defined for doctors and priests as professional secrecy, and Meurling shows how silence protects the power positions of people in authority, for example, when it comes to sexual violation. In the study of "homosociability" it is interesting to change the perspective to expose the unspoken norms. The interviewed female priests are in a position which is defined by patriarchal principles, but as women they view themselves as falling outside these principles. The eroticization of the power relation-ship is concealed by the priest's position as a "fatherly", caring, confidential spiritual adviser. As female priests, they are outside this heterosexual gender order in which women are understood as weak and men as powerful, and they themselves feel that their own positional power is degendered or maternalized.

With this collection of articles it is clear that cultural notions about violence are influenced by stereotypes of gender and power which squeeze the non-verbalized violent action into a mould. Taboo and legislation constantly drive out the view of violence as a contextual, phenomenological, and relational concept, which is *inclusive* in the sense that it contains several structural circumstances: historical, cultural, connected to gender and power, all in the same expression.

The study of historical evidence is an interesting starting point for discussing equality today. It is clear that men's and women's rights are deeply rooted in ideas of difference between the sexes, differences which bear up society and preserve it as it is. These differences exist in the legislation, in the family, and in the idea of gendered privilege and legitimation of specific forms of power. The

authors' use of cultural analysis of empirical material is a source of inspiration for the study of power relations in general, whether they concern class, ethnicity, or the relationship between the first world and the third world.
Sarah Holst Kjær, Copenhagen

Danish Food Culture

Niels Kayser Nielsen, Madkultur – opbrud og tradition. Forlaget Klim, Århus 2003. 203 pp. ISBN 87-7955-266-8.

■ This book, with a title meaning roughly "Food Culture – Change and Tradition", is a collection of articles on Danish food and meal choices in our own times, but also with historical reflections and examples. Some of the articles have previously been published in Festschrifts and journals inside and outside Denmark during the period 1998–2000 (for example, a modified article on food and hunting was published in *Ethnologia Scandinavia* 30, 2000) and at various seminars and conferences, in Denmark and abroad. The twin purpose of the articles is to discuss topics from the present and the past, but the broad mix of varying aims gives the whole book an open impression without a firm direction. The flexible subtitle underlines that the book form is used to achieve the author's aim of discussing changes in the field of food culture. The overall perspective is Danish but conditions in the Anglo-Saxon cultural sphere are also discussed. The style and form of the texts is not strictly scientific and often has a more philosophic and discursive approach to the different topics.

The title indicates an important aspect of today's research on nutrition, food, and eating as culture: Is it food culture that is investigated or is it meal culture? Or is it different cultural ways of bringing nutrition into the body machinery, or is it something else related to eating? Depending on the definition, the discussion differs. Particularly when identity aspects are discussed, e.g. local food culture and revitalizing older dishes, a central question arises: Is it the food or the meal that gives the identity? In the different texts the author does not take an explicit standpoint, and food and meals are mixed in the discussion. The book reveals many of the arguments and thoughts from discussions in the last 30 years about how food can be a part of identity processes, and how identity can be analysed through food.

In the preface Nielsen highlights the importance that choice has in food consumption today. We have choices on the basis of price, fat content, biological production, health effects, to mention just some of the choices that are of importance for the consumer today. Danish food culture is characterized by paradoxes and dichotomies, Nielsen argues, and gives many examples of these situations. Even if the older Danish cuisine is vanishing and being replaced by popular dishes from the international food trends, the Danish pizza is much more Danish today than it was at the beginning of the 1970s. Today you can get a pizza with traditional Danish salami and fried onions.

The book is divided into two parts with approximately 70 pages each. In the first part "Food Culture in Time" is discussed in four short articles. These articles analyse philosophical topics related to body and anorexia, information on food and health over time, hunting and food, and when the potato was introduced to Denmark. Though modern campaigns on health and exercise show a recurrent tendency to fail, Nielsen shows how important the state, jurisdiction and law, and political decisions are for the development of eating habits and food preferences. The other part, "Food Culture in Space", consists of five short articles on food and delights, food, home and habitus aspects, food in the restaurant and in the public arena, and finally glocalization and counter-forces from regional cuisines and how immigrants maintain their original food traditions. Nielsen also draws attention to the fact that there are tensions today concerning food, not just between different ethnic groups but also among the different members of the same family. The many aspects that are brought up for discussion show that food is a complex and rich field for research. At the end there is a valuable survey and list of the most important literature in the field of food research from the last 25–30 years.

Nielsen's book is a very good introduction to different factors and phenomena within the sphere of Danish food and meals, a food culture between break-up and tradition. As a Swede one recognizes the descriptions, so the observations can in many

cases be transferred to the other Nordic countries and probably also serve as an example of food changes in the Western hemisphere during the last 400 years of ongoing modernity.
Richard Tellström, Grythyttan

Mime and Reality – A Study of City Limits

Per-Markku Ristilammi, Mim och verklighet. En studie av stadens gränser. Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, Stockholm/Stehag 2003. 150 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-7139-634-9.

■ Per-Markku Ristilammi is an ethnologist and assistant professor at IMER, the International Migration and Ethnic Relation Institute at the University of Malmö. He has written a fascinating book about a Swedish city which, when viewed from the country's capital, is both a distant province and a bridge to continental Europe. Malmö is the author's home town, a fact that sometimes makes it difficult even for very experienced scholars to analyse the phenomenon in the proper scientific way, leading to either too rosy or too personally traumatic descriptions which are seldom of interest to others. Ristilammi focuses on identity and "the modern", using Malmö as an example. He dives, so to speak, into history at specific moments and combines and compares the two *fins-de-siècle* of our time, 1900 and 2000.

In a wonderfully relaxed way he studies events and phenomena such as inventions, new architecture and new ideas about health and their manifestation in Malmö. The city is not only the physical surroundings but also the persons who people the city.

The city had long been a place for immigrants coming from the southern parts of Sweden. From 1870 to 1880 the number of inhabitants increased by 50%, though to many people it was only a stop on the journey; every second week a ship sailed to the USA full of emigrants. In Malmö new factories were built, and a new class of industrial workers changed the look of the city and created new social problems. There was a difference between the high society of the city and the bourgeois who, like the workers, had a feeling of insufficiency and problems in finding their proper identity. The military personnel and the prison inmates contributed in their own different ways to the amusements of Malmö.

In 1896 the Nordic Exhibition of Industry and Arts and Crafts presented the achievements of Industrialism. The first cinematograph show ever in Sweden took place here. It was a show for the eyes but outside the dark hall the view was turned into a sometimes frightening world of changes.

The Baltic Exhibition of 1914 was held during the last summer of peace before World War I started. The weather was wonderful and the tensions between the different groups of citizens had eased to some extent after the large strikes in Malmö five years earlier. The Social Democrats were on their way to a permanent majority in the city council in the 1920s.

Malmö was a city of technology and new ideas about hygiene. Public health was a top priority intended to make the individual inhabitants fit into the modern city.

The second half of the book deals with topics such as the beach south of the city centre, which played an important part in the making of the modern "city space" of the 1920s and 1930s. The beach was opened to the public in the summer of 1926. The distance from the workers' quarters of the city was too long, so the harbour was still the most obvious option for them and the really high society summer resort was still Falsterbo some miles south of the city on the coast of the Baltic, complete with hotels and restaurants.

The modern "city space" was furnished with functionalistic architecture and Malmö's first skyscrapers, "Ribershus". The future had arrived in Malmö. The southern part of the city had now become modern, if not futuristic: the artificial beach, the blocks of flats and the skyscrapers bordering on the south on the huge factory which supplied the building sites with the material of the time – concrete. In Swedish the word "concrete" (*betong*) later took on a negative meaning, both the material and in a figurative sense, for instance *betongkommunist*, a real hard-core communist. But in the late 1930s the word was still a compliment, with positive connotations. The new architecture of 1938 was part of the modern pastoral.

In the 1940s a new city theatre was constructed to replace the old hippodrome. Why was it important to build a theatre during World War II? Was it a

weapon against reality? The author points out the many similarities between a politician and an actor. Both present visions of other worlds. The building's modern architecture of the 1940s and the movement of theatregoers in the public sphere of the lobby foreboded a modern democracy; a couple of decades later this led to a confrontation as the children of the theatre objected to the movement by returning to the streets.

There were other manifestations of the dream of concrete, the new city stadium in 1958 and dwelling houses of considerable height and size. Concrete was the favourite building material, in the West as well as in the East. The material was also connected with the totalitarian dictatorships of Europe. In the 1970s the architecture of the suburbs was subject to criticism, which saw concrete as a symbol of the fossilized social structure.

The final chapter of this highly recommendable book bears the title "the phantom pain of modernity", presenting a multitude of questions and food for thought. For decades the death of modernity has been announced and we are living in a postmodern time which allows us to change identity as we change clothes. Strangeness became a product meant to be consumed. But this consumption of the pain of "the Other" hides the fact that we want to avoid the confrontation with the classical question: "Who am I"? Maybe we are trying to deaden the fiasco of modernity's metamorphoses. A whole generation uses identity to exclude, include and build an armour of security and confidence.

Anne-Lise Walsted, Copenhagen

Dispersed and Single Farms in Denmark

Adam Tybjærg Schacke, Enkelt- og enestegårde på Fyn – i dyrkningsfællesskabets tid. Landbohistorisk Selskab, Kerteminde 2003. 183 pp., Ill. English summary. ISBN 87-7526-183-9.

■ The historian Adam Tybjærg Schacke has written a comprehensive and valuable study of the spread and origin of "scattered farms" – in contrast to the "village" which was the dominant form of settlement before the enclosures in the late eighteenth century – on the Danish island of Fyn. The study is based on cadastral draft-books used for the compilation of the 1688 fiscal land register where the tax for each fiscal unit was assessed in "barrels of hard corn", *hartkorn* in Danish. The latter unit is defined by the author as a "standard unit of soil evaluation invented for taxation purposes". (*Hartkorn* as a fiscal unit has great similarities to the Swedish *mantal* and the *kameralt hemman* which were used in a similar way by contemporary Swedish authorities.) The draft-books, established in 1684, supply the author with relevant source material conceived at a distinct time and calculated according to a strict formula.

Schacke's interest is focused on the scattered farms. At the same time he discredits the traditional explanation among historians, ethnologists and human geographers – who have studied and described the settlement pattern on the island previously – that scattered farms primarily originate in those areas where villages are unsuitable for topographical or geological reasons. According to Schacke this explanation does carry a lot of weight but it excludes the element of the influence of human intentions. Furthermore, previous research has suggested that scattered farms were small in fiscal terms since their field resources were rather limited, due to their topographical location.

Scattered farms are further divided into two subgroups by Schacke: "dispersed farm" (*enkeltgård* in Danish) and "single farm" (*enestegård*). A dispersed farm "consists of a maximum of two farms, which are situated more than 200 m from the nearest settlement, but form a part of the village field system." A single farm is defined as "situated away from a village, but consists of a maximum two farms with their own separate field system". Schacke stresses that "this distinction has been important to maintain, since the two farm types are very different in spite of topographical similarities. The category to which a farm belongs can also be used to explain and determine its origins. To be considered as a farm at all in the investigation a settlement must be of a certain fiscal size, at least one *hartkorn* unit.

In order to investigate the scattered farms and their exact location compared to geology and natural conditions, Schacke brings in a GIS (Geographical Information System) as a tool for a higher level of understanding. This is a brilliant

move since the GIS enables Schacke – once the scattered farms are identified and properly located – to produce a number of maps which enable the reader to follow his reasoning with ease and, most important of all, allow him to test various elements of explanation through the pattern that the single and dispersed farms show on the individual maps.

Schacke uses a three-step method of identifying scattered farms for further feeding into his GIS. To begin with, suspected scattered farms are identified by their place-names, secondly, located on ordinance maps from the late eighteenth century and lastly compared to the information in the draft-books in order to classify the scattered farm as either a dispersed farm or a single farm. Schacke started his selection with 650 place-names of possible scattered farms and ended up with 429 identified, classified, and geographically positioned settlement units.

The spread of the identified scattered farms was compared to the existing natural conditions and it was found that 65% of the scattered farms were situated either in wooded districts or on steep and undulating lands sloping more than 6 degrees. Categorized this means that 70% of the single farms and 55% of the dispersed farms were situated in their "proper" locations according to the statements and explanations of previous research. Schacke also shows that suitable areas for scattered farms, which according to previous research should carry this kind of settlements, were totally void of scattered farms. Furthermore, scattered farms on average proved to be larger when measured in *hartkorn* units than the average village farm.

In order to explain the discrepancies between his own findings and old established truths, Schacke brings in the chronology of settlement foundation and structural causes as probable important factors. His further investigation of these matters shows that scattered farms that were established before the seventeenth century were fiscally larger than those established during the seventeenth century, which in turn also were more densely concentrated in wooded areas than the previous group of older farms. The circumstances are explained by the fact that about one-seventh of the single farms and one-fifth of the dispersed farms were established as "thorps" (new outlying settlements) in the period between 1000 and 1300 on virgin land, extended through time, and therefore showing a high fiscal value in the draft-book of 1684. Furthermore one-eighth of the scattered farms and up to two-fifths of the single farms had once in a while during the period before 1688 been manors, which also explains their high fiscal rating.

Schacke's results also show that scattered farms did not come into existence randomly but were instead deliberately placed in their locations by landowners such as manorial lords or monastic bailiffs. However, no figures on the percentage of the scattered farms thus created are presented since comprehensive sources are lacking for the medieval period on Fyn, as in most Nordic countries.

In my view Schacke has accomplished a groundbreaking study whose methodology ought to be used in future studies of a similar kind. I heartily recommend it.

Örjan Kardell, Uppsala

The Cultural History of Artefacts

Bjarne Stoklund, *Tingenes kulturhistorie. Etnologiske studier i den materielle kultur*. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, Copenhagen 2003. 236 pp. Ill. ISBN 87-7289-795-3.

■ Bjarne Stoklund has for many years been a leading figure in Danish ethnology, and he can be described as a link between modern ethnology and the older form of the subject which was more geared to artefacts. When he now sums up his research on everyday objects in a collection of articles, his aim is to combine the good points of classical ethnological research on artefacts with the best of the new ethnology.

During the period 1930–1960 both Nordic and European ethnology was dominated by what Stoklund calls a paradigm in Kuhn's sense; there was a standard, a normal science. This was based on theories of evolutionism and diffusion, the aim being to chart the distribution patterns of various phenomena.

This norm was then loosened as Anglo-Saxon influence made itself felt. The aim now was to see culture as a whole, with the aid of local studies,

and social studies replaced investigations of individual artefacts. From classical ethnology Stoklund wants to retain the unity of form-function-meaning, but he objects to the theories of evolution. It is very important that Stoklund draws attention to the link between function and symbolism, since the latter can never be understood unless the former is clarified.

Stoklund searches for the historical roots of the folklife studies that emerged, and he considers two scholars in particular: the Norwegian Eilert Sundt and the Dane Troels-Lund. Stoklund sympathizes with both, but mostly with the more scientific Sundt. He did his work in the mid-nineteenth century, his aim being to understand the actions of the peasantry on their own premises. He worked with field studies and typologies of almost Linnaean character.

Troels-Lund was more of a compiler than a researcher producing his own material. But with his great work about everyday life in the sixteenth century he provoked a debate about cultural history in Denmark and Germany. The question concerned whether the history of the state should be at the centre of historical science, or a more all-embracing cultural history. Later this discussion developed into the famous Lamprecht debate in Germany around 1900, when questions of methodology acquired a more central position: should one study individuals or entire social groups? Troels-Lund was firmly stuck in an evolutionism that envisaged things as developing from simple to more complex. With a theory like this one risks filling in "the missing link" without having any source material as a basis, and can then go completely wrong.

The historiographical chapters also include two which come towards the end of the book; one deals with industrial exhibitions, the other with folk costume. In one of these, Stoklund shows how the international exhibitions in the nineteenth century covered handicraft and quality alongside industrial mass manufacture. A historicizing tendency that existed throughout the nineteenth century then made itself felt, influencing the resumption of older stylistic features, and the judgement of what constituted good quality. This then took on a more permanent form in the museums of decorative art that were established all over Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. The essay on folk costume also considers the topic of the industrial exhibitions. Documenting folk dress was originally a national project, and many of the "typical" regional costumes on display were in fact reconstructions. Costume had been much more flexible and changeable through time. At the great international exhibitions, however, national costumes were a major theme, and this was what gave Artur Hazelius the chance to show his famous panoramas at the exposition in Paris in 1867. This also took on a more permanent form in the folklife museum, first in the Nordic Museum and then its successors all over Europe.

With his historiographical sketch, Stoklund has painted a picture of a research tradition that emerged as an expression of a general historicizing trend in the nineteenth century, with the focus on the nation, and also how new elements in this nation were asserted, namely folk culture (albeit in recast form). He then goes on to exemplify his anti-evolutionist theory.

As an example Stoklund takes the hay rake. Different types were identified at an early stage: different tasks. In parts of Skåne, for example, the bow rake was used for carrying the hay, while the cleft rake was for raking the hay together. Another reason is that there are in fact so many intermediate types in Europe that one cannot really talk about these three main types. Instead Stoklund highlights cultural and ecological associations. The blade rake, for example, is common in coniferous regions, such as northern Sweden, while the bow rake and the cleft-shaft rake are more common in deciduous areas. In this connection he criticizes me for being stuck in an evolutionist way of thinking in my work on rakes.

Stoklund takes his second example from house construction. While the rake represents a simple implement the house is complex and composite. He gives an account of various theories that have dominated. The tribal theory, according to which different house types were associated with different Germanic tribes, was commonly believed well into the twentieth century. Then evolutionist theories and diffusionist theories became common. After complaining that ethnology abandoned house studies with the shift of interest in the 60s and 70s, Stoklund goes on to present his own

explanations. Ecological factors have played an important part, such as that more durable reeds were used for thatching where they were available, as along the coast of Jutland. But he also has a historical perspective. The house acquired today's form at the transition from the Middle Ages to early modern times. During periods of economic prosperity, part of the population felt a desire to assert themselves, and they did so by investing in houses. These periods also witnessed technical changes. Günter Wiegelmann's innovation periods for Northern Europe are mentioned: 1550–1620, 1750–1820, 1870–1914, but Stoklund argues that these periods must be analysed at a more local level.

Stoklund did fieldwork on the island of Læsø when he worked at the National Museum, and this island serves as his third example when he discusses the concept of relict area. Baking on the island is characterized by simplicity; people baked fresh "ash bread" every day in the embers. This was because the hand quern still dominated and there were no large windmills (and water mills were out of the question on the island). He shows that this was an expression of the economic crisis that the island underwent at the start of the eighteenth century; before this there had been imports of grain and large windmills, which went together with large-scale grinding and subsequent baking of bread for storage. From the end of the eighteenth century the island saw better times, and then the farms acquired small windmills, but relict elements still survived from the years of crisis. He thus questions the concept of "relict area" frequently used in classical ethnology.

The same theme occurs in the essay about skin shoes in the Faroe Islands, another area where Stoklund has done fieldwork. He shows that these skin shoes are not a relict. Since there was a shortage of craftsmen, skin shoes were appropriate as they could be made at home; they were also good for walking on the steep cliffs of the islands. Stoklund also considers wooden clogs, showing that they are not a relict either. On the contrary, a course of development can be traced here, beginning with the *patina*, a kind of wooden sole tied under the shoe in the late Middle Ages. The end of the Middle Ages also saw the introduction of the proper hollowed-out clog simultaneously over a large area from France via Holland to Denmark. This clog has several advantages: it keeps in the heat, protects the feet, and so on. On the other hand, it is not suitable in areas with snow or hilly terrain, so it mainly spread in plains areas. Stoklund also looks at the development of leather shoes, to which soles were added during the High Middle Ages, attested at an early stage from southern Jutland. In the sixteenth century there was a radical change in the manufacture of leather shoes, which became so good that the *patina* became superfluous. But now these shoes had to be made by craftsmen. The Faroe Islanders have not retained their simpler shoes because they live in a relict area. As a further argument against the idea of relict areas, Stoklund shows that the distant and isolated Greenlanders seemed to have kept up fairly well with European fashions until they were totally cut off from contacts with the east.

To expand on the idea of what he calls ecotypes, which characterize the local farming economy, Stoklund takes up the question of plains peasants and forest peasants. He also places his theory in a context when he says that historians search for what is generally typical while ethnologists look for what is distinctive, especially the regional differences in peasant culture. Stoklund shows that even in Sjælland there was a pronounced forest culture, where the peasants were jacks of all trades working for a market. They produced barrel hoops, apples, charcoal, clogs, and wheels for sale. This production can be traced all the way back to the sixteenth century, and it was in full swing in the seventeenth century. It was not until the nineteenth century that these jobs became more characteristic of landless people.

The two chapters about the international exhibitions have already been mentioned. Here Stoklund deals with costume as yet another example of relict areas not really existing in the sense envisaged by classical ethnology. Costume could be an expression of regional and social pride, and therefore peasants living near big towns could retain, show off, and probably also develop their distinctive dress.

The final chapter is about peasant diaries and clocks, a topic on which Stoklund has been a pioneer. He questions whether these ways of measuring time were, as has been claimed, an

expression of an incipient time disciplining in the nineteenth century. He shows, among other things, that even though people had clocks, they very rarely state the time in their diaries. The diaries can also express traditional values which were not at all in keeping with the new age, for example, the notions in the old farmers' almanac. Stoklund seeks to hold up the old and unchangeable as a research object, rather than the new, and the peasant diaries could also contain the traditional peasant mentality.

Stoklund's confrontation with classical ethnology is salutary in many ways. The concept of relict areas is certainly not well formulated, and ethnology has always found it difficult to explain, for example, why Dalarna in Sweden could be one of the most innovative areas in agrarian technology while simultaneously seeming to be so conservative in folk culture. He also underlines the significance of the ecological context, and here there is no doubt a large future research field where the natural sciences can meet cultural history. The peasants must be understood in terms of their circumstances, and there is an internal logic in their production system that we cannot yet get at, partly because classical ethnology did not ask these questions.

At the same time, it is obvious how difficult it is for Stoklund, as for nearly all ethnologists, to free himself from the previously so dominant paradigm. To get away from this he rejects the idea of evolution. As an economic historian, however, I must counter that there is obvious evolution through history, namely, that people have in general developed technology which gives a higher yield. With this outlook one can therefore discern the development of ploughs, rakes, and other implements. In certain respects these courses of development differ from those assumed by classical ethnology while in other respects they do not. Stoklund himself outlines the development of shoes, which underwent several connected technical leaps. When I consider the changes to the rake, what interests me is the parallel development at the transition to the early modern period and how this is associated with the contemporary advances in agrarian technology, and the increasing division of labour in society. These are scarcely the same questions as asked by classical ethnology, although I admit the great merits of that research trend and I have drawn in large measure on its results and its collected material.

This brings me to the second point on which I believe that Stoklund's view of ethnology prevents him from seeing the course in its entirety: this is the increased division of labour. It is obvious that the new age entailed an increase in non-agrarian activity, both inside and outside peasant families. This development made itself felt both on the local level and internationally, and this lies behind much of what Stoklund describes.

In my opinion it is pointless to claim that ethnologists work with what is distinctive while historians are concerned with what is general. Why should it not be the other way around? What is required is research that breaks down subject boundaries, and even in his description of the emergence of the ethnological paradigm Stoklund shows how he sticks within these all too narrow limits. The conflict in cultural history in Denmark was part of a larger battle, in which the Swedish author Strindberg had challenged the dominating orientation to the history of the state by showing that it was also a matter of power and democracy: who was important in history? This democratic aspect of research on the broad strata of the population, and on the peasantry, has got lost in Stoklund's historiography, and hence also the whole opening towards the history of popular resistance and influence in its various forms. Modern historical research has worked with these questions, while simultaneously seizing increasingly large parts of cultural history.

Ethnologists have in large measure abandoned their old hunting grounds. Stoklund is one of the last to work with pre-industrial peasant culture, and he does it very well. But he also expresses what was probably the reason why the ethnologists gave up this research field. They were unable to ask new and different questions; they went on asking the same questions. Slavishly following a simplified evolutionism is as wrong as saying that evolution and diffusion never occurred.

One problem is that, even though research into pre-industrial peasant society has survived in the discipline of history, detailed research into houses and artefacts is not being continued. What is needed is a real challenge to the whole of classical

ethnological research, in a number of fields and with completely new questions. There are presumably many concealed simplifications and false assumptions, as Stoklund is able to show in his detailed analyses.

I have no answer as to how we can rescue detailed research on artefacts which takes their functions into consideration. But I am convinced that it will happen, and perhaps in a way that we do not expect. Will the creative anachronists in their historical games demand concrete detail? Will the archaeologists come closer and closer to the present day and study the details of artefacts in order to have something to link with their research findings, which of necessity proceed from material objects? Will research in the natural sciences, including ecology, request detailed information about the work and methods of former times?

Janken Myrdal, Ultuna

Fragments of Women's Lives

Lissie Åström, Skärvor av kvinnoliv. Borgerligt kvinnoliv speglat genom en grupp kvinnors nedtecknade berättelser om sig själva för varandra under åren 1896–1937. Etnolore 27, Uppsala 2002. 105 pp. Ill. ISBN 91-506-1623-4.

■ Through this study Lissie Åström presents a journal written by former school-friends at Björnsnäs School of Domestic Science. As young women they attend the school in 1894–95, and they kept sending the journal back and forth between them for over 40 years, sharing memories of their schooldays, adding news about their lives, and reflections about their own life-courses. The content of this wonderful source is presented through *Skärvor av kvinnoliv*.

In the first part of the book Åström presents 15 of the 25 women who wrote the journal. We meet the life of the gentry through the tales of Märta Rääf af Småland, the quiet life of the home living daughter through Annie Nyström, the joys of the newly wedded life through Rosa Nisser, and the experience of being a female academic pioneer through Eva von Bahr. Åström also discusses methodological issues like how the genre invites and partly demands the authors to constitute themselves as "eventful" individuals. "Those who have travelled, attended parties, weddings and other happenings, describe this in detail, and often in an entertaining and engaging style" (p.12-13). Those who have not, excuses themselves for their event-lacking lives. The goal of Åström is among other things to show us some of the "regular" female lives of the period. While quite a bit research has been done on how pioneer and progressive women perceived the changes of the new century, we know far less about how the "new times" affected and were experienced by middleclass-women outside the centers of event. As such, *Skärvor av kvinnoliv* is quite successful.

While the first part of the book is biographically organized, the second part follows a thematic approach. After this second main part of the book we briefly meet the ten remaining journal writers, through short descriptions of their contributions and biographies. A minor complaint would be that if the biographies and the analyses really had to be separated as Åström has chosen, I would have preferred to get all the 25 women presented in one place.

The explicit analytical part of the book discusses questions like how illness, religion, marital status and social class influenced these women's lives. During the analysis the focus sometimes seem to blur. Is this a tale about how 25 women tell about their experiences living these years, or is it a tale of how women of the period were perceived by the larger culture? While Åström at one place (p.62) claims that the education of bourgeois women first of all was a safety net in case they would not marry (the perspective of the larger culture), both the material and Åström herself contradicts this claim. The source itself exists exactly because these 25 women placed a big importance on their experience at Björnsnäs. Not as a waiting ground for marriage but as a year where they "broadened their life worlds and got to act as independent individuals" (p. 62) (the perspective of the life stories). This reader is pleased to notice that Åström places considerable weight on both the experiences of engagement, marriage and married life, and on the different life-experiences of the women who remained single. While I find the former descriptions most interesting, I do sometimes think that Åström interprets the fragments of the life stories of the

single women a bit far into psychology. Åström suggests that the conflict between the unmarried life, and the knowledge that marriage was a woman's first calling, made some of the single lives stressful and hard. From a cultural perspective it seems as relevant to me to look at how societal restrictions, difficult economical and material circumstances, and the cultural harassment these women had to face, made many female single lives particularly hard.

The biggest achievement of the book lies in my opinion in its broad description and biogra-phical approach to this unique source. Åström shows us the non-spectacular, the passive, the boring lives as well as the ambitious, energetic, and glamorous ones. She also underlines the differences in the different narratives, and the need to be aware of the singular as well as the common in the life stories in mind. Her material raises many interesting methodological questions, which she also points out and discusses. The way Åström shares her source with the reader and let us hear directly from the voices that have fascinated her so much, make this a valuable little book for everyone working in this field, and I would think an entertaining book for everyone else.

Tone Hellesund, Bergen

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.

A number of Scandinavian scholars have been fascinated by the interaction between people and things. In this issue we see how Bruno Latour's actor-network theory opens Danish collections of naturalia for new insights into how truth is built up; how the study of material culture can be theorized using Martin Heidegger's phenomenology; and how Alfred Schultz can make the everyday life of Swedish industrial workers at sawmills in Norrland more comprehensible to modern readers. Through the collection of clothes that Queen Ingrid of Denmark left to posterity it is possible to get close to royal identity. The role of the student cap in generating a sense of academic belonging is discussed, as is the question of how snowboarders, through their open and playful style, create a space as a youth culture in today's commercial world. After a visit to the harbour areas of Copenhagen and their transformations, this year's issue ends with two penetrating essays: first a discourse analysis of how immigrants are marginalized through the desire of the health service to view them as "culture"; then a broad study of how travel and movement give people their identity in modernity. Belonging is just as much a verb as a noun.

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